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Resistance to the Rise of the Principate: An Analysis of Literary Allusions to Augustus' Rivals

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Abstract

This dissertation asserts that opposition to Augustus and the establishment of the Principate was pervasive and originating from all social strata. After examining incidents of political resistance and social unrest, the project analyzes literary allusions to those who were killed or exiled while challenging Augustus' rise to power. Using maps, coins, and other artefacts to help explore topographical and contemporary references, this study maintains that coded depictions in literature may provide deeper understanding of events from the period, especially since many of our extant sources are biased, incomplete, or composed centuries later.

The case studies for the literary portion of this research include Vergil's Camilla and Palinurus in the *Aeneid*, Ovid's Daphne in the *Metamorphoses*, and a collection of episodes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* that plausibly represent familial strife in the *domus Augusta*. Two chapters on Vergil suggest that his portrayals of Camilla and Palinurus convey admiration for the endeavors of Fulvia and Sextus Pompey on behalf of those who lost their land or were placed on the proscription list during the Triumviral period. The next chapter proposes that Ovid's Daphne is a satirical comparison of Apollo's claim over his new triumphal tree when he was denied Daphne's body with Octavian's recast of his victory over Cleopatra after failing to keep her alive for his triumph. The final chapter analyzes allusions to strife in the imperial household in stories from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* that were modified from earlier versions in a

manner that challenges the authority of the *princeps* and his dynastic plans. This chapter

also considers Ovid's apprehension about the punishment of artists in his depictions of

Arachne and Marsyas.

The poetic episodes studied in this dissertation are multilayered, so that the

allegories are one of many readings possible, allowing the poet to allude to controversial

events ambiguously enough that his enthusiasts would appreciate the coded commentary

without the risk of offending the Augustan circle. While the vagueness of some

references challenges modern observation, the use of maps, coins, and ancient art provide

context clues for us to appreciate the allusions to the fallen challengers of Augustus.

Dedication

For my Aunt Nancy, who inspired me with her love of maps and ancient intrigues.

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Introduction
Political Allegory in Augustan Literature

Augustus is one of the most intriguing public figures in history, as a primary

architect in the change from republic to principate, a composer of his own historical

account, and an indirect sponsor of contemporary poetic portrayals of the time. As a

result of his enduring significance, resistance to Augustus and the potential conspiracies

against him have been well studied by both ancient historians and literary specialists for

two millennia. There is often a divide in either the genre, namely, whether one

approaches the historic events or the literature to analyze Augustus, or in the chronology

of Augustus' life in terms of before or after the Battle of Actium. This study combines

the historical and the literary views of Augustus for the entirety of his political career in

an attempt to provide a fuller picture of the resistance to his establishment of a hereditary

autocracy.

We begin with a diachronic review of episodes of opposition to

Octavian/Augustus,[1] including events heretofore dismissed as mere friction or

competition. The critical evaluation of contemporary events provides a necessary

contextualization for the remainder of the work, an analysis of literary allusions that show

discontent with the new political machinations that have been overlooked in previous

scholarship. We, as readers millennia later, may not have the events in mind that were the

topic of discussion at the moment, and so when we read contemporary poetry, we may

not as easily appreciate loaded ambiguities. Often, commentaries on Augustan poetry

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[1] I will use 'Octavian' when referring to events that occur before 27 BCE and 'Augustus' for those that
occur after he was given that title.

focus on Suetonius and Augustus' *Res Gestae* as their source material; these texts, while

valuable, tend to condense the path to the principate. By reviewing instances of upheaval

and unrest in Pliny, Appian, and Cassius Dio, we may elaborate on the events that would

have been in the minds of the Augustan era poets when they were writing. In this way,

we may gain a broad perspective of not merely the challenges that Octavian faced, but

how Romans viewed him, particularly in regard to his adversaries.

Of course, we must acknowledge the complicated status of our sources. We lack

the Augustan books of Livy, the contemporary historian who reported the activities of

aristocrats other than the future *princeps*, such as L. Calpurnius Piso Caesonius (cos. 15

BCE) and Nero Claudius Drusus (Livia's son). Later sources are often ensnared by

hindsight, portraying the principate as inevitable.[2] However, the peers of Octavian may

not have seen his rise as inescapable; in fact, the recorded episodes of resistance suggest

the opposite. In order to connect the text-based arguments made here with a

contemporary perspective, this study will analyze the significance of poetic landscapes

through the use of maps and will incorporate evidence from the archaeological record,

including coins, art, and architecture. Coins, in particular, are an important resource, as

they provide us with a self-portrayal from the losing side, and although it is an

ideological one, nevertheless it is a voice that we otherwise lack. By examining such

materials, we will be more familiar with the physical and political environment of

contemporary readers, and thus have a better understanding of their nuanced perceptions

of the poetic works discussed in the following chapters.

Concerning the chronological issue of previous studies, J.A. Crook notes a

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[2] See discussions by Powell 2013 and Mitchell, Morell, Osgood, & Welch 2019.

tendency for scholars dealing with Augustus' rise to power to insert "an end and a

beginning… for (the) chronological narrative to be given up at the beginning of the

Principate."[3] Following this model of partition, Carsten Hjort Lange focuses on the

Triumviral arrangement and its aftermath as documented later by Augustus in his *Res

Gestae*; his book ends with the settlement of 27 BCE.[4] On the other side of the temporal

divide, Kurt Raaflaub and Loren Samons limit their examination of opposition to

Augustus to events that occur after the Battle of Actium, suggesting that the conditions in

peacetime and under sole rule were "substantially different."[5] Barbara Levick reacts to

Raaflaub and Samons' analysis of opposition, and so while her book examines the life of

Augustus from his early career to his death, her chapter on "Opposition and Discontent"

deals solely with the same post-Actium timeline.[6] Of course, Augustus himself was a

proponent of this "historical caesura that generated a simple binary between 'before' (the

chaos of civil war) and 'after'… where the negative memories of the republican past

served as welcome foil for a positive Augustan present."[7] However, not all Romans

bought into this concept, and some actively opposed it.

    Even in our own lifetime, we note major events that cause noticeable changes in

normal governmental procedures. And yet, just as with our own transformative events,

the Battle of Actium did not occur in a vacuum; there were political and social tensions

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[3] Crook 1996 p. 70. To further his point, in the edited volume of *Cambridge Ancient History* that Crook's article appears, "The Triumviral Period" is examined by a different scholar, namely Christopher Pelling.
[4] Lange 2009.
[5] Raaflaub & Simons 1990 p. 418 note 4.
[6] Levick 2010, especially chapter 4, p. 164-201. Rohr Vio 2000 deals with a longer range (39 BCE-8CE), but has a limited scope, dealing only with conspiracies and not protests or competition. Dettenhofer 2000 discusses the entirety of Augustus' career and opposition to it, however examples are discussed in this project that were not included at length in her book, such the importance of mutinies and literary expressions.
[7] Gildenhard, Gotter, Havener, & Hodgson 2019 p. 27. See also Nelis 2013; Reinhold 1988 p. 225-26; Zanker 1988 chapter 2; cf. Gurval 1995.

that led up to that conflict, and the issues of contention were not immediately settled

when the smoke cleared. With this political panorama in mind, the current project will

examine resistance to Octavian beginning with his arrival in Rome after Julius Caesar's

assassination. The future *princeps* almost immediately challenged potential rivals; he is

rumored to have arranged an assassination attempt on Mark Antony and, when

negotiations with Cicero failed to gain Octavian a consulship at the young age of 19, he

marched on Rome with Caesar's soldiers. Those who are often listed as the opposition or

conspirators after Actium would have had knowledge of his ambition and penchant for

violence; Salvidienus Rufus serves as an example, a trusted friend and commander of

Octavian who was killed for plotting a revolution in 39 BCE.[8]

Not all opposition had violent intent. Within the framework of 'opposition' this

project includes acts of resistance, which directly confront authority, as well as acts of

refusal or defiance, which reject and evade it.[9] Attempts were made to flout Augustus'

auctoritas, such as when part of the jury wanted to acquit Marcus Primus despite

Augustus' testimony in 23/22 BCE, and when a potential rival, Egnatius Rufus, tried to

use the masses to gain the consulship out of turn in 19 BCE.[10] Rivalries and opposition

also occurred within Augustus's own household, as family members tried to assert their

favorite as his successor. Vying to be Augustus' heir progressed beyond mere

competition to aggressive moves that may have provoked the self-induced exiles of

Agrippa in 23 BCE and Tiberius in 6 BCE, and the possible upheavals planned by both

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[8] Dio 48.33, Appian *BC* 5.66, Suet. *Aug*. 66.
[9] Prasse-Freeman 2020 discusses the difference and similarities of these two concepts politically.
[10] Both of these scenarios will be discussed in the next chapter.

Julias, his daughter[11] and granddaughter.[12]

In addition to the military and political resistance confronted by Augustus, the majority of this study will examine the opposition expressed in contemporary literature, albeit in some cases using allusions to avoid political repercussions. The antagonistic literary reactions to Augustus studied by scholars are usually historiographic examples, such as those of Titus Labienus[13] and Cassius Severus,[14] whose works were burned, or Timagenes of Alexandria,[15] who was expelled from Augustus' house for mocking the *princeps* and his family. Examples of historians and orators will be presented in relation to the contemporary political machinations of the *princeps;* the analysis of possible allusions to resistance in poetry will be the subject of later chapters.

The wide definition of opposition employed in this survey is also utilized in the works of Francesca Rohr Vio, Maria Dettenhofer, and Isabelle Cogitore, who likewise examine the entirety of Augustus' career.[16] Rohr Vio and Dettenhofer in particular see many of Augustus' reforms as reactionary to the controversies that he faced, and all three scholars propose that Augustus adeptly presented these suppressed challenges in a way that legitimized his control; I concur with their view. However, their work focuses mainly on historiography, and therefore the present study differs from these monographs by expanding on the use of material culture and poetry in an attempt to seek a more nuanced perspective of Augustus' challengers and their sympathizers.

Following the survey of cases of direct opposition, this project will consider

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[11] Pliny *NH* 7.149; Dio 55.10.12-16; Sen. *Brev*. 4.5, *Clem*. 1.9.6.
[12] Tac. *Ann*. 3.24, 4.71; Suet. *Aug*. 65.2-5, 72.3.
[13] Sen. *Cont*. praef. 4-5, 8.
[14] Tac. *Ann*. 1.72, 4.21; Macr. 2.4.9; Pliny *NH* 7.55.
[15] Sen. *Cont*. 10.55.22.
[16] Rohr Vio 2000; Dettenhofer 2000; Cogitore 2002.

instances of defiance or disagreement expressed artfully. Poets especially benefit from the use of coded speech or allusions to people and situations that they wished to address without incurring any reprisals. Traditionally, scholarship has presented either pro- or anti-Augustan views in the texts of contemporary poets such as Vergil, Horace, and Ovid; and yet in this genre there is a much wider range of depictions of Augustus and his policies. Just as Augustus himself adapted to situations, changed his policies, and morphed his public image to suit the changing circumstances, so the poets of this period deal with the shifting political environment, leaving subtle hints of sympathy or displeasure concerning how events turned out or were later recast by the Augustan regime.[17] In order to draw out examples of poetic counternarratives, this study will read "between the lines to recover alternative contemporary voices" and review "evidence that has been dismissed or ignored because it does not fit the conventional narrative;" here the examination of coins, maps, and later accounts is most constructive.[18]

Some of the poetic portrayals of events and personalities are oddly ambiguous, especially when they are presented by authors generally considered to be part of Augustus' circle, urging the reader to question the underlying meaning of the episode. As suggested by David Konstan, classical literature was written with the expectation of a critical reading. For the era concerning this research, Konstan notes that Vergil's *Aeneid* invited readers to judge the characters and to draw their own conclusions with such purposeful conundrums as the rhetorical question "Are such rages in divine minds?" (*tantaene animis caelestibus irae? Aen.* 1.11), the gate of false dreams in book 6, and, of

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[17] Farrell & Nelis 2013 p. 1-18 adeptly discuss the changing political environment and the literary response to it.
[18] Mitchell, Morrell, Osgood, & Welch 2019, esp. p. 10 & 16.

course, the ethically challenging finale of Turnus' violent death.[19] Multifaceted characters

abound in the epics of Vergil and Ovid, some of whom directly challenge the Augustan

hero or patron god and, consequently, perish in ways that urge the reader to sympathize

with the loser. Vergil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, both of which deal with

foundations of empire, are ripe for the present study because of the political climate of

their composition. Authors do not write in isolation, especially well-connected poets such

as Vergil and Ovid, who enjoyed interactions with the literary circles of Maecenas and

Messalla respectively. Their works are reflective of contemporary discourse, and so may

be representative of a larger pattern of debate now lost to us. However, this discourse

may be teased out, providing an alternative view of events that challenges Augustus'

attempt to control the narrative.[20] In terms of opposition to Augustan actions, this study

will examine two types of coded representations: sorrow for those lost in the civil wars

and mockery of Augustus' self-presentation and social reforms.

Of course, as with the historiographic element of this study, this is not the first

project dealing with political allegories in Augustan poetry; the search for coded

meanings in Vergil goes back at least as far as Servius. In early twentieth century

scholarship, allegorical treatments of the *Aeneid* were in vogue, as it was boldly

presented by Douglas Drew, Arthur Pease, and Robert Cruttwell to varying degrees of

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[19] Konstan 2006 p. 12.

[20] Honig 2021 and Hartman 2019 both utilize a technique of 'fabulation' to offer counternarratives for those "deemed unfit for history" (Honig 2021 p. 76); Honig uses Euripides' Bacchae as a backdrop to discuss feminist resistance theory and Hartman provides 'fabulated' background stories for arrest records and newspaper articles "to convey… the rich landscape of black social life" (Hartman 2019 p. xiii). Honig sees "politics in her [Hartman's] counter-archival practice, which tells the stories that haunt the archive and resist its erasure" (p. 98 n. 79); this perspective is particularly applicable for what I suggest Vergil is doing with his depictions of Camilla and Palinurus.

acceptance, but then this type of study fell out of favor.[21] The usefulness of examining

potential allegories has regained appreciation over the last fifty years, as scholarship has

again embraced the value of a dialogue between historiography and poetry.[22] Alexander

McKay's *Vergil's Italy* especially incorporates the nature of the research presented here,

as he examines Vergil's skill as a "landscape artist" and the poet's "profound sympathy

for defenders of the lost cause."[23] For political references in Ovid's epic, Ulrich

Schmitzer's *Zeitgeschichte in Ovids Metamorphosen,* following the example of Vinzenz

Buchheit, utilizes the mythological episodes as a contemporary assessment of the struggle

for power during the establishment of the principate.[24] In recent years, examining

Augustan poetry for historical references has become popular, and while I have read

much of the scholarship, to keep this project and its bibliography manageable, I focus

mainly on ancient texts and only cite modern works with which I directly engage in my

argument. I believe that the literary examples used in chapters two through four of this

manuscript have either not been suggested before or were not discussed as thoroughly by

previous scholars. Chapter five combines earlier scholarship of often-discussed episodes

into a new collective pattern of disapproval of Augustus' inheritable political

arrangement.

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[21] Drew 1927 argued that the entirety of the *Aeneid* aligned with Augustan events; this hypothesis was met with resistance. Pease's 1935 commentary on book 4 discusses historical/contemporary influences on the *Aeneid* and includes a detailed comparison of Dido and Cleopatr and was better received. Cruttwell's 1946 treatment is written in a stream-of-consciousness style that even Pease critiques as going too far: "iam satis est" (Pease 1948 p. 226).

[22] Farrell & Nelis 2013 p. 2 discuss how the "New Historicist movement of the 1980s and 1990s was largely responsible for reintroducing historical consciousness into the field of literary study…" See also the collections of essays in Woodman & West 1984, Powell 1992, Levene & Nelis 2002, and especially Pandey 2018b, which deals specifically with Augustan period poets.

[23] McKay 1970 p. 16 & 43, respectively.

[24] Schmitzer 1990; this work contains a rich review of the scholarship up until the time of his writing. Buchheit 1966 equated Ovid's Python episode with the battle of Actium; this will be discussed in chapter 4.

Coded Depictions

'Allegory' is a word loaded with a variety of meanings, and so a brief discussion of the term as used in this project is in order. Jeremy Tambling notes that allegory uses punning language, hidden meanings, and riddles, not necessarily in a strict "A = B" correspondence, but rather in a symbolic manner such that one image appears to be underneath another.[25] As Anton Powell observed, Vergil's contemporaries tended to relate current prominent individuals to famous figures of the past; this holds true both for those "trained in the Alexandrian quest for allusion" and for the average theater audience.[26] Jasper Griffin, while eschewing the term 'allegory', also notes "how natural Romans found it to see through history… picking up and exploiting any allusion in a play which could be made to apply to an unpopular figure of the time." [27] Griffin additionally claims that "propaganda had long used the device of assimilating or identifying contemporary figures with those of myth." Thus, it is clear that coded depictions were used to portray the chosen perspectives of the author, whether for or against the governing entity.

As may be seen above in the references to the work of Tambling, Powell, and Griffin, the terminology for this coded language varies in secondary literature. While some scholars prefer the term 'allegory,' others use 'allusion,'[28] and still others choose such terms as 'parallels,'[29] or lump words together, like "metaphoric, metonymic, and

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[25] Tambling 2010 p. 1-8.
[26] Powell 1992 p. 144; see also Griffin 1986 p. 187, 191; Farrell & Nelis 2013 p. 17; Braund 2017 p. 154, 176, 179; and Cicero's comment that an audience never fails to catch a possible allusion in his *Pro Sestio* 118.
[27] Griffin 1986 p. 190.
[28] Griffin 1986 p. 185 claims that 'allegory', which he defines as hidden meanings in language, is not sufficient; he prefers 'allusion' as a term, but also refers to *exempla* being used in a similar fashion.
[29] Fabre-Serris 2013 p. 104.

symbolic relationships."[30] David Quint, like Anton and Griffin, advocates for the use of "allusion over analogy," in order to "establish more precise and documentable links between the text and the historical situation."[31] However, the term 'allusion' is as fraught with varying connotations as 'allegory.' It seems as though scholars suggest examples of the same literary trope using different terminology; therefore, since I understand it as a matter of semantics, I will utilize phrasing that refers to this literary practice interchangeably as it suits the context.

Coded speech, of course, was not introduced by Augustan literature, but was common in Greek Old Comedy and in Alexandrian poetry. Among Roman authors, Cicero was a master of this trend, often using literary references largely in derision in his speeches and letters. For example, he refers to the brothers Marcus and Lucius Lucullus as "Menelaus" and "Agamemnon" (*Att.* 1.18.3) and P. Clodius Pulcher as "Paris" (*Att.*1.18.20). He calls Clodia Pulchra βοῶπις in reference to Hera (a clear incest joke) in an agitated letter to Atticus from mid-April 59 BCE (*Att.* 2.9) and refers to her as "Palatina Medea" in the *Pro Caelio*.[32] Cicero also uses several nicknames for Pompey that sarcastically refer to the conqueror's eastern settlement.[33]

Besides cleverly mocking people, coded speech was also used to praise one's own family in the form of *paronomasia*, the trend of linking a family name to a similar sounding deity. This self-exaltation can be observed in the late Republican coinage of Gaius Annius, who used imagery of Anna Perenna, of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius' usage

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[30] Farrell & Nelis 2013 p. 2 note 4.
[31] Quint 1993 p. 15.
[32] Cic. *Pro Caelio* 18; Clodia was also referred to as "quadrantaria Clytemnestra" by Caelius (*orationes* 26.1, quoted by Quintilian *Inst. Orat.* 8.6.53.1), which Cicero punned on in his speech (*Pro Caelio* 62.15).
[33] Cicero refers to Pompey Magnus as "Sampsiceramus" (Att. 2.17.1) for the ruler of Emesa, "Arabarches" (2.17.3) for a despot of eastern Egypt, and "noster Hierosolymarius" (*Att.* 2.9) for his capture of Jerusalem.

of Pietas, and of Decimus Junius Silanus' depiction of Silenus;[34] other examples abound. The pun on the names used on these coins indicates that people were expected to look for and understand such word play. Raffaella Cribiore, in her study of ancient education, asserts that students were expected to be familiar with mythological references and historical allusions in the texts they read.[35] This knowledge would also extend to visual allusions as used in coins and artwork.

Beyond the often-studied applications of praise and blame, this dissertation suggests that coded expressions had additional uses under Augustus' regime and beyond, such as to express sympathy for a conquered foe or to be read didactically, in order to give advice in the manner of a parable. An example of the first-mentioned, and somewhat subversive, use of allegory is Vergil's depiction of Camilla, an honorable foe of the hero Aeneas. The sympathetic portrayal of Camilla encourages the reader to root for the *bellatrix*, and yet she must lose; this riveting scenario urges the reader to consider Camilla's allegorical relevance. As mentioned, previous scholarship has addressed pro- and anti-Augustan literary depictions that focused mostly on major characters. This study offers a more expansive approach by scrutinizing ambiguous and less prominent characters such as Camilla as potential allegorical cameos of contemporary figures. These individuals, while not the main antagonists, demand our attention with their relatable quests and touching demises, and yet they are not as readily identifiable as representing the counternarrative and so have not been the topic of frequent or extensive study.

This author is aware of concerns about the legitimacy of interpretation expressed by previous scholars. Among them is Tambling, who asks, "what governs it [the

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[34] Ramsby 2019 p. 118-119.
[35] Cribiore 2001 p. 207-09.

interpretation] and gives it weight, stops it from going into free fall, from becoming the interpretation that corresponds simply to the whim of the interpreter?"[36] To overcome the pitfall, the use of archaeological evidence, geographical associations, and political events as reported by other historiographic sources will support the textual analysis of the primary source in question. Although these safeguards may not definitively show the hidden intent of the ancient author, this project aims to demonstrate the existence of meaningful correlations between the literary personae and Augustus' rivals during his evolving political career. As noted by Schmitzer, it is essential to consider the synchronous intellectual environment when assessing poetry and its intended effect.[37] Looking beyond the literature to contemporary objects and topographical associations will help us to see the subtleties appreciated by the poets' immediate audience.

Examples of Resistance

The first chapter examines reported attempts to stop or limit Augustus' rise to power and his dynastic ambitions. Actions aimed at curtailing Octavian will be discussed in the areas of senatorial obstruction, popular resistance, rivalries, mutinies, and conspiracies, real and/or alleged. The extant textual sources for these instances are sparse and often non-contemporary; they include Appian, Cassius Dio, Suetonius, Velleius, and Pliny the Elder. Pliny's concise list of the hardships faced by Augustus, despite his overall good fortune, includes all of the topics to be discussed in this study with the exception of the issues in the Senate.[38] The objective of reviewing these episodes is not to

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[36] Tambling 2010 p. 17.
[37] Schmitzer 1990 p. 19.
[38] Pliny *NH* 7.46 (sections 147-150 in older texts) lists 27 major challenges, including 7 examples of familial strife.

determine their authenticity, but to demonstrate that the possibility of opposition was a persistent discussion among the people and therefore was reported in the sources. This belief in opposition underlies the sympathetic coded literary depictions of those who lost against Augustus, which are the focus of the remaining chapters of this study.

Literary Allusions to Resistance

Chapters two through five examine literary allusions to "troublemakers" for Augustus, that is, those who were removed by warfare or exile, most notably Fulvia, Sextus Pompey, Cleopatra VII, and Julia the Elder. Some of these depictions are expressions of lament, while others are more antagonistic towards the *princeps*. The divide between the two moods seems to be related to the circumstance of the author. Vergil, a contemporary and presumed friend of Augustus, alludes to sympathy for individuals lost in the civil conflicts during the Triumviral years. Conversely, Ovid, having come of age after the wars ended, is able to take a more spirited approach in some of his episodes, mocking Augustus and/or his actions. Both authors offer the reader counternarratives and perspectives that may be interpreted as a form of literary resistance to the approved Augustan chronicle of events. Interestingly, this form of opposition proved more successful than physical or political attempts, in that the works are still read and analyzed two millennia later. Being so far removed from the circumstances of composition, we should keep in mind the words of Saidiya Hartman in our search for an unofficial account: "Every historian of the multitude, the dispossessed, the subaltern, and the enslaved is forced to grapple with the power and authority of the archive and the limits it sets on what can be known, whose perspective matters, and who is endowed with

the gravity and authority of historical actor."[39]

Vergil's Camilla

Modern allegorical readings of Vergil's *Aeneid* often focus on the straightforward parallels of Aeneas with Augustus, Turnus with Mark Antony, and the famous queen Dido with the infamous Cleopatra. However, Vergil describes another rather intriguing woman in power who is equally potent as a politically symbolic figure – Camilla. Her character conjures up both legendary and contemporary resonances for the reader, and thus previous scholarship has presented her as an allusion to the mythological Penthesileia,[40] as an echo of Dido,[41] and even as a depiction of Cleopatra.[42] In pursuit of an allegorical interpretation, this chapter reviews literary and material evidence and geographic similarities that reveal a correlation between Vergil's portrayal of Camilla and the historical figure of Fulvia. The parallel is remarkable, particularly concerning the latter's participation in the Perusine War on behalf of local landowners.

The violent civil upheavals that occurred at the end of the Republic and their effects on the Roman people can be felt throughout the poetry of Vergil. Turmoil was caused when families lost farms that were to be given to returning veterans. This loss is lamented in the *Eclogues* and hinted at in the *Aeneid*.[43] Vergil's Camilla is inherently linked to the problem of land displacement, since she fights on behalf of the native Italians against the newly arrived Trojans. Just as Vergil's Aeneas is seen as an allusion

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[39] Hartman 2019 p. xiii.
[40] Horsfall 2003.
[41] Alessio 1993.
[42] Fratantuono 2006, Viparelli 2008, Alessio 1993.
[43] Putnam 2005.

to Augustus, a connection can be seen between Camilla and the language used by other Roman authors to describe Fulvia in the Perusine War. The descriptions of Fulvia in Appian, Cassius Dio, and Plutarch are decidedly negative, in general because they portray a bold woman with both power and resources, which was a threatening concept for contemporary Romans. The negativity of the anecdotes is further enhanced because they are taken from such hostile sources as Cicero and Augustus himself.[44] However, if we look beyond the derogatory comments, we may observe close similarities between Fulvia and Vergil's portrayal of Camilla.

Camilla is an honorable enemy who must die for the future glory of Rome to follow.[45] Her sympathetic depiction may be seen as an allegorical nod to Fulvia, and to the latter's efforts to fight on behalf of Italian landowners. There are similarities in the descriptions of the two women, and of their foes and allies. For example, both Camilla and Fulvia are described as averse to womanly habits like wool-spinning (*Aen.* 7.805-806; Plut. *Ant.* 10.3). Both women are depicted as military leaders: Camilla explains her strategy to Turnus with the repeated use of the imperative mood, while an armed Fulvia is described by Cassius Dio as giving the watchword and speeches to the army (*RH* 48.10.4). In addition, Fulvia was named as one of three commanders on the Perusine sling bullets, which was quite unusual in Roman warfare.[46] This chapter expands on these examples among others to suggest that Vergil used the epic character of Camilla to sympathetically depict Fulvia as a warrior woman of his day who fought to maintain local rights to ancestral lands, and whose death was necessary for the success of the new

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[44] Delia 1991.
[45] Fratantuono 2007.
[46] Hallett 1977, 2015.

regime.

Vergil's Palinurus

Unlike the adversary Camilla, Palinurus is Aeneas' own trusted helmsman, and his gripping death scene is told twice, the second version with additional details by his ghost in the Underworld. For a minor character, Palinurus is fascinating in his complexity: he is praised for his naval capabilities (3.200-201), he addresses Neptune as *pater* (5.13-14), and he is called *princeps* in the apostrophe before his death (5.833-834). These anecdotes could correlate to Sextus Pompey during the Triumviral period, who was given the title *praefectus classis et orae maritimae* by the senate and used "son of Neptune" on his coinage.[47] Also, the hardship and hunger of the Trojans foretold by the harpy Celaeno (3.254-257) is lifted after Palinurus is sacrificed and Aeneas reaches the Tiber (7.116, 119). The hunger could refer to Sextus' blockade, which he ended after the treaty at Misenum. Sextus built a platform at Misenum for the treaty negotiations with Octavian to avoid going on land,[48] which could refer to Palinurus not arriving at Cumae with Aeneas, despite the leader's expectations that he would (6.343-346).

Notably, Palinurus's own account of his death (6.347-354) removes the gods from his ejection from the ship, in stark contrast to the divine violence done to him at the end of Book 5. The vocabulary in his speech has political and military connotations (*spoliata armis*; 'ship of state'), as Palinurus emphasizes that he was given the position of helmsman (*cui datus… custos*, 6.350); the emphasis calls to mind again Sextus Pompey's senate-appointed position of prefect. The conflicting accounts of Palinurus' demise, as

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[47] RRC 511; Dio 46.40.3.
[48] Appian *BC* 5.71; Dio 48.36.1.

reported by the narrator, Aeneas, and Palinurus himself, draw the reader's attention to the possible counternarratives available in Rome concerning the upheaval of the Triumviral period and their political implications.

Aside from derogatory comments about his participation in piracy, it is difficult to find an unbiased contemporary view of Sextus Pompey, since Octavian reportedly ordered all documents concerning the Triumviral years to be collected and burned after Sextus had been defeated.[49] The popularity of Sextus Pompey was problematic for Octavian and needed to be erased or vilified in cultural memory in order to avoid embarrassment. Sextus had saved many Romans from the proscriptions,[50] and he had contemporary supporters in Rome. However, some material must have survived in the imperial archives, since we have brief remarks from Velleius and Suetonius, and longer accounts by the later writers Appian and Cassius Dio. In poetry, Sextus is referred to by Horace and Propertius,[51] and we know of lost texts that dealt with him, such as Cornelius Severus' epic *Bellum Siculum* and Octavian's own hexameter poem *Sicilia*.[52] Adding to these works, I suggest that Vergil's depiction of Palinurus loosely refers to Sextus Pompey. Both men used their skilled seamanship to help their wandering fellow citizens find a home, and both died as a sacrifice in the new regime's quest for *pax*.

Ovid's Daphne

Unlike Vergil, who lived through the horrors of war and land seizure, Ovid came

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[49] Appian *BC* 5.132.
[50] Appian *BC* 5.143; Vell. 2.75, Suet. *Tib.* 4.2, 6.1-3. Cicero's death in the proscriptions is particularly felt here, as his connections to the Pompey family may have provided useful information in potential letters.
[51] Horace *Ode*, III.4.25-8; *Epode* I.4.17-20; Propertius 2.1.28.
[52] Suet. *Aug.* 85.

of age during Augustus' peace. Therefore, his poetry understandably has a more challenging or rebellious tone than Vergil's, even when done mischievously. An example of this roguish vibe is the mocking portrayal of Apollo in his thwarted attempt to rape the nymph Daphne. If we consider that Apollo was a patron god for Augustus, as noted by anecdotes in Suetonius' text and in the *princeps'* own building program, then we may suggest that the pursuit of Daphne could refer to Octavian's quest to conquer Cleopatra. This chapter reviews the numerous similarities between Ovid's Daphne and the depictions of Cleopatra by such authors as Vergil, Horace, Propertius, and Cassius Dio.

Daphne is only named twice by Ovid, and is otherwise called nymph, virgin, and daughter of Peneus, mimicking how Horace does not name Cleopatra in *Ode* I.37. Contrary to other versions in which Daphne is always a virginal devotee of Artemis, Ovid makes Daphne's chaste endeavor new, as a result of Cupid's arrow in order to spite Apollo's advances; her refusal is meant to diminish Apollo's self-esteem. While Cleopatra is portrayed as far from virginal by the sources, sexual accusations were used commonly for those considered to be politically challenging.[53] Ovid's word choices for Apollo's pursuit echoes Vergil's description of the aftermath of Actium on Aeneas' shield,[54] as well as the imagery described by Horace in *Ode* I.37. Also, both Daphne and Cleopatra seek the safety of a father/fatherland river, namely the Peneus and the Nile.[55] Particularly interesting is Dio's claim that Octavian sent Thyrsus to tell Cleopatra that he was in love with her in order to keep her and her treasure safe.[56] From these and other

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[53] Cleopatra as *regina meretrix*: Prop. 3.11.39, Pliny *NH* 9.119.6. Edwards 1993 p. 43-46 discusses how sexuality of women was often connected to political and social disruptions. This applies to my discussion of Fulvia, Cleopatra, and Julia the Elder.
[54] Verg. *Aen*. 8.671-728.
[55] Peneus: *Met*. I.544-547; Nile; *Aen*. 8.711-713.
[56] Dio 51.8.6-7.

examples, I suggest that Ovid was using Daphne's episode as an allegorical parody of Augustus' pursuit of Cleopatra as a display for his triumph, a pursuit that he lost and had to revamp once Cleopatra committed suicide.

Ovid's Allusions to Strife in Augustus' Household

The final chapter presents examples of stories in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* that were modified from previous versions in a manner that challenges the authority of the *princeps* and his dynastic plans. The poet expresses, mythologically, a sense of disapproval and anxiety about the machinations of the Augustan household and the sensitive political environment.

Augustus famously struggled to obtain an heir, as several of his choices died young; the stories of Phaethon and Icarus seemingly reflect Augustus' failed attempts. Male family members were not the only ones involved in this endeavor to continue the Julian line, and therefore this chapter will also review the punishment of rebellious daughters. Examples of mythological women who were punished/exiled because their actions threatened their father's status include Perimele, Scylla, and Mestra. I suggest these figures may be linked with Augustus' daughter Julia, since Pliny mentions Julia's adultery and failed plan of patricide in his list of Augustus' hardships.[57]

Julia's exile leads to the exploration of punished promiscuity, rumored or factual. In Ovid's *Fasti*, both Anna Perenna (Bk. 3) and Claudia Quinta (Bk. 4) are falsely suspected of unchaste behavior; both are vindicated, although in very different ways.

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[57] Pliny *NH* 7.149.

Ovid may have created his episode of Anna,[58] and his account of Claudia Quinta is much more elaborate than that of other authors in extant versions.[59] These two personae may serve a double purpose: they may be seen as didactic *exempla*, warning that one should seek the intercession of Livia in order to be saved from false rumors, and they may speak in defense of those falsely accused. Both examples of coded depictions here would have been pertinent to Julia, the daughter of Augustus, and to Ovid. The multilayered accounts of these women allow the poet to tell these stories ambiguously enough that his enthusiasts would appreciate the allegories without the risk of offending the Augustan circle.

Finally, this chapter reviews Ovid's apprehension about the potential punishment of artists in his depictions of Arachne and Marsyas. Marsyas, in particular, may be purposely included as a nod to Augustus' familial strife, since his daughter Julia and her supporters reportedly crowned a statue of Marsyas, which could have been politically symbolic. Ovid's graphic descriptions of the demise of artists who challenged the gods demonstrate why poets would express their critiques of Augustus in a coded manner.

Conclusion

The aim of this research project is twofold. Mainly, I survey many instances of resistance to the rise of Augustus, from rivals' use of military force or conspiracies to contemporary writers' coded depictions of protest, in order to show that there was frequent and widespread opposition to Augustus' reframing of the Roman political

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[58] Perhaps as a sequel to both Vergil's and Varro's variants of Anna, as either sister of the lover or the lover herself.

[59] Cicero's *Pro Caelio* (34) and *On the Reponses of the Haruspices* (13.27), as well as in Livy's mention of the event (29.14.12).

system. Secondly, I attempt to demonstrate the usefulness of including non-literary sources of evidence, and especially the relevance of coinage and geography, when investigating the ancient world in order to achieve a broader, more objective understanding of the circumstances involved in the events in question. By incorporating both historical accounts and material culture, we may recreate what the contemporary reader experienced during Augustus' rise, and in doing so, better appreciate how those readers could have interpreted the poetic texts as potentially critical of the *princeps*.

Chapter I
Episodes of Resistance to Octavian: A Historical Review

According to Augustus' *Res Gestae*, the *princeps* faced diverse challenges and

overcame them admirably, without so much as a whimper of discontent from his fellow

Romans. In this brief and flattering summary of his own career, the reader will not find

any mutinies or angry mobs; his political rivals are glossed over and conflicts against

Romans are recategorized as battles against pirates, slaves, and unnamed or foreign

enemies.[1] On the contrary, Pliny the Elder provides a concise list of the misfortunes

endured by Augustus during his reign, giving us quite a different perception of the

princeps' career.[2] In Pliny's summary, while Augustus still dealt with obstacles, the focus

is instead on his suppression of military opposition from rival Roman commanders,

mutinies, senatorial resistance, popular unrest, conspiracies, and defiance from within his

own household.[3] Instead of the confident first-person narrative of conquest, there are

phrases depicting anxiety about the many challenges to the change in government:

preces… mortis admotae, cura, sollicitudo, suspecta vota, consilia parricidae,

desiderium, *suspicio*, and *uxoris cogitationes*. If we supplement Pliny's list of woes with

examples of antagonistic speeches and writings given by other ancient authors, we see

that the political rise of Augustus' Principate was faced with nearly constant challenges

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[1] *RG* 25, 27. In an attempt to be historically consistent, the *princeps* will be called Octavian for events prior to January 27 BCE and Augustus for those that occurred afterwards.
[2] Pliny *NH* 7.147-150 lists 27 problems, including 4 civil wars, 7 instances of family strife, as well as lack of funds, rebellion, pestilence, famine, a shortage of troops, and the infamous Varian disaster. The text is given in the appendix at the end of this chapter. All translations in this project are my own.
[3] Gabba 1984 p. 82 and 84 sees Pliny's account as an example of anti-Augustan historiography, as opposed to the generally positive view of Dio (p. 71-75) and Velleius (p. 80-81).

of varying types and degrees.[4] This chapter will examine categorically a variety of episodes of dissension to Augustus' transformation of the Roman political system. This survey will aim to demonstrate that there was resistance to the Principate, both actual and perceived, up to and even beyond the battle at Actium, despite the claims made by Tacitus that opposition was weakened by war-weariness and by financial stability under Augustus. While there is some validity to Tacitus' claim, by reviewing the contentious political undercurrent, we may better understand the mindset of contemporary Romans. This chapter provides a foundation for the remaining sections, which examine coded sympathetic depictions of rivals in Augustan poetry. Without a better grasp of the various political struggles, which often must be pieced together using various sources, a modern reader of Augustan poetry may not have the same appreciation for the multiple levels of subtext and possible associations that a contemporary reader would.[5]

Although scholars have often addressed the topic of resistance to Octavian/Augustus, the endeavor here is to revisit the anecdotes with a different approach, namely that if we consider the recording of opposition as an important factor in its own right, and not merely debate the credibility of the episodes, we can infer that the mere possibility of resistance was important to the Roman audience. What was of interest to the Roman reader and what the people believed were determining factors for many authors as well as politicians; this is again a matter of perception, as some authors give more details for certain events than other authors, and certain thwarted threats were

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[4] From extant literature alone, there are at least 45 examples of resistance to Augustus, as listed in Table 1 at the end of this chapter.

[5] This phenomenon is apparent to anyone who has had to explain satire to someone who is too young to understand the references. Of course, analyzing episodes of opposition has been done by ancient historians, and their work is cited throughout this chapter; however, applying that analysis to the poetic texts is not as common. I have cited scholars who have done so where it applies to my assessment.

celebrated more than others, with thanksgivings or other means. Although scholars often either dismiss the accounts of opposition to Augustus[6] or more fully credit them,[7] the new approach taken in this chapter aims to follow a middle path based firmly on the primary sources, keeping in mind Domitian's assertion that uncovered conspiracies were not believed unless the emperor was killed.[8]

It is admittedly difficult to analyze some concise references to resistance, such as Dio's claim that in 18 BCE "many immediately and many later were accused, whether truly or falsely, of plotting against the emperor and Agrippa… Augustus executed a few men."[9] While we cannot study Dio's statement in depth due to the lack of named culprits, the mention of public unrest towards the two most powerful men in Rome is consistent with the general assertion of this chapter, i.e. to emphasize that not everyone was placated by the new regime, and that reports of resistance were believable to the intended audience.

Some modern scholars are dismissive of both the rivalries which occurred during the Triumviral period and the later power-plays in Augustus' inner circle because they compare his rule with those of the other Julio-Claudian emperors.[10] However, Octavian's development of the Principate was a bloody one, as Tacitus reminds us.[11] The

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[6] Most emphatically Raaflaub & Samons 1990 and Crook 1996.

[7] Dettenhofer 2000, Rohr Vio 2000, Cogitore 2002.

[8] Suet. *Dom*. 21: *Condicionem principum miserrimam aiebat, quibus de coniuratione comperta non crederetur nisi occisis.*

[9] All translations are my own. Dio 54.15.1, 4: τούτων οὖν οὕτω γενομένων συχνοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἐπιβουλεῦσαι, εἴτ᾽ οὖν ἀληθῶς εἴτε καὶ ψευδῶς, αἰτίαν ἔσχον… ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ τότε παρόντι ὁ Αὔγουστος ἄλλους μέν τινας ἐδικαίωσε. Rich 1990 p. 191 suggests ἐδικαίωσε here refers to execution. For discussion on this passage, see Levick 2010 p. 196 n. 10; Dettenhofer 2000 p. 130 n. 15; Raaflaub & Samons 1990 p. 427.

[10] Raaflaub & Sammons 1990 p. 432 claims that Augustus's rule was relatively calm compared to the conspiracies of other Julio-Claudians. This claim, while possibly true, does not fairly analyze the precursor's challenges on their own merit.

[11] Tac. *Ann*. I.10: *pacem sine dubio post haec, verum cruentam.*

proscriptions disposed of some sources of opposition through death and displacement, and those who were allowed to return may have been less likely to push back against Augustus' governmental maneuverings. Nevertheless, there is an abundance of relevant examples of continued resistance against the *princeps* and his regime, such as the mutinies by the troops, the generals who changed alliances, and the individual conspiracies against Octavian. The alternative approach suggested here is that, even if these examples are as embellished as some scholars propose, the fact that they were recorded supports the claim that the notion of resistance against Augustus was important enough to resonate with ancient readers. Although it could be suggested that the idea of resistance was more relevant to those living under later emperors, it should be noted that the Augustan episodes would not have been recorded by contemporary writers in the first place if they were perceived to have no impact and were not topics of discussion at the time they occurred. The subsequent chapters will explore this concept further in relation to contemporary poetry.

Ancient sources for Augustus' career are frustratingly minimal, and most were written decades to centuries after his lifetime. For the Triumviral period, Alain Gowing[12] observes that "Modern historians regularly reconstruct the period through Cicero's correspondence and *Philippics*, using Appian and Dio only to fill in the gaps." This tendency leads to a very biased view of the period's events and personalities, particularly if we keep in mind Cicero's visceral hatred of Mark Antony. Once Cicero is killed, we must rely on the later accounts of Suetonius, Velleius Paterculus, Appian, and Cassius Dio. The gap in the sources is partially Augustus' own doing, because he controlled the

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[12] Gowing 1992 p. 157.

flow of information: after the battle of Naulochus he burned the writings concerning civil conflict;[13] after the battle of Actium he claimed to have destroyed Mark Antony's letters to calm the fight-or-flight instinct in those senators who wrote them, although Dio claims that he kept and used a large part of the letters;[14] he stopped the publication of the *acta senatus*, a public posting of senatorial business begun by Julius Caesar in 59 BCE;[15] and he burned more than two thousand religious writings when he became *pontifex maximus*.[16] Dio reports difficulty in accessing accounts of events and in the challenge of verifying the available reports due to the secretive nature of government records from 27 BCE onwards.[17] Suetonius, however, offers some insight into what the imperial archives may have held; his imperial service under Hadrian and Trajan allowed him access to documents not available to all contemporary historians (even of senatorial rank, like Dio), as can be seen in the bits of Antonian propaganda that he mentions.[18] Since the material available to us often does not provide thorough details of an episode or may give contradictory information, this chapter will attempt to reassess the scenarios in question by doing "a study of the sources" to "give us a clearer insight into these matters than will

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[13] Appian *BC* 5.132.

[14] Dio 52.42.8. Dio's charge can be supported with Suetonius' use of Antony's writings, which are cited below.

[15] Suet. *Aug*. 36.1, *Jul*. 20.1; the year in which Augustus did this is not given in the sources, though 27 BCE seems to be a good assumption, since Dio 53.19 states that starting in 27 events were not openly reported. Cramer 1965 p. 162 n.16 states that the *acta senatus* were still written down through 438 CE, but never were published again.

[16] Suet. *Aug*. 31.1.

[17] Dio 53.19; he sums up his concern in 53.19.3: ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου ἐκείνου τὰ μὲν πλείω κρύφα καὶ δι' ἀπορρήτων γίγνεσθαι ἤρξατο, εἰ δέ πού τινα καὶ δημοσιευθείη, ἀλλὰ ἀνεξέλεγκτά γε ὄντα ἀπιστεῖται· καὶ γὰρ λέγεσθαι καὶ πράττεσθαι πάντα πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἀεὶ κρατούντων τῶν τε παραδυναστευόντων σφίσι βουλήματα ὑποπτεύεται. ("From this time most things began to be secret and concealed, and if possibly some things are made public, they are not believed because they cannot be proven; for everything said and done is suspected to be according to the wishes of those in power and of their associates.")

[18] Suetonius' *Augustus* paraphrases M. Antony's writings mocking Augustus' lineage (2, 4, 7), his cowardice (at Mutina, 10; at Mylae and Naulochus, 16), his sexual proclivities (69), and his miscalculated "dinner of the Twelve Gods" during the famine in Rome (70).

be found in the general histories touching on the period."[19] The reassessment will be done by focusing on the categories of events already mentioned (senatorial obstruction, popular resistance, rivalries, mutinies, and conspiracies). As mentioned previously, the larger conflicts at Perusia, Sicily, and Actium, as well as the struggles in Augustus' own household, will be discussed at length in later chapters. Furthermore, the campaign at Philippi will not be included, since it was driven by Octavian (and Antony) as a means of vengeance and not as an act of resistance to Octavian.

Becoming Caesar

In order to better understand the pattern of opposition faced by Octavian, it is necessary to start with his maneuvers as a young man attempting to establish himself in the hyper-competitive world of Roman politics. In fact, the very first negative event that Pliny lists is the rejection of Octavian's request to be Caesar's *magister equitum* in favor of M. Lepidus in 45 BCE;[20] perhaps Caesar realized Octavian's potential but deemed it not yet the appropriate time to promote him. This perceived slight may have instigated the strife between Octavian and Lepidus which culminated in the latter's eventual exclusion from political life.

When Octavian arrived in Rome, there were some in the Senate, including the consul Mark Antony, who opposed his attempt to obtain his inheritance and to gain political clout. This dismissal of Octavian's eager endeavor is, of course, understandable if we recall that Octavian was just a nineteen-year-old *novus homo* who sought high-level participation that was deemed inappropriate by established senators. In order to capitalize

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[19] Scott 1932 p. 7.
[20] Pliny *NH* 7.45.147.

on his connection with Caesar, Octavian needed to formalize his adoption. Technically, Octavian could not officially use Caesar's name until he was made part of the *gens* through a *lex curiata*;[21] this process was necessary since the testator/adopter for the *adrogatio* was deceased when the *adrogatus* accepted it.[22] Interestingly, Appian and Cicero mention that Octavian and his circle of supporters did not wait for the formality, but were using the name 'Caesar' from mid-April 44 BCE.[23] Mark Antony tried to block, or at least delay, Octavian's adoption using tribunes to postpone the *lex curiata* that would put it into effect. Dio reports that Antony pretended to be working on Octavian's behalf, but had the case postponed so that "not yet being Caesar's son by law, he could not interfere and would be weaker in other ways."[24] Nevertheless, Octavian eventually obtained his adoption through a *lex curiata* after he was elected consul in August 43. Appian explains why the official adoption was so important for Octavian (*BC* 3.94):

> ἐπινομώτατος δ᾽ ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ τρόπος οὗτος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπατόρων· καὶ δύνανται μάλιστα αὐτοὶ ἴσα τοῖς γνησίοις παισὶν ἄγειν τοὺς συγγενεῖς τῶν θεμένων καὶ ἀπελευθέρους. Γαΐῳ δ᾽ ἦν τά τε ἄλλα λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐξελεύθεροι πολλοί τε καὶ πλούσιοι, καὶ διὰ τόδ᾽ ἴσως μάλιστα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ θέσει, κατὰ διαθήκας οἱ γενομένῃ, καὶ τῆσδε ἐδεήθη.

> "Among the Romans this is the most customary means of adoption in the case of orphans, and they are able to associate with the relatives and freedmen of the adopter just as legitimate sons. Among the other splendid things of Gaius were many rich freedmen, and most probably because of this Octavian wanted this in addition to the former adoption which came by will."

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[21] Wardle 2014 p. 104.

[22] This procedure is discussed by Bauman 1985 p. 47, citing a passage from Aulus Gellius (7.12.1) which claims that Servius Sulpicius (Rufus) was incorrect in arguing that the word *testamentum* was a compound word from *mentis contestatio*, or "an attesting of the mind." This is not enough information to determine what else Sulpicius discussed about wills.

[23] Appian *BC* 3.11.; Cic. *ad Att*. 14.12.2: Cicero claims that since Philippus does not use the name, neither will he; he uses Octavius or Octavian through November 43, although the use of "Octavian" does acknowledge the adoption.

[24] Dio 45.5.4: αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσπούδαζε δῆθεν ἐσενεγκεῖν, διὰ δὲ δημάρχων τινῶν ἀνεβάλλετο, ὅπως, ὡς μηδέπω παῖς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὤν, μήτε τι τῆς οὐσίας πολυπραγμονοίη καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ἀσθενέστερος.

Senatorial Resistance

Mark Antony as consul also blocked Octavian's attempt to be elected as tribune to replace Helvius Cinna.[25] From a post-Actium perspective, Antony's action might seem merely like the behavior of a bitter rival (especially according to Dio), however, other sources remind us that Octavian did not qualify for this position because he was a patrician[26] and because he was under-age, qualities that urged not only Antony, but the Senate itself to block his attempt to become tribune even though the people proposed it.[27] Still determined to gain political clout, Octavian spent the summer of 44 making connections with Caesarians and Optimates who considered him useful against Antony, perhaps hoping to manipulate the young man.[28] The new connections proved fruitful as the Senate, possibly at Cicero's suggestion, gave Octavian a special grant of praetorian imperium on December 1, 43 BCE to command troops along with the consuls Hirtius and Pansa at Mutina.[29]

The Senate's intention to use Octavian and then to discard him once he was no longer valuable is evident in Appian's version of the conflict between the Senate and Antony in Cisalpine Gaul. When preparing for the confrontation at Mutina, the Senate secretly ordered Hirtius, who was sharing command with Octavian, to take command of the two legions that deserted from Antony, since they were the most reliable in the army.[30] After Antony abandoned the siege, Octavian was not included in the decrees for thanksgiving: "his name was not even mentioned; he was ignored as if Antony were

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[25] Dio 45.6.3. According to Appian *BC* 2.20 and Dio 44.50, Helvius Cinna was killed by an angry mob who confused him for Cornelius Cinna, the conspirator.
[26] Suet *Aug.* 10.2-4. The Octavian *gens* was plebeian, but his adoption by Caesar gave him patrician status.
[27] Appian *BC* 3.31.
[28] Syme 1939 p. 114-120.
[29] Eck 2003 p. 12.
[30] Appian *BC* 3.65.

defeated;" however, the Senate wrote orders to Lepidus, Plancus, and Asinius Pollio to continue fighting Antony.[31] According to Dio, the Senate was purposefully trying to diminish Octavian's position: "what had been done for Caesar to go against Antony, they voted for others in order to block him." [32] This included granting commands to his enemies, including Sextus Pompey, Brutus, and Cassius. Octavian is said to have hid his indignation at being excluded after the deaths of Hirtius and Pansa,[33] and he asked for a triumph; when this request was disregarded by the Senate as being beyond his age (in addition to not meeting the traditional qualifications for earning one), he sought an alliance with Antony.[34] Perhaps to placate his ambitions and to avoid such an alliance, Octavian was appointed as general with Decimus against Antony.[35] When Octavian incited his troops against the Senate for sending them on another campaign before paying them for the previous one, the Senate countered by reminding the soldiers of the perpetual power of the Senate and that they should not rely on a single person.[36] According to Appian, both Pansa and Octavian claimed that the Senate opposed the latter because its members were mostly Pompeian and they wanted to be rid of Caesarians.[37] However, it is probable that the Senate's actions were attempts to avoid yet another civil war and to reassert their *auctoritas* to the level it had been before the dictatorship of Julius Caesar.

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[31] Appian *BC* 3.74.

[32] Dio 46.40.1-3: τό τε σύμπαν ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὅσα τῷ Καίσαρι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγεγόνει, ταῦτα ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἄλλοις ἐψηφίσθη.

[33] Appian (Hirtius 3.71; Pansa wounded 3.69, dying/speech 3.75-76) and Velleius (2.61.4) do not suggest foul play. Suetonius *Aug.* 11 (rumor), Dio 46.39.1 (statement), and Tacitus *Ann* I.10.1 (possibility) state that Octavian was involved in the deaths of the consuls. Brutus tells Cicero that the military doctor Glyco was in jail for Pansa's death (*Ad Brutum*, 1.6.2).

[34] Appian *BC* 3.80.

[35] Appian *BC* 3.85.

[36] Appian *BC* 3.86.

[37] Appian *BC* 3.75-76, 86-87.

The Senate initially yielded to Octavian when he marched towards Rome with his loyal eight legions. However, after hastily sending messengers to give Octavian money for his troops and allowing him to stand for the consulship *in absentia*, the Senate amended its decision and instead rallied to impede him. The senators felt that they should not have fearfully accepted a new tyranny without fighting, in order to discourage any attempts to replicate the behavior of using force to gain office. Emboldened by the arrival of Cicero and the legions requested from Africa, the Senate repealed its own earlier decrees and recruited troops. It was announced that two of Octavian's legions, the Fourth and the Martian, had deserted him, encouraging the Senate to resist him (νομίσαντές τε ἀνθέξειν). The Senate sent Manius Aquilius Crassus to Picenum, a traditional Pompeian stronghold,[38] to raise troops; unfortunately, Cicero fled in a litter when the report of the army's desertion was found to be false.[39] Octavian's response to these events was bold: he reportedly laughed at the Senate and then moved his army closer to the city, occupying the Campus Martius. He was granted the consulship with Quintus Pedius, a relative and fellow heir of Julius Caesar, on August 19, 43 BCE.[40] Once in control of Rome, Octavian initially pardoned all those who opposed him, but not long afterward they were put on the proscription list by the Triumvirate. Pedius convinced the Senate to make amends with Antony and Lepidus; the Senate conceded, considering it not beneficial for themselves or Rome, as per Appian, but as a matter of necessity.[41]

The justification of the Senate's compliance with Octavian and his new allies sets

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[38] Picenum was Pompey's hometown, and from there he raised three legions to help Sulla march on Rome in 84 BCE (Dio 33.107).
[39] Appian *BC* 3.89-93.
[40] Rowell 1962 p. 26-27.
[41] Appian *BC* 3.94-96.

the tone for its reaction to Octavian's changes to Roman political power over the next few decades: initial resistance, then fear and frustration, followed by necessary concession. The Senate was divided during the Perusine conflict against Lucius Antony and Fulvia in 41 BCE and again during the final conflict with Mark Antony in 32/31 BCE; in both instances, senators eventually toed the line or presumably died fighting for the opposition. Such was the case when, after questioning the opposing commanders in the Perusine War, many of the senators stood with Lucius in his quest to counter the triumvirate.[42] Before eventually surrendering to Octavian, Lucius gave a speech to his troops in which he assured his men that he had fought to reestablish the patrician government (ἀριστοκρατίαν) displaced by the triumvirate. In the aftermath, Lucius Antony was sent by Octavian to govern Spain, but the status of the senators is not entirely clear. In the succinct accounts of Dio and Suetonius,[43] it is not stated whether the nobles who were executed were Roman or members of the local Perusine elite. While some scholars argue for the latter,[44] the language used by the ancient authors does not specify the jurisdiction of the men (πλείους τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων; *trecentos ex dediticiis electos utriusque ordinis*). Appian uses the same words for Roman and Perusine magistrates, although he claims that the Roman senators and knights were put under watch while the Perusine councilors were executed.[45] However, both Dio and Appian

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[42] Appian *BC* 5.29, 5.43. While Appian reports in 5.19 that Lucius was fighting on behalf of those whose land was confiscated, both he (5.14) and Dio (48.5.2, 6.2) claim that Lucius was initially working to make sure Mark Antony's soldiers were properly settled. In a speech to his troops (App. 5.39) Lucius states that Octavian changed Lucius' motive for the war to win over soldiers. Interestingly, Appian claims that he paraphrased speeches of Lucius and Octavian from the Augustan *Autobiography* into Greek, but that begs the question of why Augustus would later accuse himself of making false claims.

[43] Dio 48.14; Suet. *Aug.* 15; cf. Livy *Per.* 126, claims that Augustus sacked the city without bloodshed.

[44] Kraggerud 1987 p. 81; Wardle 2014 p. 137. However, Harris 1971 p. 301 claims that, as per Dio, the Roman senators were executed.

[45] Appian *BC* 5.48.

name seemingly important Roman magistrates among those gathered for execution, and since high-ranking men from Rome died fighting against Octavian, the separation of the two governing groups no longer seems clear cut.[46]

Nearly a decade later in 32 BCE, preceding the Battle of Actium, the consuls Cnaeus Domitius and Gaius Sosias backed Antony. When Octavian, armed and accompanied by soldiers, convened a meeting of the Senate, both consuls and a group of senators fled to Antony in Alexandria. The remaining senators, who were either on Octavian's side or were too scared to counter him, voted for war against Cleopatra.[47] In his *Res Gestae* (25), Augustus claims that roughly 700 senators served under him at Actium, a number that boasts substantial support. However, the Senate at this time had about 1000 members; therefore 300 senators joined Mark Antony. While that is less than half of what the future Augustus could claim, it is nevertheless quite a political statement that roughly a third of the Senate left Rome in protest.

When we examine the accounts describing the attempts by Sextus Pompey, Lucius Antony, and Mark Antony to counter the political dominance of Octavian, a recurrent factor is the support of at least a portion of the Senate. The aristocracy of the late Republic presumably wanted to maintain its status, and, having learned a lesson from its diminished authority during Julius Caesar's dictatorship, the Senate tried to avoid a similar scenario under Octavian by supporting his rivals. To counter this, Octavian tried to rally the support of the people against the Senate, as is demonstrated by his attempt at

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[46] Dio names Tiberius Cannutius, the former tribune who rallied for Octavian's failed tribunate, among the executed. Appian states that Lucius Aemilius, who as a 'judge' (δικάζων) voted for condemning the murderers of Julius Caesar, was spared. There is a L. Aemilius Paullus who had been a praetor in 53 and a *legatus* in 43 (MRR² p. 351); perhaps this is the man whom Appian mentions.
[47] Dio 50.2-3, 5-6.

gaining the tribunate. However, there was a mixed response from the populace. As a

backlash of the proscriptions and the settling of veterans that alienated large groups of

people, Octavian faced riots in protest of the ongoing civil wars, famine, and taxes.

Resistance by the People

The political upheaval that was becoming commonplace in Rome continued

during the Triumviral period; Tacitus labels the time between Caesar's assassination and

the start of the Principate as "twenty years of unmitigated strife,"[48] and Dio says that by

comparison the dictatorship of Julius Caesar was "golden."[49] In order to obtain much

needed finances, Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian decided to use the tactic of

proscriptions. None of these men were old enough to have experienced the Sullan version

(Lepidus, the oldest member, was born in 89/88 BCE), therefore they did not have the

aversion to proscriptions that the previous generation did.[50] However, they only gained

the resentment of the people, and not the hoped-for economic surplus. The proscription

tactic failed because potential buyers were reluctant to purchase the property of the

proscribed through guilt, fear of bad luck, or fear of a similar outcome in the future,[51]

when they would have made their wealth known as new owners of coveted property.

Some of the proscribed fled, with the help of relatives, friends, or slaves, even

though those who helped the fugitives or prohibited a search for them were legally liable

and could face the same penalties as the fugitives (death, exile, confiscation).[52] Many of

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[48] Tac. *Ann*. 3.28.1.
[49] Dio 47.15.4.
[50] It was an accusation/fear made during the civil war of Caesar and Pompey that the winner might resort to proscriptions, an event still in the memories of that generation.
[51] Appian *BC* 4.31.
[52] Appian *BC* 4.7.

the escapees fled south to join Sextus Pompey in Sicily. Sextus' involvement in the proscriptions will be examined further in the literary chapter concerning the Sicilian War, but a few short examples will suffice for now. A proscribed noble named Hirtius, after seizing Bruttium, joined another proscript, Fannius, and together they persuaded Bithynicus, the governor of Sicily, to hand over the island to Sextus Pompey.[53] Another man, named Vetulinus, assembled at Rhegium a group of the proscribed, their companions, and some people from a town seized for veteran land allotments. Vetulinus' group killed some scouts with the intention of crossing to join Sextus; Vetulinus sent his son and the group of the proscribed to Messana and, when he saw that the boat was safely passing the straits, he died charging the enemy.[54] The proscriptions forced these and many other Romans to join Sextus Pompey for the pending war, including Octavian's future wife Livia and her young son Tiberius.

Meanwhile, back in famine-stricken Rome, the people who remained showed their displeasure by rioting against new taxes established to pay for the upcoming war against Sextus. They ripped up the posted edict, threatened to destroy the homes of those who did not join the crowd, and threw rocks at Octavian. Mark Antony failed to calm the mob, and so he called in troops; while the soldiers dispersed or killed people, Antony rescued Octavian. The bodies of the rioters were thrown into the Tiber, the famine continued, and the hatred towards the triumvirate increased.[55] This ill-will is shown again

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[53] Appian *BC* 4.84, Dio 48.17-19. Aulus Pompeius Bithynicus (MMR² p. 362) was praetor in 45 and proprietor of Sicily 44-42 (Cic. *Fam*. 6.16, 6.23). After agreeing to co-rule the island, Sextus Pompey later killed Bithynicus for betraying him (Livy *Per*. 123).
[54] Appian *BC* 4.25.
[55] Appian *BC* 5.67-68. Antony was not initially a target, since he was in favor of a treaty with Sextus; the crowd attacked him after he defended Octavian.

after the removal of a statue of Neptune, with whom Sextus associated himself.[56] At the *ludi plebeii* in November 40 BCE, the audience cheered for the statue, showing support for Sextus. When the statue was removed from the sacred procession, the angered crowd attacked the magistrates and knocked down the statues of Octavian and Antony.[57]

The proscriptions and pending war with Sextus produced fierce resistance from the general population, but these events also unnerved those who considered themselves friends of the triumvirs. Macrobius records that Octavian wrote some Fescennine verses about Asinius Pollio, who in turn retorted: "But I keep silent, for it is not easy to write anything against a man who is able to proscribe,"[58] punning on *in eum scribere* and *proscribere*. Fescennine verses were satirical jokes about someone, not meant to be malicious or cause harm, but instead written with the expectation of a humorous response.[59] Pollio's answer, made to appear as if trying to avoid offence, may be considered a harsh yet witty reply in the spirit of the game.

As mentioned above, the proscriptions were not as lucrative as the triumvirs had expected; therefore, to raise more money, the triumvirate exacted heavy contributions from the plebeians and even from women.[60] In response to this attempt to raise revenue, there was opposition from aristocratic women to an edict requiring the 1400 richest women to pay tax. The women first reportedly pleaded with both Octavia and Antony's mother Julia, and although they were well received, nothing came of it. The women then

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[56] Appian *BC* 5.100; Dio 48.19.2, 48.48.5; RRC 483, 511, 512. Sextus' association with Neptune will be explored further in chapter 3.

[57] Suet. *Aug*. 16.2; Dio 48.31. It is not entirely clear if this event and the one described by Appian 5.67-68 are the same or separate instances. Both involve angry crowds, but they are caused by different triggers.

[58] *Sat*. 2.4.21: *Temporibus triumviralibus Pollio, cum Fescenninos in eum Augustus scripsisset, ait: At ego taceo. Non est enim facile in eum scribere qui potest proscribere.*

[59] Smith (1875) *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* on *Fescennini*, notes this particular episode as an example.

[60] Appian *BC* 4.5.

approached Fulvia, who shunned them from her door, "her rudeness was hardly bearable." Frustrated by the results of their usual means of negotiation, they chose Hortensia to speak from the tribunal.[61] We are given a rendition of her speech by Appian, which he says angered the triumvirs, who reacted by ordering the lictors to physically remove the women. The crowd angrily protested this action. The women's resistance was successful; the next day, the triumvirate changed the law as a concession, so that only the top 400 women had to pay.

As observed by Bronwyn Hopwood,[62] Hortensia's speech was a daring protest aimed directly at the triumvirs in the forum "within sight of the rostra to which the head and hand of Cicero had been affixed," a defiant act particularly impressive coming from aristocratic women. Appian's Hortensia claimed that the women would follow the example of their mothers in making contributions for a war against foreign invaders such as the Carthaginians, Gauls, or Parthians, but she adamantly swore that the women would never support the men against each other in civil war.[63] The triumvirs did not have much of a choice but to compromise with the women's request in order to appease the angry crowd. This incident, especially in light of Hortensia's bold references to proscribed male relatives of the women gathered at the tribunal, demonstrates the strength of the resistance to the policies of Octavian and his associates.

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[61] Appian *BC* 4.32-33. This episode is often used to show Fulvia's harsh character; however, the fact that the encounters with the other women associated with Octavian and Antony were polite yet fruitless is generally left unaddressed. Fulvia's reputation for brusqueness will be discussed in chapter 2.

[62] Hopwood 2015 p.314. Hopwood p. 312-17 notes that Hortensia's speech was published, as per Quint. *Inst*. 1.1.6 and Val. Max. 8.3.3, and claims that it was so well known that it was probably the source for both Hortensia's speech in Appian and that of the tribune L. Valerius Tappo in Livy's account of the debate about the *lex Oppia* (34.5-7), which Appian's Hortensia references. Hopwood argues against the idea that the speech was merely a declamation exercise.

[63] Appian *BC* 4.33: ἐς δὲ ἐμφυλίους πολέμους μήτε ἐσενέγκαιμέν ποτε μήτε συμπράξαιμεν ὑμῖν κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων.

The physical and financial oppression exerted by the triumvirate created great anxiety among the people, leading to anecdotes of resistance to Octavian and violent reactions from him. Suetonius lists briefly an *eques* named Pinarius who was killed for taking notes, followed by the demise of Tedius Afer, the consul-designate, who had harshly criticized Octavian. Octavian's response was so threatening that Afer jumped off a cliff.[64] There is no other available information about Afer, though Ronald Syme believes that Suetonius incorrectly reported his name; he suggests the actual name was Sextus Teidius Afer, a follower of Pompey Magnus.[65] However, Asconius notes that Teidius Afer was an old man in the year 52, and therefore it would be unusual for him to be a consular candidate ten years later.[66] While his identity may be lost to us, the recorded account bears witness to the intense fear that an angered Octavian supposedly instilled in others.

Mutinies against Octavian

The people's perception of punitive and military actions taken by Octavian was a crucial factor, not only for concord in the city, but also to maintain troop control and morale. A particular spin was needed on the war narrative to assure both citizens and soldiers that the fighting was necessary and in their best interest. While Pliny, Suetonius, Appian, and Dio clearly denote the conflicts against Lucius Antony, Sextus Pompey, and Mark Antony as civil wars, Augustus reclassified the battles in his *Res Gestae.* Augustus omits the siege of Perusia, describes the Sicilian War as a defeat of pirates and slaves,

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[64] Suet. *Aug*. 27.3.
[65] Syme 1979 p. 492-493.
[66] Wardle 2014 p. 209 notes "Borghesi conjectured … Uttiedus Afer, styled on an inscription from Tibur as augur, consul designate, and patron of Carthage (CIL xiv, 3615= II iv, 134), although the lettering seems late." (Borghesi's work is not listed in Wardle's bibliography).

and hides Mark Antony behind the foreign enemy Cleopatra at Actium.[67] The

reclassifications or omissions of the battles were done to legitimize his actions and to

enlist the support of Romans, especially the soldiers, who, just as Hortensia in her speech

against the triumvirs, were disinclined to partake in the seemingly endless civil wars. The

justifications that were offered, however, were not always as convincing to the soldiers as

Octavian hoped.

     The ancient sources report soldiers' reluctance to participate in the civil conflicts

even before the rise of mutinies against Octavian. In 44 BCE, when Octavian and Antony

were still posturing independently for power, Octavian enlisted Julius Caesar's veterans

to confront Antony and his forces at Brundisium.[68] Since the soldiers believed that their

mission was either to support an alliance between the two men or to act as Octavian's

bodyguards during the quest to punish Caesar's murderers, they were vexed (ἤχθοντο) by

Octavian's declaration of war against Antony, their former commander and current

consul. In response, some men left camp under the pretext of needing to retrieve their

weapons from home, while others hinted at their true concerns (τὸ ἀληθὲς ὑπέφαινον).

Octavian resorted to giving gifts and praise, managing to retain only 1000 (or 3000, a

discrepancy noted by Appian) of the 10,000 men he initially gathered.

     This issue of conflicting loyalties was a recurring problem for Octavian. After the

siege of Perusia, Octavian sent away Mark Antony's friends and soldiers that he

considered untrustworthy "on various pretexts," and he sent Lepidus to Africa (his

delegated province) with six of Antony's legions that were "most under suspicion."[69]

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[67] Dio 50.6.1 states that war was declared purposely against Cleopatra but not Antony, because he believed that Antony would fight along with her.
[68] Appian *BC* 3.42.
[69] Appian *BC* 5.53.

When Octavian marched against Antony while the latter was besieging Brundisium in 40

BCE, the soldiers initially believed they were *en route* to attack Sextus Pompey. It is not

surprising that, upon learning the truth, Octavian's troops refused to march against

Antony, deserting secretly.[70] Octavian replaced these soldiers with another contingent of

colonized veterans who were ashamed to refuse, but they instead intended to reconcile

Antony and Octavian.

Even after defeating Mark Antony, trust issues continued for Octavian. Suetonius

reports that Octavian dishonorably discharged all the men from the tenth legion for

insubordination.[71] While Syme believed the discharge meant that the legion was

disbanded, it is more likely that the members were discharged but the legion was

replenished with new men loyal to Octavian. The tenth legion was not retired as a unit,

since X Fretensis fought through the 1st century CE and X Gemina campaigned through

the 2nd century. The legion instead seems to have been remanned and then duplicated,

following the definition Dio gives for the title 'Gemina.'[72] If one of Julius Caesar's most

valued legions was disobedient to Octavian, it could cause a public relations nightmare. It

was therefore in Octavian's best interest to publicly maintain a tenth legion in some

fashion, but to shape it to be loyal to him.

Of course, soldiers occasionally mutinied for financial reasons instead of

ideological ones, and Octavian had his share of these episodes as well.[73] After years of

civil war, some soldiers wanted to retire, or to at least be rewarded for the time they had

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[70] Appian *BC* 5.57: μαθόντες δὲ Ἀντωνίου γνώμῃ τὰ γιγνόμενα εἶναι, ἀνέστρεφον αὐτίκα διαλανθάνοντες.
[71] Suet. *Aug*. 24.2: *Decimam legionem contumacius parentem cum ignominia totam dimisit*.
[72] Dio 55.23.7; Syme 1933 p. 14-15; Dando-Collins 2010 p. 156-160; Wardle 2014 p. 189.
[73] After Philippi: Dio 48.9; after the Sicilian War: Appian *BC* 5.128-9; after Actium: Suet. *Aug*. 17.3, Dio 51.3.4-51.4.6.

already served. When the soldiers from the battle of Actium began to mutiny at

Brundisium in protest about their lack of payment, Octavian, although he was quite

skilled at swaying the troops with rewards, feared that they would cause trouble if they

found a leader. Therefore, Octavian decided to sail to Italy (in the middle of winter, no

less) and concurrently sent others to pursue Antony so that he could settle matters with

the troops himself.[74]

Octavian already had witnessed firsthand after the Sicilian war the degree of

boldness that the troops could reach. Once Sextus Pompey was defeated, tension

developed between Lepidus and Octavian; the soldiers were reportedly angry at the

prospect of another civil war and at the seemingly endless sedition.[75] The soldiers

revolted, demanding discharge and the rewards given to the veterans of Philippi.

Octavian reportedly did not consider the two contests to be of the same significance, but,

promising the troops that there would be no more civil wars, he distributed crowns to the

legions and purple-bordered cloaks to the centurions and tribunes. Nevertheless, the

tribune Ofillius tried to reignite the revolt (Appian *BC* 5.128):

> ὑπεφώνησε χιλίαρχος Ὀφίλλιος στεφάνους μὲν καὶ πορφύραν εἶναι παισὶν
> ἀθύρματα, στρατοῦ δὲ γέρα χωρία καὶ χρήματα: καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιβοήσαντος,
> ὅτι ὀρθῶς λέγοι, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἀπέστη τοῦ βήματος δυσχεραίνων. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν
> χιλίαρχον ἦσαν ἐπαινοῦντές τε καὶ τοῖς οὐ συνισταμένοις αὐτῷ λοιδορούμενοι. ὁ
> δ᾽ ἔφη καὶ μόνος ἀρκέσειν ἐπὶ οὕτω δικαίοις. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν τόδε εἰπὼν ἐς τὴν
> ἐπιοῦσαν ἀφανὴς ἦν, καὶ οὐδ᾽, ὅ τι γένοιτο, ἐγινώσκετο.

> "The tribune Ofillius called out that crowns and purple clothes were the toys of
> children, but land and money were prizes for the army. When the crowd shouted
> that he spoke rightly, Caesar left the platform agitated. The soldiers surrounded
> the tribune praising him and yelling at those who did not join them; the tribune
> said that he alone was sufficient for so just a cause. But saying this, the next day
> he disappeared and it was not known what happened (to him)."

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[74] Dio 51.4.2-3, 5-6.
[75] Appian *BC* 5.124.

After Ofillius' disappearance, Appian reports that the soldiers no longer dared to speak up independently. Octavian then dismissed 20,000 soldiers from Sicily in an attempt to stop the spread of rebellious behavior. Once that mutiny was avoided, Octavian returned to Rome with an *ovatio*; he gave speeches, which he published in pamphlets, declaring peace and an end to the long civil wars.[76] The speeches and pamphlets negate Octavian's opinion that the Sicilian campaign was not as important as the battles at Philippi. Dio's account of this mutiny states that the soldiers suspected (ὑπετόπουν) and that Octavian "knew very well" that a war with Antony was inevitable (τὰ μάλιστα τόν τε πόλεμον ἀκριβῶς ἤδει γενησόμενον).[77] In addition to the rewards mentioned in Appian's account, Octavian also gave Agrippa something unique: a golden crown decorated with ships' beaks. This particular prize had never been given before, according to Dio, and coinage was even minted with an image of Agrippa wearing it (Figure 1).[78]

Figure 1: RIC I 414. Silver denarius. 12 BCE. OBV: AUGUSTUS COS·XI, Augustus wearing an oak wreath; REV: M· AGRIPPA· COS· TER· COSSUS· LENTULUS, Agrippa wearing a rostral crown. ©The British Museum 2002,0102.4976, accessed July 27, 2021, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/631266001.

[76] Appian *BC* 5.130.
[77] Dio 49.13.3-4.
[78] Dio 49.14.4. Agrippa is shown with the rostral crown in coinage repeatedly through the end of Augustus' reign: RIC 1 154-161, 397, 400, 409, 414; again in Caligula's reign: RIC I 58; in Titus': RIC II pt 1 470; in Domitian's: RIC II pt 1 825; and in Trajan's: RIC II 818. The connection to Naulachos may have been overshadowed by the victory at Actium for later viewers of the image.

The combined accounts of the mutiny, as well as the celebrations held upon Octavian's return to Rome, depict this episode as not merely one of a commander dealing with soldiers tired of war and eager for prizes, but they show also that both the soldiers and Octavian, aware of the continuing pattern, were preparing for wars in the long-term.

The Aemilii Lepidi − A Rival Family

The defeat of Sextus Pompey motivated Marcus Aemilius Lepidus to reassert himself into the top tier of Rome's power. The triumvir had been famously nudged out of any important claims over territory since the original agreement, and he saw his position in Sicily as an opportune moment. A short synopsis of his later career will show a strained relationship with Octavian since 45 BCE, when Lepidus was preferred to the future *princeps* as Julius Caesar's *magister equitum*; he seemed to continually lose political traction with each new arrangement of the triumvirate. After initially obtaining Narbonese Gaul and both provinces of Spain under the *Lex Titia*, Lepidus lost them to Octavian after the Battle of Philippi because he had been accused of betraying matters to Sextus Pompey while he was left in charge of Rome.[79] When Octavian later determined that the accusation was false, he gave Africa and Numidia to Lepidus in exchange for his previous holdings.[80] Subsequently, Lepidus was again placed in charge of Rome, but was forced to flee to Octavian's camp when Lucius Antony stormed the city.[81] Later, Lepidus was sent to Africa with the six legions of Mark Antony that Octavian considered suspicious,[82] where he stayed until his help was again needed against Sextus Pompey.

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[79] Appian *BC* 5.3.12: ὅ τε Λέπιδος διεβάλλετο τὰ πράγματα Πομπηίῳ προδιδόναι.
[80] Appian *BC* 5.12.
[81] Appian *BC* 5.29-30.
[82] Appian *BC* 5.53.

Lepidus' successful military tactics in Sicily gave him the confidence and manpower to (re)assert himself as a relevant triumvir and to become master of the island.[83] While his attempt was quickly and almost bloodlessly shut down, his motivation is rather telling. Lepidus voiced his frustration both to messengers and to the *princeps* himself, stating that he wanted to be treated as an equal and not as a subordinate,[84] and he offered Sicily and Africa to Octavian in exchange for his original provincial allotments. This ploy was short-lived, since Lepidus' troops soon deserted to Octavian, after the latter corrupted them through messengers (διεφθάρατο), forcing Lepidus to surrender.[85] The former triumvir kept his position as *pontifex maximus* but was forced to live outside of Rome.[86] He seems to have retained his status as senator, since Augustus reportedly ordered him to return to the city to humiliate him by having him vote last of the former consuls. Dio reports that Octavian treated Lepidus in this manner because he hated him for many reasons, one of which was his son's conspiracy against Octavian.

According to Velleius, Lepidus the Younger planned to assassinate Octavian when the latter returned to Rome after finalizing matters in Alexandria in 30 BCE.[87] When Maecenas discovered the plot, he prosecuted the young man and his mother, who knew about the scheme. Lepidus the Younger was sent to Octavian at Actium,[88] while his mother was held on bail. However, the elder Lepidus was able to secure her release by pleading with consul *suffectus* Balbinus, claiming that the accusers acknowledged that, unlike his wife, he was not his son's accomplice and that he would stand as her security.

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[83] Appian *BC* 5.123.
[84] Dio 49.8.3.
[85] Appian *BC* 5.123-124.
[86] Appian *BC* 4.50; Dio 54.15.5.
[87] Velleius 2.88.1.
[88] According to Appian *BC* 4.50, but that would move the timeline of the plot up to October of 31 BCE.

The younger Lepidus was killed, and his wife Servilia committed suicide by swallowing hot coals,[89] though her death was possibly out of devotion and not due to her involvement in the plot.

It has been argued that this event was merely the action of a young man trying to restore the status of his family.[90] However, if we consider that all of the ancient accounts place this anecdote in their collection of conspiracies[91] and even as preparation for war,[92] then we may see that Lepidus' plan also had ideological motives. Of course, he planned to reestablish his family's status, but this would be in connection with a restoration of the former clout of the aristocracy, as can be inferred from the challenges of other individual rivals of Octavian as well as the collective efforts of the Senate. Velleius mentions that Lepidus' mother was a sister of Brutus (though she was a half-sister) and his wife was Brutus' niece.[93] This link to an assassin of Julius Caesar, made through both his father's marriage connection and his own, is telling. It should be remembered that, despite the family ties, Lepidus, the triumvir, wanted to punish Caesar's assassins in the aftermath of the murder. However, Julius Caesar's *magister equitum* was not an enthusiastic supporter of sole rule, if Cicero was accurate in reporting that, when Mark Antony attempted to give Caesar a diadem during the Lupercalia, Lepidus turned away and groaned.[94] We may conjecture that Lepidus the Younger was instilled with a sense of patrician pride and desire to participate in a competitive government that was threatened more and more with every rival Octavian defeated.

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[89] Vell. 2.88.3. The similarity between her method of suicide and that of Porcia, her uncle Brutus' wife, are intriguing: Plut. *Brut*. 53.5-7, Dio 47.49.3.
[90] Raaflaub & Samons 1990 p 422.
[91] Suetonius *Aug*. 19.1; Appian *BC* 4.50; Dio 54.15.
[92] Livy *Per*. 133; Velleius 2.88.
[93] Vell. 2.88.1.
[94] Cicero *Phil*. 5.38.

Lepidus was not alone in his indignation. When Augustus was revising senate membership in 18 BCE, there were reportedly many who were angered by the process, which established a minimum property value in order to enter or maintain one's senatorial position.[95] Dio tells us that many (presumably disgruntled) people were charged with conspiring against Augustus and Agrippa, both immediately and after some time.[96] This unpopularity may have been compounded by concurrent social reforms, such as the *lex Iulia de adulteriis* that established a criminal court for sexual offences and the *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* that gave bonuses to couples with children and penalties for those without them.[97] It is in this context that Dio places the story of Lepidus' assassination attempt,[98] as a justification for Augustus' hatred of Lepidus' father. Augustus threatened to punish Antistius Labeo for perjury when he nominated the elder Lepidus for senatorial re-enrollment, claiming that Labeo had sworn to choose the best men. Labeo successfully defended his choice with the fact that the elder Lepidus still held his pontifical position, and so a senatorial one should not be inappropriate.[99] Apparently, there was still some lingering support for the old politicians and for the participatory government they stood for well after the civil wars were settled.

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[95] The necessary amount varies: 1,200,000 *ses.* in Suet. *Aug*. 41.1; 1,000,000 *ses.* in Dio 54.17.3.

[96] Dio 54.15: τούτων οὖν οὕτω γενομένων συχνοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἐπιβουλεῦσαι, εἴτ᾽ οὖν ἀληθῶς εἴτε καὶ ψευδῶς, αἰτίαν ἔσχον.

[97] Crook 1996 p. 93.

[98] Lepidus' conspiracy seems better connected temporally to the earlier vetting of the senate in 29 BCE, but that revision was accomplished with voluntary and forced resignations and not nominations as in 18 BCE. Suetonius *Aug*. 35.1-2 seems to blend the two *lectiones*, and Dio's leap in time in this anecdote merely adds to the possible confusion.

[99] Dio 54.15.7-8. An abridged version of this anecdote is given in Suet. *Aug*. 54. Labeo seems to have been consistent in his witty yet peaceful resistance to Augustus' growing power; he also tactfully avoided the prospect of a suggested night-watch for Augustus, claiming that he could not participate because he snored (Dio 54.15.8).

Friends Fallen from Grace

Octavian faced resistance not only from mutinous soldiers and competitive commanders, but at times even from his trusted comrades. Following the example of Suetonius, we will consider the cases of Salvidienus Rufus and Cornelius Gallus apart from other conspirators, since they were friends and confidants of Octavian before they were seen as rivals or traitors.[100] In 40 BCE, Octavian executed the successful general Quintus Salvidienus Rufus for treason. We know from several ancient sources that Salvidienus came from humble origins but was promoted through the ranks to consul with Octavian's help as a reward for his endeavors.[101] He was with Octavian and Agrippa at Apollonia in March 44 BCE when Octavian learned of Caesar's assassination; both Agrippa and Salvidienus advised him to accept the inheritance.[102] Salvidienus was a trusted commander on behalf of Octavian against Sextus Pompey and Lucius Antony,[103] even earning the title *Imperator* in 42.[104]

Figure 2: CIL X 8337: Lead sling bullets found near Leucopetra (c. 20km from Reggio) inscribed with Salvidienus' name: Q·SALV(idienus) IM(perator), from the battle in the Straits of Messina in 42 BCE. The National Archaeological Museum of Reggio Calabria. Photo by C.M.Villarreal, 2019.

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[100] Suetonius lists examples of conspiracy in chapter 19; he does not discuss Salvidienus Rufus and Cornelius Gallus until chapter 66, where he names them as the only two friendships of Augustus that were ruined: "*Neque enim temere ex omni numero in amicitia eius afflicti reperientur praeter Salvidienum Rufum… et Cornelium Gallum…*"

[101] Suet. *Aug.* 66, Vell. 2.76, and Dio 48.33.2.

[102] Vell. 2.59.5.

[103] Liv. *Per.* 123; Appian *BC* 4.84-6, 5.30-33; Dio 47.36.4, 48.13, 48.18; Vell. 2.74

[104] Dio 48.18; CIL 10.8337. Fig. 2: Sling bullets stamped with Salvidienus' name found near Rhegium where he fought Sextus Pompey, lost, and was ridiculed by Sextus and his men.

In 40 BCE Salvidienus was assigned as governor of Gaul with eleven legions and was named consul designate for 39 BCE. During the negotiations at Brundisium in September or October of 40 BCE, Antony told Octavian that Salvidienus had offered him the army of Gallia Comata during the summer.[105] Octavian summoned Salvidienus to Rome for a private conference, during which, Appian reports, Octavian showed him proof of treachery and put him to death. Since Octavian no longer trusted Salvidienus' army, he gave it to Antony.[106] Alternatively, Dio legitimizes Salvidienus' death by involving the Senate, who executed Salvidienus and celebrated the safety of Octavian and the city (48.33.1-3):

> τόν τε Ῥοῦφον τὸν Σαλουιδιῆνον ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσαντά οἱ ἀπέκτεινεν…. κατηγορήθη τε ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ ὡς πολέμιος ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἐσφάγη, ἱερομηνίαι τε ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς τρισὶν ἀνδράσι μετὰ τῆς εἰθισμένης προσθήκης, τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀποτριβῆναι, ἐπετράπη.

> "Salvidienus Rufus, whom he suspected of having plotted against him… was accused by Caesar in the Senate and slain as an enemy both of him and the entire people; thanksgivings were held and the guard of the city was assigned to the triumvirs with the usual addition that it should suffer no harm."

We are not told the specific motive behind Salvidienus' alleged betrayal, but an analysis of the sources provides clues to various possibilities. Livy, Suetonius, and Dio abruptly state that Salvidienus was suspected of plotting against Octavian (Suetonius adds the charge of revolution: *res novas molientem*). Velleius' account is highly dramatic, noting Salvidienus' obscure origins and how he was an equestrian who rose to the consulship like Pompey Magnus and Octavian himself, but that Salvidienus, following *scelesta consilia*, wanted "both Caesar and the republic at his feet."[107] Appian's account

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[105] Appian *BC* 5.66; Dio 48.33.1-3; Livy *Per.* 127; Vell. 2.76.4; Suet. *Aug*. 66.1
[106] Appian *BC* 5.66.
[107] Vell. 2.76: *infra se et Caesarem videret et rem publicam.*

is a bit more grounded; he states that Antony informed Octavian that while he was

besieging Brundisium, Salvidienus contacted him with an offer to switch sides. This

action would indeed be a betrayal of friendship (which Suetonius notes) but not

necessarily an act of treason in 40 BCE, since Antony had as much legitimate power as

Octavian at the time, nor was the offer directly an attempt at revolution. The situation at

Brundisium at this time was volatile, since, as mentioned previously, Octavian's troops

deserted him when they learned that they were marching against Antony.[108] The two

triumvirs were attempting to rally veterans to their respective camps throughout Italy, and

the cities of Sipontum and Brundisium had been claimed by both sides.[109] As a long-time

friend and commander for Octavian,[110] Salvidienus must have had an insider's

perspective of the circumstances. If we recall that previously in 41 BCE, while

Salvidienus was marching towards his command in Spain, he was summoned back to

counter Lucius Antony and Fulvia, a pattern suggests itself. After the conclusion of a

fourth civil war and with a fifth on the horizon, Salvidienus may have been trying to

prepare for its perceived inevitability by switching to what he considered (incorrectly) the

winning side in the quest for dominance.

Along with Salvidienus, Suetonius names another friend who fell from Octavian's

grace, Cornelius Gallus. As mentioned, due to their personal relationship with the

princeps, these two men are not named in the list of conspirators that will be discussed in

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[108] This occurred twice: during the sieges of 44 BCE (Appian 3.42) and of 40 BCE (Appian 5.57).
[109] Dio 48.27: Antony took Sipontum, then proceeded to Brundisium; 48.28: messengers were sent by both commanders to various cities to get help from veterans; Agrippa seized Sipontum, but P. Servilius Rufus failed in taking Brundisium from Antony.
[110] Suetonius 66.1 names Salvidienus Rufus and Cornelius Gallus as the two friends of Octavian who were disgraced. Rohr Vio 1997 p. 36 suggests a longer friendship was censored because of his disgrace. Toher 2017 p. 417 proposes that Nicolaus did not include Salvidienus in his *Life of Augustus* because of his death and short career.

a subsequent section. Cornelius Gallus fought alongside Octavian at Actium and was sent ahead to Egypt when Octavian was compelled to return to Brundisium to suppress the mutiny discussed previously. Gallus, in charge of the troops at Cyrene, approached Alexandria from the west while Octavian came from the east. We are told that Gallus cleverly used trumpets to drown out the sound of Antony trying to regain his former soldiers, and he blocked the harbor with submerged chains at Paraetonium.[111] Gallus was sent to speak with Cleopatra after Antony's death, accompanied by Proculeius, who was described as Octavian's most trustworthy companion by the dying general. Ironically, Gallus spoke with Cleopatra through the door while Proculeius climbed in through a window and captured her.[112]

As a reward for his success, Gallus was appointed as the first Roman prefect of Egypt.[113] There, Gallus constructed the Forum Julium in Alexandria[114] and subdued a revolt in Thebes in 29 BCE, for which he set up a celebratory monument in Philae. In 27 BCE,[115] Gallus was reappointed as prefect, but then was abruptly recalled to Rome and suffered *renuntiatio amicitiae*[116] after being denounced by Valerius Largus, his friend and companion, but also a known slanderer.[117] Dio makes a comparison of Gallus and his self-aggrandizement in Egypt, which supposedly included ubiquitous statues and honorary inscriptions for himself, with Agrippa's more modest manner of beautifying

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[111] Dio 51.9.
[112] Plut. *Ant*. 77-79. Dio 51.11 replaces Gallus with Epaphroditus, a freedman.
[113] Suet. *Aug*. 66.1.
[114] *AE* 1964, 255; Roller 2010 p. 110 suggests that Gallus completed the structure which was already begun by Cleopatra.
[115] Rohr Vio 2015 p. 16.
[116] Suet. *Aug*. 66.3.
[117] Dio 53.23.6; 53.24.2 reports that after Cornelius Gallus' suicide, Proculeius hated Largus so much that when he passed by him he clasped his hand over his nose and mouth, hinting that it was not safe to even breath in Largus' presence.

Rome while giving the credit to Octavian.[118] Dio's contrast encourages the reader to see

the two men as opposites: Agrippa as the ideal companion and Gallus as the worst.

Despite the fact that Gallus was exiled and deprived of his estate, the only reference to

conspiracy is by Servius, who claims that Vergil had to remove praise of Gallus from

Eclogues 10 and *Georgics* 4 at Augustus' request.[119] All other ancient authors only report

that Gallus' offense was disrespecting (the newly titled) Augustus.[120] The form of

disrespect was probably a mockery of the new name while Gallus was drunk,[121] which

aligns with Dio's contrast of Gallus with the humble Agrippa and with Suetonius' charge

that Gallus had an "ungrateful and envious spirit."[122] Another possibility can be

conjectured from references to Gallus' own literary works in contemporary poetry.

Gallus' elegies centered on a woman he called Lycoris, who is believed to be Cytheris,

the infamous former lover of Mark Antony.[123] Ovid remarks that Gallus' fall from grace

was connected to the prefect not holding his tongue from too much wine,[124] a condition

commonly associated with the triumvir, both during his affair with Cytheris and during

his time in Egypt. Francesca Rohr Vio, in her analysis of Gallus' short career, suggests

that Ovid's reference to wine hints that Gallus was seen as a new Mark Antony,

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[118] Dio 53.23.1-4. Lukaszewicz 2017 p. 105 and Lewis 1975 counter the suggestion of M. Treu 1973 that P. Oxy. 2820 refers to Cornelius Gallus' preparations for military action against Augustus.

[119] Servius *ad Ecl*. 10.1 and *ad Georg*. 4.1. Conte 2016 p. 24-25 counters Servius' claim that the *laudes Galli* was replaced with the long portions on Orpheus and Aristaeus with the suggestion that the removed praise was only a line or two long, and the two mythical sections were in the original form of the poem. Conte connects the deletion with the mention of fertile Egypt in *Georg*. 4.291.

[120] Dio 53.23.5; Ovid *Am*. 3.9.63, *Trist*. 2.444-6; Suet. *Aug*. 66.

[121] Rich 1990 p. 158 believes mockery was the cause of the break between the two friends; Lukaszewicz 2017 p. 105, crediting Treu 1973 p. 227, suggests the mockery involved the new title- the timing fits.

[122] Suet. *Aug*. 66.1: *ingratum et malivolum animum*.

[123] Mentioned in Vergil *Ecl*. 10; Prop. 2.34.91-93; Ovid *Trist*. 2.445. Courtney 2003 p. 260; Courtney places Gallus' relationship with Cytheris after Mark Antony's (49-46 BCE), contrary to those who use Vergil's *Ecl*.10.42-49 to reverse them. If Gallus were first, then he would have only been a teenager at the time (born in 70/69 BCE), making this the less likely scenario.

[124]*Trist*. 2.446: *nimio mero*.

especially in connection with the monumental celebration of his military success (which Augustus often relied on others to accomplish), and so he was disowned by Augustus.[125] A parallel is encouraged by the fact that both Mark Antony and Gallus touted their conquests in the much sought-after province of Egypt, both were rumored to have maligned Augustus while intoxicated, and both had a relationship with the same woman.

While Augustus stopped at formally withdrawing his friendship from and exiling Gallus, the Senate condemned the latter with a *senatus consultum*; his suicide preceded his trial. Gallus' crimes are not determinable from the ancient sources closer in time to his demise, but later 4th century writers suggest *peculatio* and/or conspiracy.[126] Augustus reportedly cried when Gallus committed suicide, lamenting that a fight with a friend was such a public issue for him.[127] Of course, the contrite behavior seems like play-acting on the part of the *princeps* (or perhaps it was a dramatic effect added by Suetonius), since he had chosen to publicly denounce Gallus. In a similar scenario, when Augustus learned at the trial of Aemilius Aelianus of Corduba that he had repeatedly insulted the *princeps*, Augustus merely claimed that he would insult the man even more.[128] The heightened reaction for Gallus must be connected to his relationship with Augustus and could be seen as a more serious offense than mockery. By formally withdrawing his friendship, Augustus indirectly advertised that Gallus was susceptible to attacks by the Senate. The senators heartily proceeded to convict him, to give his estate to Augustus, and to offer

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[125] Rohr Vio 2015 p. 20.
[126] Amm. Marc. 17.4.5 reports *peculatio*; see note 121 for the conspiracy charge. Wardle 2014 p. 428-429 argues that Suetonius' plural *consultis* and Dio's plural ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις could refer to charges of both treason and peculation.
[127] Suet. *Aug*. 66.2.
[128] Suet. *Aug*. 51.2; we do not know what Aelianus was on trial for, but the accusation of slandering the *princeps* must have been weighty enough to be entered by the prosecutors.

sacrifices.[129] Augustus seemingly distanced himself from Gallus to appease the senatorial class, who may have been resentful over his position as prefect of Egypt while being only an *eques*.[130] Augustus' *renuntiatio* may have been a tactic to neatly dispose of an old friend who was gaining too much power and was not toeing the line, like Agrippa was. Gallus' military exploits, and his friendship with Proculeius, may stand as an antecedent to Augustus' interference in Marcus Primus' trial concerning (in)appropriate campaigns and the consequent conspiracy of Murena, which will be discussed below.

Conspiracies

The first chronological example of a conspiracy against Octavian is not categorized as such by Suetonius, but by the *princeps* himself. Suetonius includes two versions of the story of Quintus Gallius in the sections describing the chaotic Triumviral period. The first version depicts the condemnation of an innocent man, while the second, which Suetonius claims is from Augustus' *Autobiography*, reports a thwarted conspiracy and a lenient punishment.[131] In the first version, Gallius had folded tablets in his robe, which Octavian believed to be a sword. Perhaps to avoid the embarrassment of discovering something less sinister, Gallius was not searched, but was later dragged from the tribunal by centurions, tortured, and then executed despite not confessing to anything. Reportedly, Octavian tore out Gallius' eyes himself. To counter this gory version, Suetonius also relates the account from Augustus' *Autobiography*, in which Gallius requested a meeting and then attacked the *princeps*, and so was taken to prison. Gallius

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[129] Dio 53.23.6.
[130] Rohr Vio 2015 p. 24.
[131] Quintus Gallius is discussed in Suet. *Aug*. 27.4, while other conspiracies are listed at *Aug*. 19.

was then banished and died either by shipwreck or at the hand of robbers. Appian gives us a different account,[132] in which Gallius was an urban praetor and the brother of Marcus Gallius, who served under M. Antony. Quintus Gallius asked for the command of Africa, perhaps at the meeting mentioned by Suetonius. He then plotted against Octavian, and, as a result, Gallius' colleagues stripped him of his praetorship and the people tore down his house. Although the Senate condemned him to death, Octavian ordered Gallius to join his brother abroad; however, after he boarded the ship, he was never seen again. Appian dates this episode to the consulship of Octavian and Pedius after discussing the *lex Pedia*, whereas Suetonius places it broadly "during the triumvirate." If Appian is correct, then Gallius is the first recorded individual conspirator against Octavian.

David Wardle, following Appian's date, suggests that Gallius would have been the *praetor inter peregrinos* since the *praetor urbanus* was M. Caecilius Cornutus.[133] Further, Wardle supports the version from the *Autobiography*, noting that death by brigands or at sea was very common. It should be noted, however, that this version of events would also provide a believable alibi for Octavian. Wardle compares dismissal of Gallius to his brother with the scenario of Lucius and Mark Antony, citing Appian 5.54. However, in that passage Appian states that Octavian, admiring Lucius and wishing to keep him out of a potential conflict with his brother Mark, sent Lucius to command the army in Spain, and so it does not fit this particular claim. Barbara Levick suggests that Gallius was linked through his brother to Mark Antony, making his hostility towards Octavian, as well as a conspiracy, more likely.[134] This is not a provable assumption; on

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[132] Appian *BC* 3.95.
[133] 2014 p. 210; MRR ii 338.
[134] Levick 2010 p. 33.

the contrary, civil war stories often contain anecdotes of brothers on opposing sides.

Lucius Antony's reported contempt of the triumvirate and defiance of whomever sought

sole rule, even if it was his brother, serves as an example.[135] Levick also believes,

contrary to Wardle, that the *Autobiography* version was a propagandistic remedy to

lessen the damage of Gallius' public arrest and subsequent death. However, she also

claims that the goriest version should be discounted due to lack of witnesses, which is an

argument from silence. Despite the discrepancies, the various versions of Gallius' story,

ranging from violence against an innocent man to a justifiable exile followed by an

unfortunate but unrelated death, clearly demonstrate that not only were violent events of

this sort believable (perhaps more so after the proscriptions occurred), but also that

Octavian felt the need to clarify the situation in a way that vindicated his actions in the

public view. Whether Gallius made an assassination attempt or not, the claim that he did

was useful for Octavian to justify the man's banishment and/or death, and believable

enough to be repeated later by both Suetonius and Appian.

Suetonius lists several other conspiracies against Augustus ranging in dates from

31 BCE to 6 CE,[136] but the plot by Murena and Caepio in 23/22 BCE is particularly

intriguing since it seems to involve so many high-level politicians and friends of

Augustus. While Caepio was reportedly a steady anti-Caesarian,[137] Varro Murena was

more of an unexpected threat; he was the brother of Terentia, Maecenas' wife, and of

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[135] Appian *BC* 5.54.

[136] Suet. *Aug*. 19.1 includes M. Aemilius Lepidus the Younger, Varro Murena and Fannius Caepio, M. Egnatius, Plautius Rufus, and Lucius Paulus. He also mentions that Lucius Audasius and Asinius Epidacus plotted to rescue Julia the Younger and Agrippa Postumus from exile. See Table 1 for more details.

[137] Vell. 2.91.2 claims that Murena seemed good before the conspiracy, but that Caepio was bad even before this; Dio 54.3 says that Caepio was the instigator. He seems to have been the son of either Cassius' legate in 43 (Appian 4.72) or Sextus Pompey's commander (Appian 5.139)

Gaius Proculeius, the trusted friend of Augustus and Cornelius Gallus.[138] Neither

Maecenas nor Proculeius were able to help Murena once the plan was discovered,

"though these men were highly honored by Augustus;"[139] in fact, Augustus was irritated

that Maecenas "betrayed the secret of the discovered conspiracy of Murena to his wife

Terentia."[140] The details of the plan are not known, but Dio relates it to the trial of

Marcus Primus, who was charged with making war upon a friendly tribe, the Odrysae,

without senatorial approval (a charge of *maiestas*). Primus claimed that he received

orders from Augustus and/or from Marcellus, however, Augustus appeared in court

unsummoned to declare that the allegation was false. Much was at stake for the *princeps*:

if Augustus had given the order, it overstepped his political authority because Macedonia

was a senatorial province; if Marcellus had given the order, it could appear that Augustus

was establishing a hereditary regime, which his near-death arrangement earlier in the year

attempted to dispel, by giving his signet ring to Agrippa and his political documents to

his co-consul Piso.[141] Murena was the advocate of Primus, and his indignant reception of

[138] Dio 54.3.3-5. His name must have been L. Licinius Varro Murena (PIR2 L218), and not the consul listed on the *Fasti Capitolini* for 23 BCE, A. T[erentius Var]ro Murena (Swan 1967 p. 235-6; Badian 1982 p. 28-36; Levick 2010 p. 101). He is referred to as Murena (Strabo 14), L. Murena (Vell. 2.91.2), Varro Murena (Suet *Aug.* 19.1; Tib. 8), Varro (Tac. *Ann.* 1.10.4), and Licinius Murena (Dio 54.3.3-5).
[139] Dio 54.3.5. Proculeius was a friend of Gallus (discussed above), Murena, and Augustus; he was with Augustus during his war with Sextus Pompey (Pliny *NH* 7.148) and Tiberius mentions that he was a potential spouse for Julia (Tac. *Ann.* 4.40). He is also named as a literary patron by Juvenal (7.94) and Horace (*Odes*. 2.2.5-8). Batomsky 1977 p. 130-131 suggests that Proculeius may have connected Gallus' suicide and Murena's conspiracy, perhaps nudging Murena to action, and his attempt to help Murena damaged his friendship with Octavian, a factor in his not being chosen as husband for Julia (in Tac. *Ann.* 4.40 he was a consideration). Proculeius also never held a consulship, despite his work in Alexandria and his connections with Maecenas and Horace (Ode 2.2).
[140] Suet. *Aug.* 66.3. Propertius and Horace do not dedicate works to Maecenas after 19 BCE; Horace had dedicated all of his previous works to him, but after 19, only *Ode* 4.11 was (La Penna 1963 p. 115-116, Williams 1990, p. 262). Perhaps the lack of dedications was related to diminished status in the eyes of Augustus (Garnsey 1924 & Syme 1939, against Williams 1990, who argues against the "cliché of Augustan historiography," suggesting a change in literary trend instead of one politically driven).
[141] Badian 1982 p. 36 suggests that Marcellus was trying to assert himself as ready to take over for Augustus. He connects Marcellus' potential involvement in the Primus case with Pliny's remark (*NH* 7.149) *suspecta Marcelli vota*: "perhaps Varro Murena knew more than he could say in court."

Augustus is clear in his address: "Why are you here, and who summoned you?"[142] The

decision of the jury in a secret ballot was not unanimous, with some men voting for

Primus' acquittal. The timing of Primus' trial and the so-called Second Settlement, which

gave an unprecedented combination of magisterial power to Augustus (and to Agrippa,

after his marriage to Julia, also in this eventful year), probably contributed to the

discontent that drove the conspiracy of Murena and Caepio.

Murena and Caepio were convicted without a trial and shortly thereafter executed,

never having testified. Just as with Primus, some voted to acquit them, and so in response

Augustus changed the law to make the voting on the guilt or innocence of absent

defendants no longer secret and to require unanimity. The people accepted all of this until

Augustus celebrated this foiled conspiracy as a victory with a thanksgiving and sacrifices;

the people considered this reaction inappropriate,[143] though we do not know if there was

a public response beyond the displeasure mentioned by Dio.

Antagonistic oratory or historiography

In addition to physical opposition to Augustus, disapproval was expressed by

some intellectually. Incidents of antagonistic writing range in scale from accusations in

historical accounts, such as those by Aquilius Niger[144] and Julius Saturninus,[145] about

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[142] Dio 54.3.3: οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια ἀπορρίψαντος, καὶ πυθομένου 'τί δὴ ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖς, καὶ τίς σε ἐκάλεσεν;'
[143] Dio 54.3.8.
[144] Suet. *Aug*. 11: Aquilius Niger claimed that Hirtius was killed by Octavian in "the confusion of battle"; Wardle 2014 p. 127 suggests that it could be instead Antonius Niger, a friend of M. Antony (Plut. *Ant*. 53.2), who was misnamed as Aquilius since Q. Aquilius Niger was cos. in 117, just before the publication of Suetonius' work.
[145] Suet. *Aug*. 27.2: Julius Saturninus said that Augustus declared that he consented to end the proscriptions only on the condition that he had leeway in the future. Levick 2010 p. 32 notes that his social status, date, or genre of writing are unknown. Wardle 2014 p. 207 mentions a senatorial Julius Saturninus named in CIL xi, 1855.

whom we know little, to the outright taunting by Cassius Parmensis, who was eventually

killed not (simply) because of his derogatory writings but due to his career-long anti-

Caesarian stances.[146] However, two examples here will set the tone for the literary

discussion in the subsequent chapters that examine veiled sympathy expressed for

Octavian's rivals or even coded criticism of the *princeps* himself: Timagenes of

Alexandria and Titus Labienus.

Timagenes of Alexandria was a popular historian and rhetoric teacher in Rome.[147]

In spite of several warnings from Augustus, Timagenes went too far in his critiques by

disparaging Livia and the rest of the imperial household. As a consequence, he was

expelled from his school and banned from Augustus' house; he spent the rest of his life

living with Asinius Pollio.[148] Timagenes remained popular, since Seneca tells us that no

other doors were closed to him and that he continued to have public readings of his

works; however, he angrily burned the portions of his work concerning Augustus after

their dispute. When Augustus made a snide comment about Pollio caring for a beast

(θηριοτροφεῖς), Pollio asked if he also should ban Timagenes; Augustus declined.

Timagenes' burning of his own work and Pollio's offer to follow Augustus' example

appear to be political posturing, especially if we recall Pollio's political reputation and his

influence in literary circles. Pollio was an Antonian who tried to keep the peace between

the two generals, but he bowed out of politics when the conflict came to a head at

Actium. He wrote a seventeen-book history of the Civil Wars and was a friend and/or

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[146] Suet. *Aug*. 4; Appian *BC* 5.2, 5.139; Vell. 2.87.3; Val. Max. 1.7.7; Scott 1933; Cova 1992.
[147] Timagenes came to Rome with Aulus Gabinius in 55 BCE, who had been in Alexandria settling matters with Ptolemy XII. There is no proof that the historian was involved with Ptolemy and Cleopatra, but it is likely; in Rome Timagenes was involved with M. Antony (Roller 2010 p. 45; FGrHist 88; Plut. *Ant*. 72.2).
[148] Sen. *Ira*. 3.23.4-8; Suda, s.v. Τιμαγένης. Timagenes lived in Tusculum after banishment and died in Albanum, presumably at Pollio's estate there.

patron of very popular poets of the day: he is mentioned by C. Helvius Cinna (*Propempticon*), Cornelius Gallus (Cic., *Fam.* 10.32.5), Vergil (*Ecl.* 3.84-89, 8.6-13), and Horace (*Serm.* 1.10.42, 85; *Odes* 2.1).[149] In this light, Timagenes was probably well acquainted with these writers also, and would have been aware of Cornelius Gallus' fate. Timagenes, while popular, was not Roman and he was not a long-time friend with political power, and so his punishment was less harsh than that of Gallus. Nevertheless, outspokenness was again penalized, and this may have had an effect on other contemporary writers such as Vergil, whose work will be examined in subsequent chapters.

Later in Augustus' reign, we know that the literary works of Titus Labienus[150] were punitively burned. Labienus, whose family opposed both Julius Caesar and Octavian and lost their property in the proscriptions,[151] was famous for his invective style, earning him the nickname Rabienus ('the rabid') for his criticism of every rank of citizen.[152] At recitations of his history, he would inform his audience that he was skipping over some sections, literally rolling up the scroll (*magnam partem illum libri convolvisse*), but that they would be read after his death. Seneca tells us that Labienus' texts were the first to be burned as a punishment, and that this was done both at the instigation of his personal enemies (*per inimicos*) and by a *senatus consultum*.[153] In response to the destruction of his work, Labienus had himself walled into his family's

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[149] In *Ode* 2.1.6-8, Horace warns Pollio about his sensitive topic of civil war, despite the work being written after Actium and concerning the period of 60-42 BCE: *periculosae plenum opus aleae/ tractas et incedis per ignis/ suppositos cineri doloso.*
[150] His story is told by Seneca in *Contr.* 10 praef. 4-8.
[151] PIR² L19.
[152] Sen. *Contr.* 10 praef. 5: *quia passim ordines hominesques laniabat Rabienus vocaretur.*
[153] Sen. *Contr.* 10 praef. 5, 8.

tomb to avoid flames from consuming him as they did his writing.[154] His rival, Cassius

Severus, whose books were also burned a short while later,[155] reportedly said that he

himself should be burned alive, since he had memorized Labienus' books.[156] While

Augustus is not personally named in the account, the Senate did not often act against his

approval, and during this time Augustus began including slander as punishable under the

maiestas law.[157] Raaflaub and Samons connect Labienus' case with contemporary

societal pressures, including the Pannonian revolt, a famine in Rome, the conspiracy of

Aemilius Paullus, and the exiles of Agrippa Postumus, Julia the Younger, and Ovid.[158]

The case of Titus Labienus, whom Ovid may not have known personally, but whose

situation was jarringly close to his own (depending on how one views his *carmen et error*

claim), reveals a political climate that stood sternly against such artistic freedom.

Conclusion

This chapter surveyed reports of blatant resistance to Octavian's rise to power.

We have seen examples of military opposition by rival commanders and attempts by

soldiers to avoid civil war through negotiation, mutiny, or by taking leave (with and

without permission). Politically, old friends abandoned Octavian or confronted the wide

scope of his new position, and men who longed for the old competitive government

challenged him legally or plotted his removal. Intellectually, Octavian was openly defied,

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[154] Sen. *Contr.* 10 praef. 7.
[155] Sen. *Contr.* 10 praef. 7; Suet. *Gaius* 16.
[156] Sen. *Contr.* 10 praef. 8: *nunc me, inquit, vivum uri oportet, qui illos edidici*.
[157] Tac. *Ann.* 1.72.3.
[158] Raaflaub & Samons 1990 p. 440-441; Dio 55.26-27.4; Suet. *Aug.* 65. Lucius Aemilius Paullus (PIR² A 391), was the grandson of Scribonia and married to Augustus' granddaughter Julia. He is linked to Plautius Rufus in conspiracy by Suetonius 19.1, presumably in 6 CE, followed by Julia's exile for adultery with Decimus Junius Silanus in 8 CE (Tac. *Ann.* 3.24.3).

mocked, and accused of war crimes by orators and writers. These challenges were all confronted and punished, though not all harshly, by the rising Augustus.

It was not the focus of this chapter to argue whether these anecdotes of opposition actually happened, were embellished, or were mere instances of propaganda, but instead to examine the variety and intensity of the opposition recorded by the sources, and therefore presumably believed by the Roman reader. While it is acknowledged that some of the episodes may resonate with an audience living under later, more oppressive and feared emperors, the fact that the events were recorded initially demonstrates that they were believable to an audience contemporary with Augustus. With this in mind, the following chapters will analyze examples of coded depictions of Augustus' opponents. It will be argued that these veiled portrayals were used by the authors to express either their sorrow over lost Romans or their disapproval of the new regime in a manner that aimed to avoid the harsh fate of those discussed in this chapter.

Table 1: Examples of opposition to Octavian/Augustus

OPPOSITION TYPE	OPPONENT	DATE	SOURCE	SUMMARY
military action	Lucius Antony	41/40 BCE	Livy *Per.* 125; Suet. *Aug.* 14-15; Vell. 2.74.3; Appian 5.19-48; Dio 48.5-14; Pliny *NH* 7.148	Suetonius: plotted revolution. Appian: L. Antony was pro-magisterial power & anti-triumvirate; had support of senate and Italian middle class. Oct. sent Antony's friends/troops away, 6 of his legions to Lepidus to Africa.
military action/ popular unrest	Sentinum	41 BCE?	Dio 48.13.6; *Lib. Colon.* 258.6-9.	Sentinum involved in Perusine War. Town was looted, burned down by Salvidienus, land assigned to soldiers.
military action/ popular unrest	Nursia	41 BCE?	Dio 48.13.6	Nursia resisted confiscations, but then settled with Octavian. The town then buried those who died, putting on the tombstones that they died for liberty. Octavian fined the town so much that it was abandoned.
military action (?)	Q. Salvidienus Rufus	40 BCE	Livy *Per.* 127; Vell. 2.76; Suet. *Aug.* 66.1; Appian 5.66; Dio 48.33	At Brundisium, Antony informed Octavian that Salvidienus, a friend & commander of Oct., had offered to give Antony the army from Gallia Comata. Charged with treason and put to death by Octavian (Appian), who gave his army to Antony, or by the senate (Dio) as an enemy of the people.

military action	Sextus Pompey	42-36 BCE	Appian 4.84ff; Dio 48.7, 15-19, 30-31, 48.36-49.18; Pliny *NH* 7.148	Sextus Pompey was a refuge for the proscribed; treaty was attempted at Misenum; fighting between Octavian & Sextus for years around Sicily and Southern Italy. Sextus was eventually defeated by Agrippa and fled east to seek an alliance with M. Antony.
military action	M.A. Lepidus	36 BCE	Appian 5.3, 5.12, 5.123-4	Lepidus seized Messana, wanted to be treated as an equal. Oct. sent envoys, then charged with his cavalry. Lepidus' men desert (some forced), he is marginalized & shamed.
military action	Mark Antony	31 BCE (lead up to Actium only)	Dio 50.1-6; Pliny *NH* 7.148	Antony claimed Octavian removed Lepidus from office, took possession of his territory, took troops from Antony and Sextus Pompey. Pliny: *sollicitudo Martis Actiaci*. Consul Cnaeus Domitius & Gaius Sosius backed Antony; when Octavian convened the senate with soldiers, the consuls and 300 senators fled to Antony; the rest of the senate voted for war against Cleopatra.
mutiny	legions	44 BCE	Appian 3.42	Octavian's troops thought they were marching against Caesar's assassins; refused to march against Antony at Brundisium; many deserted.

mutiny/popular unrest	veterans/ townspeople	41 BCE	Dio 48.9	During land distributions, veterans who felt dishonored killed centurions & others, almost killed Octavian. They stopped when their families pleaded, but then began clashing with townspeople who were angry about losing their land.
mutiny	legions	41/40 BCE	Appian 5.15-17; Suet. *Aug.* 14; Dio 48.7	A soldier sitting in *equites'* section of theater removed; other soldiers rowdy believing he was killed. The soldier was produced, safe. Other soldiers believed he was bribed to lie.
mutiny	legions	40 BCE	Appian 5.57	Octavian's troops refused to march against Antony at Brundisium, snuck away; replacements didn't refuse, but intended to mediate between them; treaty at Brundisium followed soon after.
mutiny	legions	36 BCE	Appian 5.128-9	After fighting Sextus & Lepidus, troops angry, wanted discharge & rewards like Philippi veterans; tribune Ofillius incited the troops. Offilius disappeared, Octavian dismissed 20,000 troops, paid the rest. Octavian celebrated *ovatio* & published pamphlets touting end of civil wars.
mutiny	legions	31 BCE	Suet. *Aug.* 17.3; Dio 51.3.4-51.4.6	After Actium, troops ready to mutiny at Brundisium: eager for rewards. Octavian sent Agrippa, then went himself; gave money to some, land to others; 10th legion dishonorably discharged, men replaced.

senatorial resistance	senate; M. Antony	44 BCE	Suet. *Aug.* 10.2-4; Appian 3.31	The Senate disapproved of Octavian running for tribune; M. Antony as cos. blocked it. Octavian persuaded Tiberius Cannuntius to bring it before the people. Later granted *tribunicia potestas*.
senatorial resistance	senate	May-July? 43 BCE	Dio 46.40.1-3	After Mutina, the senate gave the honors and commands to Decimus that Octavian wanted (consulship, triumph): what they did for Octavian to block Antony, they did for others to block Octavian. Commands for Sextus Pompey, M. Brutus, & Cassius. To calm Octavian's anger, they gave him a praetorship. Still angry, he arranged a truce with Antony (Dio 46.41.3-5).
senatorial resistance	senate	July 43 BCE	Appian 3.90-94	The senate regretted giving into Octavian's demand for money & consulship, decided to fight him, repealed decrees & recruited troops (νομίσαντές τε ἀνθέξειν). Octavian stationed troops in Campus Martius; pardoned all, but later put many on proscription list.

senatorial resistance	senate	41 BCE	Appian 5.29; Dio 48.14.4	Senators spoke with both Octavian and L. Antony during the conflict- many (Appian: οἱ δέ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν) joined Lucius, "not pleased with the rule of the triumviri." Dio: 300 knights & many senators put to death, notably T. Cannutius, who as tribune promoted Octavian for tribune position, but Lucius Aemilius was spared for voting to condemn tyrannicides (App. 5.48) & Lucius Messius was not killed (captured at Actium, Dio 50.9.4).
senatorial resistance	senate	32 BCE	Dio 50.2-3, 5-6	Consul Cnaeus Domitius & Gaius Sosius back Antony; when Octavian convened the senate with soldiers, the consuls and a group of senators fled to Antony; the rest of the senate voted for war against Cleopatra. Dio: when Octavian learned of the flight, he declared he sent them away. Two senators returned- Munatius Plancus & Marcus Titius- giving Octavian information that he used to rally the senators who stayed (biased or unable/too nervous to counter him?).

senatorial resistance	Senate(?)/ Antistius Labeo	18 BCE	Dio 54.15.7-8	During senatorial re-enrollment, Antistius Labeo nominated Lepidus (former triumvir). Augustus threatened perjury charge, Labeo successfully defended himself. Maybe only the most famous example given.
popular unrest	women	42 BCE	Appian 4.5, 4.32-33	Aristocratic women, led by Hortensia, protested tax on 1400 wealthiest women; speech at tribunal. Octavian ordered lictors to remove women; crowd angered. Triumviri reduced tax to top 400 women.
popular unrest	people	40 BCE	Appian 5.67-8	The people were angry about tax on slaves and estates imposed to pay for war against Sextus Pompey; they ripped up the edict, rioted, threatened those who did not join them, threw rocks at Octavian. After failing to reason with the crowd, Antony called in troops, rescued Octavian, and many people were killed. Bodies were thrown into the Tiber, the famine continued, and the people's hatred of the triumvirate increased.

popular unrest	people	Nov. 40 BCE-*ludi plebeii*	Dio 48.31; Suet. *Aug.* 16.2	The people were angry at Octavian & Antony because of famine-support Sextus Pompey, cheered when Neptune statue appeared. Octavian (& Antony?) took the Neptune statue away. The people rioted, threw down the statues of Octavian & Antony. Peace treaty at Misenum 39 BCE.
popular unrest	people	36 BCE	Appian 5.112	After losing to Sextus on land & sea near the straits, Octavian sent Maecenas to Rome to deal with νεωτερίζοντας. Some people "who were stirring up trouble" were punished.
popular unrest	people	31 BCE	Dio 50.10.4	There were murders, riots, & a fire blamed on the freedmen in response to a property tax (1/8th). Subdued by troops.
popular unrest	people	3 CE?	Dio 55.13.1	A mob was angry about Julia's banishment. Augustus said fire & water would mix before he brought her back- crowd threw torches into Tiber. Julia was eventually moved to Rhegium.

conspiracy (?)	Quintus Gallius	43 BCE (Appian); "triumviral years" (Suetonius)	Appian 3.95; Suet. *Aug.* 27.4	Appian: praetor who wanted command of Africa, conspired against Octavian; colleagues stripped his praetorship, people destroyed his house, senate condemned him to death, but Octavian sent him to his brother; he was lost at sea. Suetonius: Octavian thought folded tablets in clothing was a sword so arrested later, tortured & executed without confession; but notes Augustus' *Autobiography* said he attacked him so Augustus sent him to his brother and he was lost at sea.
conspiracy/ attempted murder	Aemilius Paullus' slave	36 BCE	Suet. Aug. 3	The slave of Aemilius Paullus tried to kill Octavian near Rhegium to avenge the proscribed death of Paullus' father.
conspiracy	M.A. Lepidus the Younger	30 BCE	Suet. *Aug.* 19; Vell. 2.88.1-3; Appian 4.50; Dio 54.15	Lepidus the younger planned to kill Octavian when he returned from Actium. His mother was an accomplice, but not his father. Lepidus was caught by Maecenas, sent to Octavian at Actium, & killed.
antagonistic speech (& conspiracy?)	Cornelius Gallus	26 BCE	Ovid *Am.* 3.9.63, *Trist.* 2.444-6; Suet. *Aug.* 66; Dio 53.23.5. Only Servius (*ad Ecl.* 10.1 and *ad Georg.* 4.1) accuses Gallus of conspiracy.	Gallus mocked Augustus, possibly about his new title, and erected honorific monument(s) commemorating his own military accomplishments in Egypt. He was disenfranchised and exiled by senate; Gallus committed suicide; thanksgivings were offered.

conspiracy	Murena & Caepio	23 BCE	Vell. 2.91.2; Suet. *Aug*. 19, 56.3, 66.4, *Tib*. 8; Seneca *Brev*. 4.5; Dio 54.3	Murena, advocate of M. Primus, joined the conspiracy of Caepio, after Augustus' uninvited testimony in the trial. The plot was discovered, the men convicted *in absentia*, captured and executed. Since the convictions of M. Primus and the conspirators Murena & Caepio were not unanimous, Augustus banned secret voting in such cases.
conspiracy	M. Egnatius Rufus	19 BCE (?)	Vell. 2.91-92; Suet. *Aug*. 19; Dio 53.24.4	Egnatius used popularity from his fire-brigade when aedile to gain praetorship, tried to run for consul, blocked by consul Saturninus. Velleius & Suetonius charge him with plotting assassination; Dio claims his praetorship was "contrary to law." Egnatius and his fellow conspirators were arrested and executed.
conspiracy/ popular unrest	people (& senators?)	18 BCE	Dio 54.15.1, 54.15.4	"Many" (συχνοὶ) involved in conspiracies, angered by the senate revision process and the laws on adultery & marriage; Augustus executed a few men.
conspiracy	unnamed people	9 BCE	Dio 55.4.3	"… he punished others reported to be conspiring against him."

conspiracy	unnamed people	8 BCE	Dio 55.5.3-4	"… many conspiring against the emperor and the magistrates": This claim was made as justification for requiring a security deposit to run for office (to ensure proper procedure) and that slaves be sold to the state or to Augustus in case of a trial to serve as a witness.
conspiracy (?)	Julia the Elder & Iullus Antony	2 BCE	Pliny *NH* 7.149; Tac. *Ann*. 1.53, 4.44.3; Dio 55.10.12-15; Sen. *Ben*. 6.1	Julia was exiled for adultery with, among others, Iullus Antony & Sempronius Gracchus. Pliny & Seneca suggest Julia was politically subversive. Dio states Antony sought the monarchy. Antony was executed (or committed suicide), and Gracchus was exiled, then executed.
conspiracy	Cn. Cornelius Cinna (Magnus?)	4 CE (Dio) or 16-13 BCE (Seneca)	Seneca *Clem*. 1.9; Dio 55.14-22	Dio: Cnaeus Cornelius Cinna's conspiracy in Rome in 4 CE leads to Livia & Augustus debating useful reaction. Cinna made consul in 5 CE- clemency as political move. Seneca: Lucius Cinna caught conspiring in Gaul c. 13 BCE and had to defend himself to Augustus. Seneca claims this was the last conspiracy (after 16-13 BCE there were several more). Scholars debate which name & date is accurate (though agree it is the same event).

conspiracy	Publius Plautius Rufus	6 CE	Suet. *Aug.* 19; Dio 55.27.2-3	The people were angered by famine (55.22.1-3), a tax (55.25.5-6), & a fire (55.26.4), so Rufus started pamphleteering at night for revolution, though his name may have been used falsely. Dio lists Publius Rufus alone; Suetonius connects him to Lucius Paullus. Reward offered for suspects, but all forgotten when famine ended and gladiator games held in honor of Drusus by his sons (14 years later).
conspiracy	Lucius Aemilius Paullus	6 or 8 CE	Suet. *Aug.* 19 (perhaps in missing section of Dio concerning 8 CE)	Suetonius links Lucius Paullus with Plautius Rufus as a conspirator. He was either exiled in 6 CE (Rufus' plot) or in 8 CE (Julia the Younger's exile for adultery: Suet. *Aug.* 65.1 & 4; Suet. *Claud.* 26.1; Pliny *NH* 7.149-59; Tac. *Ann.* 3.24.3-4, 4.71.4).
conspiracy	L. Audasius & Asinius Epicadus	c.8-12 CE?	Suet. *Aug.* 19.1-2; Tac. *Ann.* 2.39	Audasius & Epicadus planned to rescue Julia (which one not specified) & Postumus from their islands to take them to the armies. Julia the Elder & Postumus were not on islands simultaneously, so either Suet. forgot she was moved to Rhegium in 3 CE or he meant the younger Julia, exiled to Trimerius in 8CE.

conspiracy	Clemens	14 CE	Suet. *Tib.* 25; Tac. *Ann.* 2.39; Dio 57.16	Clemens, a former slave of Agrippa Postumus, tried to rescue him from Planasia but arrived too late. He then impersonated Postumus and rallied support in Gaul and Italy. Sallustius Crispus, adviser to Augustus and then Tiberius, had him kidnapped, interrogated, and executed.
antagonistic speech	Cassius Parmensis	44-33 BCE?	Suet. *Aug.* 4	Cassius mocked Octavian's status as offspring of baker and money-lender; perhaps other recorded insulting epigrams by him.
antagonistic speech	Aquilius Niger	after battle at Mutina[159]	Suet. *Aug.* 11	Aquilius said Hirtius was killed by Octavian.
antagonistic speech	Asinius Pollio	after 43 BCE	Macr. Sat. 2.4.21	Pollio's response to Octavian's Fescennine verses: "I keep silent since it is not easy to write anything against a man who is able to proscribe."
antagonistic speech	Julius Saturninus	after proscriptions	Suet. *Aug.* 27.2	Saturninus claimed Octavian said he only agreed to end proscriptions because he thought he'd have a free hand in future.
antagonistic speech	Cassius Patavinus	unknown	Suet. *Aug.* 51	Cassius said at a dinner party that he lacked neither the desire nor the courage to kill Augustus. He received a "mild form of punishment."
antagonistic speech	Tedius Afer	Triumviral years	Suet. *Aug.* 27.3	Tedius Afer, cos. elect, "spitefully" criticized a certain matter. Octavian threatened him so harshly he jumped off a cliff.

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[159] The date of this statement is not provable. Aquilius Niger is only known from Suetonius; Smith 2013 p. 486 reports the possible ("though hardly compelling") association of this writer with Antony's friend who acted as negotiator between Antony and Octavian in 35 BCE (Plut. *Ant*. 53).

antagonistic speech	Timagenes the Alexandrian	31 BCE - 4 CE? (after Actium, before Pollio's death)	Seneca *Ira* 3.23.4-7	Timagenes said disparaging things about Augustus and his family. He was banned from Augustus' house, and burned his writings about Augustus in retaliation. He lived with Pollio, and was still popular in literary circles.
antagonistic speech	Junius Novatus	6-7 CE?	Suet. *Aug.* 51	Novatus fined for circulating letters criticizing Octavian in young Agrippa's name. It was treated as *iniuria*, not *maiestas*.

APPENDIX: Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* 7.147-150

> NB: I have translated this passage in one sentence aside from the last few lines of 150, as it was written, to capture what Tyler Travillian calls a "mimetic reflection of the exhaustion Augustus himself must have felt at the series of personal disasters."[160] The effect is not a graceful translation, but it was not meant to be.

147. In Divo quoque Augusto, quem universa mortalitas in hac censura nuncupet, si diligenter aestimentur cuncta, magna sortis humanae reperiantur volumina: repulsa in magisterio equitum apud avunculum et contra petitionem eius praelatus Lepidus, proscriptionis invidia ob collegium in triumviratu pessimorum civium, nec aequa saltem portione, sed praegravi Antonio,

148. Philippensi proelio morbi, fuga et triduo in palude aegroti et (ut fatentur Agrippa ac Maecenas) aqua subter cutem fusa turgidi latebra, naufragia Sicula et alia ibi quoque in spelunca occultatio, iam in navali fuga urguente hostium manu preces Proculeio mortis admotae, cura Perusinae contentionis, sollicitudo Martis Actiaci, Pannonicis bellis ruina e turri,

149. tot seditiones militum, tot anticipes morbi corporis, suspecta Marcelli vota, pudenda Agrippae ablegatio, totiens petita insidiis vita, incusatae liberorum mortes luctusque non tantum orbitate tristis, adulterium filiae et consilia parricidae palam facta, contumeliosus privigni Neronis secessus, aliud in nepte adulterium; iuncta deinde tot mala: inopia stipendi, rebellio Illyrici, servitiorum dilectus iuventutis penuria, pestilentia urbis, fames Italiae, destinatio expirandi et quadridui inedia maior pars mortis in corpus recepta;

150. iuxta haec Variana clades et maiestatis eius foeda suggillatio, abdicatio Postumi Agrippae post adoptionem, desiderium post relegationem, inde suspicio in Fabium arcanorumque proditionem, hinc uxoris et Tiberii cogitationes, suprema eius cura. in summa deus ille caelumque nescio adeptus magis an meritus herede hostis suo filio excessit.

147. In the life of the divine Augustus, whom the whole world would place in this assessment

[160] Travillian 2015 p. 191.

(the fortunate), if everything is examined diligently, great volumes of human fate may be found: the rejection for the Master of Horse position against his request by his uncle and the preference given to Lepidus; the envy of the proscriptions because of his alliance in the triumvirate with the worst citizens, and not with equal influence anyhow, but with Antony predominant;

148 his illness at the battle of Philippi; the flight and hiding for three days in the marsh because of illness and his swollen edema, as Agrippa and Maecenas reported; the shipwrecks, Sicilian and others, also at the time hiding in a cave; his begging Proculeius to kill him when a band of enemies were pursuing in a naval rout; the concern about the Perusine conflict; the anxiety about the battle of Actium; the fall from a tower in the Pannonian wars;

149 so many mutinies of troops; so many bouts of disease; his suspicion of Marcellus' ambitions; the shameful relegation of Agrippa; numerous plots against his life; the accusations about the deaths of his children and the sadness not only produced by grief; the adultery of his daughter and the discovery of plans for parricide; the insulting withdrawal of his son-in-law Nero (Tiberius); another adultery, of his granddaughter; then joined to so many misfortunes: lack of stipends (for the military), rebellion in Illyria, the enlistment of slaves and lack of young men, a plague in the city, a famine in Italy, his determination to die and a four-day fast caused near death for him;

150 joined to these are the Varian slaughter and the disgraceful insults to his authority; the disowning of Agrippa Postumus after his adoption and the regret after the relegation, then the suspicion of the betrayal of secrets by Fabius; from here the conspiracies of his wife and Tiberius, his last concerns. Finally, that god, raised to heaven more by his own actions or by merit I don't know, died with his enemy's son as his heir.

Chapter II
Arma virginis cano: An Allegorical Analysis of Vergil's Camilla

One of the many layers of Vergil's *Aeneid* addresses the recurrent civil wars

during the last century of the Roman Republic and their toll on contemporary society.

Consequently, Vergil's multifaceted characters are not merely mythological personae;

they also hint at his contemporaries in political Rome. Some of Vergil's potential

allusions are straightforward enough, such as Aeneas with Augustus and Turnus with

Mark Antony, while the likelihood of other allusions is debated in the scholarship; for

example Dido, Amata, Juturna, and Camilla all have been insinuated as depictions of

Cleopatra.[1] As mentioned previously, the resistance against the rise of Octavian and his

policies was at times expressed covertly, especially after years of civil war and

intimidation due to proscriptions and property confiscations. Thus, it is likely that those

critical of Octavian, regretful over his actions, and fearful of reprisals would resort to

using allusions. Even if someone was not anti-Augustus, he or she may have regretted the

loss of life on the path to the Principate but would be wary of punishment for openly

expressing sympathy for the enemy. From this perspective of remorse, Vergil may have

been inspired by contemporary negative depictions of such resistors as Fulvia and Sextus

Pompey, both of whom fought on behalf of those who lost their property and/or their

citizenship. This chapter will suggest that among the many possible allegorical readings

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[1] References for Augustus and Mark Antony: Coleiro (1973), Alessio (1993), et al.; for Cleopatra as Dido: Pease; as Amata: Coleiro (1973); as Camilla: Fratantuono (2006), Viparelli (2008); Alessio (1993) has matched Cleopatra as a conglomeration of Dido, Amata, Juturna, and Camilla.

for Vergil's Camilla we should consider Fulvia and her actions during the Perusine War.[2]

References to civil strife appear frequently in the *Aeneid*, such as when Anchises begs Julius Caesar's shade to spare Pompey and avoid civil war (6.832-835). The Fury Allecto is depicted as able to arm brothers for battle and to overturn houses with hatred (7.335-336). In the description of Aeneas' shield, war seems to be a constant state: *pugnataque in ordine bella* (8.629); the 'wars fought in order' of course included the initial conquest of Italy, the Social Wars, and the recurrent civil wars. The endeavor toward *tota Italia* is depicted in the struggle over Lavinia, as the Italian tribes fight each other, splitting their support between Turnus' Latin side and Aeneas' Trojan and Etruscan side.

The *Aeneid* is teeming with strife and dangerous characters, but one of the most memorable personae encountered is Camilla. There is prolific research examining the depiction and possible meaning of this warrior princess of the Volsci not known to us before the *Aeneid*.[3] Vergil's *bellatrix* has a prominent role among the Italians who are trying to ward off Aeneas in his quest to obtain a new home for the Trojans. Scholars have aligned Camilla with the mythological Penthesileia, Harpalyce, Dido, Medea, and even with the historical figure of Cleopatra.[4] Vergil's poetic skill allows all of these

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[2] Sextus Pompey's campaign is the topic of chapter 4.

[3] Horsfall 1988, 2003, 2008 is an avid proponent that Vergil created Camilla, while Fratantuono 2009 sees lack of evidence for her before Vergil as an argument from silence. Arrigoni 1982 p. 65-67 suggests a layer of Volscian legend in Camilla's character, perhaps a queen from Privernum who died fighting against Etruscan domination.

[4] The bibliography is quite lengthy; see Fratantuono 2009 p. 163-164 note 137 for a summary; of particular interest for this chapter are Arrigoni 1982; Basson 1986; Horsfall 1988, 2003, 2008; La Penna 1988; Boyd 1992; and Fratantuono 2009. Maria Alessio 1993, in her work on allegories in Book 11, briefly refers to a correlation for Turnus, Camilla, and Juturna with Mark Antony, Fulvia, and Cleopatra in terms of a man being supported by women, but she then continues to link all of the heroines in the *Aeneid* with each other and with Cleopatra, arguing in her conclusion that Camilla depicts Cleopatra during the battle of Actium while Fulvia is alluded to in Vergil's Andromache.

allusions to be compelling, however, Camilla's complex mix of attributes allows for a link to yet another figure.

This chapter will contribute to the homage of Camilla, albeit in a different direction: just as Aeneas is, in many ways, an allusion to Augustus, it will be argued that Vergil's *bellatrix* is also an allusion to a contemporary figure. Rory Egan has shown that Vergil used Camilla as an important reference to Rome's distant past, particularly to the leadership of the dictator Camillus in the fourth century BCE.[5] However, it is also likely that Vergil used his multifaceted Camilla to address events that occurred during his own lifetime, such as the resistance against Octavian's provision of land for veterans. If we explore the similarities between Camilla and Fulvia, we will observe that these two vibrant and influential women have a surprisingly parallel depiction. Vergil sympathized with the disenfranchised Italians during the land confiscations, and therefore he may have been influenced by Fulvia when portraying Camilla as the doomed warrior woman who fought on behalf of the displaced landowners. While this reference may not be overtly obvious to modern readers, this chapter aims to show that it could be a plausible correlation for Vergil's contemporaries, who often considered literary allusions to events in their recent past. This is not to say that Camilla is an exact overlay of Fulvia (or vice-versa), but that this intriguingly complicated character allowed Vergil to express sympathy for Fulvia's failed endeavor. Vergil depicts Camilla as an Amazonian-styled warrior that would excite the imagination of all readers, not just those looking for allegories of power and politics. In this manner, Camilla is both mythologically and

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[5] Egan 2012; see also Gaertner 2008, who suggests that Camillus was used as a political paradigm to show one's prestige by Cicero, Pompey, Caesar, Antony, and Octavian. Possibly, Vergil was interacting with this paradigm with his female warrior of the same name.

historically inspired. To gain insight into the perspective of Vergil's contemporary readers, we shall review the Perusine War before analyzing Camilla.

The Perusine War

Once the conflict at Philippi was over, Octavian was responsible for settling the veterans; however, to accomplish this, land was to be confiscated for redistribution throughout Italy (see Table 2 and Map 1).[6] The inevitable war due to the strong resistance against the confiscations was led by Lucius Antony and Fulvia, the brother and wife of Mark Antony. This conflict was one of the more challenging issues faced by Octavian; nevertheless, it was eclipsed by the battle of Actium and only briefly noted by most of our extant sources from the Julio-Claudian period. Pliny lists the conflict as one of the great misfortunes faced by Augustus, followed immediately by the battle of Actium.[7] Following Pliny's lead, I consider this conflict and Fulvia's involvement as comparatively distressing to Octavian, despite the limited discussion in the ancient sources. It would have been equally distressing for contemporary Romans who could see echoes of the conflict in their reading of Vergil's *Aeneid*.

The longest accounts of the hostilities are from the later sources Appian (5.12-49) and Cassius Dio (48.4-14). Dio's account is critical of Lucius and treats Fulvia rather harshly, and even Octavian is not completely excused from blame. The *Periochae* of Livy follow suit, with the exception of the negative depiction of Octavian.[8] Appian's

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[6] Gabba 1971 p. 140 claims that at least forty cities were involved in Campania, Samnium, Umbria, Picenum, Etruria, and northern Italy. Table 2 and Map 1 at the end of the chapter show locations suggested by Mommsen 1905, Brunt 1971, and Keppie 1983, who compiled lists based on literary and epigraphic evidence.

[7] Pliny *NH* 7.148: … *cura Perusinae contentionis, sollicitudo Martis Actiaci…*

[8] Livy *Per*. 125.1-126.1. Other brief mentions are made by Velleius 2.74.2, Suetonius *Aug*. 14-15, 96.3; Plutarch *Ant*. 30.1-4, Florus 2.16.5, and Pliny *NH* 7.148.

version focuses on the misery of the people, thus he portrays Lucius as a protector of the farmers. Appian's depiction of the land to be taken for the veterans would be shocking to Roman readers (*BC* 4.3):

> …ἐπελπίσαι δὲ ἤδη τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ νικητήρια τοῦ πολέμου … ἐς κατοικίαν δόσεσι τῶν Ἰταλικῶν πόλεων ὀκτωκαίδεκα, αἳ καὶ περιουσίᾳ καὶ ἐδάφεσι καὶ οἴκοις εἰς κάλλος διαφέρουσαι ἔμελλον αὐτοῖς ἐδάφεσι καὶ οἴκοις αὐτῷ διανεμήσεσθαι, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς πολεμίας δορίληπτοι γενόμεναι."

> "…to encourage the army with war booty, eighteen cities of Italy, which excelled in wealth, fertile territory, and pretty houses, were to be divided among them as colonies- land and buildings- like war spoils."

Later Appian describes how Italians poured into Rome to lament their lost land, and how the Romans mourned with them, dramatically equating the Italian loss of land with Roman loss of δημοκρατία.[9] Suetonius' condensed description of this conflict shows the violent tendencies of Octavian in the aftermath.[10] Vergil and Propertius, both directly affected by this violent process, portray the experience of those who lost property and/or loved ones; this chapter will focus on Vergil's perspective. Understandably, Augustus does not mention this war in his *Res Gestae*, even in passing.

The process of seizing land caused strife not only among the Italians and those Romans who commiserated with them; Appian reports that a large group of aristocrats was displeased with the triumvirate and sided with Lucius Antony (and Fulvia).[11] This public response aligns with Suetonius' remark that according to some sources Octavian went to war against Lucius in order to discover who his secret enemies were, by giving them the opportunity to join Lucius against him. Octavian supposedly planned to seize

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[9] Appian *BC* 5.12.
[10] Suet. *Aug*. 15: after Perusia, Octavian would tell all who begged for mercy that they must die (*moriendum esse*); 300 men were sacrificed to Divine Julius. This will be discussed later in the chapter.
[11] Appian *BC* 5.29: οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν.

the properties of his previously unknown enemies in order to reward the veterans.[12]

Perhaps Octavian's plan was public knowledge, since Appian reports that Lucius was

allowed into Rome by a gatekeeper named Nonius who also gave his own troops to

Lucius, while Lepidus fled to Octavian. Lucius promised the Romans that he would

punish Octavian and Lepidus for their lawless rule. He also claimed that his brother

would voluntarily resign and accept a consulship, "trading an unlawful magistracy for a

lawful one, a tyranny for the constitution of their fathers."[13] Clearly, this speech reflects

the people's belief that the triumvirate was already over (ἤδη λελύσθαι τὴν τῶν τριῶν

ἀρχήν), and so the people called Lucius 'imperator.' He then marched against Octavian,

gathering enthusiastic new recruits as he went to war.[14]

 The soldiers were caught in the crossfire of this situation, since they did not want

to lose an opportunity to gain land, but also did not want to fight against their former

commanders. The brothers were cognizant of the dilemma and touted their allegiance to

each other publicly; Lucius' coinage depicted Mark Antony and advertised his own new

cognomen 'Pietas,' while the triumvir celebrated Lucius' consulship with the head of

each brother on either side of his coinage (Figures 3 and 4).[15] The soldiers addressed

their dilemma by trying to arbitrate twice before the siege of Perusia, at Teanum and

again at Gabii. According to Appian, before the second arbitration attempt the scouts of

Octavian killed those of Lucius, and Lucius responded by refusing to approach the

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[12] Suet. *Aug*. 15.

[13] Appian *BC* 5.30: ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος Ῥωμαίοις ἐδημηγόρει, Καίσαρα μὲν καὶ Λέπιδον αὐτίκα δώσειν δίκην ἀρχῆς βιαίου, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτὴν ἑκόντα ἀποθήσεσθαι καὶ ὑπατείαν ἀλλάξεσθαι, νομιμωτέραν ἀρχὴν παρανόμου καὶ πάτριον ἀντὶ τῆς τυραννικῆς.

[14] Appian *BC* 5.30-31.

[15] Dio 48.5.4; RRC 516 nos. 4 & 5 have 'PIETAS' on the reverse. Mark Antony in turn had coinage celebrating Lucius' consulship on the obverse (RRC 517.3-5).

meeting.[16] However, in Dio's version, Lucius and Fulvia refused to attend either discussion due to their fear or their snobbery.[17]

Figure 3: RRC 516.4. Aureus, 41 BCE. OBV: M·ANTONIVS [·IMP·III·V]IR·R·P·C, head of M. Antony with a lituus. REV: PIETAS COS; Pietas holding a turibulum in right hand & cornucopia with two storks in left hand; see also RRC 516.2, 516.5. ANS 1944.100.4564, American Numismatic Society, accessed July 28, 2021, http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.4564

Figure 4: RRC 517.4a. Aureus, 41 BCE. OBV: M·ANT·IMP·AVG·III·VIR·R·P·C·M·NERVA ·PROQ·P, head of M. Antony. REV: L· ANTONIVS·COS, head of L. Antony; see also RRC 517.3, head of L. Antony; see also RRC 517.3, 517.4b, 517.5a-c. © The Trustees of the British Museum 624984001, accessed July 28, 2021, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1867-0101-605

After tactical maneuvering by both sides during which towns were captured, Lucius proceeded to Perusia for the winter, where he was besieged by Octavian. Fulvia, meanwhile, was stationed at Praeneste collaborating with senators and knights;[18] she urged Ventidius, Asinius Pollio, Ateius, and Calenus to assist Lucius. Fulvia actively supported Lucius and sent reinforcements with Plancus, who proceeded to destroy one of Octavian's legions that was marching to Rome. Octavian and Agrippa were able to block all approaches to Perusia; as a result, Pollio waited at Ravenna, Ventidius at Ariminum, and Plancus at Spoletium.[19]

The effectiveness of the blockade had Lucius's troops facing imminent starvation, which roused a desperate but failed attempt to fight their way out of Perusia; ultimately,

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[16] Teanum- Appian *BC* 5.20; Gabii- Appian *BC* 5.23.
[17] Dio 48.12-13. Dio reports that Lucius and Fulvia mocked the troops as *senatus caligatus*.
[18] Dio 48.10.
[19] Appian *BC* 5.31-33.

Lucius was forced to surrender to Octavian. In the speech to his troops before conceding, Lucius denied fighting on behalf of the towns and against the troops' interests and claimed that he was trying to stop Octavian in order to restore the republic. Lucius reiterated his request that the triumvirate be dissolved after the veterans were settled, and lamented that Octavian wrongly accused him of blocking colonies on behalf of the landowners, since Lucius had assigned the officers who divided the land.[20] At the meeting with Octavian, Lucius made a similar speech,[21] elaborating on the theme of false accusations. Lucius claimed that he did not want to supplant Octavian, but was committed to restore Rome to the "patrician government" (ἀριστοκρατίαν) that was taken away by the triumvirate. Lucius accused Octavian directly of shifting the cause of the war from himself to land distribution in order to deviously win over the soldiers. Despite previously claiming that the war had nothing to do with Fulvia, Lucius later claimed that Fulvia wanted to rule, and that he only used her to overthrow the triumvirate. After the negotiations, Octavian placed Lucius in charge of Spain (albeit with spies).[22] While Lucius' conflicting claims may be indicative of his personality, it is likely that the change of motive for the conflict can be attributed to Appian's sources. It is significant that Appian reports paraphrasing the speeches of Lucius and Octavian from Augustus' *Autobiography* into Greek,[23] a source of inevitable bias.

In the aftermath of the war, Lucius' soldiers and the general populace of Perusia

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[20] Appian *BC* 5.39. Lucius had prior experience with land distribution; Cicero dramatically claimed in January 43 CBE that Caesar had assigned "all Italy" to Lucius to distribute (*Phil*. 5.7): "*hic omnem Italiam moderato homini, L. Antonio, dividendam dedit. quid?*" Sumi 2005 p. 134 dates the position from June 44 but it was reassigned as part an Antonian law because of initial disregard of the auspices.
[21] Appian *BC* 5.43.
[22] Appian *BC* 5.43; 5.54.
[23] Appian *BC* 5.45: ταῦτα μὲν ἔλεξαν ἀλλήλοις, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἦν ἐς τὸ δυνατὸν τῆσδε τῆς φωνῆς μεταβαλεῖν τεκμαιρομένῳ τῆς γνώμης τῶν λελεγμένων.

were pardoned,[24] but the fate of the local elite is not entirely clear. As discussed in the previous chapter, many magistrates, either Roman or local, were killed and the city was destroyed.[25] Fulvia, with a large cavalry escort, fled Praeneste to Dikaiarchaeia (Puteoli) and then continued on to Brundisium, where she and Plancus sailed for Greece with five warships from Macedonia. Joined by Julia, mother of the Antonii, Fulvia met Mark Antony in Athens.[26] He left his wife in Sicyon where she died shortly after from an illness.[27] Her death was beneficial for the peace talks at Brundisium, because Mark Antony could allow for the defenseless dead to take the blame for the conflict, despite his reported regret at her passing.[28] Thus, Fulvia took the fall for the war and Mark Antony eventually met his demise ten years later, becoming another casualty of Octavian's rise to supremacy.

Lucius Antony's change (or reassertion) of motive is fascinating, even if what we have is a third-hand version from a biased source. If the assumption of the farmers, and of quite a few modern Roman history textbooks, is correct, then Lucius was challenging Octavian on behalf of the rights of the middle-class Italian landowners. Alternatively, he was confronting Octavian on behalf of the senatorial class, which was struggling with curtailed power and status. Perhaps Lucius pandered purposefully to both. Whatever his

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[24] Appian *BC* 5.46-49.

[25] Dio 48.14; Suet. *Aug*. 15; Appian *BC* 5.48. Sisani 2011 p. 287 and 2014 p. 285 describes the destruction of houses c. 40 BCE and that the area was not rebuilt until early 1st c. CE, unlike the building campaigns of nearby towns.

[26] Appian *BC* 5.50-52.

[27] Appian *BC* 5.55, 59; Dio 48.15, 48.28.

[28] Appian *BC* 5.52: when he was informed about Perusia, Antony blamed Lucius and Fulvia, but mostly Manius for inciting his wife's involvement; 5.59, 5.62: Antony felt responsible for her death because he did not stay with her during her illness. Dio 48.28: Antony was the cause of her death because of his affair with Cleopatra, but Fulvia was blamed for the conflict either truly or as an excuse to escape the pending war. Plut. *Ant*. 30.4: Antony's friends told him the war was Fulvia's fault (πολέμου τὴν Φοθλβίαν αἰτίαν γεγονέναι), however, Plutarch used Augustus' memoirs as one of his sources (Plut. *Ant*. 2.2) and so this may not be entirely reliable. For a discussion about Plutarch's sources for Antony, see De Wet 1990.

intention was, he managed to rally both displeased groups to his banner, showing that, regardless of his original intent, there were many people from different strata of society who opposed the political changes enacted by Octavian.

We must consider that the source of Appian's account was Augustus' memoir, written in the mid-20s BCE after most of his enemies were safely disposed of and after some of the most famous poets in his orbit had lost their familial land during this conflict. We do not have any contemporary accounts besides those of said poets, who would have protested mildly and indirectly, if at all.[29] Thus, it seems logical to conclude that Augustus respun Lucius' motives to counter the latter's claim of fighting on behalf of the Italians. Augustus successfully made the conflict and Lucius appear more self-serving and less pro-Italian; later sources followed his lead. A look at the poetry of Vergil will help us see a more nuanced view of the events, and a more sympathetic depiction of Fulvia.

Vergil's Perspective

Before the *Aeneid*, Vergil addressed this conflict between landowners and settled veterans in the *Eclogues*.[30] In *Eclogue* 9, the farmer Moeris laments to his friend Lycidas about his land lost to the veterans' settlement project (*Ecl*. 9.2-6):

> O Lycida, vivi pervenimus, advena nostri
> (quod numquam veriti sumus) ut possessor agelli
> diceret: "Haec mea sunt; veteres migrate coloni!"
> nunc victi, tristes, quoniam Fors omnia versat,
> hos illi—quod nec vertat bene—mittimus haedos.

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[29] Propertius is the exception when he eulogizes Perusia in *Elegies* 1.22 and mentions the civil wars in 2.1, but he still does not villainize Octavian.

[30] Starr 1955 p. 43 places the composition of the *Eclogues* between 40 and 37 BCE, after Vergil would have lost his land in Mantua.

O Lycidas, we have come while living to what we never feared,
That a stranger possessing our small farm would say:
"These are mine; old farmers move out!"
Now we are defeated, sad, because Luck overturns everything,
We send these goat kids for him- may that not turn out well.

Vergil expresses the dismay caused by Roman politics impinging on the countryside, a negative effect of the latest civil war on pastoral Italy.[31] Appian initially states that eighteen towns had been chosen for this project, but later in his account, he has Manius complain that Octavian "assigned almost all of Italy to the soldiers," an obvious hyperbole. However, Gabba claims that at least forty towns were involved in Campania, Samnium, Umbria, Picenum, Etruria, and northern Italy when the original towns did not provide sufficient territory (see Table 2 and Map 1).[32] Neither Appian nor Gabba name all of the towns, but Appian lists the "most renowned": Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Beneventum, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Vibo. Rhegium and Vibo were later exempted to encourage them to not join Sextus Pompey.[33]

The angst of the farmers is felt even more strongly in *Eclogue* 1, where the social tension is presented to the reader through a conversation between two shepherds, Tityrus and Meliboeus. Tityrus has been able to keep his land by begging Octavian, while Meliboeus is being displaced, lamenting the fate of his property (*Ecl*. 1.71-73):

Impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit,
barbarus has segetes? En, quo discordia civis
produxit miseros! His nos consevimus agros!

An irreverent soldier will have these fields so recently ploughed,
A barbarian these fields? Oh, how civil discord

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[31] Putnam 2005 p 453.
[32] Appian *BC* 4.3 notes eighteen towns, in 5.22 Manius complains: τὴν Ἰταλίαν σχεδὸν ἅπασαν ἀντὶ μόνων ὀκτωκαίδεκα πόλεων τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις καταγράφειν; Gabba 1971 p 140. See note 5, Table 2 and Map 1 at the end of the chapter.
[33] Appian *BC* 4.86.

Produced miseries! We sowed the fields for them!

The two characters sum up the saga of dispossession in rural Italy during that period when Meliboeus laments that "everywhere there is confusion in all fields."[34]

Vergil continues to depict Italy's rural unrest in the second half of his *Aeneid,* as the poem shifts from Aeneas' wanderings to the displacement of native Italian inhabitants by an invading military force. Vergil neatly connects the anxious mood expressed in both poems with an echoed word: *Eclogue* 1 ends solemnly with *umbrae*, when Tityrus tries to comfort Meliboeus with shelter as night approaches;[35] the *Aeneid* mirrors the coming darkness, also ending with *umbras*, which we will return to shortly.

The *Aeneid* is more flattering to Octavian than the *Eclogues.* In the latter, Octavian plays second fiddle to the much-admired G. Asinius Pollio, an ally of Fulvia and the brothers Antonii, who restored ownership of the land to some of the farmers. Chester Starr argues that *Eclogue* 1 depicts Octavian as a patron of the agricultural order,[36] and, believing that this poem was the last composed of the collection, he suggests that it shows Vergil's progressive acceptance of Octavian while the *princeps* adopted a "steadily more moderate attitude."[37] This progression of acceptance is supported by Vergil's praise of Octavian in the *Aeneid*; using Aeneas, Vergil shows the establishment of a new Roman regime as an event sanctioned by the gods (or at least, by some of them!).

Michael Putnam has observed that in the *Aeneid* Octavian's initial abuses of

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[34] Lines 11-12: *undique totis/ usque adeo turbatur agris.*
[35] *Ecl.* 1. 84-85: *et iam summa procul villarum culmina fumant/ maioresque cadut altis de montibus umbrae.*
[36] Starr 1955 p. 42.
[37] Starr 1955 36, 40.

power are replicated, although somewhat minimized, in Aeneas' "less uplifting

moments" when he is driven by vengeance.[38] In the years following Julius Caesar's

assassination, Octavian handled politics violently as he vied for a secure position both

with and against Mark Antony. The march on Rome after the questionable deaths of

Hirtius and Pansa, the proscriptions, and the Perusine War are not events that Octavian

mentions directly in his own *Res Gestae*. Once Octavian's opposition was removed, the

peace and prosperity of Augustus could follow. Anton Powell suggests that Augustus

apologized in his memoirs for these embarrassing events, and that later writers based

their reports on that of the *Princeps*.[39] As mentioned, Augustus' modifications are seen in

Appian's version of the Perusine War, in which he cites Augustus' memoir as his source

for Lucius' change of motive for starting the war.

To return to Vergil, the violence of Aeneas culminates in the vengeful killing of

Turnus at the end of the epic; following Putnam's suggestion, this also denotes the end of

Octavian's open hostilities. The *Aeneid* finishes in the shadows: *vitaque cum gemitu fugit*

indignata sub umbras (12.952). For both the *Eclogues* and the *Aeneid,* the shadow depicts

uncertainty and anxiety, and yet after the shadow there is the promise of a new day, in

terms of peace. Just as progress in Latium cannot be achieved while the rivalry remains

between Aeneas and Turnus, so must Mark Antony die before Octavian may concentrate

on improving Rome in his new role as Augustus. As we learn from Aeneas' visit to the

Underworld in book 6, Aeneas' progeny is destined for greatness, and Rome will become

a vast empire. After the death of Turnus/Antony, the violence will abate, and as it

becomes less pervasive, the rebuilding and strengthening of the empire will become the

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[38] Putnam 2005 p. 453.
[39] Powell 1992 p. 147-50.

focus. However, with this positive view of Roman dominance comes an underlying sad acceptance of the price to be paid for that domination. Adam Parry notes the two voices heard in the *Aeneid*, "a public voice of triumph and a private voice of regret," when discussing Aeneas and Dido as related to Octavian and Cleopatra;[40] this same sad acceptance applies to both Camilla and Fulvia.

The line describing Turnus' death (12.952) echoes exactly that of Camilla's (11.831). In this repeated line describing the fatality of a champion lies the same idea that with the death of an influential character, a fresh start can be made. Camilla's death triggered the failure of Turnus' plan, which in turn led to his demise. The fact that the same line was used for Turnus and Camilla is not coincidental. Its repeated use strongly suggests that Vergil intended to draw a connection between the two characters, and that the two were significant for Vergil beyond the epic. Since Turnus is often considered to be an allusion to Mark Antony, it is not too bold to suggest that Camilla could be Vergil's nod to Fulvia and, in particular, to her "unwomanly" military endeavors on behalf of the rural population of the Italian countryside. While the multifaceted Camilla triggers thoughts of other mythological or historical personalities, I believe that an additional layer should be added. When reading about the failed plans and death of a *bellatrix* followed by that of Aeneas' adversary, Roman readers may have noted similarities to the actions and demise of the notorious Fulvia and Octavian's rival Mark Antony, infamous personae who recently met similar fates. We shall begin our examination of Camilla's depiction and potential correlations with Fulvia by considering her allies and introduction in the text.

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[40] Parry 1963 p. 79.

The Resistance to Aeneas

  The army assembled by Turnus is described in a passage with triple the number of lines used for Aeneas' allied forces (Turnus' allies: 7.647-817; Aeneas' allies: 10.163-214, see Table 2 and Map 2). Turnus' Italian allies, with the exception of a few places like Caere and Mantua that are split in factions, mostly lie in the region to Rome's east and south.[41] Nearly a century ago, Blanche Brotherton briefly suggested that Vergil's geographical choices corresponded to historical events, both prior to and contemporary with the poet's lifetime;[42] this idea will be further explored here. Many of the areas mentioned in the region were significant for their involvement in the Social War, however, as can be seen in the table and Map 3 at the end of the chapter, at least seven towns were also closely tied to the Perusine War, either as confiscated towns or places that were punished for their participation.[43] The involvement of Praeneste is the most intriguing, since it connects Fulvia and Camilla.

  Vergil describes the troops of Praeneste as being armed with lead sling bullets (*glandes… plumbi*, 7.687-688). While used commonly in the ancient world, the sling and sling bullets only appear three times in the *Aeneid*, all among Turnus' allies: Mezentius (9.587-8), the warriors from Praeneste, and Camilla (11.579).[44] Lead sling bullets from the Perusine War have been excavated around the area of modern Perugia. The inscriptions found on those bullets include the names of Fulvia, Lucius Antony, and

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[41] See Table 2 and Map 2: Turnus & Aeneas' allies. Brotherton 1931 p. 198 sees the pattern as a circle in central Italy with a southern tangent into Campania.

[42] Brotherton 1931 p. 194 n. 14.

[43] Aequi Falisci, Beneventum, Nepet, Nuceria, Nursia, Praeneste, and Teanum Sidinicum. See Table 2 and Map 3 which shows the towns that were involved in both the Perusine War and the conflict of the *Aeneid*.

[44] *Glandes* is only used once in the *Aeneid*, in association with the troops from Praeneste, whereas *habena* and *funda* are used for the slings of Mezentius in book 9 and Camilla in book 11.

Octavian (see Figures 5 and 6).[45] Fulvia, however, was not at Perusia but had stationed

herself at Praeneste, as noted, meeting with senators and sending out messengers and

reinforcements.[46] Judith Hallett recognized that the naming of Fulvia, a woman, as one of

the three commanders was extraordinary in Roman warfare.[47] Fulvia's name on the

bullets and her position at Praeneste strengthen her alignment with the unique Camilla,

especially since Praeneste is the only town mentioned in the *Aeneid* in which the

inhabitants were armed with *glandes plumbae*.

Figure 5: CIL XI 6721.5 sketch from Keppie 1984.

Figure 6: Photo of CIL XI 6721.5, National Archaeological Museum – Perugia Inv. 623/18-Ic, by C.M. Villarreal.

Another connection between Praeneste and these two women is the Amasenus

River. This river is mentioned as part of the territory of Praeneste in an emphatic

apostrophe (*Amasene pater*, 7.685). Later, we learn that Metabus hurled his baby Camilla

tied to a spear across this same river. William Fowler points out that at its closest point,

the river is thirty miles from Praeneste, and so this must have been a marker of

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[45] For Fulvia, CIL XI 6721.4: AB FULVI[A]; 6721.5: FULVIAE/[L]ANDICAM/PET[O]/(thunderbolt), 6721.14: LACALVE / FULVIA / CULUM / PAND(ITE); for less secure naming of Fulvia, CIL XI 6721.3: FVL[V][N]A // VL[.]SEIS, cf. Benedetti 2012 p. 89-90 suggests FULUNA UL[.] R [---], both sources equate with Fulvia; for 6721.36, 36c, 37c, 37d showing variations of LUFINASIA or LUNIASIA, I agree with Benedetti 2012 p. 81-82 that while *L(ucius), F(ulvia) in Asia* and/or *l(udit) Ful(viam) Asia* are intriguing, *L(ucius) Ufin(ius) Asia(nus, ticus)* is more compelling when considering all the variations found. For *plumbae glandes* at Perugia, see Mommsen in CIL I.6721.1-42, Zangemeister 1885, Benedetti 2012.
[46] Dio 48.10; Appian *BC* 5.33
[47] Hallett 1977 p. 152-153.

Praeneste's great domain. Fowler also suggests the possibility that Vergil "had some personal reason for celebrating" the city;[48] this reason could be to acknowledge Fulvia's headquarters in Praeneste. In contrast to Fowler, Nicholas Horsfall suggests that the modern river may be a relatively recent antiquarian renaming as an explanation for why it seems to him "rather misplaced" in association with Praeneste (instead of only occurring with Camilla in Volscian territory).[49] While Horsfall's suggestion may address the distance of the river from the town today, in Vergil's text the Amasenus is associated with both Camilla and Praeneste. In connection with the sling bullets, the river strengthens the correlation between Camilla and Fulvia.

The Prowess of Camilla

> Hos super advenit Volsca de gente Camilla
> agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas,
> bellatrix, non illa colo calathisve Minervae
> femineas adsueta manus, sed proelia virgo
> dura pati cursuque pedum praevertere ventos. (*Aen.* 7.803-807)

> Besides these, Camilla arrived from the Volscian tribe
> leading a band of cavalry and troop of bright bronze,
> warrioress, she was not accustomed to womanly work
> with the spindle and wool-basket of Minerva, but a tough
> maiden able to endure battle and surpass the winds in running.

Camilla is introduced at the end of the catalogue of warriors who fight on behalf of the Latins (7.647-817). This *bellatrix* leads the Volscian cavalry, and is inexperienced in weaving but skilled in war (both realms of Minerva). She is incredibly fast (807), and all who flock to see her are amazed (*attonitis inhians animis*, 814). The Lycian quiver

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[48] Fowler 1918 p. 59-60.
[49] Horsfall 200 p. 447-48. Horsfall also suggests that we cannot know what geographical knowledge of central Italy an educated Roman would have (2000 p. 421); I argue that they would be familiar with major locations, especially places made famous by events of the recent civil wars.

and myrtle shepherd's spear that she carries (816-817) connect her to Diana, her patron deity who is often depicted on Lycian coinage with archery equipment (Figure 7). These weapons also portray her as a pastoral fighter defending her land; it is this depiction that will be important when we return to Fulvia later.

Figure 7: RPC I 3306a. Silver quarter-drachm, c. 48-27 BCE, Lycian League. OBV: bust of Artemis with quiver; REV: ΛΥ, quiver in incuse square with mint initials [KP, Kragus] and symbol. *RPC Online*, citing Hauck & Aufhäuser 20, 16 Oct. 2007, lot 156; accessed July 28, 2021, https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/1/3306a.

Camilla's significant placement in the catalogue indicates that she is of greater consequence than characters that appear before her; Vergil introduces Camilla even after Aeneas' rival Turnus.[50] Barbara Boyd argues that Camilla, in her "place of honor," mimics the placement of Penthesilea in the ecphrasis of Juno's temple at Carthage (1.489-493).[51] In a similar manner, Edward Courtney relates Camilla's position to that of Artemisia in Herodotus' catalogue of the Persian forces at Salamis (7.61-99).[52] Vergil was likely channeling both of these female commanders while describing and placing Camilla; the correlation with Artemisia in particular relates to the involvement and defeat of Fulvia. However, the poet goes one step further. Remarkably, Camilla's name is always the last word of the line; this occurs nineteen times, and yet it has not been

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[50] Saylor 1974, Boyd 1992, Alessio 1993, Egan 2012, et al., as opposed to Williams 1961 p. 149, who suggests that the catalogue is framed by Mezentius and Turnus, "the two most mighty warriors", with Camilla as a "pendant… bringing the book to a close on a note of strange beauty." Brill 1972 p. 21 introduces Camilla as "ist Camilla als Krönung des italischen Aufgebotes geeignet."
[51] Boyd 1992 esp. p. 225 ff.; Servius *ad Aen*. VII.803.
[52] Courtney 1988, esp. p. 5-8.

addressed by scholars.[53] Aside from being metrically convenient, this placement must show her significance. The effect is almost song-like.

Vergil also emphasizes Camilla's prominence when he starts her description with *hos super*. While *super* does mean 'besides, beyond, in addition to' as it is used here, the initial thought of readers could be the notion of 'above' or 'surpassing,' as Camilla appears to be loftier in relation to the other allies.[54] Turnus himself stressed her importance to the Latin cause during the debate against Drances, when he named her specifically, along with Neptune's son Messapus and the Rutulian augur Tolumius. His spoken lines (11.432-433) echo the lines from her introduction in book 7 (803-804, see above):

> est et Volscorum egregria de gente Camilla
> agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas.

The debate between Drances and Turnus has been compared to the harsh relationship between Cicero and Mark Antony.[55] In this light, the mention of Camilla as a source of hope for a victorious outcome could refer to Fulvia's defense of Antony when Cicero was urging the Senate to name him as enemy of the state.[56] Fulvia's support of Antony will be discussed further below.

After being invoked by Turnus, Camilla returns to the action for the battle that rages at the end of book 11. During the fight, the goddess Diana wistfully reveals details

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[53] 7.803, 11.432, 11.498, 11.535, 11.543, 11.563, 11.604, 11.649, 11.657, 11.689, 11.760, 11.796, 11.821, 11.833, 11.839, 11.856, 11.868, 11.892, 11.898. Fratantuono 2009 p. 181 notes for line 11.535: "Camilla's name effectively left for line-end…" but does not mention that this is always the case. Vergil would not have done something so consistently without a purpose.

[54] Horsfall in his commentary translates this as "After these…", though scholars noted above emphasize Camilla's importance of place, supporting the loftier connotation for *super*.

[55] McDermott 1980 p. 34-38.

[56] Appian *BC* 3.51-58. After Fulvia visited senators pleading for her husband, Lucius Piso spoke in the senate on Antony's behalf.

about Camilla's childhood to her companion Opis (11.532-694). We learn that Camilla's

father Metabus was exiled by the Volscians for his tyranny, but we are not told how

Camilla later became their queen; Diana only relates that Camilla was dedicated to her as

a baby during her father's escape. Camilla's childhood offers an interesting background

for the warrior, and some of her story draws parallels to events in Fulvia's life.

In addition to her aforementioned literal flight across the Amasenus River and

skill with sling bullets, we learn that little Camilla wore a tiger-skin cloak. This choice of

attire has been labeled as odd by commentators. Horsfall notes the rarity, how her father

would not have been able to acquire one, and that it would be too large for her![57] Lee

Fratantuono suggests that the skin could have been a gift from Diana, appropriate since

the animal and the warrioress had exceptional speed.[58] Achim Brill claims that the

wearing of animal skins places Camilla in primitive Italy;[59] however, the standard-bearers

of the Roman legions wore wolf or bear skins over their uniforms, so this would not seem

too strange or old-fashioned to the Roman reader. In another nod to Praeneste and

perhaps Fulvia, the warriors from that town are said to wear wolfskin caps that are tawny-

colored: ***fulvos****que lupi de pelle galeros/ tegmen habent capiti* (7.688-689).

Aside from Camilla's cloak, tigers are mentioned four other times in this epic, all

of which invoke ferocity or power: Dido rebuked Aeneas, saying that he had a tigress as a

mother (4.362); Bacchus' chariot is drawn by tigers on Aeneas' shield (6.805); Turnus is

like a tiger slaughtering a herd in battle (9.730); and the ship of Aeneas' ally Massicus is

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[57] Horsfall 2003 p. 335-336. The Latin text does not specify the skin of an adult tiger.
[58] Fratantuono 2009 p.198, citing Pliny *NH* 8.25, who says that one needs a very fast horse to escape these creatures from India and Hyrcania. In a neat correlation, Camilla runs down Aunides' horse while on foot (11.718-724).
[59] Brill 1972 p. 50.

named *Tiger* (10.166). While this may not seem out of the ordinary to a modern reader,

tigers were practically mythological for a contemporary of Vergil.[60] The first recorded

sighting of a tiger by Romans occurred when ambassadors from India gifted Augustus a

few of them at Samos in 20/19 BCE.[61] Augustus first displayed tigers in Rome during the

dedication of the Theater of Marcellus in 11 BCE.[62] Suetonius calls them *invisitatum*

(rarely seen).[63]

    Since these events and reports postdate the composition of the *Aeneid*, where did

Vergil research tigers? He probably obtained knowledge of tigers from Varro's *Lingua*

Latina, which was published before 27 BCE. This text contains the first extant

appearance of *tigris* in Latin (5.100):[64]

> tigris qui est ut leo varius, qui vivus capi adhuc non potuit. vocabulum e lingua
> Armenia: nam ibi et sagitta et quod vehementissimum flumen dicitur Tigris.
>
> The tiger, which is like a (variegated? patterned?) lion, which has not been able to
> be caught alive yet, is named from the Armenian language; for there both an
> arrow and the very violent river is called Tigris.

Being nursed or born from a tiger becomes a common insult in the Augustan age, and it

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[60] Tigers were rare but known in the Hellenistic east: Alexander received tigers from India (Curtius 9.8.1); Seleucus I gave Athens a tiger (pre-281 BCE, Athenaeus 13.590a-b). Habicht 2006 p 155 notes that comic playwrights mock the event, giving it legitimacy (Alexis fr. 204.3 from the play *Pyranos*: ὁ Σελεύκου τιγρίς; Philemon fr. 47 from the play *Neaira*: ὥσπερ Σέλευκος δεῦρ' ἔπεμψε τὴν τίγριν, ἥν εἴδομεν ἡμεῖς). The Nile Mosaic in Palestrina (dated 120-110 BCE) has an animal labelled 'ΤΙΓΥΙϹ', usually identified as a 'tigris,' but it is slender and spotted, and so Meyboom 1994 p. 122-3 suggests that this image, along with Diodorus' Babylonian tigers (2.50.2), Ptolemaeus' Aethiopian tigers (*Geog*. 4.82), and Arrian's spotted hunting dogs called 'tigers' (9.15.3) were all in fact cheetahs, which were tamed for hunting (Keller 1913 p. 86). Mosaics at Delos and Pompeii c. 100 BCE follow this pattern of blended creatures: the Delian example in the House of the Dionysos has spots on its face instead of stripes like later Roman examples, and the Pompeiian mosaic in the House of the Faun depicts a 'tiger' with a full mane; see Meyboom 1994 p. 122 and Dunbabin 1999 p. 43-44. Romans serving in the east as soldiers or magistrates may have seen tigers, and perhaps brought skins to Rome, but the textual evidence suggests the unlikelihood of this. Before the *Aeneid*, Vergil mentions tigers in reference to ferocity or to the god Bacchus (*Ecl*. 5.29; *Georg*. 2.151, 3.249, 4.408, and 4.511).

[61] Dio 48.9.8.

[62] Pliny *NH* 8.25.

[63] Suet. *Aug*. 43.4.

[64] Despite Varro's claim, tigers had been caught alive, though rarely and not yet brought to Rome, as noted in the Greek sources in n. 60.

seems to denote cold-heartedness.[65] However, none of the other references to tigers in the Augustan period concern clothing. This singularity begs further investigation.

In the *Phillipics*,[66] Cicero claims that Fulvia took bribes on behalf of Mark Antony from ambassadors of Deiotarus, a Galatian king, to settle a territorial claim in his favor. The transaction in the speech specifies the monetary amount of ten million sesterces. Gifts are not specifically mentioned, but they are not totally out of the question for a deal that happened in "women's quarters" with ambassadors "inexperienced in business." Despite Cicero's derogatory description,[67] the act of gift exchange with ambassadors was a Greco-Roman tradition reaching back to the Homeric epics, and was demonstrated in Vergil's time by Julius Caesar's gifts given to Cleopatra in Rome, the golden crown given to Octavian at Ephesus by Rhosian envoys after Actium, and by the aforementioned tigers given to Augustus at Samos.[68] One could easily imagine an exotic tiger skin included as part of the deal with Fulvia, and even if there was not such a rare luxury involved, a rumor of one among the Roman populace could feasibly be attached to Camilla's tiger-skin cloak.

There is another possibility. Using Varro's description of a tiger as a type of lion,

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[65] Ovid *Met*. 7.62 (Medea), 8.121 (Scylla daughter of Nisus), 9.613 (Byblis' brother was *not* the child of a tigress).

[66] Cicero *Phil*. 2.95. Deiotarus has a complicated history with the Romans. He was a long-time ally of Pompey (App. *Mith*. 75; Strabo 12.3.13; Caesar *BC* 3.4.3; App *BC* 2.71) and helped Cicero in Cilicia (*ad Fam* 15.1.6-2.2. 4.5-7; *Att*. 5.18.2, 6.1.14; *Phil*. 11.33-34). His son-in-law and rival, Castor, claimed that he planned to assassinate Julius Caesar; Cicero wrote a speech in his defense!

[67] In an attempt to clear his friend Deiotarus of improper business deals, Cicero blames the messengers and uses the odd phrase *gynaecium*, a *hapax legomenon* according to a search on PHI Latin: https://latin.packhum.org/search?q=gynaeci. The rarity of this word is not surprising, since Roman homes, unlike Greek houses, did not have separate quarters for men and women.

[68] Julius Caesar summoned Cleopatra to Rome, gave her honors and gifts, and sent her back (Suet. *Iul*. 52.1); the envoys from Rhosus are mentioned in an inscribed letter (Sherk 1968, no. 58 line 75-79.) In addition to the examples given in n. 58, we may include gifts given by Ptolemy II to the Roman envoys Q. Fabius Gurges, N. Fabius Pictor, and Q. Ogulnius in 273 BCE (Val. Max. 4.3.9), and the senate giving gifts (and possibly clothing- *hortatus est ut depositis sordibus*) to the exiled Ptolemy VI (Val. Max. 5.1.1; partially told by Diodorus 31.18).

we can relate this animal to the coinage of Mark Antony from Lugdunum, which depicts

the goddess Victory on the obverse and a lion on the reverse (Figure 8). It has been

suggested that Victory is depicted in the guise of Fulvia. These coins were minted in 43

and 42 BCE; the two variations possibly note Antony's age on the reverse with his name

on the second series (XL and XLI, respectively). The depiction of Fulvia on the coins

was perhaps a show of gratitude to her by Antony, a design and intent that may have been

repeated in coins from Eumeneia/Fulvia in Phrygia in 41 BCE (see Figure 9).[69]

Figure 8: RRC 489.6. Silver quinarius, 43-43 BCE, Gallia Cisalpina. OBV: III·VIR·R·P·C. Female bust with wings, suggested here to be Fulvia, though identified as Victory by American Numismatic Society. REV: ANTONI IMP XLI: Lion. See also RRC 489.5. ANS 1944.100.4491, accessed July 29, 2021, http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.4491.

Figure 9: RPC I 3139. Bronze, 41-40 BCE, Phrygia. OBV: draped bust of Fulvia (as Nike) with wings. REV: ΦΟΥΛΟΥΙΑΝΩΝ ΖΜΕΡΤΟΡΙΓΟΣ ΦΙΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ, Athena with spear and shield. *RPC Online*, accessed July 29, 2021, https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/1/3139.

Antony habitually placed images of his important relations/allies on his coins, starting

with Julius Caesar.[70] The identification of Octavia and Cleopatra on his coins urges the

consideration that Antony depicted his influential wife Fulvia as well; this would make

her the first mortal woman portrayed on Roman coins.[71] The similarities of hairstyle and

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[69] RPC 3139 & 3140; the town was renamed Fulvia, but quickly changed back after her death. Vagi 2001 notes that the coins from Eumeneia from this series are often countermarked (entry 191).

[70] Julius Caesar RRC 488.1-2; Lucius Antony RRC 517.3-5; Lepidus RRC 492.2; Octavian RRC 492.1, 493.1, 517.1-2, 517.6-8, 528.1-3, 529.1; Octavia RRC 527.1, 533.3a & b; Cleopatra RRC 543.1; his son Marcus 541.1-2; only Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus' name appears RRC 521.1-2.

[71] This issue has been hotly debated for more than a century. Those who argue for Fulvia include Babelon 1885 p. 168- 169; Balsdon 1962 p. 49, cf. 295, n. 13; Bauman 1992 p. 89; Bengtson 1977 p. 19; Burnett, et al. 1992 p. 508; Head 1964 p. 213; Huzar 1978 p. 132; Huzar 1986 p. 102; Kleiner 1992 p. 360. Rowan 2019 p. 81-83 notes that Roman women appeared on provincial coinage before official Roman coins (the

wings between the coins from Gaul and those from Phrygia, which are generally accepted

to depict Fulvia, argue in favor of Fulvia to be identified on the earlier examples as well.

Antony may have used this coinage to publicly thank his wife for tirelessly lobbying on

his behalf when he was named an enemy of the state in 44 BCE. Fulvia, along with her

young son with Antony and Antony's mother, visited senators' homes the night before

the senate meeting scheduled to determine Antony's status, and that day the trio blocked

the entrance crying and pleading in mourning garb. Their actions and their presence in

Rome were emphasized by Lucius Piso when he defended Antony at the meeting.[72]

During this tumultuous time, Fulvia and her children were in danger of losing their

property and possibly their lives, but Atticus helped her repeatedly despite Cicero's

disapproval.[73] Atticus' acts of kindness towards Fulvia show that she must not have been

generally despised, despite the depictions of Cicero and Dio. For those Romans who felt

appreciation for Fulvia's efforts against Octavian, the tiger cloak of Camilla could have

triggered thoughts of the Victoria/Fulvia coin with a wild feline physically on its

back/reverse (*tigridis exuviae **per dorsum** a vertice pendent*, *Aen*. 11.577).

Camilla in battle

Now that we have discussed her allies and description, let us turn to Camilla's

military actions. In preparation for battle, Camilla gives a strategy to Turnus, repeatedly

using the imperative mood (11.505-506). Turnus in reply calls her *decus Italiae virgo*,

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coins from Lugdunum are cross-listed: RRC 489.5-6 = RPC 1 512-513).To counter this, initially Grueber
1910 vol. 1 p. 571 and more recently Delia 1991 p. 201-2 and Osgood 2006 p. 189-90 have argued that
these coins depict a goddess, and that Octavia was the first mortal woman depicted on RRC 527.1.
[72] Appian *BC* 3.51-58.
[73] Nepos *Atticus* 9.2, 4.

"maiden, glory of Italy." Camilla is now portrayed as more heavily armed than her initial appearance, having progressed from a Lycian quiver and a myrtle spear to possessing a javelin, a double-edged axe, and a bow and arrow (11.649-652). Her axe (*bipennem*, 11.651) is often noted in commentaries as a typical Amazonian weapon.[74] Plutarch reports that Herakles gave Hippolyte's belt and battle axe to Omphale of Lydia; from her the axe was associated with Lydian kings until Candaules. It then became linked with Zeus Labrandeus in Caria.[75] According to Adrienne Mayor, though, Amazons depicted in Greek art, as well as in the texts of Xenophon and Strabo, did not carry the πέλεκυς or *bipennis* but the *sagaris*, an axe with a broad blade on one side and a smaller pick on the other (Figure 10).[76]

Figure 10: Attic red-figured *dinos* with Theseus and the Amazons, attributed to the Polygnotos Group c. 440 BCE. H. 25 cm. Agrigento. The Amazon in the center is holding a *sagaris*. © The Trustees of the British Museum 1899,0721.5, accessed July 29, 2021, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/289951001.

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[74] Fratantuono 2007 p. 340; Horsfall 2003 p. 366.

[75] Plutarch, *Greek Questions*, 45, 2.302a. Plutarch tells us that *labrus* was the Lydian word for the Greek *pelekus*: Λυδοὶ γὰρ 'λάβρυν' τὸν πέλεκυν ὀνομάζουσι.

[76] Mayer 2014 p. 220. Xenophon Anabasis 4.4.16. Strabo 11.5.1, 11.8.6. Mayer p. 220-21 also notes that *sagareis* have been found in Scythian female burials.

The *bipennis* was shown in art throughout the Mediterranean from Asia Minor to Minoan Crete to the Archaic Peloponnese, where the weapon was connected to Artemis.[77] On a coin from Eumeneia, a town that was briefly named Fulvia in honor of Mark Antony's wife, the goddess Diana/Artemis is depicted on the obverse with a *bipennis* on the reverse (Figure 11). Closer to home for Camilla, the *bipennis* also has roots in Etruscan culture, where it symbolized power and was initially the axe used in the Roman fasces.[78] The *bipennis* seems to be as multifaceted as the Volscian *bellatrix* that wielded one. Perhaps such imagery added to Vergil's portrayal of Camilla and her axe.

Figure 11: Bronze, 133-1 BCE, Eumenia, Phrygia. OBV: Artemis right. REV: ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ in two lines across fields, bipennis. Lindgren 1993 vol. III 581.

The well-armed Camilla is not initially described as having a sword, but she acquires one at some point, using it to kill Aunides (11.711-720). This progression in weaponry from pastoral to ballistic (arrows and spears) to hand-to-hand combat tools (axe and sword) could correlate with Fulvia's progression in her opposition to Octavian, from protesting verbally against his land redistribution campaign to rallying legions against him. Fulvia is described by Dio as girded with a sword at Praeneste, giving watchwords and speeches to the soldiers.[79] This behavior is reportedly upsetting to

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[77] According to Morgan 1999 note 83 p. 445, 23 *bipennis* votives were found at Tegea, 3 at Lousoi, and a "heavy concentration" at the Artemis Orthia sanctuary at Sparta, an example of which is at the British Museum: 1923,0212.588.

[78] Dionysus 2.29; Livy 2.8.

[79] Dio 48.10.4: ξίφος παρεζώννυτο καὶ συνθήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδίδου, ἐδημηγόρει τε ἐν αὐτοῖς πολλάκις.

Octavian, presumably because Fulvia has crossed the bounds of appropriate female behavior into that associated with Amazonian-style warriors, like Camilla. One could argue that the descriptions of Camilla and Fulvia are isolated instances of a generically depicted female warrior, but such women are rare. It is not too far-fetched to believe that Vergil, and many of his contemporary readers, would have thought of Fulvia when encountering Camilla.

Camilla's killing spree in book 11 is detailed and graphic, and it includes the usual epic insult-trading before individual encounters. Aunides (11.705-708) and Tarchon (11.732-740) both taunt Camilla for her skill and her gender; with this behavior the connections between Camilla and Fulvia continue. Aunides goads Camilla, using the vocative *femina forti* in "fricative alliteration" that is "wonderfully sneering"[80] as he urges her to dismount and fight hand to hand (*comminus*, 11.705-706). This challenge is reminiscent of the sling bullets that mocked Fulvia, particularly the one that threatens her female genitalia: FULVIAE/[L]ANDICAM/PET[O].[81] Similarly, Tarchon's speech, which contains references to drinking, sex, and Bacchic revels, scorns the Etruscans for fleeing Camilla in battle (*femina palantis agit atque haec agmina vertit*, 11.734) while eagerly seeking "battle" with women otherwise (*at non in Venerem segnes nocturnaque bella*, 11.736). Tarchon's style echoes Cicero's mocking of Antony and Fulvia in his *Philippics*. Both speeches also recall Octavian's own lurid verses written about Fulvia (as quoted by Martial 11.20):[82]

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[80] Fratantuono 2009 p. 232 for line 11.705-6 *femina forti / fidis… fugam…*
[81] CIL XI 6721.5: FULVIAE/[L]ANDICAM/PET[O]/(thunderbolt) - I seek Fulvia's clitoris; CIL XI 6721.14: LACALVE/FULVIA/CULUM/PAND(ITE)- Bald L(ucius) A(ntony) (and) Fulvia, open up (your) anuses.
[82] Hallettt 1977 p. 161 and 2015 p. 250 notes that, despite objections that such bawdy language does not fit with the moral behavior touted by Augustus, the meter (trisyllabic pentameter) and vocabulary are trendy c.

Caesaris Augusti lascivos, livide, versus
    sex lege, qui tristis verba Latina legis:
"Quod futuit Glaphyran Antonius, hanc mihi poenam
    Fulvia constituit, se quoque uti futuam.
Fulviam ego ut futuam? Quod si me Manius oret
    pedicem? faciam? Non puto, si sapiam.
'Aut futue, aut pugnemus' ait. Quid quod mihi vita
    carior est ipsa mentula? Signa canant!"
Absolvis lepidos nimirum, Auguste, libellos,
    qui scis Romana simplicitate loqui.

Spiteful reader, you who read Latin words gloomily, read these six
impudent verses of Augustus Caesar: "Because Antony screws
Glaphyra, Fulvia chose this punishment for me, that I should screw
her too. That I should screw Fulvia? What if Manius begged me to bang
him- would I do it? I don't think so, if I have sense. 'Either screw me or
we fight,' she says. What about my dick being dearer to me than life itself?
Sound the charge!" You no doubt acquit my amusing little books,
Augustus, you who know how to speak with Roman candor.

Octavian's crude poetry here reflects the vulgar messages of the sling bullets instead of

his usual proper demeanor; perhaps it was written for the enjoyment of his troops. What

is most interesting about this piece, though, is its claim that Fulvia was inciting war

because of jealousy over Glaphyra,[83] when the usual object of her displeasure in the

sources is Cleopatra. Both of these claims of female rivalry belittle her potential

ideological reasons for resisting Octavian, and, I argue, are not supported by her previous

political involvement. Antony was known for his affairs, and yet this is the only war that

Fulvia rallied supposedly in response to his sexual proclivities, thereby negating the

motive of jealousy.

40s BCE. Also, Augustus does not do anything inappropriate; he merely brags about his desirability and
martial confidence with crude language.

[83] Glaphyra, famed for her beauty, was married to Archelaus, the high priest of Bellona in Cappadocia; her
son Archelaus was given the kingdom c. 36 BCE by Antony after the death of her husband. Dio 49. 32 calls
her a former *hetaera*; Appian *BC* 5.7 says Antony thought she was beautiful; only Martial mentions an
affair. Appian 5.19, 5.59 states that Fulvia sparked the war to get Antony away from Cleopatra, not
Glaphyra. The affair with Cleopatra began in the late summer of 41 BCE, but Pelling 1988 p. 199 notes that
Fulvia and Lucius prepared for war in late spring/early summer, thereby making the two events unrelated.

As we return to the epic battlefield, Camilla slays Aunides with a sword after she dismounts and chases down his horse on foot (11.718-724), perhaps displaying tiger-like speed. Tarchon is a bit luckier than Aunides; he is robbed of his prize and survives because Camilla is shot from afar by Arruns, a priest of Apollo Soracte. Arruns had stalked Camilla in a circular pattern, tracing her movements throughout the battle:

> Tum fatis debitus Arruns
> velocem iaculo et multa prior arte Camillam
> **circuit** et quae sit fortuna facillima, temptat.
> Qua se cumque furens medio tulit agmine virgo,
> hac Arruns subit et tacitus vestigia lustrat;
> **qua victrix** redit illa pedemque ex hoste reportat,
> **hac iuvenis furtim** celeris detorquet habenas.
> **Hos aditus** iamque **hos aditus** omnemque **pererrat**
> undique **circuitum** et certam quatit improbus hastam. (11.759-67)
>
> Then Arruns, owed to the fates,
> first circles quick Camilla with javelin and great skills
> and tries what fortune may be easiest.
> Wherever the maiden rides raging with her troop
> there Arruns approaches and silently follows her tracks;
> where she returns victorious and departed from the enemy
> there the youth stealthily turns his fast reins.
> This approach and now this approach and everywhere
> the shameless one roams the whole circuit and brandishes
> an inevitable spear.

Arruns' winding movement mimics the tactical maneuvers of Octavian and Agrippa against the allied forces of Lucius and Fulvia. The opposing armies did not meet in direct battle, but tried to gain the geographical upper hand. As mentioned, Fulvia sent reinforcements and urged Mark Antony's generals to help Lucius, but, after Plancus' initial success, her allies were blocked at several nearby cities.

Arruns' success in killing Camilla was accomplished with the assistance of Apollo. The Roman reader would recall that Apollo, in addition to being the patron god of Octavian, is also the deity associated with sudden deaths. Following Vergil's pattern of

references and allusions, Apollo could evoke memories of Fulvia's death by a plague. Arruns' prayer to Apollo could easily relate to Fulvia, referring to Camilla as a disease: "I don't seek arms, or a trophy of the defeated maiden or any spoils…may this harsh disease die having been struck with a wound by me."[84] Octavian held no triumph after the victory at Perusia[85] and he did not boast about it in his *Res Gestae*; he merely wanted to purge the 'disease' from the conflict.

It is conceivable that Vergil's Arruns, the killer of Camilla, could easily stir up thoughts of the prominent Lucius Arruntius for the Roman audience. Arruntius, born in the Volscian town of Atina, initially opposed Octavian; he had been proscribed in 43 BCE, but he escaped to and served under Sextus Pompey.[86] He was pardoned under the treaty at Misenum in 39 BCE. Arruntius was a naval commander at the Battle of Actium under Octavian, became consul in 22 BCE, and possibly wrote a history about the First Punic War.[87] Since Arruns was a priest of Octavian's patron god Apollo and had a name reminiscent of an important admiral for Octavian, it lends credence to the portrayal of Camilla as a nod to Fulvia.

After Arruns kills Camilla, he flees like a wolf with his tail between his legs who had killed a shepherd or a large cow (11.809-813). As Fratantuono points out,[88] Camilla

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[84] 11.790-793: *non exuvias pulsaeve tropaeum virginis aut spolia ulla peto…haec dira meo dum vulnere pestis pulsa cadat.*

[85] While the general assumption is that triumphs were only held for victories over foreign enemies, Augustus did in fact receive a triumph for conquering Antony and Cleopatra, just as Caesar received triumphs for defeating Scipio and Cato with the remnants of the Pompeian party in Africa (Appian *Ill.*101). Perhaps the location of the battle on Italian soil influenced the choice to not seek a triumph, or even an *ovatio*, as Octavian received for conquering Sextus Pompey in 36 BCE (App. *BC* 5.130, Dio 49.15.1-2, *Fasti trium.* s.a. 36). The Sicilian campaign will be discussed in the next chapter.

[86] Appian *BC* 4.46.

[87] Fratantuono 2007 p. 344-345. The work may have been written by his son. In a fun twist of fate well after Vergil, Arruntius' son adopted M. Furius Camillus Scribonius, who then went by L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonius; he led a revolt against Claudius, but then committed suicide (Dio 60.15; Suet. *Claudius* 13, 35-36. Tac. *Hist.* 1.89).

[88] Fratantuono 2007 p. 351.

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is alluded to in this passage as the shepherd of her people, a Homeric wording for

generals, and as a sacrificial victim. With the latter comparison, Vergil emphasizes that

Camilla must be sacrificed in order to achieve peace in Italy. Consequently, her death

causes Turnus to abandon his ambush of Aeneas, and afterwards Aeneas becomes *saevus*

(11.910). Aeneas' savagery is comparable to Octavian's when he destroys Perusia and the

leading men of the rebellion.

Aeneas never meets Camilla, and he is not directly responsible for her death. This

is a change from the epic model of Penthesileia, who is killed by the hero Achilles. The

absence of the hero not only allows Aeneas to avoid having his hands stained with the

blood of such an admirable enemy, but it could also allude to the fact that Octavian and

Fulvia did not meet in battle. Octavian besieged Perusia, while Fulvia sent reinforcements

from Praeneste. Before Fulvia's piteous death, she managed to stir the local populations

to fight for their land, reminiscent of Camilla's influence (11.891-895):

> Ipsae de muris summo certamine matres
> monstrat amor verus patriae, ut videre Camillam,
> tela manu trepidae iaciunt…
> … primaeque mori pro moenibus ardent.
>
> When they see Camilla, the mothers themselves in greatest
> rivalry throw spears with trembling hands (true love of country
> shows them), …and they burn to be the first to die for their walls.

Camilla's last words (through Acca, her trusted companion) urged Turnus to take

her place and defend the city: *succedat pugnae Troianosque arceat urbe* (11.826); he

failed to do so and lost everything. It has been suggested that at the meeting in Greece

with Fulvia and his mother Julia, along with the aristocrats who escorted the latter from

Sextus Pompey's care, Mark Antony was urged to form an alliance against Octavian.[89]

Perhaps had he done so, or had earlier assisted Fulvia and Lucius Antony, the political

outcome would have been altered.

Correlations with Fulvia's Characteristics

Ronald Syme describes the Perusine War as the last time Italy rose up against

Rome, and claims that since they had had enough of war "the Roman people was (sic)

ready to surrender the ruinous privilege of freedom and submit to strict government."[90]

Taking Syme's comments a step further, I suggest that Vergil, as a dislodged landowner,

may have respected Fulvia for fighting against Octavian's land redistribution program, a

program that was negatively mentioned by the poet in his other works. However, Vergil

also understood that the incessant civil wars needed to end, and that to achieve peace,

Fulvia had to die. Therefore, Vergil enchantingly depicts Camilla as admired for fighting

against Aeneas, but also as an enemy that must perish to end the war. Roman descriptions

of Fulvia are decidedly negative, since they come from authors who used hostile sources

such as Cicero and Augustus. Nonetheless, as I've tried to draw out, we can observe

similarities between those descriptions and the language used by Vergil for Camilla. We

shall now discuss some examples.

Just as Camilla was not *colo calathisve Minervae femineas adsueta manus* (7.805-

806), but instead leads the cavalry and orders Turnus on the battlefield (11.502-506),

Plutarch tells us that Fulvia was unconcerned with wool-spinning and housekeeping,[91]

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[89] Welch 1995 p. 193, citing Appian 5.33 and 5.52. Welch also suggests that Fulvia "might have toppled Octavian, had Antony and his generals supported her…"

[90] Syme 1939 p. 208, 513.

[91] *Ant*.10.3: Φουλβίαν… οὐ ταλασίαν οὐδὲ οἰκουρίαν φρονοῦν γύναιον.

and describes her as a naturally meddlesome and headstrong woman.[92] Fulvia also was no stranger to the camp; she was present at Brundisium in 44 BCE when Antony had to put down a mutiny, reportedly witnessing the decimation and having blood splatter her face.[93] This anecdote is meant to add to Fulvia's reputation as being jarringly unmatronly, and yet this portrayal oddly connects her even more to the virgin Camilla, despite her three marriages,[94] since both women were sought after as a daughter-in-law: *multae illam frustra Tyrrhena per oppida matres optavere nurum* (11.581-582).

Fulvia's father, Marcus Atius Bambalio was not exiled like Camilla's father was (11. 540-542), but he experienced the political equivalent in Rome, as he held no offices in the *cursus honorum*. He was mocked by Cicero as a *homo nullo numero,* who also claimed that his cognomen Bambalio, the Stutterer, was given *propter haesitantiam linguae stuporemque cordis* (*Phil*. 3.16). In the same passage, Cicero ridiculed Fulvia's maternal grandfather, Sempronius Tuditanus, for mental infirmity in his old age. Like Bambalio, Tuditanus held no political offices and was the last male of his line.[95] Similarly, we hear no more of Metabus or his family once Camilla is grown.

An element of Camilla's unmatronly military prowess is her ferocity on the battlefield. Ruth Morello suggests that Camilla's "habit of repeated blows is distinctive…

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[92] *Ant*.30.2: φύσει μὲν οὖσαν πολυπράγμονα καὶ θρασεῖαν.

[93] Cicero *Phil* 3.4, 5.22, 13.18. Cicero's description is meant to be shocking, but it is interesting to note that it was no longer scandalous for the next generation to have wives at camp: Drusus brought Antonia (Suet. *Claud*. 2) and Germanicus brought Agrippina (Tac. *Ann*. 1.40).

[94] Fulvia was married to three of the most prominent young men in Rome: P. Clodius Pulcher, C. Scribonius Curio, and Mark Antony.

[95] It would not have served Cicero's political purposes to mention Fulvia's maternal great-grandfather, also named Sempronius Tuditanus, who served under Mummius in Greece in 146, was an optimate, and consul in 129. The senate ordered him as governor of provincial Italy to arbitrate claims of dispossessed Roman allies who lost their land under the Gracchan land commission. He refused to do so, and by leaving to fight a war in Illyria, he stopped the allocation (App. *BC* 1.80). He was awarded a triumph and dedicated a statue to the local river god Timavis in Aquileia (CIL I^2 652).

and the manner in which she uses her 'pastoral' weapons demonstrates the extreme

violence of her character."[96] This is especially apparent when Camilla is gruesomely

described slaying Orsilochus with an axe, striking him through his helmet and skull as he

repeatedly begs for mercy (11.696-698). Her soldierly exploits have also led to charges of

greed, when Vergil says that she burns with a womanly love for booty and spoils,

feminae praedae et spoliorum ardebat amore (11.782), while she is stalking Chloreus for

his regalia. Cicero in the *Philippics* remarks three times on Fulvia's greed, and once

simultaneously on her cruelty: *avara coniunx* (*Phil*. 2.113), *avarissimae* (*Phil*. 6.4), and

non modo avarissimae sed etiam crudelissimae uxoris (*Phil*. 13.18). Appian also conveys

these characteristics during the proscriptions, in particular when recounting Fulvia's

desire for the house of Caesetius Rufus.[97]

　　　As discussed previously, Cassius Dio and Appian differ as to why or even if

Lucius Antony rallied for farmers and how much responsibility Fulvia had in the

Perusine conflict. Dio has Lucius champion the Italian landowners in order to get more

power, whereas Appian claims that Lucius did not fight for land but to restore the

Republic. Fulvia is depicted by Dio as mentioned, arming herself at Praeneste and giving

watchwords, while Appian states that Fulvia initially reprimanded Lucius for "stirring

war at an inopportune time," and only rallied reinforcements for Lucius when Mark

Antony's generals in the Gallic Provinces seemed reluctant to help.[98] Diana Delia claims

that Octavian is responsible for moving the blame for the Perusine War onto Fulvia

alone, giving rise to the angry headstrong character later depicted by Dio and Plutarch.[99]

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[96] Morello 2008 p. 46.
[97] Appian *BC* 4.29
[98] Appian *BC* 5.19, 5.33.
[99] Delia 1991 p. 205. Plutarch *Ant*. 10.30

Appian's depiction of Fulvia is contradictory, or rather, Lucius' claims about her involvement is, which progress from the war having nothing to do with her, to his exploitation of her to overthrow the triumvirate, and then to placing full blame for the war on her.[100] In this confusion it is possible to catch a glimpse of the Fulvia that Vergil may have known. Both Lucius and Fulvia had conflicting interests in this turbulent time of warfare, proscriptions, and rebellions. Perhaps that is why Camilla's character goes through such a transformation, from her pastoral past to her ruthless violence in battle,[101] as she becomes the leader of the same people who exiled her father against those who seek to take their land. During the last gasps of the Republic, people's fortunes, alliances, and political stances changed drastically at times.

Regardless of motive, Italian landowners flocked to Lucius Antony and Fulvia. Similar to Turnus' attempts to rally the Latins (9.128-158, 11.410-444), Lucius marched to Rome and promised an end of the triumvirate and a return to traditional rule. This announcement was happily received by the people, who named Lucius *imperator*.[102] With a fresh army, he tried to ambush Octavian's commander Salvidienus with the help of Pollio and Ventidius, Mark Antony's allied generals. Lucius' failed trap is reminiscent of Turnus' attempt at ambushing Aeneas (11.515-516). Lucius' failure to cut off the enemy caused him to seek refuge in Perusia, which Octavian and Agrippa then besieged, just as the Trojans and their allies stormed Latinus' city (book 12, esp. 554ff.).

At the end of the Perusine War, the town of Perusia was burned down, supposedly coinciding with (or caused by) the suicide of a prominent citizen named Macedonicus.[103]

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[100] Appian *BC* 5.43, 5.54, 5.59.
[101] Basson 1986 p. 65-66.
[102] App. *BC* 5.30-31.
[103] Vell. 2.74.4: *urbs incensa.*

Vergil may have invoked this scenario with the suicide of Queen Amata while her own city went up in flames (12.593-613). In addition to this, three hundred equestrians who were allied with Lucius Antony and Fulvia may have been sacrificed. If Dio's account is true (it echoes Suet. *Aug.* 15), this is a fine example of the *saevus* Aeneas/Octavian in action (Dio 48.14.3-5):[104]

> οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐφθάρησαν. [4] καὶ λόγος γε ἔχει ὅτι οὐδ᾽ ἁπλῶς τοῦτο ἔπαθον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ ὡσιωμένον ἀχθέντες ἱππῆς τε τριακόσιοι καὶ βουλευταὶ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Καννούτιος ὁ Τιβέριος… [5] ἐτύθησαν. τῶν δὲ Περουσίνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκεῖ ἁλόντων οἱ πλείους ἀπώλοντο, καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτή… πᾶσα κατεκαύθη.[105]

> Most of the senators and equestrians were killed. And the story goes that they did not merely suffer (die), but 300 equestrians and other senators and even Tiberius Cannutius… were led to the altar, sacred to the former Caesar, and sacrificed. Of the Perusians and others captured there, most were killed, and the city itself… was totally burned down.

The end of Perusia led to Fulvia's retreat to Greece, where she died of an illness, metaphorically sacrificed by Apollo so that Octavian could begin a new version of Rome. Fulvia was the last of the Fulvii, so no one was left to defend her reputation, aside from her children who were under Octavian's care.[106] Her death was opportune to Mark Antony and Octavian, and so "it may be that her importance has been exaggerated, just as her conduct has been distorted. Hostile propaganda is merciless towards Fulvia where it cannot be proved mendacious."[107] If that is in fact the case, and Fulvia was not as ruthless

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[104] Kraggerud 1987 argues that the number of those killed by Octavian at Perusia is an exaggeration, and that it should not be linked to Aeneas' sacrifice of the captives for Pallas' funeral. While perhaps not a sacrifice, the deaths at Perusia were great enough to appear in Propertius 1.22.3-5: *si Perusina tibi patriae sunt nota sepulcra/ Italiae duris funera temporibus/ cum Romana suos egit discordia civis*. I suggest instead that Octavian's ruthlessness in general, as reported by Dio and Suetonius, may be signaled by Aeneas' rage against Turnus.

[105] Interestingly, the only things that survived the fire in Perusia were the temple of Vulcan and a statue of Juno.

[106] The downfall of her and Antony's son, Iullus, as a challenger to Augustus will be discussed in chapter 5.

[107] Syme 2016 p. 185.

as depicted in the historiographic sources, then Vergil's appreciation for her efforts against land confiscation is even more understandable.

Conclusion

Kurt Raaflaub describes the *Aeneid* as a poem about both Aeneas and Augustan Rome, stating that, "there is a praise of Augustus and a hope that through his principate the Roman world, shaken in its foundations by decades of hatred and civil war, can find peace and prosperity."[108] In this struggle for a new world order, there were casualties, some of whom were major players. The death of these important personae allowed the onset of the new Principate. Just as many scholars have seen Mark Antony in Vergil's Turnus and Cleopatra in Dido, I have argued that Vergil used Camilla to highlight the complicated nature of Augustus' rise to power and particularly to acknowledge Fulvia, the woman fighting on behalf of the Italian landowners in the Perusine War.

While some of the correlations drawn in this chapter are more speculative than others, I believe that the collective examples demonstrate that Vergil artfully veiled Fulvia as Camilla to sympathetically depict her without giving offense to Augustus. In this manner, Vergil could safely mourn the land confiscation program and recognize those who tried to help. J.P.V.D. Balsdon refers to Fulvia as "an Amazon of a woman" and as "an infinitely loyal virago."[109] These cheeky descriptions call to mind the *bellatrix* Camilla, who also fought for the ancestral territory of Italian farmers against the threat of displacement by (pre)Roman soldiers, and whose sorrowful death was necessary for the success of Aeneas.

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[108] Raaflaub 2005 p. 68.
[109] Baldson 1962 p. 49.

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Table 2: Towns involved in redistribution program, the Perusine war, and the conflict between Aeneas & Turnus in Vergil's Aeneid.

Towns confiscated 41 BCE	Perusine War	Turnus' allies	Aeneas allies
Ancona	Ariminum	Abella	Caere
Aquinum	Clusium	Aequi Falisci/Falerii	Clusium
Ariminum	Firmum Picenum	Amiternum	Cosa
Asculum	Fulginia	Anxur	Graviscae
Beneventum	Nursia	Ardea	Ilva
Bononia	Perusia	Aventinus	Liguria
Bovianum as per Mommsen/Brunt	Praeneste	Beneventum (Sarrastians)	**Mantua** vs. Mezentius
Capua	Ravenna	Caere	Minio (river)
Concordia Sagittaria	Sentinum	Cales	Pallantium
Cremona	Spoletium	Capena	Pisa
Falerii/Aequi Falisci	Sutrium	Capreae	Populonia
Firmum	Veii	Casperia	Pyrgi
Hadria		Cures	
Hispellum (near Perusia)		Eretum	
Luca		Feronia	
Mantua		Fescennium	
Nepet as per Mommsen		Foruli	
Nuceria		Gabii	
Pisaurum		**Mantua** w/Mezentius	
Setia as per Momsen (Volscian)		Mutusca	
Teanum Sidinicum		Nepet as per Fowler	
Tergeste		Nersae	
Venusia		Nuceria (Sarrastians as per Servius)	
		Nursia	
		Praeneste	
		Teanum Sidinicum (Oscans)	
		Tibur	

Red: overlap between Turnus' allies and Perusine War/land confiscation
Green: overlap between Aeneas' allies and Perusine War/land confiscation
Bolded black: split between Turnus and Aeneas and affected by the Perusine War
Blue: areas split between Turnus and Aeneas

NB: the hills of Rome are separate in the *Aeneid*, and so are blue here, even though Rome was involved in the war. The Palatine and Aventine were divided through civil strife repeatedly. The Palatine was associated with Romulus and the later aristocracy, making the alliance with Aeneas logical. The Aventine, connected with Remus (though not part of Rome until the rule of Ancus Martius: Livy 1.33; Strabo 5.3.7), held significance for the plebeians as seen with the temple of the Aventine triad Ceres, Liber, and Libera, dedicated after the plebeian secession of 494 BCE. Liber and Marsyas as potential symbols for Augustus' family rivalry are discussed in chapter 5.
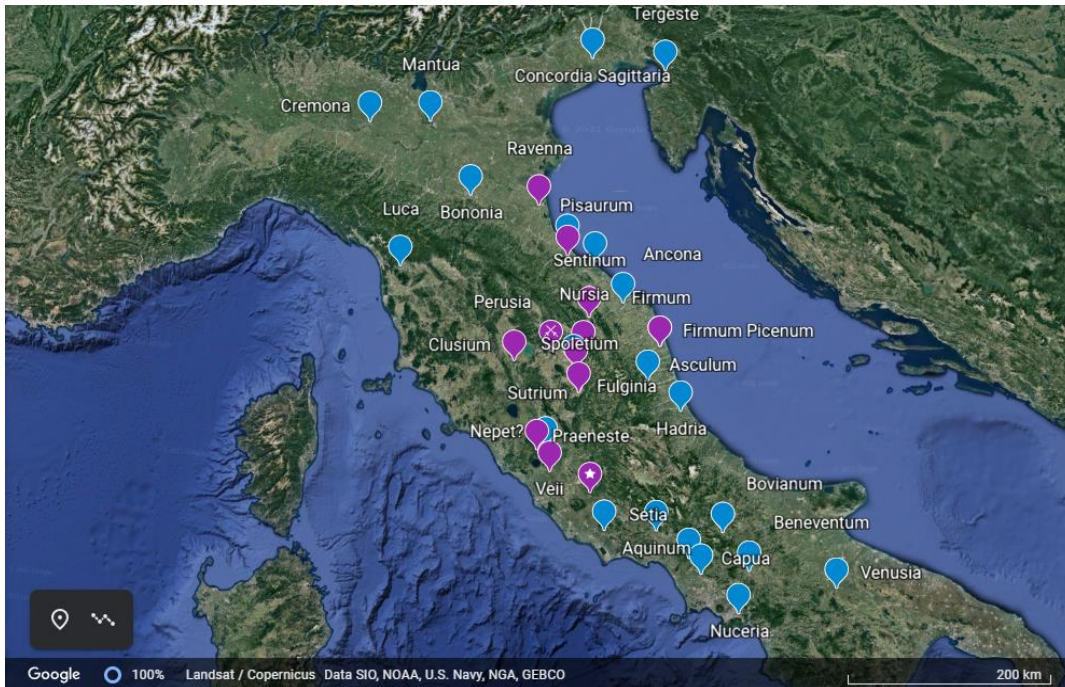
Map 1: Towns confiscated for redistribution and affected by the Perusine War.
Blue: towns confiscated   Purple: towns affected by the Perusine War
Perugia is marked with the crossed sword; Praeneste has a star
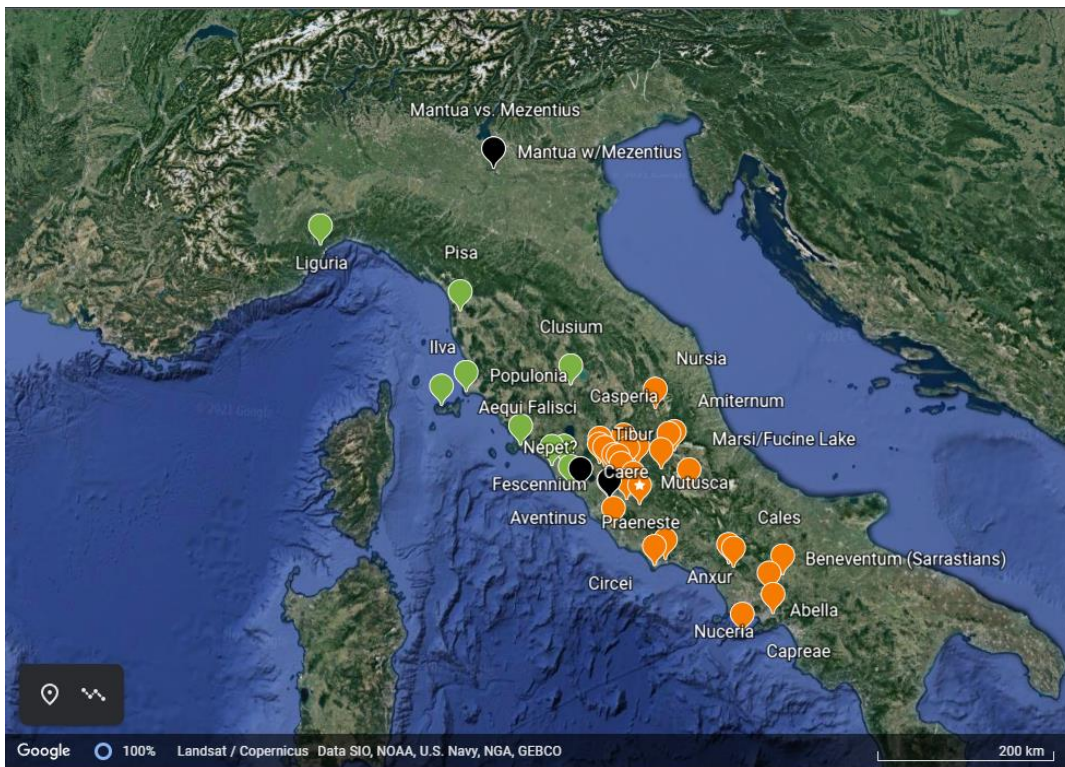
Map 2: the towns involved in the conflict between Aeneas and Turnus.
Green: Aeneas' allies   Orange: Turnus' allies   Black: split between Turnus & Aeneas
Praeneste is marked with a star.
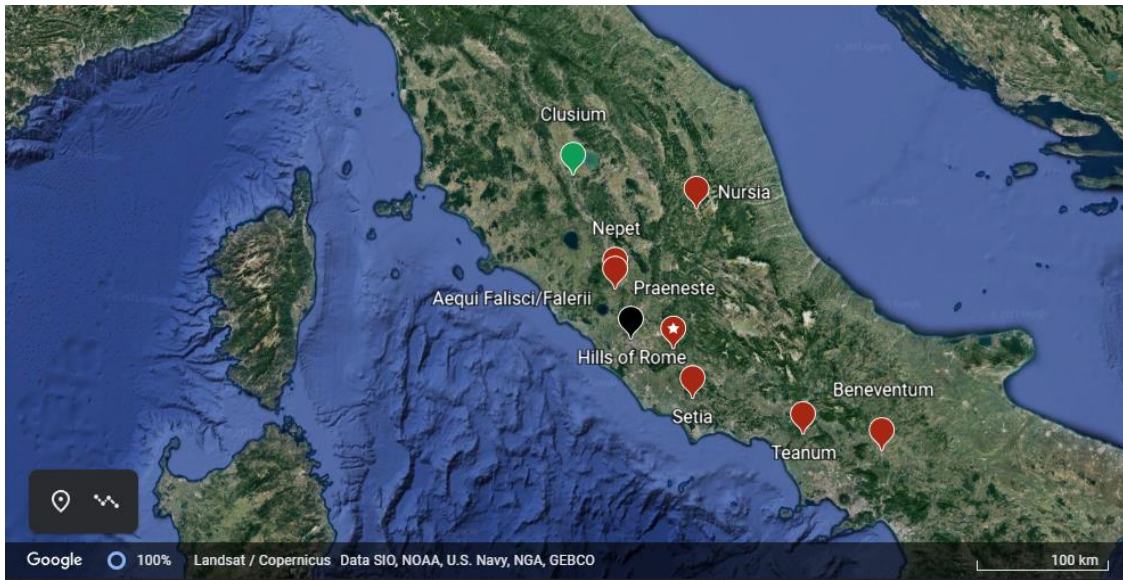
Map 3: Towns affected by confiscations and involved in the war in the *Aeneid*.
Red: Turnus' allies   Green: Aeneas' ally
Black: split between Turnus & Aeneas   Praeneste is marked with a star.

Chapter III

***Unum pro multis*: Shades of Sextus Pompey in Vergil's Palinurus**

The previous chapter explores the Perusine War as an example of resistance to the

growing power of Octavian and how Vergil's multifaceted depiction of Camilla could be

seen as an appreciative reference to Fulvia for fighting on behalf of those who lost their

land to confiscations. The aftermath of that conflict leads us to Sextus Pompey,[1]

following, as it were, those who escaped or survived the upheaval and rallied behind him.

Although the war against Sextus is glossed over as one against pirates by Augustus in his

Res Gestae,[2] Suetonius includes the conflict in his list of civil wars, and Pliny reports that

the future *princeps* suffered shipwrecks and losses at sea, was forced to hide in a cave,

and even contemplated suicide while contending with Sextus.[3] This chapter will endorse

Sextus Pompey's status as a rival aristocrat attempting to reestablish both his familial

rank and the traditional government in opposition to Octavian. With this endorsement of

Sextus and in the spirit of the last chapter, we will explore Vergil's depiction of the

helmsman Palinurus as a condolent nod to the sacrifice of Sextus for the benefit of the

Principate.

Before we analyze historical accounts and the epic text, a brief synopsis of

Palinurus is in order. He appears in three separate books of Vergil's *Aeneid*: in book 3 he

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[1] I will refer to Sextus Pompey with the overly-familiar 'Sextus' to avoid confusion with his famous father
Cn. Pompey Magnus, who is usually called Pompey.
[2] Aug. *RG* 25.1.
[3] Suet. *Aug*. 9.1: *Bella civilia quinque gessit- Mutinense, Philippense, Perusinum, Siculum, Actiacum;* Pliny
NH 7.148: *naufragia Sicula et alia ibi quoque in spelunca occultatio, iam in navali fuga urguente hostium
manu preces Proculeio mortis admotae*.

shows himself to be a diligent and talented helmsman; Palinurus continues his efforts in

book 5, but is sacrificed to Neptune for the safe arrival of the other Trojans on the Italian

shore; and in book 6 his agitated ghost corrects the narrative surrounding his death and

demands either proper burial or dispensation to cross the Styx. His death is initially

described by the narrator as the result of the god Sleep forcefully knocking the pilot into

the sea against his will, after failed attempts to lull him to sleep with suggestion and

drops of Stygian water. When Aeneas discovers that Palinurus is gone, he assumes the

pilot fell overboard, having been lulled by a calm sea. The spectral Palinurus corrects not

only Aeneas' assumption but also the narrator's depiction, claiming that he was violently

tossed in a stormy sea for three days with no divine presence before being murdered on

an Italian cliff. He gives directions to his corpse in the hopes that Aeneas will bury him

(as Odysseus did for Elpenor), but the Cumaean Sybil forbids it. She informs Palinurus

that he will be buried by the locals and he will become the toponym for the site of his

murder.

Palinurus is a minor character by many standards, but his jarring death and his

agitated ghost make him rather compelling. Why did Vergil want us to pay more

attention to this helmsman? To answer this, first I will show that, contrary to Octavian's

effective propaganda portraying Sextus Pompey as a piratical troublemaker, the son of

Pompey Magnus was a central figure of resistance to Octavian, perhaps even posing a

greater threat than Mark Antony.[4] Second, I will discuss how Vergil's portrayal of

Palinurus, including the discrepancies concerning his death, could have been a deliberate

effort to draw the readers' attention to conflicting perspectives, a concept that must have

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[4] Dio 48.16.2-3.

been pertinent during the propagandistic Triumviral period. Finally, I will present

correlations between the two mariners to suggest that Vergil used Palinurus to salute

Sextus Pompey. Palinurus and Sextus Pompey strove to provide safety for their people,

but both had to die in order for the new regime to thrive.

Despite his seeming lack of significance in modern scholarship until recently,[5] the

Romans saw the struggle against Sextus Pompey as significant, as can be corroborated by

contemporary poetic treatments. Cornelius Severus composed a lost work entitled *Bellum*

Siculum[6] and Suetonius reports that Octavian himself wrote a hexameter poem titled

Sicilia;[7] a nod is also given by Horace[8] and Propertius.[9] To these, I would like to add

Vergil's *Aeneid* through his depiction of Palinurus. Of course, I am not suggesting an

exact one-to-one correspondence between Palinurus and Sextus, but instead I posit a

nuanced portrayal that makes references to the struggle near Sicily. As with so many of

Vergil's characters, the reader may observe several different references in the helmsman:

to an earlier Italian legend, to Homer's depictions of Menelaus' helmsman Phrontis, to

Odysseus struggling at sea, and to Elpenor in the Underworld.[10] Thus, I suggest that

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[5] Welch and Powell, with the rare exception of Moses Hadas, whose work aimed at showing that Sextus was a "legitimate successor to the claims of his father, and the active representative of a considerable section of Roman sentiment" (1930 p. 2). Rostovtzeff 1957 p. 208 and Syme 1939 p. 228 dismiss Sextus as a pillaging adventurer.

[6] As per Quintlian *Institutionis Orationae* 10.1.89, who praises his skill. Edward Courtney's entry in the OCD for Cornelius Severus states that the poem was about the war from 38-36 BCE. Online Publication Date: Mar 2016, DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.013.1874.

[7] Suet. *Aug*. 85. While the event(s) described in this poem are unknown, it seems likely that Octavian would have written about the defeat of Sextus in the pre-Actian era, when he still claimed that Naulochus ended civil wars.

[8] Horace *Epode* 1.4.17-20; *Ode* 3.4.27-8 specifically mentions Cape Palinurus during the war with Sextus: …*extinxit*… / *nec Sicula Palinurus unda* (and Palinurus did not extinguish me with Sicilian waters'); Nisbet 2007 p. 10 believes this refers to the storm in 36 BCE that destroyed Octavian's fleet near Cape Palinurus, noting that Maecenas was there also (Appian *BC* 5.99).

[9] Propertius 2.1.28.

[10] Palinurus as Phrontis: Williams 1960 p. 199; McKay 1967 p. 4; Brenk 1984 p. 778-779; as Odysseus: Brenk 1984 p. 781-784 and Horsfall 2013 p. 287; as Elpenor: Putnam 1962 p. 229-230; Williams 1960 p. 198-199; Knight 1944 p. 291-292.

Roman readers who lived through the civil wars would also pick up on the interesting

parallels between the mythical helmsman and the son of Pompey Magnus. The fact that

Vergil changed the expected outcome of the allusion of Odysseus' near-drowning to

Palinurus' cliffside murder would rouse the reader to look for other connections.[11] This

type of correlation was not uncommon for the Romans. Servius makes a comparable

connection between Vergil's description of Priam's corpse and the death of Pompey

Magnus.[12] In a similar fashion, connecting Priam (Trojan) to Pompey Magnus helps

connect Palinurus (Trojan) to Sextus Pompey. Although Pompey Magnus and his son

were enemies of the Caesarians and lost in their respective civil conflicts, as complicated

political figures, both understandably could be honored by Vergil without blatant

disrespect to the future Augustus. To better appreciate the possible subtexts that a

contemporary reader might perceive, we will review the conflict between Sextus and

Octavian before turning to Vergil's epic portrayal.

Sextus Pompey, *Praefectus Classis*

Aside from derogatory comments about his participation in piracy and leading a

slave army, Sextus Pompey has been largely deleted from the literary records of the

Triumviral period. Considering that he posed at least as much of a threat to Octavian's

regime as Antony and Cleopatra, one would expect more mention of him, if only as a

traitor. However, the popularity of Sextus Pompey was problematic for Octavian and

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[11] Brenk 1984 discusses similarities and differences in struggling at sea for Homer's Odysseus and Vergil's Palinurus (in book 6); he notes on p. 783 the 'subtle adaptation of the externals of the Homeric narrative… while at the same time radically demythologizing and de-theologizing the ideological context of the narrative" adds to the "shock of the outcome."

[12] Servius *ad. Aen.* 2.557 f: *Pompei tangit historiam, cum 'ingens' dicit non 'magnus.'* This is discussed in depth by Bowie 1990, esp. p. 473-481, and McKay 1984 p.130.

needed to be diminished or demonized in cultural memory in order to avoid

embarrassment. Sextus had saved many Romans from the proscriptions, including Livia

and her toddler Tiberius,[13] and he had many supporters in Rome. Nevertheless, obtaining

a clear contemporary portrayal of Sextus Pompey is a challenge since, according to

Appian, Octavian ordered all documents concerning the Triumviral years to be collected

and burned after Sextus had been defeated.[14] However, some material must have survived

in the imperial archives since it was used by our later sources. While Suetonius only

briefly deals with the struggle at sea, he highlights its importance: "in no other war did

Octavian face more or greater dangers."[15]

Aside from a succinct appearance in Suetonius' work, there are concise reports

about Sextus given by Livy's *Periochae*, Velleius, Florus, and Pliny the Younger, none

of which are contemporary. From these authors we are often presented with the pirate

chief so dramatically summed up by Florus (2.18): *O quam diversus a patre! Ille Cilicas

extinxerat, hic se piratica tuebatur*. The only lengthy extant prose sources that discuss

Sextus are the later writers Appian and Dio Cassius. Anton Powell notes that Appian and

Dio were sometimes viewed as problematic sources, with the "lesser authority accorded

to biographies and histories written long after the event,"[16] but he acknowledges their

utility for discussing Sextus since "Appian and Dio reveal that, as long as Sextus' forces

from Sicily resisted and defeated those of Octavian, the Roman populace publicly hailed

Sextus as they execrated Octavian."[17]

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[13] Vell. 2.75, Suet. *Tib*. 4.2 f, 6.1-3.
[14] Appian *BC* 5.132.
[15] Suet. *Aug*. 16.3: *Nec temere plura ac maiora pericula ullo alio bello adiit.*
[16] Powell 2008, p. 14; see also Welch 2012 p. 15.
[17] Powell 2002, p. viii. Popularity of Sextus hinted at in Appian 5.8.67, 5.9.80, 5.9.92; Dio 48.31.4-6;
Velleius 2.79.6

As will be discussed later in this chapter, there were contemporaries who believed Sextus' claim of *pietas* for his father, which he advertised through his cognomen 'Pius.' Around 45 BCE Sextus minted coins in Spain depicting the goddess Pietas on the reverse (Figure 12); the image on the obverse shows either Sextus' father (RRC 477.1, 3) or his brother (RRC 477.2), the objects of his professed familial piety.[18]

Figure 12: RRC 477.1a. Silver denarius, 45-44 BCE, Spain. OBV: SEX·MAGN·PIVS·IMP B, head of Pompey the Great; REV: PIETAS, Pietas standing, holding palm-branch in right hand and scepter in left hand. ANS 1944.100.3553, American Numismatic Society, accessed July 31, 2021, http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.3553.

When Sextus moved his operations to Sicily, his coinage contained imagery of local importance, such as Scylla, the pharos at Messana, and the Catanaean brothers, local icons of *pietas* (Figure 13).[19] These brothers, Amphinomus and Anapias, rescued their parents during an eruption of Mt. Etna by carrying them to safety. Although the brothers were slowed by the weight, the lava flowed around them because of their filial piety. In contrast, other people eagerly tried to save their precious belongings and died.[20] The brothers' rescue was reenacted in an anecdote of the Triumviral period reported by

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[18] RRC 477.1-3. Welch 2012 p. 31 argues that the title became more of his "public stance against injustice." Cf. Gowing 1992 p. 201 n. 59: almost all of Sextus' extant coinage make a connection with his father.

[19] RRC 511.2a-c: Scylla on reverse; 511.4a-d: pharos of Messana on obverse, Scylla on reverse; 511./3a-c: Pompey Magnus on obverse, Catanaean brothers and Neptune on reverse. Sextus' association with Neptune will be discussed later in the chapter. Powell 2002 p. 123-25; Zarrow 2003 p. 123-35; Rodegheiro 2012 p. 104-7. A map of hoard distribution for coins depicting the Catanaean brothers shows that they were found throughout the Mediterranean: http://numismatics.org/crro/id/rrc-511.3a

[20] The myth of the brothers: Diodorus 20.101.3; Paus. 10.28.4; Strabo 6.269; Val. Max. 5.4; Martial 7.24.5; Sen: *Benef*. 3.37.2; Lyc. *In Leoc*. 95-96; Ps. Arist. *Mir*. 154; Ps. Verg. *Aetna* 624-635.

Appian: a certain Oppius saved his father from the proscriptions by carrying him to Sicily. Michela Rodeghiero sees this story as a remnant of anti-Octavian propaganda.[21] Sextus' use of the Catanaean brothers on his coins may refer to his efforts to save proscribed Romans, portraying his extension of familial piety to all Roman citizens.[22] Powell suggests that Vergil's *pius* Aeneas was in response to this rivalry in piety;[23] while there may be some truth to this suggestion, I do not believe that the poet's emphasis on Aeneas' piety would preclude a sympathetic nod to Sextus Pompey in a character that dies during Aeneas' quest.

Figure 13: RRC 511.3a. Silver denarius, 42-40 BCE, Sicily. OBV: [MA]G·PIVS·IMP·ITER: Head of Pompey the Great; behind, jug; before, lituus. REV: PRAEF CLAS·ET·OR[AE] MARIT·EX·S·C: Neptune standing left, wearing diadem, aplustre in right hand and cloak over left arm; right foot on prow; on either side, one of the Catanean brothers bearing a parent on his shoulders. ANS 1937.158.341, American Numismatic Society, accessed July 31, 2021, http://numismatics.org/collection/1937.158.341.

Sextus' attempt in this propaganda war failed, since he is often referred to as a mere pirate instead of a savior of his fellow citizens. Octavian, as the winner of the conflict, set the standard for the historical account, but the complexity of the situation is

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[21] Appian *BC* 4.41.172. Rodeghiero 2012 p. 107: anti-Octavian propaganda, perhaps from Sextus' *factio*, which only survives in small quotes and anecdotes (the article discusses this concept more broadly with other examples).

[22] Powell 2002 p. 125: "His aureus with its oak wreath might make the point tangible to contemporaries; this was perhaps a piece of the actual gold Sextus had given away in the cause of *pietas*." Powell is referring to RRC 511.1, discussed below. Powell p. 127 suggests that his piety to Romans is the reason behind his not attacking Italy during the conflict.

[23] Powell 2009 p. 190.

still apparent in the coinage and in Appian's narrative. In addition, Martial provides an

interesting view of the respect still held for the Pompey family in the late 1ˢᵗ century CE

(Mart. 5.74):

> Pompeios iuvenes Asia atque Europa, sed ipsum
>   terra tegit Libyes, si tamen ulla tegit.
> Quid mirum toto si spargitur orbe? Iacere
>   uno non poterat tanta ruina loco.
>
> Asia and Europe cover Pompey's sons, but Libyan land
> covers him, if any land. Why wonder if he is scattered over
> the world? Such a great ruin could not lie in one place.

Sextus Pompey fought on behalf of both the proscribed and those who lost their

land in the veteran resettlement project. Therefore, to many citizens, and I include Vergil

in this group, Sextus was a good Roman working to protect his compatriots. However,

since Vergil did not fall on the side of open opposition to the Principate, I argue that he

sympathetically made allusions to Sextus using Palinurus in order to acknowledge him

without offending Octavian, but, as in the case of Fulvia and Camilla, to still salute those

who fell opposing Octavian's rise to power. Just as the sacrifice of Palinurus to Neptune

allows Aeneas to deliver his people safely to the Tiber and eventually found Lavinium,

Sextus' advocacy assisted many Romans to regain status, and his death allowed Octavian

to eventually establish his *pax Augusta*.[24]

Powell notes that the naval victory at Naulochus was mostly eclipsed by Actium

in Augustan poetry, and that the memory of Sextus Pompey was embarrassing to

Augustus.[25] He also suggests that Vergil adeptly addressed damaging scenarios in

Octavian's rise to power by having Aeneas either deal with or escape from similar

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[24] Appian *BC* 5.143.
[25] Powell 1992 p. 152.

situations with divine assistance, especially when concerning Octavian's penchant for avoiding battle situations. However, while Powell follows Servius' lead in seeing an allusion to Sextus Pompey in *arma impia… dominorum fallere dextras* in the Underworld (6.612-613),[26] I suggest instead that Vergil's Palinurus is a congenial gesture to the discredited *praefectus* of the seas. Although I do not argue against the view of Powell and others that Vergil wrote the *Aeneid* as a patriotic piece honoring Augustus, I do suggest that even patriots may regret the loss of honorable people who fought on the opposing side.

The *Bellum Siculum*

As mentioned, Sextus Pompey is succinctly presented as a pirate captain with a slave fleet that greedily pillaged the Tyrrhenian coast.[27] However, a review of the conflict's details will show that the scenario was much more complicated, in that Octavian's conquest was neither quick nor supported by many Romans.

Sextus was granted the title *praefectus classis et orae maritimae* by the Senate in April of 43 BCE and he advertised the position on his coinage, though it was rescinded by the *lex Pedia* in August of that year.[28] After the proscriptions were begun in November, Sextus went to Sicily, where Appian reports that Hirtius and Fannius, two proscribed men, convinced the governor Bithynicus to give Sicily to Sextus; however, in Dio's version Sextus used force (κατατρέχων) to convince the governor to share

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[26] Powell 1992 p. 158.
[27] Livy *Per.* 128, Augustus *RG* 25.1, Florus 2.28, Velleius 2.73, 77. Augustus does not name him, but merely references the pirates. That these sources would show a pro-Augustus perspective is unsurprising, considering that Livy (and so his epitomator) and Velleius were generally loyal to the family, and Florus' work was based on Livy's.
[28] Dio 46.40.3; RRC 511; Dio 47.12.2.

authority, later executing Bithynicus for betraying him.[29] The handling of Bithynicus is a good litmus test for how Sextus is portrayed by the sources: Appian's Sextus is repeatedly depicted as a greatly loved hero for the proscribed (4.85), whereas Dio's Sextus is at times treated as a pirate (48.17.4-6). Alain Gowing observes that the sequence of events reported by the two authors is occasionally different, and he suggests that Dio changed the order to suit his portrayals of Octavian and Sextus.[30] For example, Appian tells us that the initial battle between Sextus and Salvidienus near Scyllaeum occurred in September of 42 when Octavian became alarmed at Sextus' growing power, but Dio places it after the battle of Philippi in October and in response to the famine in Rome,[31] thereby legitimizing Octavian's attack. Other sources report the famine as happening much later.[32] The ongoing famine had several contributing factors, including the suspension of farming during land confiscations, the drastic weather patterns caused by volcanic activity in 44/43 BCE, and Sextus' blockade;[33] nevertheless, the earlier date of the initial conflict given by Appian and others is preferable. Dio seemingly has Octavian act with the objective of empire in mind, a depiction possibly influenced by hindsight, in contrast to Appian's portrayal where Octavian seems to act and react to the events at hand without focusing on total conquest. Gowing suggests that Appian sees "the Triumviral period less as an irritating pothole on the road to monarchy, and more as the Republic's last stand for *libertas*."[34] In this light, we may see why some Romans,

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[29] Appian *BC* 4.84; Dio 48.17.4-5, 48.19.1. Shelley 1983 & 2002 argues that Sextus took over Sicily mostly peacefully, aside from Messana, and the island's decline occurred after his defeat in 36 BCE.
[30] Gowing 1992 p. 183-4. There is a debate: Reinhold 1990 and Swan 2004 suggest Dio idealized Augustus; Rich 1989 and Kemezis 2007 see Dio as a skeptical historian.
[31] Appian *BC* 4.85; Dio 48.18.
[32] Appian *BC* 5.15.60, Vell. 2.77.1, Suet. *Aug*. 16.1.
[33] Osgood 2006 p. 236. For recent research on volcanic activity, from June 26, 2020: https://www.livescience.com/okmok-volcano-roman-republic-collapse.html
[34] Gowing 2002 p. 205.

including Vergil, would support, or at least empathize with, Sextus and later regret his

demise.

Both Appian and Dio agree that by 40 BCE Sextus was extremely popular and

was considered more powerful militarily and more trustworthy than M. Antony.[35] Sextus'

popularity among the Romans was stirred by the people's resentment of taxes raised by

the triumvirate to fight him, his rescue of refugees from the proscriptions and land

confiscations, and the hope that he would restore the government to its prior state. These

factors echo those that drew people to Lucius Antony and Fulvia during the Perusine

War, as discussed in the previous chapter. Appian reports (*BC* 5.25):

> Πομπήιος γὰρ ἐκ τῶν προγραφῶν καὶ κατοικίσεων τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῆσδε
> τῆς Λευκίου διαφορᾶς ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἦρτο. οἱ γὰρ περὶ
> σφῶν δεδιότες ἢ τὰ ὄντα ἀφαιρούμενοι ἢ τὴν πολιτείαν ὅλως
> ἀποστρεφόμενοι ἐς αὐτὸν ἐχώρουν μάλιστα· καὶ ἡ ἄλλη νεότης ὡρμημένη
> στρατεύεσθαι διὰ τὰ κέρδη καὶ οὐδὲν ἡγούμενοι διαφέρειν, ὑφ᾽ ὅτῳ
> στρατεύσονται, Ῥωμαίοις πανταχοῦ συστρατευόμενοι, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν
> Πομπήιον ἐχώρουν ὡς δικαιότερα αἱρούμενον.

> "For Pompey had gained much in reputation and power from the
> proscriptions, the settling of soldiers, and this struggle with Lucius. Those
> who feared for their safety, or had been deprived of their property, or who
> were hostile to the government, mostly went to him. Other young men
> also, eager to be soldiers for the sake of gain and believing it made no
> difference under whom they served, since they were serving with Romans
> everywhere, they preferred to join Pompey as the more just."

In response to this movement, Octavian promised the residents of strategically located

Rhegium and Vibo that they would be exempt from the list of cities used to provide

veteran compensation, especially since the battle between Salvidienus and Sextus did not

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[35] Dio 48.16.2-3. App. *BC* 4.85 (for 42 BCE): περιφίλητον ἅπασιν ἐν τῷ τότε (Sextus was loved by all at the time).

go as the triumvir planned: either Octavian considered it a difficult win[36] or Octavian

lost.[37] Octavian did not seem confident militarily, and the people were not necessarily

backing him, as we will see shortly.

Sextus did not capitalize on his advantage after the clash at Scyllaeum; Appian

suggests that he could have easily seized power, but that he lacked wisdom because his

intention was only to defend and not to invade.[38] Appian repeats this sentiment later in

the text when Sextus does not attack Octavian's wrecked fleet after a loss and a storm had

left the latter defenseless.[39] We must remember that Appian was viewing the situation

from his later imperial perspective. It is possible that Sextus (despite his reported looting

and blockading) did not want to take over Italy, but only wished to restore the previous

status quo of the republican government. This can be seen in Sextus' insistence during

the negotiations near Misenum that those who were proscribed be restored. A similar

sentiment is spoken by Lucius Antony in his meeting with Octavian after the siege of

Perusia: "I took on this war against you, not in order to succeed to the leadership by

destroying you but to restore to the country the patrician government which had been

disrupted by the triumvirate."[40] From this perspective, Sextus provides another example

of resistance to the rise of the Principate itself, and so it is more understandable that he

could be depicted sympathetically in a symbolic manner by Vergil.

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[36] Appian *BC* 4.85.
[37] Dio 48.18.
[38] Appian *BC* 5.25-26.
[39] Appian *BC* 5.90. Paget 1969 p. 29 and 1970 p. 369 suggests that Sextus did not attack as a naval tactic because he lacked safe harbor between Sicily and the Portus Julius; however, that did not stop Sextus' or Octavian's forces from making the same length trip in the opposite direction. While an interesting idea tactically, there must be another reason; I suggest that Sextus was fighting for a place in Roman society and government, not to conquer it.
[40] Appian *BC* 5.43: ἐγὼ τὸν πρὸς σὲ πόλεμον ἠράμην, οὐχ ἵνα σε καθελὼν διαδέξωμαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἀναλάβω τῇ πατρίδι, λελυμένην ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς…

Appian places Rome's famine in late 40 BCE, after the arrangement at

Brundisium and Antony's marriage to Octavia. The people urged the triumvirs to make

peace with Sextus, but Octavian would not yield (οὐκ ἐνδιδόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐδ᾽

ὣς, *BC* 5.67). In order to pay for the campaign against Sextus, an estate tax and a tax on

slaves were introduced. As mentioned in chapter I, this spurred a riotous crowd,

exasperated by the expenses of civil war, to tear up the edict. Between the famine and the

taxes, people across the socio-economic spectrum were furious. The angry mob

reportedly threw rocks at those not joining them and threatened to burn down their

houses. Octavian tried to calm the crowd, but in response the mob threw rocks at him.

The crowd warned Antony to leave when he came to help Octavian, not initially

attacking him because he was in favor of making peace with Sextus. However, after

Antony refused to depart, he was also attacked. In response, he summoned troops, who

subdued the mob. Antony was able to rescue Octavian and escort him home; the bodies

of the dead were thrown into the Tiber.[41]

   According to Appian, this riot stirred Antony to arrange the negotiations near

Misenum in 39 BCE.[42] After a first attempt failed, a second successful round of

negotiations established that Sextus would stop raiding the coast and would instead help

supply grain. Sextus wanted those guilty of killing Caesar to be exiled instead of

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[41] Appian *BC* 5.67-68; Dio 48.31.
[42] Appian *BC* 5.69-74; Dio 48.36-38; Vell. 2.77; Plut. *Ant*. 32; Livy *Per*. 127. Often referred to as the
"Treaty (or Pact) of Misenum," the name is not completely accurate, and probably of modern origin.
Guglielmo Ferrero & Corrado Barbagallo 1919 p. 44 say the agreement was reached "in the Gulf of
Misenum," but the body of water is called Gulf of Pozzuoli (Puteoli). Suet. *Aug*. 16 mentions the pact but
not a location; Dio 48.36 says they conferred near Misenum; Plutarch *Ant*. 32.2 says "at the promontory
and mole at Misenum" though κατά could be "down from:" κατὰ τὴν ἐν Μισηνοῖς ἄκραν καὶ τὸ χῶμα;
Appian 5.71-72 gives a more detailed account with more exact locales: Libo & Sextus were stationed at
Aenaria (Greek Pithecusa, modern Ischia), while Octavian & Antony were at Baiae. Meetings occurred
at/near the mole of Puteoli (Greek Dikaiarcheia). These locations are all mentioned or alluded to during
Aeneas' approach to the Tiber River.

executed and those who had been proscribed to have their property and citizenship restored. To diminish the disruptions that could be caused by (re)seizing proscribed property in the city, Octavian and Antony agreed "reluctantly" to a restoration of ¼ of their property, promising to buy it from the current holders. Sextus was to govern Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Peloponnese, and he was made augur and *consul designatus*, which he could hold *in absentia*.[43] Sextus' daughter was betrothed to Marcellus, which added another layer to their entwined families. The year before, Octavian had married Scribonia, the sister of Sextus' father-in-law L. Scribonius Libo.[44]

While there was great rejoicing in Rome and Italy,[45] the agreement was short-lived and war broke out again the following year; however, the reported causes vary. Dio blames Antony's mismanagement of the Peloponnese, jeopardizing Sextus' claim to the province.[46] Appian adds accusations of renewed piracy (which were denied) sent to Rome by Octavian in order to dispel suspicion that he himself was preparing to break the treaty.[47] In response to the rising tensions, Octavian asked Antony to meet him at Brundisium and he prepared for war (38 BCE). Interestingly, Antony arrived before Octavian, saw the arrangements, and in response wrote to Octavian encouraging him to not violate the treaty.[48]

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[43] ILLRP 426 = ILS 8891- a dedication by L. Plinius Rufus calls Sextus by these two titles; found at Lilybaeum.

[44] Dio 48.16. Appian *BC* 5.53 claims that Octavian sent Maecenas to arrange the marriage with Libo as a security measure; lacking ships, he was nervous about a potential arrangement between Antony and Sextus after the Perusine War.

[45] Appian *BC* 5.74, Dio 48.37. Celebratory feasts also were held by the three generals in turn; Sextus hosted the other two on his ship, making a pun about dining on the Carinae, referring to his ship and the location of his father's home in Antony's possession. This joke was made without malice, according to Velleius 2.77 (*haud absurde*) and Dio 48.38.2-3 (ἥδιστον); Plut. *Ant.* 32.3 claims it was a reproach (ὀνειδίζων).

[46] Dio 48.46.

[47] Appian *BC* 5.77, 80.

[48] Appian *BC* 5.79. Antony also threatened Menas, also called Menodorus, for inciting trouble. This man was a former slave of Pompey, then a freedman captain of Sextus. He changed alliances several times during the conflict, making his naval capabilities seem valuable, but his political ties questionable.

It is clear that there was some degree of cooperation and mutual interests between Antony and Sextus. In 44 BCE, Antony urged that Sextus be recalled from Spain, be given 50 million Attic *drachmai* from the public treasury for his father's confiscated estate, and be appointed as naval commander in charge of Roman ships everywhere (πανταχοῦ, Appian *BC* 3.4); the senate enthusiastically accepted the decree. After the surrender of Perusia, Antony's mother Julia fled to Sextus, who sent her to Antony in Athens accompanied by some optimates (ἄριστοι), including Sextus' father-in-law Scribonius Libo, Saturninus, and others who wanted to form an alliance against Octavian.[49] Antony reportedly appreciated the gesture and said that if there was a war against Octavian, he would cooperate with Sextus, but if Octavian maintained their arrangement, he would reconcile the two. Eventually, however, Antony and Octavian renegotiated at Tarentum in 37 BCE and, as a result, Sextus was stripped of his titles and Antony supplied Octavian with 120 ships in exchange for 20,000 soldiers.[50] To counter any negative press and to remind Romans that he had rescued the proscribed,[51] Sextus depicted himself on a coin circled by an oak crown, advertising that he had saved Roman lives (Figure 14). His senatorially appointed position as *praefectus* was noted on the reverse along with busts of his deceased father and brother.

[49] Appian *BC* 5.52.
[50] Appian *BC* 5.92-95.
[51] Vell. 2.72.5, 77.2; Dio 47.12; Appian *BC* 5.143.

Figure 14: 511.1 Gold aureus, 42-40 BCE, Sicily. OBV: MAG·PIVS IMP·ITER, head of Sextus Pompey bordered by an oak-wreath. REV: PRAEF CLAS·ET·ORAE / MARIT·EX·S·C, heads of Pompey the Great and Cnaeus Pompey the Younger. ANS 1954.256.1, American Numismatic Society, accessed July 31, 2021, http://numismatics.org/collection/1954.256.1

The renewed war with Sextus was challenging for Octavian, as he sustained heavy losses at sea, both in battle and from storms. Added to the challenges were the renewed famine and the tactical error (if the anecdote is factual) of Octavian's so-called "Feast of the Twelve Gods." This event was probably connected to the celebration for the wedding of Octavian and Livia in January of 38 BCE.[52] At the feast, Octavian reportedly dressed as Apollo, for which people retorted that "the gods ate all the food" and that "Caesar is Apollo the Tormentor" for hosting an elaborate dinner party during a famine (Suet. *Aug*. 70.1-2):

> Auxit cenae rumorem summa tunc in civitate penuria ac fames, adclamatumque est postridie: Omne frumentum deos comedisse et Caesarem esse plane Apollinem, sed Tortorem…   .

Challenges at Sea: Storms & Battles

Unusually destructive storms played an important role in the seaworthiness of Octavian's fleet. The first major storm occurred in 38 BCE as Octavian's commander Cornificius was delivering newly built ships to Tarentum. Although only the command ship was destroyed, Appian reports that people saw this event as a punishment for

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[52] Suet. *Aug*. 70.1-2; Dio 48.44.3; Osgood 2006 p. 237-238; Gowing 1995 p. 94-98; Courtney 1993 *versus populares 7;* Scott 1933 p. 30-32; Taylor 1931 p. 119.

Octavian's treaty violation; Octavian's defensive response was the piracy accusation

mentioned above. He claimed to have the testimony of captured pirates and the

corroboration of Menodorus, who was left in charge of Corsica and Sardinia, but had

deserted to Octavian, handing over Sextus' provinces. Octavian also claimed that Antony

was aware of the situation, and that was his reason for withholding the Peloponnesian

tribute from Sextus.[53] These claims seem fallacious and/or superficial. Menodorus

changed alliances several times during the Sicilian war, making his testimony

suspicious.[54] Sextus had already refuted Octavian's claims about piracy in a letter that he

wrote complaining about the Peloponnesian arrangement.[55] The mention of Antony by

Octavian serves multiple purposes. It seems to be an attempt to win the people over, since

Antony was not targeted during the riot of 40 BCE and the people at this point seemed to

trust him. In addition, the piracy claim cleared Antony of wrongdoing concerning the

Peloponnese and attempted to destroy any sympathy for Sextus over the failed treaty.

A second major storm happened later that season after a portion of Octavian's

fleet, led by Menodorus, was defeated by Sextus' commanders Menecrates and

Demochares near Cumae.[56] At the time, Octavian had the opportunity to engage Sextus at

sea near Messana. Although he was advised to fight because he had a numerical

advantage, Octavian refused, insisting on waiting for a contingent under Calvisius to join

him. That delay gave Sextus' commanders time to arrive and attack Octavian's fleet,

which oddly was still ordered not to engage, near Scyllaeum, the site of the battle in 42

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[53] Appian *BC* 5.80.
[54] Menodorus returns to Sextus in 36 (Appian *BC* 5.96), and then again to Octavian (5.100-101). Paget 1970 p. 368 suggests that his return to Sextus was to deceive him in order to help Agrippa at the Lipari islands.
[55] Appian *BC* 5.77.
[56] Appian *BC* 5.81-83.

BCE. Appian reports that Octavian either was fearful of fighting near the straits or, as he had claimed near Messana, he preferred to wait for Calvisius. As his ships were being destroyed by the enemies and the rocky coastline, Octavian escaped and retreated into the mountains with others whose ships were destroyed. Concurrently, Octavian's commander Cornificius rallied the remaining ships and turned the battle in their favor. Octavian's commanders Calvisius and Menodorus finally arrived as night approached, forcing the withdrawal of the Pompeian ships. Octavian and the others who had sought refuge on land were rescued by the Thirteenth Legion.[57] The following morning, while Octavian's men were repairing the salvageable ships, a most unusual storm occurred: ἐμόχθουν τε χειμῶνι τῶν πώποτε μάλιστα καινοτρόπῳ.[58] According to the TLG, this is the only occurrence of πώποτε in Appian's works,[59] while forms of καινοτρόπῳ only appear once more in his *Mithridatic Wars*,[60] emphasizing the oddity of this storm.[61] Later in the passage Appian reiterates the severity of the weather, claiming that the elders of the area had never seen such a storm.

Suetonius also comments on the rarity of these intense summer storms: *quas tempestatibus duplici naufragio et **quidem per aestatem** amiserat*.[62] After the disastrous weather of 38 BCE Octavian had to build new ships and even obtain some from Antony. At Portus Julius in the summer of 36 BCE, Octavian reportedly offered a sacrifice to Neptune the Securer and the Waveless Ocean to avoid more misfortune at sea; unfortunately for him, the sacrifice did not prevent another violent summer storm from

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[57] Appian *BC* 5.84-87.
[58] Appian *BC* 5.90.
[59] http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/inst/tsearch.jsp#s=3
[60] http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/inst/tsearch.jsp#s=6
[61] This phrase from Appian is one of the examples given in the Liddell & Scott's entry for καινότροπος.
[62] Suet. *Aug*. 16.1.

challenging his operations. Octavian had planned a three-pronged attack on Sicily: Lepidus would strike western Sicily from Africa, Taurus (captain of Antony's loaned ships) would attack the southeast from Tarentum, and Octavian would approach the northeast from Puteoli. The outcome was mixed at best. Despite losing many ships in the storm, Lepidus was still able to capture Lilybaeum;[63] Taurus was forced to retreat to Tarentum. Of Octavian's fleet, part was destroyed at the Promontory of Minerva,[64] but the majority was destroyed while trapped in the bay of Velia, near Capo Palinuro, which was named for Aeneas' lost helmsman (see Map 4).

Public opinion was again very much at stake after this second batch of unusual summer weather. Maecenas was sent to Rome because "there were those still excited by the memory of Pompey Magnus," while Octavian himself went to the colonies to calm the troops.[65] Sextus capitalized on these ominous storms, sacrificing to and claiming the support of Neptune, since his enemies were devastated in such a way during two separate summers; this will be further explored later in the chapter. The attempts of the rival commanders to win over the support of the people and to claim the backing of the gods shows an uncertainty of the times not often discussed in scholarship. Such an unsettled environment may be seen in the conflicting layers of Palinurus' demise in the *Aeneid*, especially when we consider the locations, the storms, and the claimed involvement of Neptune.

The remainder of the summer of 36 was action-packed, as reinforcements for

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[63] Appian *BC* 5.98; Dio 49.8.
[64] This promontory is near modern Sorrento and is associated with the Sirens: *Surrentum cum promunturio Minervae Sirenum quondam sede* (Pliny *NH* 3.5.62). These cliffs will come up again in relation to Aeneas' journey later in the chapter.
[65] Appian *BC* 5.99: Μαικήναν μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμπε διὰ τοὺς ἐπτοημένους ἔτι πρὸς τὴν μνήμην Πομπηίου Μάγνου· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐξέλιπεν ἡ δόξα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου.

Lepidus were intercepted, Agrippa defeated Sextus' commander Demochares near

Mylae, and Octavian lost to Sextus at Tauromenium.[66] The loss forced Octavian to send

Maecenas again to Rome to punish those who were inciting trouble.[67] Finally, Agrippa

defeated Sextus at Naulochus, with Agrippa's *harpax* (a new grappling machine) sinking

28 of Sextus' ships; many crashed, burned, or were captured. Sextus escaped with only

17 ships intact.[68]

According to Appian, the victory at Naulochus marked the end of Roman civil

wars, which had raged for over fifty years.[69] The date of the battle, September 3rd, was

listed on the *Fasti Amiternini* and the *Acta Arvalia*.[70] Octavian celebrated an *ovatio* on

November 13, with supplemental honors.[71] He reportedly published the speeches he gave

to the Senate and to the people.[72] One of the honors bestowed upon him was a monument

in the Forum: a golden statue atop a column decorated with ship beaks (similar to

Duilius' monument for his victory in the First Punic War at Mylae, not far from

Naulochus). Appian records a Greek translation of the inscription: "peace, which was

disturbed for a long time, he restored on land and sea."[73] This monument is likely the one

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[66] Octavian's struggle is reported with divine intervention by both sources: Appian *BC* 5.112 reports that a god saved him and Dio 48.5 claims a fish leapt into his lap calming his fears (perhaps a peace offering from Neptune?).

[67] Appian *BC* 5.104-108, 110-112. Haddas 1930 p. 136 suggests that these were supporters of Sextus; while this may be true, they were at the very least resistant to Octavian's rising power.

[68] Appian *BC* 5.118-122; Dio 49.8. Agrippa was awarded the first (and only, according to Dio 49.14.3) naval crown for his victory, and later in 25 BCE he built the Basilica of Neptune in honor of Naulochus and Actium (Biggs 2017 p. 55, Dio 53.27, 66.24).

[69] Appian *BC* 5.130.

[70] Welch 2002 p. 32 agrees with Appian's decision to end *Civil War* in 35 BCE with Sextus' death, since the following Egyptian campaign is a new episode. Welch claims that Sextus Pompey was the last Republican leader, whereas the next conflict involved two Caesarian rivals.

[71] *Fast. Tri.* for 36- *Imp. Caesar divi f. C. f. II, IIIvir r.p.c. II, ovans ex Sicilia idibus Novembr*. Dio 49.15.1 reports that Octavian was allowed to ride into the city on a horse and to wear a laurel crown for all occasions; Osgood 2006 p. 298 n. 1 & 2 notes these were not usually part of *ovatio*, citing Gell. *NA* 5.6.20-27.

[72] Appian *BC* 5.130.

[73] Appian *BC* 1.30: τὴν εἰρήνην ἐστασιασμένην ἐκ πολλοῦ συνέστησε κατά τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν. Cornwell 2017 p. 93 notes that Appian reports the inscription in Indirect Statement, and so it may not be a direct

depicted on a denarius of Octavian (Figure 15):[74]

Figure 15: RIC 1² 271. Silver denarius, 29-27 BCE. OBV: head of Octavian, laureate. REV: rostral column topped with a cloaked figure (Octavian?) holding a spear. ANS 1957.172.1506, American Numismatic Society, accessed July 30, 2021, http://numismatics.org/collection/1957.172.1506

The honors Octavian received and his celebratory claims of ending civil strife complicate the later assertion that he put down an army of pirates and slaves. Octavian's situation was complex; stressing defeat of a Roman could be controversial, and the conquest of slaves and pirates was admirable but not triumph-worthy. By combining the two factors, pirates and slaves led by a treasonous Roman, Octavian could celebrate and recast the struggle for political control as a rescue mission for Roman peace.

However, not everyone felt that Octavian was the savior that he claimed to be. Gaius Sosius held his triumph for Judaea on September 3, 34 BCE, with the date chosen clearly to upscale Octavian's victory and its less conspicuous *ovatio*.[75] Sextus also seems to have retained some respect among Romans; this can be seen in two scenarios after his death. First, as pre-Actium tensions escalated, Octavian publicly accused Antony of killing Sextus, emphasizing his own clemency by allowing his challenger to flee, even though he had previously celebrated Sextus' demise with games in the Circus and statues

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translation.

[74] Zanker 1988, Gurval 1995, Sehlmeyer 1999, Hallett 2005, Biggs 2017, and Loar 2017 identify this as the Naulochus column; Pollini 2012 argues against it, citing Servius *ad Georgics 3.29* comment about an otherwise unknown Actian column. The debated identity shows how much Antony and Actium eventually overpowered Sextus and Naulochus in Roman accounts.

[75] CIL I² p. 50 & 76; Miller 2009 p. 24. Miller also suggests that Sosius' Temple of Apollo Medicus was meant to rival Octavian's Palatine Temple of Apollo.

honoring Antony in front of the rostra and the temple of Concord.[76] Also, Titius, the

former commander of Antony who killed Sextus in Asia Minor, was hated by the

Romans because he did not show reciprocity to Sextus for saving his proscribed father.

After switching to Octavian's side against Antony, Titius sponsored a show in Rome in

Pompey's Theater (a miscalculation at best); the crowd greeted him with hatred, forcing

him to leave his own event.[77] It is this enduring esteem the Romans felt for Sextus and his

family, along with the memory of strife and looming famine, that lies at the center of the

argument presented in this chapter: that Vergil's Palinurus artfully pays respect to the

deceased *praefectus* of the seas.

Vergil's Trusty Helmsman

When we are first introduced to Palinurus, our attention is drawn to his naval

capabilities (*ipse... Palinurus*, 3.200-201): the Trojan ships navigate in a storm so intense

that even *Palinurus himself* could not differentiate day from night or find their course.

After landing on the Harpies' island, Aeneas is told that he will fulfill his destiny, but

there will be a price to pay, as the Trojans are cursed with hardship and hunger by

Celaeno for violence done to the Harpies (3.254-257).[78] After Palinurus is sacrificed to

Neptune and Aeneas visits the underworld, the sea god delivers the Trojans safely beyond

Circe's home (7.23-24) to the Tiber River, where they ravenously eat even the crusts they

were using as tables (7.116, 119). When Iulus jokes about it, Aeneas responds that the

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[76] Dio 49.18.6, 50.1.3. Octavian's claim of clemency and innocence in connection with Sextus' death is similar to the conflicting stories of Gallius' demise, discussed in chapter I and below. The pattern of diverging accounts is common in the Triumviral period.
[77] Vell. 2.77.3, 79.5-6.
[78] Horsfall 2006 p. 169 suggests that the storm and accidental trip to the Harpies is reminiscent of Apollonius (Harpies 2.171f., foul weather from Crete 4.1695).

prophecy was fulfilled. Interestingly, Aeneas changes the source of the prediction from

Celaeno to Anchises (7.121-130), making it much less foreboding as well as centered

around his familial destiny. The changed narrative could be a matter of unfinished

editing, considering that line 129 is incomplete, but it seems unlikely that such a skilled

poet would forget a Harpy's curse.[79] It is more likely that this is a purposeful

inconsistency, which aligns with the deviations in narrative encountered in Palinurus'

demise. I believe that the discrepancies are meant to be noticed. Vergil may have been

drawing attention to the contemporary practice of shaping social memory, and that

different people remembered and reported or projected events in different ways.[80] This

phenomenon is not isolated, since purposeful discrepancies occur before Vergil's *Aeneid*.

Bonnie Honig discusses the counternarratives presented in Euripides' *Bacchae*

concerning Dionysus' origin and their political implications, as either supporting or

refuting the official archive.[81] I suggest that Vergil's variations similarly highlight the

conflicting perspectives pertaining to Augustus' rise to power.

The *dira fames* suffered by the Trojans could refer to years of scarcity in Rome

experienced during the war against Sextus Pompey, which was temporarily relieved after

the so-called treaty of Misenum, but then returned until the end of conflict in 36 BCE.

Just as Palinurus does not arrive at Cumae with Aeneas, Sextus built a platform on the

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[79] Varro was the source for Anchises' prophecy, as per Servius *ad Aen* 3.256. Horsfall 1981 p. 146 notes Anchises' oracular connections in Naevius fr. 13 *Marm*, but suggests that the Celaeno prophecy is a Vergilian invention derived from Circe's famine prophecy in *Od*. 12.127-4 and the Harpies in Apollonius 2.178 ff.

[80] Aeneas makes a false assumption about Palinurus' death (5.870-871), later corrected by the deceased in book 6. The reshaping of social memory is discussed by Pandey 2014, concerning Anchises' descriptions in the Underworld, and by Nugent 1992, esp. 278-84, regarding "Aeneas' ventriloquism" for the women at Sicily and for Palinurus. Horsfall 2000 p. 112 suggests that the change "follows the good Hellenistic usage of alluding to more than one version of the story."

[81] Honig 2021, esp. p. 84: Dionysus is a stranger or a prodigal son, and even Zeus' involvement is questioned by the seer Tiresias.

water for the negotiations with Octavian at Puteoli so he would not have to go on land.[82]

As mentioned, Sextus was designated a consulship *in absentia* to be held by proxy

'through whichever friend he chose,'[83] implying that he would not be in Rome. As a

possible echo of this, after Palinurus is knocked overboard Aeneas takes over as

helmsman. We shall return to the change of helmsman and the "ship of state" when we

discuss Palinurus' version of his death, but first we shall examine the prelude to his

demise in book 5.

Palinurus as *princeps*

During the preparations for sailing to Italy from Sicily, Palinurus is called

princeps. The use of *princeps* as the first word of a line is provocative (5.833-834):

> princeps ante omnis densum Palinurus agebat
> agmen; ad hunc alii cursum contendere iussi.

> Palinurus, chief before all, was leading the column;
> the others are ordered to direct their course to him.

Vergil's audience, as well as any later reader familiar with the political situation in

Vergil's Rome, could subconsciously associate the word *princeps* with Augustus,

especially since the section begins with Aeneas preparing the ships for departure (*Hic*

patris Aeneae, 5.827). Interestingly, *princeps* is never used for Aeneas in the poem.

According to a PHI search, the word only occurs eight times, as compared to the fifty

uses of *dux*, and it refers to both associates and enemies of Aeneas.[84] Even though the

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[82] Appian *BC* 5.71; Dio 48.36.1. Sextus negotiated from the mole and hosted a dinner on his ship; Dio 48.38 reports that Sextus dined with the triumvirs on the mainland after hosting first, but Appian 5.73 places the dinners hosted by Octavian and Antony in tents on the mole, Sextus never going ashore.
[83] Appian *BC* 5.72.
[84] *Princeps* is used for the Trojan ancestor Iasius (3.168), Aeneas' compatriots Palinurus (5.833) and Gyas (5.160), his allies Massicus (10.160) and Asilas (11.620), his enemies the Achaeans (1.488) and Turnus (9.535), and even the Idaean Mother in a prayer (10.254).

word appears to generically denote command, in the last few decades of the 1st century

BCE, *princeps* gained a loaded meaning. I suggest that Vergil was purposefully using the

word here as a marker between Aeneas and Palinurus, and the underlying political

tension deliberately pushes the reader to question the reference to Palinurus.[85] The

apostrophe a few lines later supports a reference to civil war.

Apostrophe to Palinurus

Just before Sleep tries to trick Palinurus into giving up the helm, the narrator

addresses him directly and calls him 'innocent' (5.838-841):

> cum levis aetheriis delapsus Somnus ab astris
> aëra dimovit tenebrosum et dispulit umbras,
> te, Palinure, petens, tibi somnia tristia portans
> **insonti**…

> when Sleep sliding down lightly from the stars in heaven
> moved the shadowy air and dispersed the shadows,
> seeking you, innocent Palinurus, bringing you sad dreams…

Vergil utilizes apostrophe much more frequently than Homer, expanding direct

narratorial address to major and minor characters, as well as to groups and deities.[86]

Elizabeth Block suggests that the narrator's response to a character's death arouses

sympathy for the deceased, and urges the audience to consider different perceptions that

are given, since at times the narrator and characters react differently to the person

addressed.[87] While Block's discussion focuses on deceased enemies, this same aspect of

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[85] For a similarly jarring usage, Horace refers to himself as *princeps* in *Odes* 3.30.13-14, which Ziogas 2015 p. 117 suggests is "a daring term to use under Augustus."

[86] Block 1982, esp. p. 11: eight major characters: Dido 4.408, Palinurus 5.840, Nissus and Euryalus 9.446, Pallas 10.411 & 507, Turnus 10.514, Lausus 10.490 ff., Camilla 11.664 f.; six minor characters: Icarus 6.30f., Caieta 7.1 ff., Mettus 8.643, Catiline 8.668, Tarchon 10.302; Trojans 10.430, also other groups, catalogue members, and abstract concepts such as *amor* and "the minds of men." Seven gods are addressed, and the audience is addressed with the 2nd person subjunctive four times.

[87] Block 1982 p. 17-20, focusing particularly on battles scenes in book 10, which she claims has more

conflicting perspectives can be applied to Palinurus, whom I suggest alludes to a dead rival of Octavian.

Aaron Seider reminds us that much of Vergil's initial audience would have lived through the civil wars, and he proposes that the narrator's apostrophes indicate that those characters should be remembered.[88] After the civil wars ended, and Vergil was composing his epic, Augustus was rebuilding Rome. As can be seen in Anchises' tour of future Romans (*Aen*. 6.752-885) and in building programs such as the statuary in the *exedrae* of the Mars Ultor temple, the memory of Roman greatness was very much in focus throughout Augustus' reign, and the manifestation of greatness was in the hands of the presenter.[89] And yet, even though later viewers or readers would be influenced by the perspective of the artist or sponsor of the art, one could not enforce or erase memories for those who lived through the civil wars. Tying this back to the observation that the direct addresses of the narrator and of characters challenge each other, I suggest that the competing memories vocalize the perspectives of the opposing sides of the conflict. We may apply this to Sextus Pompey, who is generally depicted as a leader of pirates and slaves, but was probably remembered fondly by the proscribed citizens that he assisted. Palinurus' conflicting tales of death echo the contrary depictions of Sextus' attempts to resist the rise of Octavian. The narrator emphatically points out Palinurus' innocence with the placement of *insonti* at the beginning of line 5.841 (see above).[90] When Aeneas

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instances of apostrophe than any other book.

[88] Seider 2012 p. 260, citing Lyne 1987 and Reed 2007.

[89] The temple for Mars Ultor and the Forum Augustum were not dedicated until 2 BCE, though pledged after the battle at Philippi; there were 108 statues with descriptive inscriptions. Gowing 2005 p. 18-19, 152-153, 156; Flower 2006 p. 115-132; Sumi 2009 p. 168; Seider 2012 p. 260-264.

[90] Fratantuono & Smith 2015 p. 706 note the emphatic position of *insonti* in 5.841 and counter the claim of Servius for 5.840 that Palinurus fell asleep and fell to his death (as Aeneas assumes also). We should recall that the penalty for falling asleep during night-watch in the Roman military was death, and so the narrator is letting us know that he did not, in fact, fall asleep but was innocently sacrificed. The violence with which

finds his ship lacking its helmsman, he assumes that Palinurus fell asleep and tumbled overboard. Eventually Palinurus is able to defend himself as he attributes his demise to a storm and to angry locals (but not to a god!).

Palinurus, the Unwilling Sacrifice

As mentioned above, there are two versions of Palinurus' death; the first involves him being sacrificed to Neptune in exchange for the safety of the rest of the Trojans. Palinurus' sacrifice is doubly problematic because it is a human sacrifice and because the victim resists the procedure. The concept of human sacrifice is fraught with issues;[91] the Romans struggled with the idea unless it was punitive, such as for a criminal or an enemy, neither of which apply to Palinurus.[92] The closest example, in terms of a mortal being sacrificed by request of a god, is that of Iphigeneia, who is also connected to the Trojan War saga. In the earlier Greek tragedies, Agamemnon fulfills the demand of Artemis, but his action is considered unholy and unsanctified,[93] and the girl is rescued by the goddess.[94] In Aeschylus' version, Iphigeneia is not a willing sacrifice, but she is bound and gagged, left only to plead for mercy with her eyes;[95] she cannot resist, and so while the deed is frowned upon, it is still considered successful. The Romans seem to have followed the opinion of the Greek tragedians, since Cicero lists Iphigeneia's

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he is ripped off the ship, taking the helm with him, counters the idea of drifting off to sleep.

[91] Self-sacrifice is not included here, which pleases the gods, such as at Lacus Curtius (Livy 7.6.1-5, Varro *Ling. Lat*. 5.148; Ovid *Fasti* 6.403-4; Pliny *NH* 15.78.7; Val. Max. 6.2). Palinurus depicts the opposite scenario, since he resists his death.

[92] The sacrifice of 307 Roman war prisoners was considered *foeditas* in Livy 7.15, but the famous punishment of Mettius Fufetius for being a traitor is depicted on Aeneas' shield (*Aen*. 8.642-5) and Aeneas sacrifices Latin youths at Pallas' funeral (*Aen*. 10.517–20, 11.81–82).

[93] ἄναγνον ἀνίερον, Aesch. *Ag*. 220.

[94] Eur. *IT* 28-30.

[95] Aesch. *Ag*. 235-243.

sacrifice as an example of a vow that should not have been fulfilled to avoid committing

such a horrible crime.[96] Interestingly, Ovid defends Agamemnon's sacrifice, claiming

that he put the good of his people before his own paternal thoughts,[97] and he has

Odysseus convince Agamemnon to do so,[98] thereby alleviating Agamemnon's guilt.

Ovid's portrayal of the situation perhaps followed the new imperial mindset; however,

Ovid changes his stance on the sacrifice after his exile (and that of Augustus' daughter

Julia).[99]

Returning to the sacrifice of Palinurus, the pilot struggles against Sleep's multiple

attempts to discard him (*Aen.* 5. 827-871). Initially, Sleep, in disguise, tries to sweet-talk

Palinurus (5.843-846). The helmsman's response has both sacrificial and political

undercurrents (5.848-851):

> "mene **salis** placidi vultum fluctusque quietos
> ignorare iubes? Mene huic confidere monstro?
> Aenean credam quid enim **fallacibus auris**,
> et caeli totiens deceptus fraude sereni?"

> "You order me to ignore the face of the calm sea
> and the quiet waves? To trust in this monster?
> Why should I trust Aeneas with these treacherous breezes,
> having been deceived many times by the fraud of a calm sky?"

Of course, *salis* is translated as 'sea' here, but this could also be a pun on the verb

salio, 'to sprinkle before a sacrifice,' an act that will in fact happen to Palinurus. It is

likely that the placement of *salis* after *me* would be an aural play for what the reader

already suspects will happen. Palinurus' nervousness over giving Aeneas control is

intriguing in terms of the political machinations of the civil war; the complaints of Sextus

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[96] Cicero *Off*. 3.95: *Promissum potius non faciendum quam tam taetrum facinus admittendum fuit.*
[97] Ovid *Met*. 12.29-30: *pietatem publica causa/ rexque patrem vicit.*
[98] Ovid. *Met*. 13.187-88.
[99] Ovid *Trist*. 4.4.59-86- Artemis hates the sacrifice.

concerning the mismanaged treaty and the seizure of Sardinia could be hinted at in line

5.851, as repeated deceptions of peace occurred in the settlement after the Ides in 44 BCE

and the treaty in 39 BCE. It should be noted that *fallacibus auris* is a rare phrase,

according to a PHI search.[100] Perhaps the "false breezes" did not occur outside of civil

war, which Octavian ended for generations. The use of "ship of state" metaphors

continue when Palinurus is thrown from the ship and when he pleads his case to Aeneas

in book 6; we will acknowledge this trend as it occurs in the text at hand.

After the failure of the disguise, Sleep sprinkled Palinurus's head with Lethe's

dew and the drowsy force of Styx (5.854-856). This sprinkling follows sacrificial

procedure, when the animal is sprinkled with water and then possibly nods in agreement

to its sacrificial death.[101] At the first hint of drowsiness, *vix primos inopina quies*

laxaverat artus (5.857), Sleep knocked the helmsman off the ship still clutching the helm

and part of the stern, his cries for help unheard (5.858-860):

> et super incumbens cum puppis parte revulsa
> cumque gubernaclo liquidas proiecit in undas
> praecipitatem ac socios nequiquam saepe vocantem
>
> and leaning from above he threw him falling into the watery waves
> with the torn off part of the stern and the helm, calling his friends
> in vain repeatedly…

Palinurus' resistance and ripping off part of the ship as he is thrown into the sea mimics a

resistant sacrificial victim. Unwilling sacrificial victims were considered bad luck; Pliny

reports that the gods were not propitiated if the victim dragged itself away from the

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[100] Horace Ode 1.5.11-15, in addition to Servius' discussion of this section, where he does not discuss the false breezes, but only the rhetorical question, *quid enim.*

[101] This follows the Greek practice, as described by Burkert 1985 p. 56, citing Porphyry *Abst.* 2.9; Naiden 2007 argues against Burkert. The Roman ritual used wine and *mole salsa* instead of water, but the Greek process was retained for Greek imports; this makes sense here since Palinurus is interacting with Homeric influence geographically and religiously.

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altar.[102] The *gubernaclo*, 'helm,' that Palinurus takes with him, is a word used often by

Cicero (and once by Livy) with *rei publicae* for the helm of the 'ship of state.'[103] This

metaphorical meaning seems to be important in the Underworld when Palinurus is telling

Aeneas what actually happened to him.

A Different Perspective

Scholarly debates concerning the somewhat conflicting accounts of Palinurus'

demise argue over whether the text is as Vergil intended or is the product of a Vergilian

error.[104] The interpretation made here assumes that the sections concerning Palinurus

were purposefully done, and that the seemingly inconsistent narrative is meant to urge the

reader to consider different perspectives of the same events in the aftermath of civil war.

The political undertone of the vocabulary used in Palinurus' version of his death

encourages this view, as seen in the bolded terms below (*Aen*. 6.347-354):

> Ille autem: neque te Phoebi cortina fefellit,
> dux Anchisiade, nec me deus aequore mersit.
> namque **gubernaclum multa vi forte revulsum,**
> **cui datus haerebam custos cursusque regebam**,
> praecipitans traxi mecum. Maria aspera iuro
> non ullum pro me tantum cepisse timorem,
> quam tua ne, **spoliata armis, excussa magistro**,
> deficeret tantis **navis** surgentibus undis.

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[102] Pliny *NH* 8.183.

[103] *Aen*. 6.351-354; Cicero *Pro Roscio* 51.5, *Pro Murena* 74.6, *Pro Sestio* 20.10, *Phillipics* 2.113.6, *De Inventione* 1.4.118, *De Divinatione* 2.3.9, *ad Brutum* 2.1.2; Livy 4.3.17.

[104] M. Lossau 1980, "Elpenor und Palinurus" in *WS* 14, pp 102-124; T. Berres 1982, *Die Entstehung der Aeneis*; V. Buchheit 1964, "Von der Entstehung der Aeneis" in *Nachr. der Giessner Hochschulgesellschaft* 33, pp. 131-143. Jacob 1952 p. 163-167 suggests that Vergil initially had Palinurus drown in a storm near Africa (*Libyco cursu*, 6.338) like the steersman of Orontes (1.113-117; cf. 6.333-336) to allow for the three days he struggled before his murder by locals on the Italian coast. Jacob argues that in the book 5 revision Palinurus had to die after being cast overboard and not in a storm, because of Neptune's pledge. The incongruities arise because Vergil died before editing the text. Horsfall 2013 p. 279 counters this idea; the *Libyco* applies to the journey as a whole and not the storm-induced pitstop. He snidely cites Servius to support this: "Serv. provides a sane and simple answer, entirely in keeping with the passages discussed infra: *nauigatio non a deuerticulo, sed ab intentione accipit nomen*."

He said however: Apollo's cauldron did not deceive you,
Commander Son of Anchises, nor did a god plunge me in the sea.
For by chance the helm to which I clung- having been given
the charge, I was guiding our course- was torn off with great force
and I dragged it with me falling. I swear by the rough seas
I feared not for myself being taken but for your ship, lest, stripped of
its gear and the helmsman cast out, it might fail in such surging waves.

Palinurus adamantly removes the gods from his death (*Aen.* 6.348: *nec… deus*), in stark contrast to the divine violence done to him at the end of Book 5. In an attempt to correct the disparity of Sleep attacking Palinurus and line 6.348, *nec me deus aequore mersit,* Fratantuono & Smith claim that the *deus* refers to Apollo specifically, who did not drown him.[105] But Dyson suggests instead that the line means that a (generic) god did not drown Palinurus because he was, in fact, murdered on the cliff face by the locals.[106] These arguments are both true; however, the verb *mergo* can mean 'plunge' and not just 'drown,' and in book 5 Sleep is described as forcefully plunging Palinurus in the sea. I suggest that Palinurus is offering his perspective of his death in order to correct Aeneas, and, instead of an unedited portion of the epic, his story is purposefully different than the version previously presented to us.[107]

Palinurus continues his contrary account, claiming that a storm tossed him about for three nights, even though Aeneas sailed smoothly to the area of Cumae. Was this a matter of perspective? Perhaps Vergil was allowing Palinurus/Sextus to temporarily remove the divine influence of Aeneas/Octavian to show the poet's sense of loss for civil war fatalities. Frederick Brenk suggests that the four ghosts of the Trojan sailors whom

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[105] Fratantuono & Smith 2015 p. 695.
[106] Dyson 1990 p. 70 n. 2.
[107] Horsfall 2013 p. 275 claims there is no divine presence, yet he believes Vergil did not intend to keep both versions of Palinurus' demise.

Aeneas meets in the Underworld (Leucaspis, Orontes, Misenus, and Palinurus) represent

the "hundreds of tragic deaths at sea in those years… The fate of Palinurus even

reproduces the geography and details from that war."[108] As noted, the vocabulary used

has political and military connotations (*gubernaclum*, s*poliata armis,* 'ship of state'), and

Palinurus emphasizes that he was given (*datus*, 6.350) the position of helmsman. This

recalls Sextus' senate-appointed position of *praefectus* of the fleet and coast.[109]

Palinurus' ghost asks Aeneas either to bury him (6.365-366) or to bring him over

the Styx (6.370-371), since he cannot go without funeral rites. Vergil's language (*da

dextram misero et tecum me tolle per undas*) could arguably refer to a request for peace,

since the *dextrarum iunctio* (clasped hands) was often used to symbolize *concordia*

between previously opposing parties in 1st century BCE politics.[110] Octavian and Antony

circulated coinage with Concordia on the obverse and clasped hands on the reverse

presumably after the treaty at Brundisium in 40 BCE (Figure 16).

Figure 16: RRC 529.4b. Silver quinarius, 39 BCE. OBV: III·VIR·R·P·C, head
of Concordia wearing a diadem & veil. REV: M·ANTON·C·CAESAR, two
hands clasped around a caduceus. ANS 1908.89.14, American Numismatic
Society, accessed July 30, 2021, http://numismatics.org/collection/1908.89.14.

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[108] Brenk, 1984 p. 798. In his 1988 article, Brenk argues that the Palinurus episode reflects the conflict with Sextus, but suggests that Sextus is aligned with Neptune and the sacrifice of Palinurus stands for Octavian's naval disasters as expiation for his harsh treatment of Sicily.

[109] Dio 46.40.3: *praefectus classis et orae maritimae ex senatus consulto*; RRC 511; Welch 2002 p. 1.

[110] Cornwell 2020 p. 161-67; see her Table 1 on p. 163 for examples in coinage 48-39 BCE. Cornwell notes this imagery is also used to symbolize marriage, but that scenario is depicted between spouses and does not apply here.

The Sybil harshly denies Palinurus' request, offering him instead brief (*parumper,* 6.382) solace that he will be buried by locals and his name will be remembered geographically, remarkably at a location where Octavian's ships were destroyed and many lives lost.

Inconsistencies in the *Aeneid* have often been attributed to the unfinished nature of the text.[111] However, the two inconsistencies that I discussed above, the author of the prophecy about the Trojans' famine and the conflicting versions of Palinurus' death, I believe connect Palinurus with Sextus Pompey. These discrepancies seem to be too memorable to have been a slip of memory for the author; instead, I suggest that these inconsistencies may reflect a recasting of the civil war narrative, especially considering the locations involved. Survivors of the proscriptions and the civil wars would have had different memories for the same events, depending on which side they were on. The discrepancies may purposefully draw the readers' attention to these opposing perspectives. Vergil supported the future Augustus, but may have had regrets about the path taken to achieve peace.

Besides the internal discrepancies in the *Aeneid,* there are also divergences from earlier accounts of Aeneas' journey. Horsfall observes that four of the nine episodes that Aeneas experiences between Troy and Sicily were not associated with Aeneas prior to

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[111] For example, Fordyce 1977 for line 7.178 sees "clear evidence of lack of revision." Seeing the contradictions as something more, as followed in this chapter, is explored in different ways by Horsfall 1981 p. 145: "'Inconsistencies in the *Aeneid'* have fortunately ceased to attract too much learned attention. But it may not be inappropriate to suggest a novel mode of explanation…" namely, that "consistency mattered much less than effect" (p. 150); O'Hara 2007 p. 77-103 discusses the *Aeneid*'s inconsistencies; Casali 2020, seeing political motivations behind the contradictory genealogies for the Laurentine kings given by the narrator (7.45-49), by the Laurentines (7.177-191), and by Evander (8.313-336), states p. 300: "These inconsistencies are motivated by the different points of view of the different characters of the poem: each of them have their own political and cultural interests in inventing and presenting a certain version of the past."

Vergil's epic; they include Crete, the Strophades, Scylla & Charybdis,[112] and the Cyclops. Horsfall also notes that while Aeneas only lands at Cumae and Caieta, he alludes to Baiae, Prochyta, and Ischia in a simile (9.710ff), sails past Circeii, and gives the *aitia* for Cape Palinurus and Cape Misenus (6.234, 318), suggesting that Vergil's "most careful readers were expected to recognize not only poetic but scholarly allusions" to the other versions in which the hero stopped at these places.[113] The four Vergilian additions listed above are famous from other heroes' exploits in earlier epic poetry, however, they also are associated with famine and the geography of the battles against Sextus Pompey (see Maps 4 & 5). Following Horsfall's suggestion, I believe that the Roman reader would see allusions to the Sicilian conflict when reading about the helmsman Palinurus' exploits at these locations.

The divergent events in the *Aeneid* demonstrate for us the wide-ranging struggle to clarify truth versus propaganda in the Triumviral period and beyond. Three examples outside of Vergil and the conflict with Sextus Pompey will show the prevalence of this issue. The first involves Octavian's supposed assassination attempt on Antony in 44 BCE. Antony reportedly arrested some soldiers who had been sent to kill him; when they confessed, Octavian was named. Antony informed his friends but then the matter was dropped; however, Octavian publicly asserted his innocence. The ancient sources are divided on the credibility of this event: both Nicolaus and Velleius unsurprisingly claim that the attempt was false, while Plutarch and Appian report that there were those who

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[112] Just as Octavian struggled at Scyllaeum twice, Aeneas has to escape Scylla twice (3.351-357, 3.684); see Map 4.
[113] Horsfall 1981 p. 143-4; Lloyd 1957 p. 382-400, a list with ancient sources of the 17 stops made by Aeneas is on p. 383.

believed each side (Appian also reports that some felt both sides were lying).[114] The

sources that claim the assassination attempt was legitimate include Suetonius and Seneca,

but the most jarring source is Cicero, who reported that there were those who believed in

and approved of the attempt![115]

Another example of conflicting reports concerns the conspiracy of Quintus

Gallius discussed in chapter I. Suetonius conveys two versions of Gallius' death, which

he claims happened during the Triumviral years.[116] The first version states that Gallius

held folded tablets in his robe which Octavian believed to be a sword. Gallius was

dragged from the tribunal by centurions, tortured, and executed. Suetonius reports that

the second version is from Augustus' *Autobiography*, which claims that Gallius attacked

Octavian during a meeting. He was then banished and died either during a shipwreck or a

robbery. As we shall see later in this chapter, the claim of clemency shown to Gallius

followed by death at the hands of someone else is similar to the report of Sextus

Pompey's demise.

Our third example does not include the death of a rival (attempted or met), but a

writer's polite acknowledgment that the official account of the *princeps* did not concur

with other sources. According to Livy, Aulus Cornelius Cossus killed Lars Tolumnius of

Veii in 437 BCE and dedicated the spoils to Jupiter Feretrius.[117] Livy reports that earlier

sources list Cossus as a military tribune, but Augustus claimed that he read the

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[114] Nicolaus *Life of Augustus* 30-31; Vell. 2.60.3; Plut. *Ant*. 16.3-4; Appian *BC* 3.39.
[115] Suet. *Aug*. 10.3. Scott 1933 p. 10 believes that letters of Mark Antony were Suetonius' source, making the author's report a matter of propaganda. Sen. *de Clem*. 1.9.1. Cic. *ad Fam*. 12.23.2; he also mentions the event in *Phil*. 3.8.19.
[116] Suet. *Aug*. 27.4.
[117] Livy *AUC* 4.19-20. Augustus' intentions and Livy's portrayal of the testimony is debated by Badian 1993, Rich 1996, Flower 2000, and Sailor 2006, among others.

'inscription' on the linen cuirass when he restored the temple,[118] which stated that Cossus was consul. Livy notes the discrepancy and the fact that Cossus was consul seven years after the battle, but states that it "would almost be sacrilege" (*prope sacrilegium* 4.20.7) to not believe the dedication to a god (or the word of Augustus). Just before the time that Livy wrote this contemporary insertion in book 4, the proconsul of Macedonia, M. Licinius Crassus, killed Deldo the king of the Bastarnae.[119] We do not know if Crassus petitioned to dedicate the *spolia opima*, but the future Augustus did make it clear that he was not eligible to do so, arguably with the example of Cossus in mind, because he was fighting under the auspices of the *princeps*.[120] Augustus' motive for this claim can be gleaned from Livy's description of the triumph of Mamercus Aemilius, during which the celebrating dictator was overshadowed by Cossus' glory. If Crassus was permitted to dedicate his *spolia*, the rarity of the event would outshine even Augustus' recent triple triumph.[121] Seemingly only Augustus would have seen the dedication that proved his point, and while Livy goes along with Augustus' claim, the author leaves room for argument with the comment, *Ea libera coniectura est*.[122]

     As shown with these examples of debated veracity, conflicting narratives from competing parties were a common occurrence during the rise of the Principate. The

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[118] Harrison 1989 p. 409 places the restoration in 32/31 BCE, before the battle of Actium.

[119] In 29 BCE; Dio 51.24.3-4. The connection between Cossus and Crassus was made by H. Dessau 1906 "Livius und Augustus" in *Hermes* 41, pp.142-151. Dio 51.24.4 claims Crassus could not dedicate the *spolia opima* because he was not an αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγὸς. Crassus' eligibility and request are debated by Reinhold 1988, Rich 1996, Flower 2000, and Sailor 2006.

[120] Harrison 1989 suggests that the public dedication was problematic, but not the winning of the spolia, as noted by Varro (acc. to Festus p. 204.4ff): *M. Varro ait opima spolia esse, etiam si manipularius miles detraxit, dummodo duci hostium…*

[121] Sailor 2006 p. 333, citing Syme 1959 p. 44. *Spolia opima* had only been dedicated three times before: by Romulus, Cossus, and M. Claudius Marcellus in 222. Rich 1999 argues that Augustus would have permitted Drusus to dedicate *spolia*, had he lived through his campaign.

[122] Livy *AUC* 4.20.11. Sailor 2006 p. 337 n. 20 discusses Livy's later acknowledgement of problems with the sources (4.23.1-3), perhaps as a way to excuse countering them.

inconsistencies surrounding Palinurus' death follow suit. Palinurus was sacrificed to ensure the safe arrival of the Trojans, but he had been working diligently to achieve that same goal, and he worried about the fate of the ships even as he was dying. Yet, his version of the events contradicts both the narrated incident and what Aeneas believed; these accounts were different perspectives of the same events, all of which achieved the same end. Just as Livy complies with Augustus' claim about *spolia opima*, only Aeneas' version mattered to the Trojans since he was the only one to hear Palinurus' report and the Sibyl aggressively dismissed the helmsman's request for burial (an epitaph may have corrected his misconstrued story). However, the readers are aware of all three versions, and the narrator nudges us to pay attention with the use of apostrophe. These inconsistencies, artfully told, encourage us to look for an intended meaning. I suggest that Vergil was urging the reader to reconsider the stories about Sextus Pompey. To further my argument, we shall now examine correlations that occur between the depictions of Sextus and Palinurus in terms of weather, geography, and divine patronage.

Sicilian Squalls

      Palinurus is the focus of the beginning and end of book 5, as he vigilantly guides the Trojan ships towards and then away from Sicily, and both the location and the weather are contributing factors for the action. Weather is an important aspect throughout book 5: the Trojans stop at Sicily because of a storm, a god-sent storm extinguishes the fire on the ships, and Palinurus expresses his distrust of the calm sea and then dies in it. We learn from his ghost in book 6 that a storm was involved in his demise, unbeknownst

to Aeneas.[123]

      The setting of Sicily for book 5 was not Aeneas' intention; Palinurus was forced

to land there because of approaching storms.[124] Palinurus informs Aeneas of his plan,

telling him that the path has been decided by Fortune: *superat quoniam Fortuna,*

sequamur, quoque vocat, vertamus iter (5.22-23). The combination of storms and Sicily

must have resonated with the Roman audience as hinting at the recent war against Sextus,

especially if they recalled Helenus' description of Sicily and the strait of Messina in book

3 (414-417):

> haec loca vi quondam et vasta convulsa ruina
> …
> dissiluisse ferunt, cum protinus utraque tellus
> una foret…
>
> they say, once when each was one whole land…
> these places were broken apart by violent and vast catastrophe…

Helenus is describing how an earthquake separated the island from the mainland, creating

the dangerous channel in between,[125] but the language could denote warnings relevant to

the civil wars, especially since Octavian experienced two naval losses at Scyllaeum in the

referenced straits.[126] Powell observes that the "Roman audience, trained to look in fiction

for allusions to contemporary fact, would predictably ask not whether the poet intended a

connection, but what the connection might be," noting particularly the importance of

Sicily in the *Aeneid*, and how, especially in book 5, one would think of Sextus

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[123] Ambrose 1980 p. 453-454; Fratantuono & Smith 2015 p. 24 connect the darkness in the book with "the political transformation and societal change that occurs as Virgil is writing the poem."
[124] Brenk 1988 p. 80 note 20. Interestingly, the scenario recalls the storm in book 3 that led the Trojans to the Harpies, where we meet "Ipse… Palinurus."
[125] Horsfall 2006 p. 310.
[126] As mentioned, the clash between Salvidienus and Sextus in 42 BCE and Octavian's loss and the subsequent storm in 38 BCE.

Pompey.[127] Sextus himself reinforced his connection with the straits by issuing coins depicting Scylla; these have been found throughout Italy (Figure 17).

Figure 17: RRC 511.4a. Silver denarius, 42-38 BCE, Sicily.[128] OBV:
MAG·PIVS·IMP·ITER Pharos of Messana. REV: PRAEF·CLAS·ET·
OR[AE·MARIT·EX·S·C], Scylla wielding rudder with both hands. ANS
1937.158.343, American Numismatic Society, accessed July 29, 2021,
http://numismatics.org/collection/1937.158.343. See also below RRC 511.2.

As mentioned above, in July of 36 CBE a huge storm scattered the three-fold forces of Octavian. Lepidus was sailing from North Africa, like Aeneas; Appian reports that the south wind was so strong that it capsized many of Lepidus' ships, nevertheless, he still was able to land and besiege Lilybaeum,[129] which is not far from Cape Drepanum where Aeneas and Palinurus land in book 5 and the area of Anchises' burial (3.706-711, see Maps 4 & 5). In fact, Aeneas mentions navigating the shoals of Lilybaeum to reach Drepanum and only two words separate the place names: *et vada dura lego saxis Lilybeia caecis/ hinc Drepanum*. This strengthens an association between storms and Sicily in the *Aeneid* and the war against Sextus. Now let us turn to the deity connected to such storms.

Pater Neptune

In honor of the divine help he received from Neptune and his storm in 36 BCE,

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[127] Powell 2008 p. 98.
[128] Welch 2012 p. 184-185 discusses proposed dates and sources for Sextus' coinage. I follow Powell 2002 p. 121-22, placing this particular issue after Sextus' defeat of Octavian's fleet near Scyllaeum, accounting for the more aggressive depiction of her than on other issues from Sextus.
[129] Appian *BC* 5.98.

Sextus reportedly switched his purple cloak for a dark blue one and called himself Neptune's son.[130] In the beginning of *Aeneid* book 5, when the approaching storm drives the Trojans to Drepanum, Palinurus prays to Neptune and addresses him as father. Just as in book 3, here the helmsman is emphatically introduced with *ipse* (5.13-14):

> **Ipse** gubernator puppi **Palinurus** ab alta:
> "quiniam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbi?
> Quidve **pater Neptune**, paras?" sic deinde locutus

> The helmsman Palinurus himself from the high stern then said
> "Oh! Why have such clouds surrounded the heavens?
> What are you preparing, Father Neptune?"

The phrase *pater Neptunus* does not occur frequently in Latin texts of this period; in Vergil's poetry it appears here and again at 5.863, both instances connected to Palinurus. Interestingly, Pliny uses the phrase to report that Sextus Pompey adopted Neptune as his father in response to his successes at sea.[131] Servius states that *pater* is merely a religious title, and while that is true, I suggest that it would also probably conjure thoughts of Sextus Pompey for a Roman reader, since, as Pliny exemplifies, the naval commander touted his relationship to Neptune on coinage and in the public's imagination (Figures 18 & 19).

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[130] Appian *BC* 5.100.

[131] Pliny *NH* 9.55.4. Other instances: Lucilius' *Saturae* fr. 1.21, in Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* 3.77.1 (speaking about Theseus), in Seneca's *Medea* 635 (again, Theseus), *Oedipus* 266, and *Agamemnon* 553-54. Servius uses the phrase in a reference to *Aeneid* 3.89 (a line which addresses Apollo). https://latin.packhum.org/search?q=pat+%7E+neptun&first=21

Figure 18: RRC 483.2. Silver denarius, c. 43 BCE, Sicily. OBV: NEPTUNI, head of Pompey Magnus, a trident, and a dolphin. REV: Q. NASIDIUS. A ship with a star. ANS 1944.100.3642, American Numismatic Society, accessed July 30, 2021, http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.3642.

Figure 19: RRC 511.2. Silver denarius, 42-40 BCE, Sicily. OBV: MAG·PIVS IMP·ITER, head of Neptune, a trident. REV: PRAEF CLAS·ET·ORAE MARIT· TEX·S·C, trophy with trident above, anchor below, prow-stem on left, aplustre on right, two heads of Scylla at base. © The Trustees of the British Museum, R.9266, accessed July 30, 2021, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-9266

Dio reports that Sextus began calling himself 'son of Neptune' early in 40 BCE.[132] As noted previously, during games held in the Circus in November of that year, the crowd cheered enthusiastically for a Neptune statue carried in the procession as a show of their support for Sextus. When the statue was not included on the following festival-days, the crowd threw rocks at the magistrates in the Forum and toppled the statues of Octavian and Antony. Since the crowd threatened to riot and destroy homes, Octavian and Antony were compelled to negotiate with Sextus.[133] Suetonius briefly reports the same statue removal, but claims that it was in response to the loss of the fleet in the storm at Cape Palinurus in 36 BCE.[134] The location of the shipwrecks during a conflict with Sextus Pompey again nudges the Roman reader's imagination to see a literary allusion.

Promoting an affiliation with Neptune was a political trend in the 40s and 30s; the

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[132] Dio 48.19, 48.48.5. References to Neptune appear on Sextus' coinage in connection with Pompey Magnus after 44 BCE.

[133] Dio 48.31.5-6. This riot may be the same event as discussed above, which Appian *BC* 5.67-68 claims was in reaction to an edict. Both authors have a riot persuade Octavian and Antony to seek an agreement with Sextus. Rodeghiero 2012 p. 105 links the riot over the statue removal to the people's disappointment over Sextus' exclusion from the agreement at Brundisium.

[134] Suet. *Aug*. 16.2.

sea god was depicted on the coinage of several naval commanders.[135] During the conflict

with Sextus, Powell suggests that "Neptune's attitude… was one of the most

publicized."[136] In the *Georgics*, Vergil has Octavian seeking a divine domain, noting that

the future *princeps* may even dominate the sea and the sailors.[137] The idea of controlling

the sea aligns with Suetonius' claim that when Octavian's fleet was greatly damaged in

the storm of 36 at the promontory of Palinurus,[138] Octavian reportedly exclaimed that he

would win even if it was against Neptune's will: *Alii dictum factumque eius criminantur,*

quasi classibus tempestate perditis exclamaverit etiam invito Neptuno victoriam se

adepturum.[139] The use of the disclaimer *alii dictum* tells us that this was not a private

matter read by Suetonius in imperial papers, but an event (or rumor) that people talked

about. Whether the impious deed actually happened is not as important as the belief that

it occurred for Vergil's readers. It is fascinating that Vergil would have his hero's

helmsman be sacrificed to Neptune at the same location that Octavian was rumored to

have lost his ships and to have challenged the same god.

During the summer of 36 and after Naulochus, Octavian and Antony put

"Neptunian" imagery on their coins,[140] showing a reclamation of the god's favor. Perhaps

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[135] Gowing 1992 p. 309-310; Miller 2009 p. 24; Welch 2012 p. 188-190. Examples of coins with Neptune: RRC 483.2 obv. image of Pompey Magnus with 'NEPTUNI' (c. 43 BCE coin of Q. Nasidius); RRC 507.2 obv. head of Neptune (43-42 BCE, coin of Casca Longus & Brutus); RRC 510.1 obv. head of Neptune (42-41 BCE, coin of Murcus); RRC 511.2 obv. head of Neptune (42-40 BCE coin of Sextus); RRC 511.3 rev. statue of Neptune (37-36 BCE coin of Sextus); RRC 511.4 obv. statue of Neptune (42-40 BCE coin of Sextus).

[136] Powell 2008 p. 97.

[137] Verg. *Geor*. 1.27-31, esp. 29-31: *an deus inmensi venias maris ac tua nautae/ numina sola colant, tibi serviat ultima Thule teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis…* Interestingly, Tarturus is specified as not an option (1.36).

[138] Appian *BC* 5.98-100; Suet. *Aug*. 16.1-2.

[139] Suet. *Aug*. 16.1-2.

[140] Miller 2009 p. 24, esp. n. 35. For Octavian: *RIC²* 256; Zanker 1988 p. 29-41; Gurval 1995 p. 47-65 discusses the debate for Naulochus or Actium. For Antony: *BMCRR East* 149-153 (36-35 BCE); Pollini 1990 p. 344-345.

the sacrifice of Palinurus to Neptune calls attention to this appropriation. Palinurus

struggles and dies in the area where Octavian almost lost the war due to unseasonable

storms. Once the helmsman is overboard, Aeneas' fleet speeds along safely, trusting in

patris Neptuni (5.862-863), who was initially addressed by Palinurus at the start of book

5, but guards over Aeneas at its end. Under the assumption that Palinurus fell asleep and

fell to his death, Aeneas "took personal charge of the ship and the fleet's direction, a

veritable Augustus guiding the Ship of State."[141]

After avoiding the cliffs of the Sirens, Aeneas lands in the area of Portus Avernus

(which was not requested by Venus, who had asked for the Tiber, but instead was

asserted by Neptune); both the cliffs and the port relate to damaging events for

Octavian's fleet during the conflict in 36 BCE (see Maps 4 & 5).[142] This itinerary is a

Vergilian reworking of the Aeneas legend, especially since Dionysius of Halicarnassus

reported that the Trojans made different stops along the Italian coast, one of which was

Capo Palinuro, where the helmsman died and was buried.[143] In addition, Vergil's narrator

directly addresses Palinurus before his death, calling him 'innocent' (*insonti*, 5.841).

Vergil changes Palinurus' death from being noted but mostly inconsequential into a

necessary offering for the ensured safety of Aeneas' men and mission.

Once Palinurus has been sacrificed, Neptune helps Aeneas' ships avoid the

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[141] McKay 1967 p. 3.

[142] During the storm of July 36, as mentioned above, Appius lost ships at the Sirens' Cliffs and Octavian lost a large part of his fleet at Cape Palinurus. These cliffs are also known as Minervae Promontorium (τὸ Ἀθηναῖον ἄκρον, Appian *BC* 5.98) for the temple that once stood there, founded by Ulysses as per Strabo 5.4.8, now called Punta della Campanella.

[143] Dionysius 1.53.2. Dionysius' version does not predate Vergil's but was based on Varro and Timaeus, both earlier sources. CAPO PALINURO: Phocaeans settled nearby Elea just to the north c. 540 BCE when many fled Persian rule (Herodotus 1.167.3, Strabo 6.1.1); Lucanians occupied the site in 5th c. BCE. The southern side is a 200m sheer cliff, the northern side is sharp but has rock-cut caves and then a natural harbor. Servius *Aen.* vi. 378 comments that the Lucanians suffered from plague and an oracle told them to bury Palinurus; they set up a cenotaph at Velia.

Sirens' cliffs (5.862–866) and Circe (7.10–24), and the god is depicted on Aeneas' shield as a supporter of Octavian at Actium (8.699). Similarly, Octavian claims Neptune's support in artistic depictions after Sextus Pompey's defeat. Octavian dedicated a victory monument at Nikopolis to Neptune and Mars, in addition to the sanctuary for Actian Apollo.[144] As an example of more personal art, there is a Carnelian gem depicting Augustus as Neptune holding a trident on a hippocampus-drawn chariot (Figure 20). While the date and context are debated,[145] the fact that Augustus is depicted in the guise of Neptune is central for this conversation: Octavian's appropriation of Neptune could only have happened after the conquest of "Neptune's Son."

Figure 20: Carnelian gem intaglio, c. 31-27 BCE, depicting Augustus as Neptune. The gem is set in a modern gold ring. Currently in Boston MFA, accession number 27.733. Image from Warren & Beazley 1920, pl. 7, # 105.

Geographic Correlations & Oddities

Neptune is involved in Aeneas' passage to the area of Cumae, another geographical connection between the *bellum Siculum* and book 5 of the *Aeneid*, where the hero will meet the ghost of Palinurus. Previously, Neptune demanded from Venus a

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[144] Zachos 2003, 2015.
[145] Proponents of a reference to Actium include Hölscher 2009 p. 327 and Galinsky 1996 p. 21, whereas Welch 2012 p. 297-298 claims it is for Naulochus. Stevenson 1998 p. 60 and Zanker 1988 p. 97 believe it refers to either one equally, while Gurval 1995 p. 13 believes it does not relate to either battle.

sacrifice in exchange for safe passage to Portus Avernus (5.813-815):

> tutus, quos optas, portus accedet Averni.
> unus erit tantum amissum quem gurgite quaeres
> **unum pro multis** dabitur caput…

> He will reach the port of Avernus safely, as you ask.
> Only one will be lost whom you will seek in the sea;
> One life will be given for many…

Even though Palinurus took the helm and part of the stern with him as he fell into the sea (5.858-860) the ship sped along unharmed as promised (5.862-863). The change from Venus' request of safe passage to the Tiber River (5.797) to Neptune's choice of Portus Avernus is made through the emphatic placement of *Averni* at the end of the line (5.813).[146] This harbor is an anachronistic (for Aeneas) reference to the Portus Julius built by Agrippa to prepare for the pending naval operations against Sextus in 38 BCE (see Map 5). After Agrippa seized Aenaria (Ischia) from Sextus, he constructed a new base at Lake Avernus, the Portus Julius, which he connected to Lake Lucrinus and the sea via a channel. The new ships were built along the coast and conveyed to the new port, and slaves were freed to be trained as crewmembers.[147] This cleverly created harbor was praised by Vergil in his *Georgics*.[148] Strabo reports that Agrippa increased the height of the original mound built by Hercules around Lucrinus in order to protect the new harbor from storms; this would allow Agrippa's new fleet to train without threat of danger from Neptune.[149] For construction and transport purposes, a tunnel was designed by the

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[146] Fratantuono & Smith 2015 p. 683 call the placement a surprise.

[147] Paget 1969 p. 29; McKay 1970 p. 210; Stone 1983 p. 142; Powell 2008 p. 93. The slaves may have been freed beforehand as a statement against the slaves, both runaways and those of the proscribed, who supposedly fought under Sextus.

[148] Vergil Georgics 2.161-164*: an memorem portus Lucrinosque addita claustra/ atque indignatum magnis stridoribus aequor,/ Iulia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso/ Tyrrhenumque fretis immittitur aestus Avernis?* The port is also mentioned in Suet. *Aug.* 16.1, Strabo 5.4.5, and Dio 48.50.

[149] Strabo 5.4.5-6. Welch 2012 p. 270, p. 271 includes a useful map.

architect L. Cocceius Auctus leading from Cumae to Lake Avernus, measuring two wagon-widths across.[150] The tunnel loosely corresponds to the path Aeneas took following two Venus-sent doves from the beach of Cumae to Lake Avernus in search of the golden bough. Both the reference to Portus Julius and the pursuit of the doves occur before Aeneas confronts Palinurus in the Underworld and may relate to the preparation for Octavian's confrontation with Sextus. Along with the geographical references we may add the last line of Neptune's mandate, *unum pro multis dabitur caput*, which may be seen as a reference to the proscriptions. As mentioned previously, Sextus negotiated the safe return and partial restoration of property for the proscribed. He may be the one sacrificed for many Romans, as reported by Appian (*BC* 5.143):

> τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἐπίκουρος ἐν ταῖς προγραφαῖς τῇ πόλει πανώλεθρα πασχούσῃ γενόμενος περιέσωσεν ἄνδρας ἀρίστους τε καὶ πολλούς, οἳ τότε δι᾽ αὐτὸν ἦσαν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι.

> His greatest achievement was to be the defender when the city suffered utter ruin during the proscriptions, by rescuing many of the best men, who later, because of him, were living in their fatherland.

This chapter has explored geographic correlations between *Aeneid* books 5 and 6 and the conflict with Sextus Pompey. Following Servius' comment that Priam's death near Troy was a Vergilian nod to Pompey Magnus' death on the Egyptian coast,[151] we may also ask if Palinurus' death and geographic namesake could loosely suggest Sextus' death in Asia Minor, perhaps near one of the two cities named Pompeiopolis in the

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[150] Grotta di Cocceio, also known as Grotta della Pace for the Spanish general who looted Cumae c. 1508 using the tunnel. For images, go to http://www.pafleg.it/it/4388/localit/71/grotta-di-cocceio.
Agrippa also developed a new weapon (as per Osgood), the *harpax* ("snatcher"), an iron grappling device on a cable that could hook and pull in enemy ships (Appian 5.118). It is tempting to see a word play with "Harpies." As per a PHI search, "Harpyia" does not occur in Latin before Vergil's *Aeneid* and Horace *Satires* 2.2 (published c. 31 BCE).
[151] Servius *ad Aen*. 2.557f.

region.[152] Asia Minor was an important area for the Pompey family, exemplified by Sextus' warm reception in Lesbos after his defeat and by his attempts to make new alliances throughout the region before his death.[153]

Vergil's approximations for geographical markers are apparent in Palinurus' comment that Aeneas could go to *portus Velinos* to bury him (6.366), referring to Velia (Greek Elea) which is approximately 18km away from Palinurus and not yet founded in Aeneas' time (Map 4).[154] Other examples include the connection between Drepanum and Lilybaeum,[155] the overarching *Libyco cursu* that includes indirectly the book-long pitstop in Sicily,[156] and the locations of Misenum, Cumae, and Avernus in book 6 that seem much closer than they actually are.[157] As Horsfall wittily points out in his discussion of what he labels "topographical complications," particularly for the area of Misenum, "There is no Muse of Cartography."[158] And yet, there is a sense that the locations are relatively close, just as it would be for a modern audience watching a film located in a city in which they do not reside. For example, to someone not familiar with Philadelphia,

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[152] Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia, see Summerer & von Keinlin 2013; in Cilicia, see Öniz 2018. Appian *BC* 5.144 reports that he was executed in Miletus; Gabba 1970 p. 238 feels that Appian's report is not clear for location of capture. Dio 49.18.4 says he was captured in Midaeum; Reinhold 1988 p. 45 notes that Dio does not mention place of execution, but there is a lacuna of 18-20 letters. Strabo 3.2.2 reports execution in Miletus, but a note in the app. crit. of Radt 2002 p. 350 says: "Μιδαείῳ pro Μιλήτῳ Lachmann (ap. Kramer)"; H.C. Hamilton 1903 notes about Miletus in Strabo 3.2.2: "Kramer, using the criticism of Lachmann, observes that this is a misreading for Midaium, and that a like mistake occurs in Appian." If we map Sextus' campaign as listed in Appian, and he went to Lampsacus, then Cyzicus (5.137), on to Nicea and Nicomedia (5.139), and then Bithynia heading towards Armenia (5.140), Midaeum makes more sense geographically, and is not very far from Paphlagonian Pompeiopolis and other cities conquered and (re)settled by Pompey Magnus during his war against Mithridates, since Sextus was trying to rally support. Would Titius have marched Sextus all the way to Miletus before executing him?
[153] Dio 40.174; Appian *BC* 5.133.
[154] Yet Pliny differentiated between the two locations (*NH* 3.71); Horsfall 2013 p. 291. See note 143: Servius *Aen*. vi. 378 says the Lucanians set up a cenotaph at Velia.
[155] See p. 156; the distance is roughly 30 km.
[156] Horsfall 2013 p. 279; see note 103.
[157] Horsfall 1981 p. 144; Tilly 1975 p. 363 comments on "Vergil's habit of telescoping, or even ignoring, distances. For him the epic must move quickly, against a shadowed background of omissions."
[158] Horsfall 2013 p. 165-166.

PA, the montage running scene in the 1979 film "Rocky II" seems like an average morning workout, but as presented Rocky would have effortlessly run 50km.[159] Interestingly, for the artistically-driven geographical looseness of both the Vergilian epic and the Sylvester Stallone movie, there is contention over the actual route and the exact locations.[160] I suggest that Vergil was using the same concept of depicting the areas that would trigger a reader-response with famous places that do not necessarily match exactly with the route Aeneas took in other versions of the legend. Hans-Peter Stahl proposes that Vergil's choice of altered landing sites was related to contemporary politics;[161] correspondingly, I suggest that the reader-response sought in the Palinurus episodes was likely a connection with Sextus Pompey.

Conclusion

As noted by Josiah Osgood, Sextus is one of the "most elusive" political players of the Triumviral period. Unlike other opponents, Appian does not give lengthy speeches for Sextus; he generally only speaks through envoys. As far as we know, none of his followers wrote on his behalf or preserved his letters, and few Romans would have seen him as an adult, relying only on images from his coins.[162] This scenario, along with his family name, would have given him a bit of a legendary status, easily mapped onto a character from a beloved epic poem. In fact, Sextus was such a popular figure that Powell suggests that M. Antony's prominence "is a product of Augustan, including Virgilian,

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[159] https://www.wsj.com/articles/in-philadelphia-runners-recreate-rocky-balboa8217s-50k-route-1386559161. https://www.phillymag.com/news/2013/09/18/rocky-training-run-rocky-ii/..
[160] https://billypenn.com/2017/10/03/why-philly-has-2-rocky-themed-races/ discusses why there is both a 50 km replication run of the montage and a10k run along the West River Drive ending at the Art Museum steps (as a "close enough" shorter option).
[161] Stahl 1998 p. 46.
[162] Osgood 2006 p. 202; Appian *BC* 5.134-35; RRC 447-79, 483, 511.

propaganda. With his foreign associations, Antony was a gift, and a relief, for Augustus"

that was used to dampen the memory of the campaign against Sextus.[163] Perhaps this can

be seen through the reassigned significance of the Naulochus column, later assumed to be

erected for the victory at Actium against Antony and Cleopatra.[164]

Powell also suggests an inversion of reality in the Augustan revisions of history

through art and literature.[165] An example relevant for this discussion is Aeneas' sacrifice

for calm seas before crossing from Sicily to Italy, which was granted (but not for

Palinurus); Octavian did the same and was slammed with his second unusual summer

storm.[166] Following Powell's inversion concept, I suggest that Palinurus may be read as a

Vergilian rewrite: the potential rival (who wanted to be a partner) is made an ally that is

sacrificed for the greater good. The interaction between Aeneas and Palinurus' ghost in

the Underworld strengthens this suggestion. Palinurus did not want to entrust the ship to

Aeneas, considering him not as experienced as he with the sea. As Palinurus was dying,

he worried about the fate of his comrades and about the ship without its gear and

helmsmen, which I have argued are metaphorical political statements.

Just as Brenk has noted that Vergil utilized a "brilliant incorporation of the

geographic, mythical, and contemporary background into the Palinurus incident,"[167] I

have attempted to show more specifically that Vergil was using this character to provide

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[163] Powell 2008 p. 141.
[164] See p. 125 and 137; Servius *ad Georgics 3.29* mentions an unknown Actian column, which is probably the Naulochus column.
[165] Powell 2008 p. 99.
[166] Appian *BC* 5.98-99.
[167] Brenk 1984 p. 791; he sees the sacrifice of Palinurus as expiatory for the damage done to Sicily after the war. Concerning the blend of myth, history, and geography, Brenk makes a similar statement about the epic as a whole in 1988 p. 77: "Typically in Vergil not only Greek and Roman myth and ritual but also distant and contemporary levels of Roman history permeate each other in a context which is both past and present, real and symbolic."

a subtle eulogy for a Roman who died trying to defend the Republic. I am not claiming that this is the only way to see Palinurus, but, with Brenk's assessment in mind, I suggest that Sextus Pompey was one of the associations that Vergil expected his readers to perceive in his lost helmsman, along with the local legend and the Homeric allusions. In this multifaceted depiction, the poet could thank the disparaged *praefectus* for his efforts to save those who lost their land and rights without insulting the *princeps*. As I have argued in the previous chapter, Vergil toed the line of the Augustan establishment, but still showed remorse for those who fell fighting against him.

In the next chapter, we will examine a more forceful resistance to the new administration, one that mocks its attempts at revising the conflicts that led to its successful position.

Map 4: War against Sextus Pompey & Aeneid 5 locations

Map 5: Closer view of Bay of Naples area

Map 4: War against Sextus Pompey & *Aeneid* 5 locations
red= conflict with Sextus Pompey
purple= Aeneid location
orange= both

In/Near Sicily:
Mount Etna
Drepanum
Lilybaeum
Tauromenium*
Scyllaeum

Italian Coast:
Palinurus

Map 5: Bay of Naples
Bay of Naples Area:
Cumae
Misenum
Lake Avernus/Portu Julius
Puteoli
Aenaria

*Tauromenium is roughly where the Trojans land and meet Achaemenides.

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Chapter IV

Nondum laurus erat: Octavian's Pursuit of a Triumphal Trophy

Unlike Vergil, the poet Ovid did not experience firsthand the trials and

tribulations of civil strife. As he came of age, the land confiscations and proscriptions

were already settled, and he was too young, at twelve years old, to participate in the battle

of Actium. By the time Ovid and his brother attended school in Rome, most of

Octavian's political challengers had been disposed of and he had become Augustus. After

a brief foray into the arena of rhetoric and politics as was customary for well-off Roman

citizens,[1] Ovid left it all behind in order to travel to Athens, Asia Minor, and Sicily before

dedicating himself to literary pursuits.[2] Ovid's poetry shows this more leisurely lifestyle,

and his references to the Principate have an irreverently fluctuating tone, at times

seemingly praising Augustus and at others subversively mocking him and his policies.[3] It

is the second stance that will be examined in this chapter, as we look at Ovid's depiction

of Apollo and Daphne in the *Metamorphoses*, a work considered darker in mood than his

previous poetry.[4] Ovid's use of wordplay in his epic is described by Frederick Ahl as "not

simply an exercise in verbal skill for its own sake, but to add dimensions to individual

episodes," and notes that the political challenges are more artistic than overtly hostile "if

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[1] He was one of the *tresviri capitales* (*Trist*. 4.10.33-34), the Centumviral court (*Trist*. 2.93ff.; *Ex P.* 5.23ff.), and the *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis* (*Fast*. 4.383–34)

[2] *Trist*. 1.2.77.

[3] Miller 2009 p. 333.

[4] Schmidt 1991 and Tissol 1997 discuss the epic's exploration of morality and suffering; Hardie 1990 suggests that sections of the poem are a dark interpretation of the *Aeneid* (esp. the Theban section); Myers 1998 suggests the *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* channel (and perhaps challenge?) the narrative authority and "pretensions of Augustan ideology" (p. 198); see also Hardie 1997.

the lesser of the antagonists is to survive."[5]

The portrayal of Apollo in his failed assault on Daphne in the *Metamorphoses* is one of the most often discussed episodes of the epic. Ovid's depiction of Apollo and Daphne is provocative, since his Apollo "wins" in a way but Daphne does not yield to him, even in her transformed state: *refugit tamen oscula lignum* (1.556).[6] While many scholars have seen Ovid's Apollo as a mocking depiction of Augustus, few have made proposals for Daphne's potential symbolic identity. This chapter presents an allegorical suggestion for Daphne, admittedly circumstantial, but based on undisputed aspects of the episode: the connection between Apollo and Octavian/Augustus, and the laurel as the symbol for a triumph. Apollo is often depicted in association with Augustus in Roman literature[7] and the *princeps* constructed the Apollo Palatinus temple next to his home; also, the link to Apollo has led several scholars to suggest that the Python in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* could be a representation of Mark Antony at the battle of Actium.[8]

The Daphne episode is the aetiological story for Apollo's claim over the laurel and, more specifically, for Roman generals wearing laurel crowns at a triumph, emphasized in Apollo's speech at the end of the episode: "*tu ducibus Latiis aderis, cum laeta Triumphum/ vox canet et visent longas Capitolia pompas.*"[9] The speech suggests a military aspect in the pursuit of Daphne, and since the lines immediately following the

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[5] Ahl 1985 p. 64, 302.

[6] For discussions on rape, resistance theory, and narrative authority, see Curran 1978, Marder 1992, Wyke 1992, Richlin 1992a, Lively 1999, Keith 2000, Holzberg 2002, James 2016, and Libatique 2021, *et al*.

[7] For Apollo as his father: Dio 45.1.2; for Octavian dressing as Apollo for the so-called Feast of the Twelve Gods: Suet. *Aug*. 70.1; for Apollo's assistance at Actium: Verg. *Aen*. 8.704-06; Propertius 4.6, Ovid *Ars* 3.389-90.

[8] Buccheit 1966 p. 90 ff, Nicoll, 1980 p. 181, Miller 2009 p. 340, Fratantuono 2011, p. 17, Pandey 2018a p. 299.

[9] Ovid Met. 1.560-61: "you will be with Roman generals when the happy voice sings "Triumph" and the Capitol beholds long parades."

triumph predict that Daphne will also decorate the doorway of Augustus, this militarism connects to the *princeps*. Until the conflict at Actium, Octavian had not celebrated a triumph. He held *ovationes* in 40 BCE for peace with Mark Antony and in 36 BCE for his defeat of Sextus Pompey. His first triumph was the spectacular triple triumph held in August 29 BCE in honor of his recovery of A. Gabinius' standards from Dalmatia (lost in 48 BCE)[10] and his double victory over Cleopatra (and Mark Antony) at Actium in 31 and Alexandria in 30.[11] Octavian's previous military victories were problematic politically and/or in the eyes of the populace, but with Cleopatra, he had cultivated a negative public image of her and her influence over Mark Antony. Public opinion became so charged that Octavian could capitalize on a victory over her not once but twice. However, despite the legendary status that developed around this campaign against Cleopatra, not everyone agreed with the portrayal of her downfall.

Even Augustan poets who demonized the Egyptian queen still emphasized the dignity of her suicide. Cleopatra escaped the shame of being paraded in Octavian's triumph, just as Daphne famously escaped Apollo's attempted assault. I suggest that Ovid was using the Daphne episode as an allegorical parody of Augustus' pursuit of Cleopatra for his triumph, a pursuit that he lost once she committed suicide. To support the correlation between Daphne and Cleopatra, we shall examine similarities between Ovid's Daphne and literary depictions of Cleopatra, after a short review of Roman-Egyptian

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[10] App. *Ill.* 5.25, 28; *RG* 29.1. Octavian suppressed the Dalmatians 36-34 BCE; Appian reports that the Senate awarded him a triumph which he celebrated later with the one over Antony (no Cleopatra in sight!). We do not know when the Senate awarded the triumph, but it must have been close to the conflict with Antony for Octavian to wait for it.

[11] Aug. *RG* 4.1: [*bis*] *ovans triumphavi et tri*[*s egi*] *curulis triumphos*. The restored text is based on the Greek version. Suet. *Aug.* 22.1 claims his *ovationes* were for Philippi and the Sicilian War, but the *Fasti Capitolini* lists Octavian and Antony being awarded *ovationes* for the Treaty of Brundisium in 40 BCE (Inscr. Ital. XIII.1 87 = *EJ* p. 33); Cooley 2009 p. 120 notes that an *ovatio* for peace was without precedent.

relations preceding the conflict.

The Quest for Egypt

      Political machinations for Roman involvement in Egypt did not begin with

Octavian and Antony; Ptolemy VIII sought Roman help,[12] as did Ptolemy XII,

Cleopatra's father.[13] Pompey Magnus and Rabirius Postumus were both involved in

reinstating Ptolemy XII in order to regain their financial investments in him, despite the

assassination of the Alexandrian envoy Dio and a riot in Rome.[14] In the Alexandrian War,

Julius Caesar attempted to establish a truce between Cleopatra and Ptolemy XIII. As part

of it, he assigned Cyprus to both Ptolemy XIV and Arsinoe, recognizing that they had

been left out of Ptolemy XII's will and were old enough to eventually stir conflict at

eleven and fourteen years old.[15] Cyprus was an interesting choice, since it was previously

Ptolemaic territory before it came under Roman control in 58 BCE;[16] Caesar may have

used his consular or his dictatorial powers to arrange this. By 41 BCE, Cleopatra had

Arsinoe killed,[17] and Dio reports that Antony placed Demetrios (not a Roman!) in charge

of the island.[18] By November of 38 BCE the Ptolemaic military governor Diogenes was

in control of Cilicia and Cyprus. When Antony helped Cleopatra expand her domain by

regaining other former Ptolemaic territories through the so-called "Donations of

Alexandria," he may have been following Pompey Magnus' eastern settlement example,

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[12] Polybius 29.2, 27; Diodorus 31.2-3: against the second invasion of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 168 BCE;
G. Popilius Laenas famously sent the Seleucid king home.
[13] Caesar *BC* 3.107; Suet. *Julius* 54.3; Appian *Mithr.* 114; Dio 39.12-14; Plut. *Pomp.* 49.
[14] Cicero *ad Quintus* 2.3 (February 56 BCE); Roller 2010 p. 22-27.
[15] Dio 42.35.5.
[16] Cato was its first Roman governor (Plutarch *Cato* 34-36).
[17] Appian 5.9.
[18] Dio 48.40.6.

geared towards stabilizing the east with friendly local rulers, as well as the precedent set

by Julius Caesar's arrangements in Cyprus. Duane Roller suggests that Cleopatra

probably leased the lands to the former rulers, or, as in Cyrene, had Antony appoint

Romans to govern it and report to her.[19] Antony submitted his distributions to the Senate

for ratification, but the consuls Sosias and Domitius suppressed his proposal.[20] He

gravely miscalculated how this program would upset the Romans and how Octavian

would capitalize on the negative public sentiment.[21]

Propaganda before Actium

Both Antony and Octavian protested bitterly about each other's actions either

through private letters or in public speeches (Antony's delivered through friends and

envoys).[22] Antony complained that Octavian had removed Lepidus from office and had

taken possession of the latter's territory, and that Octavian had taken soldiers from both

Antony and Sextus Pompey and kept them for himself; Antony requested half of the

troops for his Parthian campaign. Octavian countered, claiming that Antony was keeping

Egypt and other countries without getting them by lot (although seemingly in accordance

with the agreement from Brundisium), that Antony had killed Sextus Pompey after he

himself had shown mercy, and that Antony had mistreated the king of Armenia. Octavian

also complained that Antony had given gifts to Cleopatra and her children and had

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[19] Roller 2010 p. 95; Hölbl 2001 p. 242.
[20] Dio 48.41.4, under the year 34 BCE, but Pelling 1988 p. 249 suggests instead that this occurred early in 32 BCE. Interestingly, Sosias and Domitius were Antony's friends.
[21] Roller 2010 p. 91-92, 94.
[22] Despite Octavian's claim that he destroyed Antony's correspondence after the war, Dio suggests that he kept the letters and used them later (52.42.8). This suggestion would explain Suetonius' use of Antony's letters in his account.

promoted Caesarion as Julius Caesar's son.[23] To counter this last move, Gaius Oppius, a

friend of Julius Caesar and a partisan of Octavian, published a pamphlet rejecting

Caesarion's relation to Caesar.

Antony's supporters also contributed to the public relations war; such was the

case with the consuls for 32 BCE, Gaius Sosias and Cnaeus Domitius, who were friends

of Antony. Sosias spoke fervently in support of Antony, blaming Octavian for the strife

between the two men. Octavian was not present but arrived on a later day with soldiers

and armed friends to convene a senate meeting, during which he defended himself and

denounced Sosias and Antony.[24] As mentioned previously, this meeting caused both

consuls and roughly a third of the senators to flee to Antony in Alexandria. Dio reports

that when Octavian learned of their departure, he claimed that he sent them away

voluntarily. The senators who remained in Rome either sided with Octavian or were not

bold enough to counter him; this group voted for war against Cleopatra.[25]

Two of Antony's confidants, Titius and Plancus, abandoned him for Octavian and

informed him of Antony's plans and of the supposed contents of his will. Octavian

obtained the will and read it both to the senate and the assembly. Antony supposedly

attested to Caesar's paternity of Caesarion, left lavish gifts to his children by Cleopatra,

and requested burial in Alexandria. The contents of the document so greatly upset those

who heard it that they reportedly were not upset about Octavian's illegal seizure and

believed the rumor that Antony intended to move the capital to Egypt.[26] Interestingly, this

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[23] Dio 50.1.3-5.
[24] Dio 50.2.3-5.
[25] Dio 50.2-3, 5-6.
[26] Dio 50.3.4-5.

same allegation was made against Julius Caesar.[27]

Antony protested that Octavian's reading of his will was an act of sacrilege, but he did not admit to the contents.[28] While the inclusion of Caesarion's paternity suggests that the document was not a forgery, we cannot know to what extent Octavian's reading was embellished. We should remember that this is not the only time that Octavian conveniently found a helpful document in a sacred space that he alone could consult.[29]

The conflict was building between the remaining triumvirs and their supporters, but Cleopatra was the focal point of the war declaration. She had become the scapegoat for Antony's downfall, and was blamed for his surprising loss at the Battle of Actium. The battle itself was not necessarily the epic conflict depicted in contemporary poetry.[30] The troops of Antony and Cleopatra were not well-trained and their ships were not fully manned. There were also issues with their allied kings.[31] Despite Dio's disparaging depiction of Cleopatra as being unable to cope with the battle because of her gender and ethnicity,[32] he previously reported that it was Cleopatra's advice that the best strategic positions should be protected by the garrisons, and that she and Antony should lead the

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[27] Roller 2010 p. 136.
[28] Dio 50.20.7.
[29] The linen document about *spolia opima* in the Jupiter Feretrius temple comes to mind, Livy 4.20.5-11.
[30] Ancient accounts: Plutarch *Ant.* 65-69, Suetonius *Aug.* 17.3, Velleius 2.85, Dio 50.6-51.3. Tarn 1931 p. 183 claims it was not much of a battle, but was magnified when Augustus could no longer be contradicted, just like his claim of victories at Philippi. Perhaps this is why Ovid's Cupid is agitated by Apollo's swagger- it is overbearing and unfounded. In that same light, the use of so many arrows against the Python mocks the exaggeration. Plutarch 68.2 reports less than 5000 dead, Pelling 1988 p. 287 says "the number is surprisingly low and suggests that the fighting was not fierce." Antony's ship numbers are disputed: Plut. *Ant.* 68.2 quotes Augustus' autobiography with 300 ships captured out of 500 ships (61.1), but Pelling p. 276 say they were not all at Actium; Orosius 6.19.6 claims Antony had 170 ships (post burning of ships that lacked crews and not including Cleopatra's 60); Florus 2.21.5 says less than 200 for Antony against Octavian's 400.
[31] There were 11 allied kings, including Herod, Malchos, Archelaos, Amyntas, and Polemon. However, Josephus reports that Herod and Malchos were not at Actium because they were at war with each other (*Jewish War* 1.364-85, *Jewish Antiquities* 15.131-32), and Plutarch tells us that Amyntas and Deiotaros switched sides (*Ant.* 63.3).
[32] Dio 50.33.102.

rest back to Egypt to regroup.[33] The fact that the ships were carrying the sails is evidence

of a planned withdrawal and not of a fear-driven flight; the sails were considered too

heavy to have onboard while fighting.[34]

The Path to Alexandria

Although this chapter will compare the poetic depictions of Actium to the saga of

Ovid's Daphne, the intended focus overall is not the battle of Actium itself, but its

aftermath: Octavian's pursuit of Cleopatra for her treasure and her participation in his

triumph. Contrary to depictions in contemporary poetry which condense the battle of

Actium and the seizure of Alexandria into a swift, victorious episode, the pursuit was

very slow, taking most of a year with various stops and negotiations along the way. From

Actium, Cleopatra sailed south to Cape Tainaron with Antony reportedly sulking on

board.[35] The pair separated at Paraitonion, because Antony wanted to gather four legions

stationed in Cyrene, while Cleopatra wanted to stabilize and prepare Alexandria.[36]

Meanwhile, Octavian first went to Athens in order to gain support there (he

enrolled in the Demeter & Kore mysteries),[37] and then continued east to settle affairs,

notably at Ephesus and Samos.[38] From Samos, Octavian was forced to hurry back to

Brundisium to calm a brewing mutiny; there, he settled the veterans with money and gave

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[33] Dio 50.15.1. Plutarch *Ant*. 63.5 reports that Cleopatra advised naval battle instead of land fighting but was secretly preparing to flee by ship. Roller 2010 p. 140 notes that her primary concern as queen of Egypt was to defend it.

[34] Plutarch *Ant*. 64.2 reports that Antony's ship masters wanted to leave the sails, but Antony insisted on having them to chase enemy fugitives.

[35] Plutarch *Ant*. 67.1.

[36] Plutarch *Ant*. 67.6, 69.1; Pelling 1988 p. 289.

[37] Dio 51.4.1; Plutarch *Ant* 68.4.

[38] R&GE 86.3, RDGE 58.3, IGLS 3- Octavian at Ephesus to Rhosos; R&GE 91, RDGE 60 Octavian to Mylasa from an undisclosed location.

some of them land that was confiscated from Antony's supporters, who were promised

later compensation. Financially, however, Octavian was in dire straits; he even

unsuccessfully attempted to hold an auction. In addition, he had remitted the fourth

installment of the freedmen's tax (12.25%), putting a further damper on his resources.

However, he eventually was able to pay his debts "out of the spoils of Egypt."[39] After

settling affairs in Italy, Octavian traveled east via the isthmus of Corinth (avoiding Cape

Tainaron in the winter); from here the sources are vague and not particularly informative

about Octavian's movements and whereabouts. Velleius merely states that Octavian

followed Cleopatra and Antony to Egypt "the next year,"[40] Dio reports that he returned to

Asia (perhaps Samos again), and Plutarch and Suetonius claim that he marched through

Asia to Syria.[41] Josephus provides the most detailed information, reporting that Herod

met Octavian at Rhodes to negotiate, and that Octavian subsequently visited Herod at

Phoenician Ptolemais on his way to Egypt for supplies.[42] Presumably, Octavian could

have returned to Samos, then moved to Rhodes, and then to Ptolemais moving southward

on land from there (see Map 6).

     Octavian's dire need for income was a motivating factor for his conquest of

Alexandria, and Cleopatra initially seemed willing to become a client-monarch

contributing financially to Rome in order to safeguard her domain for her children. The

negotiations between them, while not completely without derogatory propagandism

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[39] Dio 51.4.8. Cleopatra's wealth: Plut. *Ant*. 74.2, 78.3; Dio 51.11.3, 51.13.1; Tarn 1934 p. 107-08; Volkmann 1958 p. 189-90, 195-96, 210; Johnson 1967 p. 391.

[40] Vell. 2.87. Florus 2.21.9 is even more brief than Velleius, bordering on a poetic depiction: *sed instare vestigiis Caesar*!

[41] Dio 51.5.2, Plut. *Ant*. 74.1, Suet. *Aug*. 17.3

[42] Josephus *JW* 1.20.1-3 (1.387-93), *JA* 15.6.6-7 (15.187-96). Mahieu 2012 p. 128 suggests that both meetings between Octavian and Herod occurred in the summer of 30 BCE; Otto 1913 p. 47 and Schalit 1969 p. 127 claim the meeting in Rhodes happened in the spring of 30 BCE.

towards the queen, sheds some light on the situation.

Negotiations before Alexandria

While Octavian was at Rhodes, he received correspondence from both Antony and Cleopatra (separately) attempting to negotiate terms on three occasions.[43] Octavian would not reply to Antony, but he sent Thyrsus to negotiate with Cleopatra alone. When Antony discovered Thyrsus' presence, he had him flogged and returned.[44] According to Dio, Octavian ordered Thyrsus to convince Cleopatra that he was in love with her in order to keep her from destroying her treasure out of despair; Plutarch does not report Thyrsus' attempt, but perhaps it would explain Antony's violent reaction to his presence.[45] This pretense of wooing in order to obtain treasure could have been an inspiration for Ovid's allegorical Daphne.

Both before and after Octavian had seized Alexandria, messages to Cleopatra continued. Plutarch reports that Octavian was nervous about the stockpile of treasures and kindling in the mausoleum, so he sent her encouraging promises of kind treatment.[46] When she discovered that she would be led in Octavian's triumph, she tried to stab herself, starve herself, and eventually died from poison (the snake bite is debated).[47]

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[43] Dio 51.6-8; Val. Max. 1.1.19; Plut. *Ant*. 73.1; Pelling 1988 p. 297-299; Roller 2010 p. 143.
[44] Plutarch *Ant*. 73.2.
[45] Dio 51.8.6-7.
[46] *En route* to Alexandria: Plutarch *Ant*. 74.2; once in Alexandria: Plut. *Ant*. 78.5-79.6- Proculeius tries to keep her and her treasure safe for the triumph with comforting promises, as Cleopatra negotiated for her children to rule.
[47] Stabbing: Plut. *Ant*.79.2; starving: Plut. *Ant*. 82.1; her death by asp: Verg. *Aen*. 8.697, Horace *Ode* 1.37, Propertius 3.11.53, Vell. 2.87.1, Plut. *Ant*. 86, Suet. *Aug*. 17.4; possibly poison instead of asp (both mentioned): Strabo Geo. 17.1.10 and Dio 51.14.1, who notes that the truth is unknown: Καὶ τὸ μὲν σαφὲς οὐδεὶς οἶδεν ᾧ τρόπῳ διεφθάρη. Plut. *Ant*. 86.4 uses strikingly similar language: τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς οὐδεὶς οἶδεν.

Octavian was annoyed at having lost his triumphal prize,[48] but he still celebrated his

conquest of Egypt and of Cleopatra on the third day of his triple triumph in Rome a year

later, using an image of the deceased queen.

Ancient sources generally mark the Battle of Actium as the beginning of the

Principate, despite Augustus' public moves to 'restore' power to the traditional

magistracies between 29 and 23 BCE.[49] The anniversary of the battle was celebrated with

coinage at 50, 100, 150, and 300 years.[50] Meyer Reinhold notes that the "victory of

Actium was mythologized into a 'foundation myth' of the Principate, as a national

religious victory over alien and immoral forces."[51] Bettina Reitz-Joosse and others have

pointed out that this "canonization" happened progressively.[52] The Augustan poets "seem

to operate within invective patterns" of linking promiscuity and poisoning with excessive

political authority for Cleopatra. Generally, the contemporary depictions of her tend to

cast Actium and Alexandria as "heroic Caesar's fight against tyranny, female dominance,

and the perils of the Orient" instead of a Roman civil war.[53] This is clearly seen in

Vergil's depiction which glorifies the victory of Octavian (*Aen*. 8.671-713); however, the

language used by Horace in *Ode* 1.37, while noting Cleopatra's reported drunkenness,

seems to challenge the assumed common view of the queen. Propertius takes the

challenge of Octavian's version of the conflict one step further; he still harshly depicts

Cleopatra as a *meretrix regina* in poem 3.11, but in 2.15 he depicts Actium as a civil war

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[48] Plut. *Ant*. 86.4 and Dio 51.14.6; Johnson 1967 p. 387- 402 and Pelling 1988 p. 318-19 suggest that there must be some truth to the accounts, cf. Grant 1974 p. 224-27 and Syme 1939 p 298-99 who believed Octavian ordered or at least encouraged her death.
[49] Tac. *Ann*. 1.1.1; Tac. *Hist*. 1.1.1; Jos. *AJ* 15.109; Suet. *Aug*. 8.3; Eutr. 7.8.2.
[50] Reinhold 1988 p. 225-226; Grant 1950 p. 58, 88, 100, 139, 179.
[51] Reinhold 1988 p. 115.
[52] Reitz-Joosse 2016 p. 288-293; Gurval 1995 p. 208 and ch. 6; Stahl 1985 p. 248-255.
[53] Both quotations are Wyke 1992 p. 112; Johnson 1967 p. 388 discusses examples in Cicero's speeches against Claudia, Antony, and Catiline.

and not an East vs. West conflict, and in 4.6 he mocks Octavian by having Apollo give him a pre-battle pep talk.[54] Propertius' bold resistance of the endorsed version of Actium and its aftermath may have inspired Ovid.[55]

The remainder of this chapter will show that Ovid's depiction of Daphne and Apollo is meant to defy the *princeps*. Early in book 1 of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid compares Olympus to the Palatine hill (*magni… Palatia caeli*, 1.176), nudging the reader to be on guard for more references to Augustus in the text.[56] Ovid's opposition to the Augustan program is expressed satirically in the *Metamorphoses*, more like his elegiac predecessor Propertius than the Vergilian epic examples discussed in prior chapters. And yet, Ovid's portrayal of Daphne and Apollo seems to blend the representations of his precursors with a Propertian Apollo singing his own praises and a Vergilian Daphne tragically trying to maintain her independence, thereby earning the reader's sympathy; in this context, Apollo appears to be a foolish braggart. This episode may be read as a symbolic rendering of Octavian's pursuit of Cleopatra and her wealth for display in his triumphal parade in Rome. However, before we examine the similarities between Cleopatra's demise and Daphne's attempt to escape Apollo, let us consider Ovid's Python episode, the prequel to Daphne's misfortune.

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[54] Reitz-Joosse 2016 and Nethercut 1971. Johnson 1967 p. 397-402 suggests that we should not take Propertius' invective seriously, seeing in 4.6.65 (*di melius! quantus mulier foret una triumphus*) a denigration of Octavian's victory; Johnson 1973 p. 160-65 sees Prop. 4.6 as a parody of Verg. *Aen*. 8.689-706; see also Connor 1978 p. 1-10 and Gurval 1995 p. 249-278; cf. Griffin 1986 p. 32 claims that Propertius 3.11 expressed "spiteful hostility and loathing for Cleopatra," as does Wyke 2002 p. 195-96 who sees the vitriol continue in Prop. 4.6.

[55] Johnson 1967 p. 402: "at least some of the inspiration for Ovid's ferocious frivolity came from Propertius." Ovid himself tells us: *saepe suos solitus recitare Propertius ignes/ iure sodalicii, quo mihi iunctus erat.* (*Tris*. 4.10.45-46: "often Propertius would recite his fires, by right of the clique which joined him to me").

[56] Müller 1987 p. 270-88; Feeney 1991 p. 198-224; Miller 2004/2005 p. 172: "Explicit topical references to the imperial residence and a plot to assassinate Augustus trigger a broader reading of the chief divinity in terms of contemporary politics." This will be explored further in the next chapter.

Apollo vs. the Python

The Python sprung from the drying mud after the seven-mouthed Nile receded from the apocalyptic flood. Not all life came from the Nile, but it is the only location Ovid mentions during this (re)creation phase; this river intuitively brings to mind Egypt and its notorious queen, especially for contemporaries of the *princeps*. To kill the Python, Ovid's Apollo uses one thousand arrows from his seemingly bottomless quiver:

> mille gravem telis exhausta paene pharetra
> perdidit effuso per vulnera nigra veneno.   *Met*. 1.443-444

> …having almost emptied his quiver with a thousand arrows he killed the monster, with poison flowing through his dark wounds.

> stravimus innumeris tumidum Pythona sagittis.   *Met*. 1.460

> I killed the Python swollen with countless arrows.

The abundance of arrows is an allusion to Propertius' account of Actium in 4.6, when Apollo goaded Augustus before the battle appearing as he did "when he killed the serpent through its winding coils" emptying his entire quiver:

> aut quali flexos solvit Pythona per orbes/ serpentem Prop. 4.6.35-36

> …or when he killed the serpent Python through its winding coils

> … et pharetrae pondus consumit in arcus   Prop. 4.6.55

> … he used up the weight of his quiver in the bow

In the *Metamorphoses*, the quiver was not emptied despite the large amount of ammunition used; clearly this is meant to be amusing. Apollo was so proud of his victory that he established the Pythian games lest his deed be forgotten over time (1.445). The victory crown came from any tree (*de qualibet arbore* 1.451), since there was not a laurel tree yet (*nondum laurus erat*, 1.450). Shortly afterwards, Apollo sees Cupid and mocks

the love god, claiming that he does not measure up to Apollo's archery skills, bragging

about his own conquest (1.456-462). His arrogant demeanor is surprising, since less than

twenty lines previously we learned that Apollo had not killed anything before besides

rather harmless does and she-goats (1.441-442). In order to teach Apollo humility, Cupid

shoots him with a love arrow, and involves the innocent by-stander Daphne by shooting

her with an arrow that spurns love. And yet, as Apollo pursues the unwilling object of his

desire, he still brags, trying to convince Daphne not to flee him, informing her that he is

not an enemy, nor an uncivilized shepherd,[57] but actually the son of Jupiter with domain

over several famous places.

> …Non incola montis
> non ego sum pastor, non hic armenta gregesque
> horridus observo.   *Met*. 1.512-514
>
> …I am not a mountain dweller nor a shepherd, I'm not uncouth watching a
> flock or a herd of cattle.
>
> … mihi Delphica tellus
> et Claros et Tenedos Patareaque regia servit;
> Jupiter est genitor…   *Met*. 1.515-517
>
> …Delphic land and Claros and Tenenos and the shrine Patara serve me;
> Jupiter is my father…

The unsuccessful pleading of an elegiac lover is heard here, deflating Apollo's more epic

persona encountered earlier. In his desperate plea, Apollo urges the nymph to run more

slowly (*moderatius, oro, curre* 1.510-511). William Anderson finds the request to be

"absurd;" however, this phrase could be a nod to the *princeps*, since Suetonius reports

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[57] Perhaps Apollo's defense of his lineage refers to taunts about Octavian's family background mentioned by Suetonius: Antony claimed that his paternal family came from freedmen, a rope-maker and a moneychanger (*Aug.* 2), and his maternal family came from Africa and ran a perfumery and bakery in Aricia; the jabs are repeated by Cassius Parmenis (*Aug.* 4). Perhaps 'Africa' was a twist on 'Aricia.' A shepherd is not included in the occupational ridicule, but Aricia is a hill-town, located in the Alban hills.

that σπεῦδε βραδέως was one of Augustus' favorite sayings.[58] This encourages the reader to look beyond the elegiac façade of the arrogant young god.

The sanctuaries listed by Apollo in his credentials are all located in Asia Minor, placing them east and south from Delphi. While Anderson suggests that Apollo is attempting to display the vastness of his domain, I believe that there is a more substantial reason since the god does not mention temples in other regions.[59] Aside from the sanctuary at Tenedos, with its deep Trojan War ties (even in Ovidian Ulysses' speech),[60] Claros and Patara are close to Octavian's known locales *en route* to Alexandria (Map 6). The reclaiming of Asia Minor was a bragging point for Octavian, as seen by his coinage touting 'ASIA RECEPTA' (Figure 21).

Figure 21: Silver quinarius, 27-25 BCE. OBV: CAESAR IMP VII, bust of Octavian; REV: ASIA RECEPTA, Victory holding wreath in right hand and palm in left hand, on a "cista mystica" between two snakes. ANS 1944.100.39160, American Numismatic Society, accessed July 19, 2021, http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.39160.

Ovid mentions Tenedos after Claros, making the geographic movement north before heading south (Map 6). However, we must wonder if the exact physical locations and direction of travel would really matter in the broad scheme of Roman understanding of geography. In a discussion of geographical names in Augustus' *Res Gestae*, the author

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[58] Anderson 1997 p. 196; Suet. *Aug*. 25.4; Barchiesi 2005 p. 210 connects *moderatius...curre* and σπεῦδε βραδέως.

[59] Famous temples of Apollo in the Greek world include Delos, Corinth, and Bassae, just to name a few.

[60] Hom. *Il*. 1.452, Ovid *Met*. 13.174; also, the serpents that attacked Laocoon came from this island (*Aen*. 2.203).

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Claude Nicolet states: "The familiarity of the Roman republic with the names of these places and peoples should not be underestimated, for it would be mean ignoring their use, and even abuse, in poetry…. Many of the names and, above all, the names of the provinces mentioned by Augustus, had to be relatively familiar to most Romans, although whether they could place them accurately is another matter."[61] In this light, the Roman reader would recall that these shrines were located in Asia Minor, but perhaps not necessarily their exact placement in relation to each other, thereby rendering the northerly position of Tenedos of less consequence.

There was a world map displayed in the *Porticus Vipsaniae*, a project initiated by Julius Caesar and assigned to Agrippa for completion. The details of the map are debated, since the measurements given by Strabo do not always match those given by Pliny.[62] It has been suggested that Strabo was using Julius Caesar's measurements, while Pliny was using the commentary compiled by Agrippa for the project.[63] The map was not finished at the time of Agrippa's death, therefore Augustus completed it and hung it in the porticus, perhaps as a reference for the *elogia* in his forum.[64] The size of the map has been estimated at 10m x 20m, and since it depicted "the whole known world" in twenty-four regions,[65] minute details must not have been clear and the upper portions may have

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[61] Nicolet 2015 p. 20-21. Educated Romans were familiar with maps, which must have been common early enough for there to be a reference to one in Aristophanes' *Clouds* 206: αὕτη δέ σοι γῆς περίοδος πάσης. ὁρᾷς; ("This is a map of the whole world. Do you see?").

[62] Tierney 1963, Rodriguez 1992, Trousset 1993, Nicolet 2015 p. 95-122, Boatwright 2015, Pandey 2018b p. 171.

[63] Rodriguez 1992 p. 90-93.

[64] Rodriguez 1992 p. 92-93 dates the map to 19 BCE, claiming Agrippa finished it but did not set it up; Nicolet 2015 p. 114 suggests that it was still incomplete in 7 BCE as per Dio 55.8.4, but must have been finished by 2 BCE, connecting the map with both the forum and the *Res Gestae*.

[65] Tierney 1963 p. 151; 19 of the 24 were Roman territory. For smaller regional maps related to triumphal celebrations on display, see Boatwright 2015 p. 239-40; the Agrippan panels are discussed on page 241-42; see Trousset (1993) 140–41 for a larger map on all three walls instead of only one.

been difficult to make out. One could possibly consult Agrippa's commentary (or later works such as Strabo or Pliny) for more exact placement of sites, but for the common passerby an overview of the world was given.

Nicolet's statement on geography in the *Res Gestae* leads us to the next point: the format of Apollo's credentials echoes that of the *elogia* in the Roman Forum, which were composed by Augustus.[66] Nicolet proposes that Augustus' *elogia*, along with triumphal *tituli*, inspired the geographical references included in the *Res Gestae*.[67] It has also been suggested that the extant *Res Gestae* may not have been the first version written, since the Mausoleum was completed by 28 BCE and the *princeps* nearly died in 23 BCE after he had already written an autobiography.[68] Johanna Claasen makes a textual connection between the *Res Gestae* and the autobiography, suggesting that the text of the *Res Gestae* may have been completed by 2 BCE, and that earlier versions may have circulated.[69] Interestingly, Ovid "made oblique references to it in various poems from Tomis,"[70] presumably having seen it before he was exiled. It seems clear that Ovid's reference to the Fates' bronze and iron tablets (*Met*. 15.809-815) are a nod to an earlier draft of the *Res Gestae* or to the already extant *elogia*. I suggest that Apollo's credentials recited to Daphne are also stylistically related to one or both of these Augustan works, and this is perhaps another clue that we are to recognize a jab at the *princeps* in this episode.

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[66] Pliny *NH* 22.13.
[67] Nicolet 2015 p. 20; Brunt & Moore 1970 p. 3 suggest the *elogia* as stylistic precursor to the *Res Gestae*, citing the *elogium* of C. Marius as an example (*CIL* 06. 41024).
[68] Brunt & Moore 1970 p. 6.
[69] Claasen 2019 p. 2 claims versions may have circulated in 23 BCE, 12 BCE, 4 BCE, 1 CE, and 6 CE.
[70] Claasen 2016 p. 58; see also Cooley 2009 p. 42 n. 243.

Ovid's Daphne

Daphne was not an Ovidian invention, but he fittingly transformed her story for his *Metamorphoses*. Parthenius (15) provides a summary that he reports is from the no-longer-extant Diodorus of Eleae and the 25th book of Phylarchus. This earlier Daphne was the daughter of Amyclas in Laconia; she was a follower of Artemis and loved to hunt. When Leucippus, son of Oenomaus, saw her, he was smitten and decided to win her love disguised as a girl. Apollo, who also loved Daphne, was angered by their fast friendship and so he inspired Daphne to bathe in a stream with her attendants. Leucippus, of course, did not wish to give away his identity, but was unveiled by the girls, who then angrily killed him with spears for his deception. Apollo seized this opportunity to pursue Daphne, who prayed to Zeus for help and was in turn transformed into the laurel tree (δάφνη). This version is possibly quite old, since it is loosely referred to in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (3.212), when Apollo challenges Leucippus and his wife.[71]

The Laconian antecedent urges us to wonder why Ovid changed the story. In the previous depiction, Daphne is a virgin devoted to Artemis, yet Ovid makes Daphne's chastity a new endeavor caused by Cupid's arrow, and her refusal to mate is purposefully designed to diminish Apollo's ego. Of course, her virginity could be seen as problematic for my suggested connection between Daphne and Cleopatra. Nevertheless, I believe that Daphne's refusal to submit to Apollo is symbolic of Cleopatra's refusal to be in Octavian's triumph. As mentioned previously, Cleopatra's supposed love of alcohol and sex may or may not be true; we should keep in mind Cicero's cliché insults for those who have power: unbridled sexuality and alcoholism are standard allegations used against

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[71] Miller 2009 p. 171-172. Pausanias 10.7.8 claims that Daphne was the daughter of the Ladon River in Arcadia; Fratantuono 2011 p. 17.

Antony and Claudia Pulchra.[72]

Interestingly, once cornered in Alexandria, the sources are split concerning who

tried to seduce whom. Cleopatra is depicted as being in a state of disarray, but her beauty

still shone forth.[73] Octavian attempted to convince Cleopatra that he loved her in order to

keep her and her treasure safe for his triumph,[74] which coincides with Apollo's attempts

to capture Daphne. Alternatively, Octavian may have instead declined Cleopatra's

propositions as she presented herself in "arranged negligence" in order to stir pity.[75] In

either scenario Cleopatra is beautifully in disarray, mimicking Daphne's unruly hair and

gleaming eyes that enticed Apollo (1.497-499):

> … spectat inornatos collo pendere capillos
> et "quid, si comantur?" ait. Videt igne micantes
> sideribus similes oculos…

Octavian's refusal of Cleopatra's charms echoes his reported rejection of Fulvia in

Martial 11.20, which was discussed in chapter II. W.W. Tarn and Hans Volkmann

suggest that reports of Octavian's resolute chastity may have come from his own

autobiography.[76] These reports of self-control could have been attempts to counter the

rumors of his adultery and use of sex as a political tool.[77] If this is the case, Ovid turns it

on its head with his portrayal of Apollo as a would-be rapist. The god's intended action

would violate the *lex Julia de adulteriis*, an understandable sore point for Ovid,

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[72] Johnson 1967 p. 388 suggests the beginning of Horace 1.37 is "jingoistic hyperbole-synedoche."
[73] Plut. *Ant*. 83.1-2.
[74] Dio 51.8.6-7, Plut. *Ant*. 74.2.
[75] Dio 51.12.1-5, Florus 2.21.9.
[76] Tarn 1931 p. 197; Volkmann 1958 p. 203-204. Tarn adds that this behavior is modeled after such greats as Scipio and Alexander. Pelling 1988 p. 314 believes that the tradition of a chaste Octavian comes from Livy.
[77] Suet. *Aug*. 69.

especially considering the rumors of Octavian's lustful youth.[78] However, the attempted

rape by Apollo could refer to more than a bodily violation; in allegorical terms, it may

represent Octavian's attempt to capture Cleopatra alive for his triumph. And just as

Apollo does not acquire Daphne in the manner that he preferred but capitalized on what

he obtained, Octavian gained Alexandria/Egypt (once taboo for the Roman government)

and portrayed his conquest in triumph through *tituli* instead of a captured queen (*regina

rapta*, if you will).

Why Thessaly?

To return to outdoorsy Daphne's connection with Cleopatra, as a Hellenistic

queen, she was skilled in hunting and horseback riding,[79] activities that were considered

inappropriate for Roman matrons; Thessaly, of course, was famous for its horses. Yet, the

geographical change is more profound than that, since Ovid's placement of the story in

Thessaly involves Daphne's now river-god father, Peneus, instead of Zeus for the

transformation. Lee Fratantuono suggests that Ovid wanted the story closer to the

Delphic oracle to connect "all versions of the Daphne myth."[80] There is a precedent for

Peneus' involvement in Apollo's exploits: Callimachus' *Aetia* (fr. 86-89) describes the

Daphnephoria, in which a laurel branch was brought to Delphi from the Peneus valley

every eight years to commemorate Apollo purifying himself in that river after killing the

Python.[81] The Delphi-centered theme suffices, but the river itself and its location in

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[78] Miller 2009 p. 344-45. Holzberg 1999 p. 324 instead claims that Apollo's intentions were pure, truly wanting marriage (*cupit conubia Daphnes*, 1.490).
[79] Plut. *Ant*. 29.
[80] Fratantuono 2011 p. 20.
[81] Knox 1990 p. 195.

Thessaly also resonate with an allegorical layer, especially when combined with the Propertian echoes of Actium in Apollo's conquest of the Python discussed earlier.

The region of Thessaly was significant for both Apollo and Roman civil strife. Thessaly and the Thessalian League had a long history of involvement with Delphi through the amphictyonic system, and its coinage often depicted a laureate head of Apollo (Figure 22).

Figure 22: Alloy coin, 196-146 BCE, Thessalian League. OBV: Laureate head of Apollo. REV: Artemis Phosphoros; NIKOKRATH- on left, illegible on right, across upper & lower field ΘΕΣΣΑ/ [Λ]ΩΝ.[82] © The Trustees of the British Museum 1933,0214.160, accessed July 19, 2021, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1933-0214-160.

Under Roman rule, Thessaly was part of the province of Macedonia, as was Actium, while Delphi was considered part of Achaea. Julius Caesar had granted freedom to the Thessalians,[83] but they were eventually reincorporated into Macedonia. The political center was Larissa, a city on the bank of the Peneus River.[84] After the Augustan settlement of 27 BCE, Actium/Nikopolis became part of Achaea, but later also was returned to the province of Macedonia.[85] The administrative link of Daphne's Thessaly to

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[82] This rare coin may be compared to an example at the Fitzwilliam Museum (Inv. 2557328), published in Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins by S.W. Grose (1926) plate 181.3; the coin is described on p. 244 as having a head of Artemis on the obverse, but it is clearly Apollo.

[83] App. *BC* 2.88, Plut. *Caesar* 48; Pliny *NH* 4.29 only lists Pharsalus as free.

[84] Bowersock 1965a p. 279; IG ix.2.261 line 11-12 lists Larissa as its political center: ἐν τῷ ἐνε-/[στηκότι Θεσσαλῶν τῶν? ἐν Λα]ρισίῃ συνεδρίῳ.

[85] Bowersock 1965a p. 287-88 suggests the return to Macedonia occurred around 67 CE, while noting that it is was part of Macedonian province at the latest by the 2nd century CE (p. 283).

Macedonia connects Cleopatra, who was of Macedonian lineage.[86] Echoing the administration of Thessaly, Cleopatra's political status was changed by both Julius Caesar, who helped her assert freedom, and Octavian, who established her ancient kingdom as a Roman province.

Roman control of Thessaly was not entirely peaceful. Plutarch reports that the Thessalians burned to death a man named Petraeus during the reign of Augustus.[87] Since Petraeus' father was beheaded in Thessaly during factional strife in Julius Caesar's time, Glen Bowersock suggests that the son's violent death was under similar circumstances because the man was a general, and his execution may have encouraged Augustus to withdraw Thessalian freedom.[88] We do not know the exact date of Petraeus' death or of Thessaly's change of status, but if reports of the uprising and murder were heard in Rome, this re-subjugation of Thessaly may have been in the minds of Ovid's Roman readers.

For the most part, the Roman view of Thessaly was shaped by literature and not specific knowledge of the region's geography.[89] The Vale of Tempe, home of Peneus, in particular became associated with the perfect landscape, as shown later in Aelian's lengthy description and in Hadrian's replication of the vale at his villa in Tibur.[90] And yet, Thessaly is also associated with such violent things as centaurs, witches, and Roman

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[86] Propertius 3.11.40 incorrectly mentions her descent from Philip of Macedon: *una Philippeo sanguine adusta nota.* "The only blemish branded on Philip's line," is an intriguingly positive view of Philip V, who had complicated interactions with the Romans in the late 3rd/early 2nd century.
[87] Plutarch *Praec. rei pub. ger.* 19, 815D.
[88] Bowersock 1965b p. 104. Petraeus the elder was killed in 43 BCE: Cic. *Phil.* 13.33; for the 2nd generalship of Petraeus the son: IG ix. 2.1042 ll.27-28. See also Bowersock 1965a p. 280-82 and Levick 1996 p. 655.
[89] Bowersock 1965a p. 278.
[90] Purcell 2010 p. 131; Hinds 2002 p. 128; Aelian *Varia Historia* 3.1 c. 200 CE

civil war.[91] Annemarie Ambühl observes that "Thessaly as a landscape predestined for

civil war takes up and condenses characteristics associated with Thessaly in earlier

literature, … as far back as Homer and Herodotus."[92]

Beginning with Vergil's *Georgics*, the famous civil war locations of Pharsalus

and Philippi are fused in Latin literature (1.489-492):

> ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
> Romanas acies **iterum** videre Philippi;
> nec fuit indignum superis **bis** sanguine nostro
> Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos.
>
> Therefore, Philippi saw Roman battle lines charge each other **again** with
> even weapons; it was not unworthy to the gods that Emathia and the wide
> fields of Haemus **twice** grew fertile with our blood.

Horace provides another pre-Ovidian example of melding Thessaly and civil war, this

time with Actium in *Ode* 1.37 (lines 17-21):

> remis adurgens, accipiter velut
> mollis columbas aut leporem citus
> venator in campis navalis
> Haemoniae, dare ut catenis
> fatale monstrum…
>
> pressing with oars, like a hawk after a dove or a fast hunter after a rabbit
> in a snowy field of Haemonia, in order to put the fatal monster in chains…

Putnam observes that Horace's *Haemonia* is the first instance in Latin, followed

strikingly by its use in Ovid's Daphne episode.[93] We learn after Daphne is transformed

that she is from Thessaly; Ovid describes her father Peneus in the Vale of Tempe (*Met.*

1.568-570):

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[91] Witches were popular in Augustan poetry: Hor. *Ep.* 5.45-6; Prop. 3.24.10; Tib. 2.4.56.
[92] Ambühl 2016 p. 299-300.
[93] Putnam 2004/2005 p. 85-86. On Vergil: "Vergil deliberately melds Pharsalus and Philippi, Thessaly and Thrace, Haemonia and Haemus in a graphic description of Roman civil war played out in Greece." On Horace: "Horace adroitly connects Pharsalus and Philippi with Actium and Alexandria to form a continuum of civil conflict, just as Ovid draws on a variety of sources, Horace included, to link Apollo with his devotee, Augustus Caesar."

> Est nemus Haemoniae, praerupta quod undique claudit
> silva: vocant Tempe; per quae Peneos ab imo
> effusus Pindo spumosis volvitur undis

> There is a vale in Thessaly that steep woods enclose on all sides: they call
> it Tempe; through this Peneus flows from the foot of Pindus with foaming
> waves.

While she was fleeing Apollo, Daphne pleads with her father Peneus to save her by taking away her beauty, if the streams have that ability *("fer pater" inquit "opem si flumina numen habetis*." 1.545). The plural *flumina* leads us to wonder how many streams flow into the Peneus River. In the aftermath (1.568-580), Ovid only names five rivers.[94] A geological survey published in 2011 lists six tributaries for the Peneus dating back through what the geologists labeled as the Quaternary Period (2.5 million years ago through the present).[95] We cannot determine whether Ovid only listed five streams because that is all he knew, or if he and his readers knew that the Peneus had six, since Homer lists an additional one to Ovid's five[96] and Pausanias adds a different one.[97] The six tributaries would make the Peneus system equal seven, a number curious in terms of associations with the fatherly Nile.[98] Even though Ovid does not emphasize the potential numeric correlation of the two waterways, the poet's contemporary readers may have seen a connection in their plurality and paternal status, as both Daphne and Cleopatra

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[94] Anderson 1997 p. 205: Sperchios, Enipeus, Apidanus, Amphrysus, and Aeas (in Epirus). Roman readers' loose familiarity of geography may again be at play here.

[95] Migiros et al. 2011 p. 215-28, esp. p. 216: "The major tributaries of Pinios River are the Portaikos, Pamisos and Enippeas Rivers to the southwest and the Lithaios, Neochoritis and Titarisios to the north…"

[96] Hom. *Il* 2.751: Titaressos; Strabo *Geog*.7. fr. 15 calls it Europos.

[97] Paus. 9.308: Baphyras or Helikon.

[98] Thank you to J. Farrell who pointed out that the Ganges River was also considered a seven-streamed river (*Aen*. 9.30-31: *ceu septem surgens sedatis amnibus altus/ per tacitum Ganges*), though not with the Ovidian epithet. The Ganges has a vast tributary system probably unknown to Greek and Roman writers. The use of 'seven' here seems figurative, like the 'seven' hills of Rome; for a discussion of the fluid 'seven' hills and the magical number itself, see Caroline Vout 2012, esp. ch. 2.

seek the safety of their father/fatherland river.[99] Ovid's Peneus mourns the loss of his

daughter, as does Vergil's Nile for Cleopatra (*Aen*. 8.711-713):[100]

> contra autem magno maerentem corpore Nilum
> pandentemque sinus et tota veste vocantem
> caeruleum in gremium latebrosaque flumina victos.

> Beyond her is the Nile, mourning in his great body,
> opening his bays, and with his whole vestment calling
> the conquered into his greenish-blue lap and sheltering streams.

I suggest that Ovid incorporates Vergil's and Horace's civil war imagery in his

Daphne episode to signal his subtle teasing of Augustus to his readers. The setting of the

Daphne episode alludes to the previous poetic treatments of Thessaly, and the invocation

of her river-father Peneus echoes Cleopatra's flight to her fatherland river, the Nile.

William Gladhill suggests a pattern of literary topography in the *Metamorphoses*, seeing

echoes of the Palatine on Olympus, the Circus Maximus in Phaethon's course, and the

Forum Romanum in Fama's house.[101] I would like to add to his list Apollo's pursuit of

Daphne in Thessaly as mimicking Octavian's quest to seize Cleopatra for his triumph

after Actium.

The Epic Chase

> …sic agna lupum, sic cerva leonem,
> sic aquilam penna fugiunt trepidante columbae

> …so a lamb flees from a wolf, so a deer from a lion, so doves with
> fluttering wing flee from an eagle   *Met*. 1.505-506

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[99] *Met*. 1.543-547, *Aen*. 8.711-713. Herodotus 2.10 claims the Nile has five mouths, though this is not repeated in Roman poetry. In Ovid's flood episode, the river is the "seven-streamed Nile" (*septemfluus… Nilus,* 1.422-423). Anderson 1997 p. 188 claims that Ovid invented this epithet; it appears only once more in Latin, when Ovid's Julius Caesar conquers Egypt (*Met*. 15.753).
[100] Ovid's catalogue of rivers does not know whether to congratulate or console Peneus (*Met*. 1.578); *maerentem… Nilum* (*Aen*. 8.711). Cleopatra depicted herself in Egypt as "Father-loving and Fatherland-loving": Wyke 2002 p. 202, Thompson 1994 p. 321, Volkmann 1958 p. 60.
[101] Gladhill 2012 p. 8.

In addition to the topographical allusions, Ovid echoes the hunting metaphors of

Horace *Ode* I.37 when describing Apollo's pursuit of Daphne. However, Ovid uses an

eagle instead of a hawk to pursue his doves, and the change of raptor provides a more

militaristic tone, since the eagle is the symbol of the Roman army. Ovid's line depicting

an eagle and a dove also emulates Vergil's *Ep*. 9.11-13, in which Moeris laments the lack

of power that poetry has against weaponry:[102]

> …sed carmina tantum
> nostra valent, Lycida, tela inter Martia quantum
> Chaonias dicunt aquila veniente columbas.

> … but, Lycidas, our songs are as strong among weapons of Mars as, they
> say, the Chaonian doves with an approaching eagle.

And yet, I suggest, that Ovid's depiction of Apollo in this episode is doing exactly that –

the poet is challenging Augustus' authority through the portrayal of their patron gods,

Cupid and Apollo. To add to the impudent portrayal, not only does Ovid use an eagle

instead of Horace's hawk, but, when the chase begins in earnest, Ovid humorously

replaces the hunter in Thessaly with his dog![103]

Once Apollo has given up begging Daphne, he chases her at full speed, and Ovid

compares the pair to a hunting dog chasing a hare (1.532-39):

> … admisso sequitur vestigia passu.
> ut canis in vacuo **leporem** cum Gallicus arvo,
> vidit, et hic praedam pedibus petit, ille salutem;
> alter **inhaesuro similis iam iamque tenere**
> sperat et extent stringit vestigia rostro,
> alter in ambiguo est, an sit conprensus, et ipsis

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[102] Putnam 2004/2004 p. 79.

[103] Putnam notes the possibility that it may be even more insulting than just being a dog, reporting that Arrian *Cynegetica* 3.1-6 describes two kinds of Gallic dogs, the handsome racing dogs and hunting dogs which were "repulsive and wild with a villainous look and a whining bark." However, Apollo himself tells us that he is *non… horridus* (1.513-14), and if we look to Achilles in *Iliad* 22.189-92 and Aeneas as mentioned in *Aen*. 12.748-55, we see that epic dogs are merely meant to be intimidating, not ugly.

morsibus eripitur tangentiaque ora relinquit:
sic deus et virgo est hic spe celer, illa timore.

… he followed at top speed. Like when a Gallic dog sees a hare in an open field; he seeks the prey on foot, the hare (seeks) safety; the one about to snatch her now, even now, hopes he has her, and touches her heels with extended muzzle, the other is unsure if she is caught, and she snatches herself from those teeth and escapes the mouth touching her: so the god and the girl (ran), he fast with hope, her with fear.

It has been suggested that this passage is influenced by Vergil's description of Aeneas pursuing Turnus in book 12, where a deer is fleeing a snapping dog, noting the use of *haeret* and *iam iamque tenere*.[104] This is a clear literary allusion, but following the suggestions of Holzberg, Putnam, and Pandey, we should additionally consider the imagery of Horace's *Ode* 1.37, which also relates a pursued woman with a hare in a Thessalian field,[105] making apparent an association between Ovid's Daphne and Horace's Cleopatra.

The similarities of imagery do not stop with hunting motifs. As the two women flee, the Vergilian echo of Aeneas' shield can still be discerned in the depiction of Daphne, since both flee in the wind which moves their sails or clothing,[106] and they both grow pale when they realize they can no longer push on.[107] As mentioned previously, the flight of both women ends when they reach their father/rivers. The descriptions of Cleopatra and Daphne follow familiar epic vocabulary and similes, but that, I suggest, is exactly why Ovid could get away with such mockery of the *princeps* - it was cloaked enough to not directly insult Augustus while still clear enough for those looking for allegorical critiques of the emperor to enjoy.

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[104] Anderson 1997 p. 196-7, Fratantuono 2011 p. 19.
[105] Holzberg 1999 p. 324-325, Putnam 2004/2005 p. 86-88, and Pandey 2018a p. 297.
[106] Verg. *Aen*. 8.707-08; Ovid *Met*. 1.527-28.
[107] *Aen*. 8.709; *Met*. 1.543.

Symbol of Triumph / Symbolic Triumph

After praying to her father to hide her beauty,[108] Daphne's transformation is immediate, and her running is halted by her newly formed roots (1.548-552):

> Vix prece finita torpor gravis occupant artus,
> mollia cinguntur tenui praecordia libro,
> in frondem crines, in ramos bracchia crescunt,
> pes modo tam velox pigris radicibus haeret,
> ora cacumen habet; remanet nitor unus in illa.

> With the prayer hardly finished a heavy numbness seizes her limbs, and
> her soft chest was surrounded with thin bark, her hair turned into leaves,
> her arms branches; her recently fast feet were stuck with slow roots; her
> head held a treetop; only beauty remained in her.

Propertius 3.11.51-54 describes a similar slowing of sensation as the poison takes hold of Cleopatra, having been bitten by sacred snakes on the arms (*bracchia*, 3.11.53). As mentioned above, it is not entirely clear if she was bitten by snakes, but the venom or poison is generally mentioned in her arms.[109] Propertius' use of *bracchia* here follows suit, and it may have stimulated Ovid's emphasis on Daphne's two arms becoming (presumably) plural branches; he could have just as easily described her hair as forming both branches and leaves.

When Daphne transforms into a laurel tree, Apollo claims her for himself and for Rome as the triumphal symbol, not letting the nymph escape him even in her new form (1.557-565):

> cui deus, "at, quoniam coniunx mea non potes esse,
> arbor eris certe" dixit "mea! Semper habebunt
> te coma, te citharae, te nostrae, laure, pharetrae;

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[108] Daphne's prayer is similar in content to Cleopatra's prayer to Antony's spirit to be hidden and buried (Plut. *Ant*. 84.4-7: ἀλλ᾽ εἰ δή τις τῶν ἐκεῖ θεῶν ἀλκὴ καὶ δύναμις... ἀλλ᾽ ἐνταῦθά με κρύψον μετὰ σεαυτοῦ καὶ σύνθαψον). Pelling 1988 p. 316 suggests the prayer is a fabrication because no other source has her last words; however, Plutarch 82.4 cites Cleopatra's doctor Olympos who wrote a narrative about her death, and so accounts may have been available to Romans that are lost to us, perhaps making a link between the two prayers.
[109] Plut. *Ant*. 86.2; Dio 51.14.1-2.

> tu ducibus Latiis aderis, cum laeta Triumphum
> vox canet et visent longas Capitolia pompas;
> postibus Augustis eadem fidissima custos
> ante fores stabis mediamque tuebere quercum…"

> To whom the god said, " but, since you cannot be my wife, you will surely be my tree! My hair, my lyre, my quiver, Laurel, will always have you; you will be with Latin generals when a happy voice sings 'Triumph' and the Capitoline views long parades; a most faithful guard at the doors of Augustus you will stand before the entrance and protect the oak in the middle…"

Apollo's reaction is similar to Octavian's, who reportedly felt both admiration for Cleopatra and annoyance at being deprived of his victory prize,[110] but still managed to have a representation of Cleopatra in his triumphal parade. Daphne covered in wood could conjure in the mind of the reader a painted image or perhaps a statue of Cleopatra for Octavian's triumph. We are not entirely sure how Octavian depicted the deceased queen. Plutarch reports an image (εἴδλων) of Cleopatra with the asp clinging to her; Dio has an image (μιμήματι) without the asp.[111] Appian's account is lost, but as *comparanda* he reports that in Pompey's triumph over Mithridates, the triumphator used images (εἰκόνες) for those vanquished but not present, including a depiction of Mithridates' death scene and a list of Pompey's deeds on a πίναξ ἐγγεγραμμένων;[112] this could be a painted wooden plaque, a trophy similar to the now wooden Daphne.

Apollo Palatinus

Prior to the domination of Octavian, the laurel was associated with artistic and military victories. This generic connection continued after Octavian's triple triumph in 29

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[110] Dio 51.14.6.
[111] Plut. *Ant*. 86.3, Dio 51.21.8.
[112] Appian *Mithr.* 117.

BCE, but through coinage and the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, the link between Octavian, Apollo, and the laurel tree became much stronger.[113] It may not have been Octavian's immediate intent after this initial conquest and building campaign to strengthen that correlation, but over time the perceived importance of Actium as a turning point grew and the newly named Augustus' link with Apollo solidified. Ovid associated the Palatine temple with Actium in the *Ars Amatoria*,[114] as did Propertius in *Elegy* 4.6. The textual sources are supported by a series of coins issued in 16 BCE, depicting Augustus on the obverse and Actian Apollo on the reverse standing on a platform over anchors and prows (Figure 23). This coin models the duality of Apollo as god of poetry as well as the archer of Actium: the *citharoedus* Apollo is identifiable with the Palatine statue, yet the anchors and altar support the battle honored in the coin's legend.

Figure 23: RIC1 366. Silver denarius, 16 BCE. OBV: IMP CAESAR AVGVS TR POT IIX: Head of Augustus; REV: C ANTISTI VETVS IIIVIR, APOLLINI ACTIO; laureate Apollo on platform with prows and anchors, holding patera and lyre. © The Trustees of the British Museum 1846,0910.177, accessed July 31, 2021, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/632707001.

According to descriptions of the Palatine temple complex, there are more suggested artistic allusions for Cleopatra than for Antony, which is fitting considering the civil war context.[115] Images associated with Cleopatra and Egypt abound, such as the

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[113] After Cornelius Balbus' triumph in 19 BCE, the parades became rare and only generals who were heirs to the emperor celebrated one, strengthening the connection between the laurel crown and the *domus Augusti*; see Hickson 1991 (esp. p. 128) and Flower 2020.

[114] *Ars* 3.389-390: *Visite laurigero sacrata Palatia Phoebo/ (ille Paraetonias mersit in alta rates)*

[115] A series of terracotta plaques depicting Hercules and Apollo wrestling over a tripod suggests the conflict between Octavian and Antony: Miller 2009 p. 193; Kellum 1985 p. 171.

Danaid statues, which may have been spoils from Alexandria.[116] Another artistic allusion would be the depiction of Niobe on one of the temple doors; Andrew Feldherr suggests that this story (particularly as told in the *Met.* 6.165 ff.) could be seen as Cleopatra's supposed challenge of Octavian's "legitimacy," noting that her punishment was to be turned to stone, similar to Cleopatra becoming an icon in the triumph.[117] Feldherr's suggestion, in conjunction with my own, demonstrates that Cleopatra, like the laurel tree, is pervasive in Augustan art with the influx of Egyptian material and through a variety of allegorical connections.

The obelisk from Heliopolis that was erected in the Circus Maximus in 10 BCE is not directly associated with Cleopatra, but as a spoil from her kingdom could be seen as a link with Apollo's pursuit of Daphne. As noted by Marike van Aerde, the obelisk would have been in the direct line of sight from the Augustan complex on the Palatine hill. While the exact position in the Circus is not known, coins of Trajan depict it on the western end of the *spina*, aligning it with the sun chariot statue atop the Apollo temple. Tertullan and Ammianus Marcellinus connect the Circus Maximus with a cult of the sun, with the chariots similar to celestial bodies circling the *spina*.[118] Ovid's depiction of Apollo in hot pursuit of his future laurel tree could come to mind while enjoying races at the Circus, sitting below shining Phoebus' temple.[119]

Laurel imagery abounds after the senate decreed that the trees be a permanent

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[116] Kellum 1985 p. 169-74, Kleiner 1992 p. 83-84, Gurval 1995 p. 234, Harrison 1998 p. 234-36, van Aerde 2019 p. 55-56, and Roller 2010 p. 151, who refers to the statues as "an allegory almost banal in its obviousness."

[117] Feldherr 2010 p. 298-301, 307.

[118] van Aerde 2019 p. 58-59, 82-83, 98; Trajan coin: BMC 1936 v. 3 n. 853 pl 32.2; Tertullan *de Spec.* 7; Amm. Marc. *Rer. Gest.* 17.4.17.

[119] van Aerde 2019 p. 46 and Meyboom 2005 p. 219-264 discuss the similarities of Augustus' Palatine complex with Hellenistic palace complexes.

decoration for Augustus' house.[120] The decree was advertised on coinage (Figure 24):

Figure 24: RIC1 36a. Silver denarius, c. 19 BCE. OBV: Head of Augustus, oak-wreathed, right; REV: CAESAR AVGVSTVS: Legend in two lines above and below laurel branches flanking S P Q R around shield inscribed CL V. See also RIC1 419 c. 12 BCE, which lists the *senatus consultum* (SC). ANS 1937.158.407, American Numismatic Society, accessed July 19, 2021, http://numismatics.org/collection/1937.158.407.

Paul Zanker rightly observes that trees flanking Augustus' house add a sacred feel meant to acknowledge his priestly status, since the trees also stood at the Regia, the Temple of Vesta, and the meeting place of the *flamines* and the *pontifices*.[121] However, the fact that these trees are in front of his home, which is connected to the Apollo temple, also could encourage poets like Ovid to have some fun with the sacred imagery. Ioannis Ziogas notes that "Apollo's appropriation of the transformed Daphne further symbolizes Ovid's imperial enterprise of transposing Greek myth to Roman history."[122] The laurel guarding Augustus' door has been blessed by Actian Apollo (*Trist*. 3.1.39-42), and that particular honor was earned in the pursuit of Cleopatra and her kingdom.[123]

Conclusion

Nandini Pandey discusses the Augustan audience's ability to "interrogate texts strenuously, in part because forensic and rhetorical training were inseparable from the

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[120] *Res Gestae* 34 and Ovid *Met*. 1.562-63 mention the laurels on Augustus' doorposts.

[121] Zanker 1990 p. 93.

[122] Ziogas 2015 p. 116. Barchiesi 2005 p. 146 sees the "Romanizing apostrophe" (*Latiis* 1.560) as "part of a discourse of monarchical appropriation of Greek myth."

[123] Pandey 2018a p. 299: "The episode may thus be finally read as an allegory for Augustus' own pursuit of power."

study of literature," and that "Augustan poets encouraged their readers… to apply them to the imagery of the Principate."[124] In the *Metamorphoses*, the Pythian Games established by Apollo are immediately followed by Daphne's transformation and reassignment to Roman glory. This sequence mimics how the Actian triumph was followed the next day by the Alexandrian triumph, a celebration of Egypt's political transformation for Roman glory. I suggest that Apollo's pursuit of Daphne and his improvised claim over her new form recreate the pursuit of Cleopatra and Octavian's celebration of conquest in the triple triumphs in 29 BCE.

W.R. Johnson correctly reminds us that we are unable to produce a real Cleopatra since "Augustan propaganda, the ravage of time, and the limitations of history have done their work well."[125] Nevertheless, we should still look for traces of her, and I believe that Ovid's Daphne reminds us to not cling too tightly to the well-known Shakespearean depiction, which comes from a long line of propagandistic tales of Octavian saving Rome from the drunken *regina meretrix* who ensnared a Roman consul. Ovid emphasized Daphne's resistance to Apollo by focusing on her flight and escape through requested transformation, thereby challenging the triumphant portrayal of the patron god of the *princeps*. Just as Daphne energetically fled from Apollo's unwanted advances, Cleopatra dynamically resisted Octavian's expanding power and, although she became another victim of conquest, she thwarted his desire to parade her in his triumph. While other poets hinted at admiration for this *non humilis mulier*, I suggest that Ovid challenged the lionized conflicts at Actium and Alexandria by not only showing sympathy for the

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[124] Pandey 2018b p. 27. Morales 2020 p. 74-75 & 78 suggests that Ovid used Apollo to demonstrate Augustus' oppressive behavior over "unwilling victims," with Daphne becoming a symbol of Roman imperialism.
[125] Johnson 1967 p. 387.

pursued woman, but also by allegorically mocking the *princeps*.

Map 6: Octavian's movement after Actium compared to Apollo's list of shrines.

Apollo shrines/temples

- Delphi
- Claros
- Tenedos
- Patara

Octavian's stops

- Actium- September 2, 31 BCE
- Athens - late Sept./early Oct. 31 BCE
- Samos- late fall 31 BCE
- Ephesus - late fall 31 BCE
- Brindisium - winter 31/30 BCE
- Corinth diolkos- winter 30 BCE
- Rhodes- spring 30 BCE
- Ptolemais- early summer 30 BCE
- Pelusium- summer 30 BCE
- Alexandria- summer 30 BCE

Chapter V

***Ad mea tempora*: Ovidian allusions to strife in Augustus' household**

In the previous chapters we examined the military conflicts encountered by
Octavian during his rise to the Principate and identified literary allusions to those who
defied his advancement. After his political adversaries were defeated, Augustus still was
confronted with conspiracies against his life and riots of angry citizens, but he now also
had to cope with the political maneuverings of his family, as rival parties developed
supporting the advancement of either the Julians or the Claudians. This chapter examines
the challenges that Augustus faced in his own household, which revolve mostly around
Julia and her children. Pliny mentions specific struggles in the *domus Augusta* (7. 149):
Marcellus' ambitions, the suspicions surrounding the deaths of Agrippa's children, and
Julia's adultery and plot against her father's life. I suggest that Ovid makes literary
allusions to each of these instances of familial strife in his final two works. References to
the imperial family are scattered throughout the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*, works that
were composed contemporaneously in the years before Ovid's exile. While the *Fasti*
directly converses with events important to the house of Augustus, both texts deal with
people and scenarios in an allegorical manner, similar to the examples presented in
previous chapters. Instead of a single rival, however, in this chapter we will consider
multiple people since we are considering collectively the atmosphere of rivalry and
resistance in Augustus' family.

While Ovid composed his first works,[1] a few events drastically affected the social

fabric of Rome, most notably Augustus' moral legislation (18 BCE), his adoption of his

grandsons (17 BCE), and the naming of Augustus as *pater patriae* (2 BCE). Niklas

Holzberg suggests that Ovid's flourishing works probably received a "disapproving

frown or… smirk", but that things changed during the 'crisis years' (4-14 CE), when

Augustus was dealing with natural disasters, heavy taxes, revolts in Pannonia, Dalmatia,

and Germany, and even domestic problems. After the exile of his daughter Julia (2 BCE)

and the deaths of her sons Lucius (2 CE) and Gaius (4 CE), Augustus adopted Tiberius as

his heir, perhaps begrudgingly. His own familial line was diminished greatly soon after

with the exiles of Agrippa Postumus (7 CE) and Julia the Younger (8 CE). Holzberg

believes that all three exiles occurred because "they had links to opposition groups."[2]

Holzberg further argues that while the *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses* seemed to comply and

praise Augustus and his family, the elegiac eroticism lingering in both poems argued for

societal change instead of honoring the *mos maiorum*, which in turn re-irritated Augustus

about Ovid's earlier work.[3] This chapter embraces Holzberg's view, but pushes it a step

further, positing that Augustus' irritation was likely to have been caused by more than

immorality (though admittedly a sensitive subject for the author of the *leges Iuliae* who

exiled two family members for adultery). Ovid's opposition to the changes made by

Augustus was expressed more satirically than the Vergilian examples in the previous

chapters, in which sympathy for rivals lost in war was expressed in a coded manner. This

may be a matter of Ovid's personal style, but also may be due to the poet's separation

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[1] Knox 2012 p. 37-38: *Heroides* (19 BCE), first edition of *Amores* (16-15 BCE), and *Medea* (12 BCE).
[2] Holzberg 2002 p. 43.
[3] Holzberg 2002 p. 45-46.

from the events and the people involved. Ovid did not have as personal a stake in the regime change as Vergil, Horace, and Propertius would have had. Ovid's complaints concerned social and artistic restrictions, whereas his predecessors dealt with civil war and proscriptions. Although Ovid was more satirical than his predecessors, he was not completely without restraint. I suggest that the poet cloaked his observations concerning Augustus' succession plans and the punishment of imperial family members in mythological contexts due to anxiety concerning the risks of artistic expression during the reign of Augustus.

Romanizations in the *Metamorphoses*

The first book of the *Metamorphoses* contains several references to Rome and the Palatine before leading the reader to the Daphne and Apollo saga examined in the previous chapter. These references establish the allegorical duality of the text as both a collection of myths told in a chronological arrangement and an entertaining commentary on Rome and the Principate.[4] Ovid urges his readers to see the underlying allegorical layer by using frequent insertions of Roman elements in the sections that pre-date Rome. Ovid describes the houses of the gods on the Milky Way as resembling Palatine homes, thereby separating the deities with Roman class divisions, since the atria of the noble gods (*nobilium*, 1.172) are crowded while the plebeian gods (*plebs*, 1.173) live apart, and they all have their own *penates* (1.170-176):

> hac iter est superis ad magni tecta Tonanti
> regalemque domum. dextra laevaque deorum
> atria **nobilium** valvis celebrantur apertis.

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[4] While mostly progressing chronologically from creation to Ovid's life, time in the *Metamorphoses* is not always linear, as has been discussed by Barchiesi 1997, Hardie 1997, Feeney 1999, Zissos & Gildenhard 1999, Hopkinson 2000, Kenney 2009, and Myers 2009, among others.

> **plebs** habitat diversa locis; hac parte potentes
> caelicolae clarique suos posuere **penates**;
> hic locus est, quem, si verbis audacia detur,
> haud timeam magni dixisse **Palatia** caeli.
>
> This is the route for the gods to the hall and royal house of the great
> Thunderer; on the right and left the atria of the **noble** gods are crowded in
> the open doors. The **plebeian** gods live in different places. In this area the
> powerful and famous heaven-dwellers have placed their *penates*. This is
> the place, which, if boldness may be given to my words, I don't fear to call
> the **Palatine** of great heaven.

When the gods are seated in the marble chamber they resemble a Roman senate meeting, particularly since the Palatine was just invoked, where Augustus regularly held meetings at his newly constructed Apollo complex.[5] Jupiter urges the *superi* deities to protect the *rustica numina* and *monticolae* against the treachery of Lycaon. Alessandro Barchiesi associates Ovid's phrasing here with the traditional Roman policy of militarily protecting the city's *socii* from threats.[6] The divine committee responds with outrage; Ovid compares their reaction to that of the human race and the whole world when an impious mob threatened the life of a Caesar (*attonitum tantae subito terrore ruinae/ humanum genus est totusque perhorruit orbis*, 1.202-203). Which Caesar is meant here has been debated;[7] however, since Augustus is addressed directly in the next line equating the gods' fealty to Jupiter and the people's to Augustus, it is likely that this is a reference to conspiracy against Augustus. The most likely event is that of Caepio and Murena in 23 BCE, a pivotal year of increasing powers for Augustus, as he stepped down from an

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[5] 1.177: *marmoreo… recessu*. Barchiesi 2005 p. 183-84 connects the colorful marble of the Apollo temple with the marble hall mentioned here. Ovid also uses *recessus* referring to the marble halls of Aeacus (7.670) and Circe (14.261).

[6] Barchiesi 2005 p. 185, where he notes that Ovid portrays the meeting "con originale impudenza."

[7] Forbis 1997 argues for a reference to Julius Caesar's assassination; Anderson 1997 p. 172 for Augustus, noting that the connection between an attempt on Jupiter matches well with an attempt on Augustus (not an actual assassination); Barchiesi 2005 p. 187-88 suggests that Ovid is being purposefully ambiguous, following the pattern established by Augustus when he used the name politically. Fratantuono 2011 p. 12 prefers the attempt on Augustus' life, but comments that "Caesar's ghost… lurks, however allusively."

official consulship but instead concurrently held tribunician, censorial, and propraetorian powers.[8]

Elizabeth Forbis suggests that "the preponderance of Roman/Augustan references in the *concilia deorum* passage … demonstrates Ovid's transformation of the Olympian gods into imperial family members in the *Metamorphoses*."[9] This "Romanizing" early in the pre-Roman sections of the poem sets the tone for the whole work, and it is reinforced in book 15 when traditional Greek things become physically Roman (Pythagoras, Hippolytus/Virbius, Aesculapius). The frequent signposting for Rome and Roman culture encourages the reader to consider the tales through a Roman lens, thereby making associations with the scenario depicted in the poem to analogous current events. It is particularly interesting that the context of the first Romanization in the *concilium deorum* is one of conflict, with the powerful preparing to punish the opposition. I believe that this sets the tone for the allegories underlying the myths of Ovid's texts, and this chapter will analyze examples of opposition stemming from within the imperial family itself, particularly pertaining to Julia the Elder and her children.

Imperial Resonances in the *Metamorphoses*

The stories in the *Metamorphoses* that may be seen as commentaries on the Augustan family portray thematic patterns: anxiety over succession, punished daughters, and destructive parent-child relationships. Augustus' household constantly dealt with drama and tragedy, and, if we believe the sinister causes hinted at by Pliny, the many deaths in the family were worthy of an epic or tragic (or tragically epic) treatment by an

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[8] Dio 54.3ff. For further discussion on Caepio and Murena, see chapter 2 of this work.
[9] Forbis 1997 p. 266.

author as talented as Ovid. As mentioned, the deaths of groomed generals include

Marcellus, Drusus (though never specified as an heir, but still a reliable and talented

commander), Lucius, and Gaius. Banishments in the imperial household occurred less

frequently than deaths, but were still jarring when they involved prominent family

members such as Augustus' daughter Julia, his grandson and last directly related option

for heir Agrippa Postumus, and his granddaughter Julia. These were not the last of the

imperial family's young deaths or banishments, but were the ones that Ovid could

witness before his own relegation in 8 CE. Under such circumstances, it could be argued

that the repeated characterization of the mourning father (occurring at least twelve times

in the work)[10] relates to Augustus himself, who is reported by the ancient sources as

grieving for the losses of his family, even those lost through banishment, for whom

Suetonius remarks that he grieved even more.[11]

Issues of Succession

As the father of a singular daughter, Augustus was so intent on finding a proper

successor that adultery with one of his female descendants was considered treason.[12]

However, his best efforts for securing a successor were thwarted by the death or exile of

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[10] Inachus for Io 1.583-87; Apollo for Phaethon 2.331-32, 385-88; Chiron for Ocyrhoe 2.676; Cadmus 4.563-603; Andromeda's parents 4.691-94; Niobe's husband Amphion does not cry, but commits suicide due to his grief 6.271-72; Tereus for Ithys 6.661-66 (*flet,* 6.665); Daedalus for Icarus 8.231-35; Daedalion for Chione 11.328-31, 345 (*dolens*); Priam for Aesacus 12.1-3; Anius for his daughters 13.643-74. Agamemnon does not openly mourn for Iphigenia (*postquam pietatem publica causa/ rexque patrem vicit*, 12.29-30); but Ulysses later says that Agamemnon angrily refused to sacrifice his daughter until Ulysses persuaded him (13.182-92, esp. 186-87: *denegat hoc genitor divisque irascitur ipsis/ atque in rege tamen pater est…*).
[11] Suet. *Aug*. 65.2: *Aliquanto autem patientius mortem quam dedecora suorum tulit.* At mention of Julia and Agrippa Postumus he reportedly would recite Hom. *Il*. 3.40: Αἴθ' ὄφελον ἄγαμός τ' ἔμεναι ἄγονος τ' ἀπολέσθαι (Suet. *Aug*. 65.4).
[12] Tac. *Ann*. 3.24.

his choices. Two stories in the *Metamorphoses* relate to sons who perish in their failed attempt to follow their father's (literal) path, Phaethon and Icarus. In the shorter of the two episodes, Icarus disregards his father's instructions and pays with his life (*Met.* 8.183-235). This story has been associated with Augustus' family by several scholars as a tragic loss of a potential heir and/or the unfortunate outcome of forcing someone too young to take on great responsibilities.[13] However, we cannot look to Icarus without considering his cousin Talos/Perdix, whom Daedalus murdered out of jealousy and then lied about the act without fear of divine retribution (8.236-259). The death of Perdix justifies Daedalus' inclusion in the *Metamorphoses*; without him there is no straightforward transformation, only a failed one as Daedalus and Icarus tried to be like birds and seemed like gods (*credidit esse deos* 8.219-20). Lee Fratantuono connects Daedalus with Augustus, who "crafted" the contemporary form of the Roman state.[14] If, like Daedalus and Icarus, Augustus and his heir(s) seemed divine to the populace, which is likely, may we then believe that Augustus could also seem to fear no divine retribution for the murder of a problematic family member? This dark turn in the story, if we are to see a political resonance, is intriguing in terms of Pliny's statement concerning suspicious deaths in the family (*incusatae liberorum mortes*, *NH* 7.149), but it is not specifically indicative of any one failed imperial relationship.

The saga of Phaethon is much longer, carrying over from the first into the second book of the *Metamorphoses* (1.747-2.366). Phaethon desperately wants his father's recognition, as well as public knowledge of his lineage. He fails in his efforts to drive his

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[13] Glenn 1986; Hölzberg 2002; Fratantuono 2011; *et al.*
[14] Fratantuono 2011 p. 217; cf. Norton 2013, who connects Daedalus with Ovid and the labyrinth with the *Metamorphoses*.

father's chariot, to the sun god's great dismay. According to Edgar Glenn, "Phaethon

seems like a child who has been given political power too soon. The disaster caused by

despotism suggests that the favoritism almost inevitably engaged in by monarchs is

deplorable both for the effects it can have on their offspring and for those it may have on

the world."[15] Even though Ovid refers to Phaethon as an *auriga* in his epitaph,[16] perhaps

the attempt to control the sun chariot would stir thoughts of a quest for a triumph among

the young men in Augustus' house. Triumphs had become a rare event, slowly dwindling

after Augustus' triple triumph in 29 BCE. There were only ten more triumphs during

Augustus' lifetime, and the last two were celebrated by Tiberius (7 BCE and 12 CE).[17] A

four-horsed chariot was used for both chariot races and triumphs, and the word *currus*,

used thirteen times in the Phaethon episode, is commonly used for a triumphal chariot.[18]

The chariot of the sun was depicted atop the Palatine temple of Apollo and referred to as

a *currus* by Propertius (2.31.11). Whether the chariot triggered thoughts of triumphs or

chariot-races (or both),[19] eager Phaethon's attempt to achieve the glory that was radiantly

displayed above Augustus' Palatine complex must have stirred thoughts of the young

men in the imperial household, tragically lost.

     Fratantuono relates Phaethon's out-of-control chariot to political problems in

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[15] Glenn 1986 p. 18.
[16] Met. 2.327-328: HIC SITUS EST PHAETHON CURRUS AURIGA PATERNI / QUEM SI NON TENUIT MAGNIS TAMEN EXCIDIT AUSIS ('Here lies Phaethon, driver of his father's chariot, which he could not hold but he dared greatly).
[17] Flower 2020: three in 28 BCE, two in 27 BCE, and one in 26 BCE, 21 BCE, 19 BCE, 7 BCE, and 12 CE.
[18] *Currus* in the Phaethon episode: 2.47, 62, 74, 104, 106, 135, 150, 166, 205, 230, 305, 318, 327. [Hyg.] *Astron*. 2.13 says Sol invented the *quadriga*; Ovid *Met*. 2.153 names the horses: Eous, Aethon, Pyrois, and Phlegon. *Currus* for triumphs: Cic. *Verr*, 2.5.67, *Cael*. 34.13, *Piso*. 60.3, *Lucull*. 3.15; Livy 4.10.7, 6.4.2, 7.13.10, 7.27.8, 31.49.3, 33.23.5-7, 34.52.9-10, 38.47.4, 45.40.4-8, 45.41 11, 45.43.6, et al. *Currus* for the sun's chariot: Cic. *de Nat. Deo*. 3.76.10, Prop. 2.31.11 mentions the statue atop the Palatine temple.
[19] For connections with the Circus Maximus and chariot racing, see Gladhill 2012 p. 8 and van Aerde 2019 p. 58-59, 82-83, 98 and the discussion of the Palatine complex in chapter 4.

Rome by connecting it to the unrestrained chariot metaphor in Vergil's *Georgics* 1.512-514, as well as by associating Ovid's storm-tossed ship metaphors (2.163-166, 184-186) to the troubled Ship of State possibly depicted in Horace *Ode* 1.14.[20] If Sol/Apollo can be seen as representative of Augustus, then only the *princeps* can manage the affairs of Rome, not his "son" and not even Jupiter himself (*Met*. 2.60-62). Another intriguing connection can be made when Ovid compares Phaethon's falling body and flaming hair (2.319-322) to a star that seems like it is falling, but actually is not (…*ut interdum de caelo stella sereno/ etsi non cecidit, potuit cecidisse videri*). Ovid removes some of the pathos from Phaethon's death with his scientific clarification,[21] and this seems to be a direct challenge to the important comet imagery of the Julian clan after Julius Caesar's deification.

Fratantuono suggests that Phaethon's death is a nod to the loss of Marcellus, noting the similarities in the ecphrases of the temple doors of Apollo in *Aeneid* 6 and of Sol/Apollo in *Metamorphoses* 2. The connection between Marcellus and Phaethon is strong considering also that in 23 BCE Augustus reportedly was "not yet confident about the young man's judgement" and instead preferred Agrippa before him in terms of power.[22] We may add that Sol was not eager for Phaethon to drive the chariot, as he tried to dissuade him, offering the passenger view instead (*Quae tutus spectes, sine me dare lumina terris! Met.* 2.149). However, the description of a promising son lost too soon could also call to mind the deaths of Lucius in 2 CE and Gaius in 4 CE, both of whom

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[20] Fratantuono 2011 p. 31-34. The meaning of Horace's ship is generally associated with political tensions dating back to Quintilian *Inst*. 8.6.44, though with different events as the point of reference; all relate to Octavian. Knorr 2006 p. 149 lists bibliography for the topic.
[21] Anderson 1997 p. 263.
[22] Dio 53.31.4: τὸν Ἀγρίππαν αὐτοῦ προετίμησεν. οὕτως, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδέπω τῇ τοῦ μειρακίου γνώμῃ ἐθάρσει. Again, Pliny *NH* 7.149 reports tension over Marcellus' ambitions.

died far from home (Lycia and Massilia, respectively) like Phaethon, and whose deaths deeply affected Augustus. Sol/Apollo mourned at the death of Phaethon, covering his head and refusing to shine for an entire day (*Met.* 2.329-331).[23] Augustus likewise mourned his adopted sons; Dio lists the many honors given in memory of Marcellus and says that Augustus was 'grieved at heart' when he learned of Gaius' injury in Syria, begging him to return home.[24]

Phaethon's sisters weep for their lost brother for four months, then transform into trees whose tears harden into amber that is washed away by the river for Roman brides to wear (*Met.* 2.340-366). Aside from giving the story of the Heliades as an *aitia* of a Roman practice, the mention of marriage in association with weeping could possibly be a nod towards the Augustan marriage laws (*lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* of 18 BCE and *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* of 17 BCE) which were widely unpopular. The transformation of the Heliades is told by several ancient sources,[25] but only one other social connection is made with their tears. Diodorus Siculus reports that amber is connected to mourning those who died young.[26] Perhaps Ovid is connecting the two ideas of marriage and death (even if the death is a metaphorical loss of youth). Karen Hersch suggests that the Roman wedding was symbolically associated with the death of the bride's individuality and of her previous life, seeing the veil as adding a funerary aspect to the marriage procession.[27] Ovid's well-versed readers would probably acknowledge

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[23] This eclipse echoes when the sun did not shine when Julius Caesar was killed (*Georg.* 1.462-68).
[24] Marcellus: Dio 53.30.5-6; Gaius: Dio 55.10a.8.
[25] Those that predate Ovid's version: Aeschylus *Heliades* fr. 35 (lost play); Philoxenus of Cythera fr. 834; Apollonius Rhodius *Arg.* 4.598 ff, 4.619ff; Polybius 2.16.13; Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 5. 23. 2; Strabo *Geography* 5.1.9. Barchiesi 2005 p. 267 only mentions that this is "una rara allusione alla realtà contemporanea" without discussing the marriage connection.
[26] Diod. Sic. 5.23
[27] Hersch 2020 p.76.

the link of the amber between marriage and the death of the young; the story of Phaethon

and his sisters does not need to refer to any particular person in Augustus' household.

The episode offers a plausible double jab at imperial procedures, as several young heirs

perished and their mourning sisters were married off to continue the family line.

Punishing Daughters, and other family drama

The concept of marriage as a loss of oneself for the female partner leads us to

daughters who rebelled against the process. The act of a father harshly punishing a

wayward daughter was commonplace in the ancient world, but when that task has been

completed twice by the contemporary ruler in a relatively short amount of time, a reader

would most likely think of that ruler when hearing/reading a similar story. In book 8,

which is full of violent interactions between parents and children,[28] Perimele is thrown

off a cliff by her father Hippodamas after the river god Achelous stole her chastity; this

tale is only known from Ovid,[29] and this episode has been Romanized for effect.

Perimele's story is told by Achelous as he hosts Theseus in his grotto. The ceiling is

described as a mosaic of shells and stones, a technique which dated back to 3rd

millennium BCE in Mesopotamia, but mosaiced grottoes were high fashion in Augustan

Rome. The use of shells in the mosaic was particularly common for seaside villas,[30]

making the decorative setting seemingly contemporary for a Roman reader. Achelous'

guests also recline, a Roman and Attic Greek seating arrangement that would have been

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[28] Scylla's betrayal of her father Nisus 8.1-151; Althea's murder of her son Meleager, 8.451-546; Hippodamos' murder of his daughter Perimele, 8.547-610; Erysichthon's repeated selling of his shape-shifting daughter Mestra, 8.843-884. Familial violence appears elsewhere in the epic: Leucothoe is buried alive by her father Orchamus for her affair with Sol/Apollo (4.190-273).
[29] Fratantuono 2011 p. 228.
[30] Kenney 2005 p 359 compares Achelous to "un cordiale signorotto di campagna romano" and draws a parallel to Tiberius' grotto at Sperlonga, which is obviously later but provides a nice visual reference.

out of place in the heroic period. According to Athenaeus, Homeric heroes and Macedonian aristocracy dined on stools or chairs.[31] Achelous reports that Perimele was transformed into an island by Neptune after Achelous prayed to him to save her, admitting he assaulted her (*huic ego, quam porto, nocui*; 8.599).[32] This episode could be compared to the banishment of Augustus' daughter Julia, or her daughter Julia, both of whom were relegated to small rocky islands for their alleged adulteries.

A rescue by Neptune links Perimele to Mestra, who could also be compared to Julia and her treatment by Augustus. Mestra's father Erysichthon repeatedly sold her to feed his insatiable hunger (*Met*. 8.738-884). To avoid the first sale, Mestra prayed to Neptune to save her from slavery as repayment for her virginity that the god previously took; he granted her shape-shifting ability which allowed her to momentarily escape, but her new skill then provided a renewable means for Erysichthon to gain from her sale(s). Her first transformation occurs on the shore when she changes into a fisherman; her father asks her about her own whereabouts, making a playful reference to his plight of dangerous hunger: *o qui pendentia parvo/ aera cibo celas* (8.855-856).[33] Mestra's disguise is intriguing, as Erysichthon is metaphorically both a fisherman and a fish, since he was going to use his daughter as bait to feed himself, but he would eventually be caught and die from his autocannibalistic desperation for food. The maritime scene

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[31] Athenaeus 1.11F, 17F-18A, citing Duris and Hegesander. Sherratt 2004 p. 316 n56 lists Mycenaean tablets listing chairs (to-no) and stools (ta-ra-nu) at Pylos, comparing the chairs to those in Homer: *Il*. 11.645; *Od*. 1.130-131, 7.162, 169, 8.65, 10.314-366, 16.408, 17.32, 20.150, 22.341, 438-452, particularly Linear B 'to-no' with θρονός and 'tar-ra-nu' with θρῆνυς (similar to a κλισμός, a light chair without arms).
[32] This story has been highly edited by scholars, most removing portions of lines 595-610. Kenney 2005 p. 362-3 suggests that they seem Ovidian, but "la più breve sembra preferibile." Fratantuono 2011 p. 228 suggests the edits were made due to their racy nature, because Achelous caressed the breasts of the transforming girl (8.605-6: *ipse natantis/ pectora tangebam trepido salientia motu*); if this is true, the edits fascinatingly fit Augustus' wishes! For further analysis, see Bömer 1977 (Buch VIII-IX) p. 182-84.
[33] Ovid uses a similar phrase when referring to the *ludi piscatorii* in Fasti 6.240*: quique tegunt parvis aera recurve cibis.*

connects Mestra to Perimele, and will be relevant in subsequent examples.

The Mestra episode is an Ovidian twist to an older Greek legend. In Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter*, Erysichthon is merely a child (παῖς, line 56), and therefore does not have a daughter. In the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, Erysichthon repeatedly sold his shape-shifting daughter to feed himself, but Poseidon does not enter the story until later, when he is sent by Zeus to prevent Mestra from providing Sisyphus' son Glaucus with offspring. The sea god takes Mestra to Kos and assaults her there.[34]

Neptune was the god associated with Marcus Agrippa after he defeated Sextus Pompey, and he built the Basilica Neptuni near the Pantheon in celebration of his naval victories at Mylae, Naulochus, and Actium. When Agrippa traveled east on imperial business, Julia accompanied him; she was honored with statues and he with games at Kos, the island where Neptune took Mestra.[35] While Ovid does not mention Kos, his readers might recall the Callimachean version and Julia's time on the island, thus making Ovid's Mestra episode a condemning allusion to Julia's three marriages, the determined attempts of Augustus to secure an heir.[36] Neptune/Agrippa temporarily rescued her from her father, but she then was forced to marry again upon his death. Julia's alleged adultery could be considered somewhat understandable under the circumstances of her repeated forced marriages, and her punishment was decried by the people as too harsh; they begged Augustus for her return (Suet. *Aug*. 65). If we see allegorical treatment here, we could suggest that Ovid is negatively drawing attention to Julia's marriages, or at least to

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[34] Most fr. 69 lines 76-84; MW fr. 43a lines 52-60.
[35] Julia on Kos: IG XII^4 2:1154, 1155, 1180; Reinhold 1933 p. 117. The *Agrippea* games on Kos: IG XII^4 2:928, Roller 1998 p. 227.
[36] We may add two betrothals: M. Antony claimed that Julia was betrothed first to his son and then to Cotiso, king of the Getae, in exchange for the king's daughter for Octavian (Suet. *Aug*. 63.2).

her third one to Tiberius. She had, after all, achieved *ius trium liberorum* through her offspring with Agrippa, making her final marriage superfluous because legally she no longer required a guardian.[37] Perhaps the last marriage was an attempt to keep rivalries within the household to a minimum.

Among the stories in the *Metamorphoses* that describe daughters choosing lovers over their fathers, as Julia did either physically or politically, Scylla comes to mind for also dethroning her father.[38] Scylla betrays her father Nissus by cutting off his magical purple lock of hair that guaranteed his safety and sovereignty in order to give it to her beloved Minos, the besieger of her city (*Met*. 8.1-151).[39] Scylla knows the deed is wrong, but justifies it to herself as necessary and that her city's fate is sealed (8.56-60):

> … quamvis saepe utile vinci
> victoris placidi fecit clementia multis.
> iusta gerit certo pro nato bella perempto:
> et causaque valet causamque tuentibus armis.[40]
> At, puto, vincemur…

> …although often the clemency of an appeased conqueror
> made being conquered useful for many.
> Surely he wages a just war for his murdered son:
> And both the cause strengthens him and he the cause with protecting
> weapons. But, I think, we will be conquered…

Scylla's self-encouraging speech could merely be the talk of a distressed lover justifying

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[37] Such status is usually attributed to Augustus' *lex de maritandis ordinibus* (18 BCE) and *lex Papia Poppaea* (9CE); the second law would be too late for Julia, but the two overlap and it is not clear which (if not both) referred to children. They are often combined and dubbed lex Julia et Papia. The status could be bestowed even if not earned, as it was to Livia in 9 BCE after Drusus' death (Dio 55.2.5-7 emphasizes the importance for inheritance). Perhaps it was denied for Julia so she could not compete financially with Livia. See Field 1945, Linderski 1988 (esp. p. 189), Kemezis 2007, Spagnuolo 2010, and Eck 2019.

[38] Others include Ariadne (8.152-182) and Medea (7.1-99); I do not include them in my comparison to Julia because they left willingly and their fathers did not punish them, instead their lovers abandoned them.

[39] Apollo, Augustus' patron, is behind the scenes in this story: he helped build Megara's walls, and in one tower the stones were musical because Apollo rested his lyre there, Paus. 1.42.2, *Met*. 8.14-16; Scylla enjoyed playing them with a pebble, *Met*. 8.17-18.

[40] Kenney 2005 has *tenentibus* instead of *tuentibus*, following Tarrant's 2004 Oxford publication. I prefer *tuentibus*, as used by Miller 1915 and Goold 1977. Kenney 2005 p. 80 lists the apparatus criticus.

what she knows is wrong, but it could also be her acknowledgment that she must stop the

suffering of her people by betraying her father. As punishment, Scylla was transformed

into a *ciris*, a sea bird, and was hunted by her father, who was now an osprey. Again, the

sea imagery could suggest to Ovid's contemporaries a parallel to Julia's island

banishment for challenging Augustus.

Both Julias were banished to islands for their adulteries, or, if we believe Tacitus,

for their involvement with men who wished to overthrow the Principate. Julia the Elder

was involved with Sempronius Gracchus, who encouraged her to fight against her

marriage to Tiberius (1.53). She was also involved with Iullus Antonius, who was

particularly threatening to Augustus' power as a son of Mark Antony, but also as an

aristocrat with political connections as priest, former praetor, former consul, and

governor of Asia.[41] Julia the Younger was involved in a similar conspiratorial scenario.

Her husband L. Aemilius Paullus was executed for conspiracy, and she and Decimus

Junius Silanus (her lover) were exiled.[42]

In the *Metamorphoses,* the poet takes advantage of multiple opportunities to

express mythologically a sense of disapproval and anxiety about the machinations of the

Augustan household. Ovid's contemporaneously written *Fasti* provides more examples of

the author's astute treatment of a politically sensitive environment.

Claudia Quinta and Anna Perenna in the *Fasti*

As a work on the calendar and the aetiology of Roman festivals, the *Fasti*

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[41] Tac. 4.44.3; Vell. 2.100; Dio 55.10.
[42] Levick 1976 p. 336 suggests that Ovid may have been a witness to marriage between Julia and Silanus;
this ceremony of course was not sanctioned by Augustus, and so all parties were punished. The potential
political intrigue of Julia the Younger is discussed below.

illustrates Ovid's adept maneuvering on tricky ground. The poet deals with national history and archaic customs during a challenging period that sees scientific and artistic growth accompanied by increasing social restrictions. Just before Ovid's birth, the calendar had been reformed by mathematicians assigned to the task by Julius Caesar. However, in addition to being a development in time-keeping, the new calendar was also an instrument used to reaffirm the importance of the Julio-Claudian clan, as depicted by the many observances for Augustus and his household.[43] As Carole Newlands points out, the later years of Augustus' reign were far from a "golden age" on the home front, as the *princeps* was confronted with dynastic issues in his household, discontent among the people, and military challenges in the field.[44] Augustus' reaction included restrictions on the freedom of speech, as exemplified by the punishments of Titus Labienus and Cassius Severus.[45] If Augustus and his supporters were to read Ovid's work, they would probably look for support of the revamped calendars which had recently become part of the forum architecture in the *Fasti Capitolini*. Alternatively, Ovid's contemporary fans must have reveled in his innovative writing, hunting for his witticisms and ironies. Using his trademark ingenuity, Ovid manages to deliver for both audiences, his fans and Augustus' supporters, as he offers a few novel versions of well-known stories that are ambiguously arranged so as to delight without being openly offensive.

The *Fasti* offers examples of potential subversion in the stories of Anna Perenna and Claudia Quinta. These two women are known from earlier sources, but Ovid

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[43] Feeney 1992 p. 5.

[44] Newlands 2002 p. 200; Wiedemann 1975 p. 265ff; Pliny NH 7.149: *iuncta deinde tot mala, inopia stipendii, rebellio Illyrici, servitiorum delectus, iuventutis penuria, pestilentia urbis, fames Italiae: destinatio expirandi, et quadridui inedia maior pars mortis in corpus recepta; iuxta haec Variana clades et maiestatis eius foeda suggillatio.*

[45] These authors were discussed in chapter 2.

provides alternative scenarios for each. The reader is left to wonder if Ovid was merely performing a literary feat for art's sake, or if he was suggesting something which was perhaps obvious to a learned Roman reader but may not be as clear to a modern audience.

The accounts of Anna and Claudia are correlated through situational echoes in their portrayals, which include an emphasis on maritime travel, ritual acts involving sets of threes, and women being falsely accused of adultery, all of which may have been read as mimicking Julia's situation.[46] Moreover, both Anna's and Claudia's story share the theme of the Romanization of a foreign female who is, in Ovid's time, a deity associated with the Julio-Claudian clan. The social significance of these similarities merits further discussion.

Anna Perenna

For the infamous Ides of March, Ovid spends most of it focused on Anna Perenna, a goddess of questionable origin.[47] Of the possible identities, the poet chooses to expand on the stories of the fugitive sister of Dido, an old baker from Bovillae, and an elderly goddess who pranks Mars. These personae seem very different, and yet they all seem to challenge the Julio-Claudian hold on this ominous day. While all three episodes of Anna Perenna may be interpreted as voicing protest to the practices of the *princeps*,[48] we will focus on the Punic princess, whose perceived threat to the marriage of Lavinia and Aeneas led to her demise. This unfounded assumption of promiscuity relates to the story

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[46] As mentioned, Julia was married three times and exiled to an island for adultery.
[47] *Fasti* 3.543-44: *quae tamen haec dea sit, quoniam rumoribus errat,/ fabula proposito nulla tegenda meo*. Aside from the three stories told, Ovid also lists other theories: the moon, Themis, Io/Isis, and the nymph that fed baby Jupiter (3.657-60).
[48] Newlands 2019: the second and third Anna episodes expresses the discontent the Roman populace felt during the years 6-9 CE, when they dealt with famine, increased taxes, and military recruitment issues.

of Claudia Quinta and to the harsh penalties for adultery in the Augustan marriage laws.

Ovid's depiction of Anna in Italy is his own innovation, as far as we know, and her adventure in the *Fasti* begins where she was last seen in Vergil's *Aeneid*.[49] Before she abandons her besieged city, Anna gives the last rites to her sister, complete with hair clippings, unguents, and the ritual triple farewell kisses (3.561-564). Triad sets repeat for Anna; for example, the three-year period she passes on Melite with the hospitality of King Battus is expressed with a tricolon: grain had been reaped three times (3.557), three times new wine had been poured into tubs (3.558), and twice the sun had passed the constellations and the third year was passing by (3.575-576). The time had come for Anna to flee from her brother Pygmalion, crueler than any sea (*asperior quovis aequore*, 3.580). The nautical metaphor for Anna's brother foreshadows the shipwreck endured by Anna as she nears the Italian coast (3.585-600). Exposed on the shore, Anna is immediately (in the Latin) confronted by Aeneas (*iam pius Aeneas*, 3.601). This is peace-time Aeneas, a man enriched by his marriage to Lavinia, and leisurely strolling with his companion Achates, barefoot on a beach that is in his possession due to his wife's wealth (*litore dotali*, 3.603). The reactions of the three personae (another triad) differ starkly. While Aeneas wonders why she is there (*illa*, not Anna, is used; is he nervous?), Achates exclaims "It's Anna!" in a fun bit of word play that seems to dramatically point to Ovid's reversal of Vergilian roles with this segment of the *Fasti*. The wording *Aeneas Anna est* (3.607) equates the two exiles while aligning them to the ears of the audience in a succinct rhyme. This equivalence, or usurpation of importance from Augustus' ancestor, is reinforced with Anna's corresponding itinerary and demise/deification in the Numicus

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[49] Littlewood 1980 p. 301 says Ovid's sources are "yet to be discovered." This does not give Ovid enough credit as a poet.

River.

Meanwhile, Anna, startled at hearing her name on an unknown shore, ponders her options in a panicked tricolon: *heu, quid agat? fugiat? Quos terrae quaerat hiatus?* (3.609).[50] Aeneas soothes Anna's fears and brings her to the palace, where he presents her to his wife, Lavinia. The introduction (3.629-632), however, is obscurely worded, since Aeneas does not mention Anna's name, but instead describes her in such a way that makes her appear to be her sister.[51] Lavinia, believing Anna to be a threat to her household, agrees to help Anna while secretly seething.[52] Anna is warned in the night by her sister's ghost to flee immediately. Startled, Anna leaps out of the window in her night gown (*tunica velata recincta*, 3.645); while fleeing, she was seized by the Numicus river. Anna appears to those searching for their missing houseguest, identifying herself as a river nymph, hiding in the perennial river that gives her a new name: *amne perenne latens Anna Perenna vocor* (3.654). Immediately (*protinus*!) the people feast and drink vast amounts of wine, thus explaining why people celebrate along the Tiber on Anna Perenna's feast day.

If one aligns Anna's travails from Carthage alongside those of Aeneas from Troy, as Angeline Chiu has so concisely done,[53] a pattern emerges that maps out exactly in an eight-part saga. Anna and Aeneas both flee their respective hometowns, which are under

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[50] "Alas, what should she do? Should she flee? Which crevice of the earth should she seek?"

[51] Varro had Anna as the love interest of Aeneas (*ad Aen.* 4.682 & 5.4); Wright 2019 p. 77-79 suggests that *Aen.* 4.420-23 (Dido to Anna) may allude to Varro's version of romance between Anna and Aeneas; McCallum 2019 p. 22-24, 29-30. In terms of Julia, if we take the Tacitean view, Livia/Lavinia wanted to be rid of her rival for power (removing awkward love interest).

[52] 3.633-34: *omnia promittit falsumque Lavinia volnus/ mente premit tacita dissimulatque metus*, "she promised all and hid a false wound with a silent mind and disguised her fear."

[53] Chiu 2016 p. 75.

attack,[54] and both look back upon Carthage when leaving the city by boat.[55] Before

reaching Italy, both characters stay on an island,[56] with each location being described as

unwarlike.[57] Anna and Aeneas separately survive a violent storm at sea,[58] which leaves

them stranded on a foreign beach.[59] Both refugees are welcomed by the local ruler,[60]

wherein Aeneas is given the opportunity to reciprocate the Carthaginian hospitality he

received in a *xenia*-type scenario with Anna. Both Aeneas and Anna are deified in the

same river in Italy.[61] Aside from being playfully clever, one wonders why Ovid would

offer this story for Anna Perenna's feast day. If the association between Aeneas and

Augustus is considered (and Ovid's fans, I believe, would look for such saucy

subversion), then this tale can be seen as defiant to the *princeps*, since the Ides of March

is celebrated with feasting, drinking, and promiscuity; Julius Caesar's assassination and

deification are briefly described after the three long variants of Anna's story are told.[62]

Carole Newlands, while calling Ovid's work "carnivalesque" believes that Anna

is a "dynamic figure" in Ovid's challenge of Augustan ideology.[63] Newlands argues that

the tale of Anna overturns Roman masculine *dignitas*, as it mocks Aeneas, the founder of

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[54] *Fasti* 3.565; *Aen.* 2.796ff.
[55] *Fasti* 3.566; *Aen.* 5.3-4.
[56] *Fasti* 3.567ff; *Aen.* 5.22ff.
[57] *Fasti* 3.577-78; *Aen.* 5.70-31.
[58] *Fasti* 3.5585-300; *Aen.* 1.81-123.
[59] *Fasti* 3.605; *Aen.* 1.157-222, 305ff.
[60] *Fasti* 3.611-24; *Aen.* 1.561-78.
[61] *Fasti* 3.646-54; *Metam.* 14.599ff; Livy 1.2.6; Dion. Hal. 1.64.
[62] Suet. *Jul*. 88 reports that the Ides would be called 'Parricidium' and no senate meetings were to be held. This nomenclature was not used on extant calendars- the Ides are only labeled as sacred to Anna Perenna; see *Fasti Vaticani* and *Fasti Farnesiani*: *Inscriptiones Italiae* 13.2, 12-3, 255. Wiseman 2019 p. 11 suggests that this labelling encouraged Ovid's presentation for the Ides, presuming that labelling the day 'Parricidium' would be "an inappropriate glorification." However, as Newlands 2019 p. 143 notes, the festival date and cult site of Anna Perenna changed "possibly under Tiberius" from March 15 to June 18 and from near the Mausoleum, an "ideologically charged location" to its present location at Piazza Euclide for political reasons, in order "to move Anna Perenna physically and metaphorically away from prime Julio-Claudian space."
[63] Newlands 1996 p. 321-22.

the Julian dynasty, especially since no other ancient source associates the deification of Anna Perenna with the Numicus River.[64] Similarly satirizing, Chiu argues that Aeneas in this passage is depicted as the stock character of the hen-pecked husband on the prowl for adultery, as is often portrayed in Roman comedy.[65] We may relate Ovid's Aeneas and Lavinia with Augustus and Livia by means of Aeneas' *litore dotali* (3.603). Augustus, like Aeneas, (re)married into a powerful family, and in the process gained property and alliances.[66] Ovid emphasizes this scenario in Aeneas' new life: *regno nataque Latini/ auctus erat, populus miscueratque duos* (3.601-602).[67] Another allusion to Livia through Lavinia, aside from the alliteration, is provided by Lavinia's *dissimulatio* in terms of her suspicions about Anna's relationship status with Aeneas, as she prepared a trap and wanted revenge (3.638). This mirrors an anecdote about Livia in which she claimed to have influence over Augustus by pretending to not notice his extra-marital affairs.[68] Moreover, if Tacitus' depiction of Livia is to be believed, Livia was also crafty and insincere, and capable of murder as an evil stepmother.[69] Likewise, Vito Sirago suggests that Livia was responsible for Augustus' change to more moderate behavior;[70] this may be mapped onto Lavinia's apparent influence over Aeneas in Ovid's passage, an influence that led to the demise/deification of Anna.

Anna Perenna's tale is linked to Claudia Quinta's through the latter's association with Cybele, who, like Anna, was a foreigner that arrived in Rome after a meandering

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[64] Newlands 1996 p. 325, 329. Barchiesi 1997 p. 123 sees this episode as Ovid's attempt at demilitarizing Augustan poetry.
[65] Chiu 2016 p. 80.
[66] Huntsman 2009 p. 123.
[67] "…he was enriched with the kingdom and daughter of Latinus, and he blended the two populations."
[68] Dio 58.2.5.
[69] Crafty: Tac. *Ann*. 5.1; evil stepmother: *Ann*. 1.3.3, 1.6.2, 1.33.3.
[70] Sirago 1979 p. 179-81.

journey, and who also was accepted as a Romanized deity after a struggle in a river. Claudia also was assumed to be sexually problematic until an interaction with a deity cleared her name.

Claudia Quinta

Although the *Fasti* is not the first source for Claudia Quinta, Ovid greatly embellished her story. The tradition of her involvement with the introduction of Magna Mater in Rome is briefly noted in Cicero's *Pro Caelio* (34), *On the Reponses of the Haruspices* (13.27), and in Livy's mention of the event (29.14.12). Cicero portrays Claudia as being chaste and pure, while Livy notes that her chastity was doubted. Livy probably wrote book 29 of his *Ab Urbe Condita* around 15 BCE,[71] placing Ovid's version of Claudia in the *Fasti* well after Livy's (*AUC* 29.14.12):

> inter quas (matronas) unius Claudiae Quintae insigne est nomen… cui dubia, ut traditur, antea fama clariorem ad posteros tam religioso ministerio pudicitiam fecit…

> "… among whom the name of Claudia Quinta alone is notable… as is said, her previously doubtful reputation became rather famous to posterity for chastity because of such solemn activity…"

Ovid's characterization (4.293-326) is much more developed than Livy's brief identification, prompting the reader to ponder the poet's motives or inspiration. Chiu sees Ovid's treatment as a challenge to Livy's use of *exempla*: "By presenting Claudia Quinta in this way, Ovid complicates the very idea of exemplarity: an exemplar is not only as an exemplar does, but also as she is publicly perceived, and the poet makes clear that

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[71] Littlewood 1981 p. 382 dates the fourth book of the Fasti to 3-4 CE. If we calculate the production of Livy's AUC at a rate of 3.3 books per year with a start date of c. 25 BCE, then book 29 would have been written roughly 17-15 BCE: Scheidel 2009 p. 657; Levick 2015 p. 26.

sometimes public perception can be completely wrong."[72] Ovid definitely expands on

Livy's presentation of Claudia; however, he does not disagree with the historian. Livy

states that Claudia's bad reputation was incorrect, remedied by her contact with the

goddess. Ovid does not change this aspect, but he does alter the situation in Rome at the

time of the goddess' arrival.

In Livy's account, the *optimus vir* Publius Cornelius Scipio is the focus and

Claudia is only mentioned briefly (see above paragraph); the purpose of the goddess'

arrival is to save Rome from Hannibal. The importation of the deity has been sanctioned

by the Sibylline Books and the oracle of Delphi (29.10.4-14.12). Ovid also describes the

introduction of Cybele in Rome in 204 BCE, after recounting her itinerary from Mount

Ida filled with Homeric and Vergilian destinations (4.277-289).[73] However, Scipio only

receives a two word nod (*Nasica accepit*, 4.347)[74] and the Carthaginian conflict is passed

over with Rome described as having already "raised her head over the conquered world"

(*edomito sustulit orbe caput*, 4.256), in contrast to Livy's expressed hope that Carthage

would be conquered that year (29.14.1).[75]

Livy reports that Scipio brought the Magna Mater to shore, where the matrons

passed her to her new home. Alternatively, Ovid, following Propertius (4.11.51-52),

claims that the barge of the goddess became stuck in the muddy Tiber (4.300), despite the

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[72] Chiu 2016 p. 42.

[73] Myers 2020 p. 403: Cybele's trip from Phrygian Ida to Rome links her to Aeneas; she wanted to join him: *cum Troiam Aeneas Italos portaret in agros/ est dea sacriferas paene secuta rates*, *Aen.* 4.251-52. Her ship is built from the same grove on Mt. Ida that Aeneas' was (*Aen.* 3.5-6, 4.273-4, 9.88-89). Littlewood 1981 p. 395 describes the journey as a "small purple patch."

[74] While using 'Scipio' instead of 'Nasica' would have kept the meter, it would have changed the sound of the elided verb. Alternatively, perhaps Ovid was avoiding the use of 'Scipio' since one of Julia's infamous entourage was a Cornelius Scipio.

[75] Ovid's Cybele serves the purpose of saving Claudia's reputation instead of saving Rome, and the goddess' Trojan/Roman background is essential for this: Barchiesi 1997 p. 196, Newlands 2002 p. 210, Chiu 2016 p. 62.

great effort of the men present. Enter the beautiful and noble Claudia Quinta, descended from Clausus, the Sabine who famously assisted Aeneas (creating an epic connection for the Julian and Claudian families).[76] Claudia is chaste, but rumored not to be because of her fancy clothing and fashionable hairstyle (4.307-309). When Claudia leaves the procession in order to achieve the miracle that proves her chastity, she first performs a ritual. She purifies herself with river water, pouring it over her head three times, and three times lifts her hands to heaven (4.315), to the incredulity of the crowd. On a bent knee Claudia prays to Cybele to yield the ship to her hand so she may prove herself pure, and if she is not, she will pay with her life. The goddess is moved, both figuratively and literally, and the rejoicing of the crowd reaches the stars (4.327-328). On the next day, Claudia is happy and most celebrated, *celeberrima* (4.343), a word which also may be translated as 'in a crowd' or 'frequented'; in a fine example of Ovidian cleverness, all of the loaded meanings of the author's word choice apply to Claudia. She accompanies the procession with her chastity proven by the goddess Cybele, who takes up residence in Rome as a new (yet ancestral) deity. The scene ends when Erato, the narrating Muse, says that Augustus restored her temple (4.348).[77]

Claudia's ritual purification reinforces her connection to Cybele and the *lavatio* of her image at the Almo River, which is described later in the poem (*Fasti* 4.337-340). This ritual is recorded on imperial calendars as occurring at a *sacellum* at the Almo on March 27th, but before the reign of Augustus it seems that it was performed at a tufa basin in front of the Magna Mater temple on the Palatine. The Augustan restoration of the temple

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[76] *Aen*. 7.706; 10.345.
[77] The temple of Magna Mater is across from Augustus' house, which is flanked by the temple of Apollo Palatinus and a shrine to Vesta (4.951-54).

after a fire in 3 CE may have been the occasion for the "Augustan innovation" suggested by Jaime Alvar Ezquerra, which Ovid could be emphasizing in his version of the story.[78] Ovid's highlight of a new practice and Claudia's mimicking of that practice connects the heroine to the goddess and to the *princeps*. When Claudia prays to the goddess, she addresses her as "*alma… genetrix,*" a title that is not only similar to the new site of the *lavatio*, but also could call to mind Venus Genetrix, the "ancestress of the gens Julia."[79] This leads to Claudia's association with Julia.

Connecting Claudia Quinta with Julia the Elder in terms of her attire and witticisms is not new, since even Augustus reportedly did so according to Macrobius (2.5.4: *…talem fuisse apud maiores Claudiam credere audebat*).[80] Just as Ovid's Claudia has snappy comebacks for stern old men (*ad rigidos promptaque lingua senes*, *Fasti* 4.310), Julia reportedly countered her father's comment that her outfit was more appropriate than on a previous day, with the remark that she was dressed for her father at the moment but was earlier dressed for her husband (Macr. 2.5.5). Similar to Julia's anecdotal link to Claudia Quinta, Livia has been associated with Cybele in a ceremonial way through her family, since she is a Claudian and her family has repeatedly sponsored

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[78] Alvar Ezquerra 2008 p.286; Iara 2015 p. 126-7, 276-77 n.9 lists archaeological bibliography. No *sacellum* has been discovered. Cybele's holiday in March begins and ends at the Almo River (*Canna intrat*, March 15; *Lavatio* March 27). Joseph 2012 p. 106-8 suggests that Vergil's death of Almo (*Aen*. 7.531-34) is connected to Cybele's *lavatio*. If he is correct, this would move up the date of the practice, but it still would be an Augustan innovation. The temple on the Palatine was dedicated by M. Junius Brutus in 191 (Livy 36.36.3), restored after a fire by "a Metellus" in 111 BCE and again by Augustus after another fire in 3 CE (Ovid *Fasti* 4.348). Sources recording the *lavatio*: Mart. 3.47.2, Lucan 1.600, Stat. *Silvae* 5.1.222-24, Val. Flac. *Argo*. 8.239-40, Amm. Marc. 23.3.7; cf. Dio 48.43.5, who claims the statue was bathed in the sea in 38 BCE.
[79] Fantham 1998 p. 157; Fantham 1998 p. 89 lists *alma* used for Cybele (*Aen*. 10.220, 252 and Ovid *Fasti* 4.319) and for Venus (Lucr. 1.1-2; Verg. *Aen*. 1.618, 2.664, 10.332; Ovid *Fasti* 4.1, 4.90; Ovid *Tr*. 2.261).
[80] Fantham 1998 p. 155-56 suggests that Ovid may have written this while in exile, since "the political implications of *falsi criminis acta rea est* are so controversial" (4.308). Chiu 2016 p. 45-46 aligns Claudia Quinta with Julia as depicted by Macrobius, as well as with Sallust's Sempronia (*BC* 25), and Livy's Minucia (8.15.7) and Postumia (4.44.11-12).

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the *Ludi Megalenses* in honor of Cybele.[81] Perhaps, Ovid's is a moral tale advising Romans to seek Livia's favor, just as Claudia prayed to Cybele. The possible allusion between Livia and Cybele warrants further analysis.

The Claudians

Livia could be of assistance to those deemed punishable by Augustus. She reportedly convinced her husband that Cn. Cornelius Cinna should be forgiven after his alleged conspiracy against the *princeps*.[82] Dio's version of the event portrays Livia as self-serving, however, since Cornelius Cinna was part of Tiberius' circle and his consulship in 5 CE could be beneficial to mother and son.[83] Following this perspective, it would not be in Livia's or Tiberius' best interest to assist Julia when she was exiled for adultery, since her alleged inappropriate behavior could improve Tiberius' unfavorable political standing. In 6 BCE, the people tried to elect Gaius as consul, despite being only fourteen; Augustus responded by giving him a priesthood, allowing him to attend senate meetings, and making him *Princeps Iuventutis* and the consul designate for 1 CE.[84] Tiberius was given tribunician power for five years, presumably to elevate him as well, but the people had shown their preference. Tiberius left for Rhodes, to the initial dismay of Augustus.

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[81] Littlewood 1981 p. 383: by Gaius Claudius in 99 BCE, his brother Appius Claudius in 91 BCE, and the infamous Clodius Pulcher in 56 BCE.

[82] Dio 55.14-22: conspiracy in Rome in 4CE, a discussion between Livia and Augustus about Cnaeus Cornelius; Sen. *Clem.* 1.9: conspiracy while Augustus was in Gaul 16-13 BCE, a discussion between Augustus and the conspirator Lucius Cinna. Shotter 1974 p. 307 states that Seneca was wrong about the praenomen, since Lucius Cinna was "in all probability" the half-brother of Cinna Magnus, and not descended from Pompey Magnus. Shotter p. 312 argues that Dio's date and placement are the correct ones. Levick 2010 p. 167 calls Dio's story 55.14-22 "flimsy."

[83] Adler 2011 p. 134 see Dio's Livia as consistently manipulative and self-serving. Adler lists scholars who think the anecdote was apocryphal and those who consider it historical on p. 138 n. 18 &19.

[84] Dio 55.9.5-9; Aug. *RG* 14.14.2.

The possible partiality for Gaius over Tiberius was not only in Rome. Oaths were taken in Samos and in Spain in 6/5BCE and in Paphlagonia in 3 BCE that expressed support for Augustus and "his children."[85] Barbara Levick suggests that these oaths swore loyalty specifically to the Julian house over the Domus Augusta that included Tiberius.[86] While the inscription from Samos has a religious connotation to it, those from Spain and Paphlagonia swear allegiance to the point of military action against Augustus' (and his sons') enemies. This oath shows a perceived (or imagined) threat, possibly from Tiberius, who at this time was out of favor with Augustus, but still held *imperium* and support from the troops.[87]

Julia's disgrace could have given Tiberius the chance to redeem himself, encouraging the perception that he left public life due to Julia's adulteries and not because of tension with Augustus and his (Julian) heirs.[88] The timing of the scandal better supports a political motive, however, since Gaius' proconsular imperium coincided with the end of Tiberius' tribunician power. Levick connects the proposed consulship of Gaius, perhaps encouraged by Julia and her supporters, with a letter that Julia wrote to Augustus complaining about her marriage to Tiberius as the driving forces behind Tiberius' departure.[89]

While a political motivation behind Julia's disgrace is suggested in some sources, Augustus did not make such a claim. It was more effective to exile Julia under the new marriage laws, thereby making his household an example, than risk rallying further

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[85] Samos: IG XII.6 1.7; Conobaria, Spain: AE 1988, 723; Gangra, Paphlagonia: EJ 315. In the inscription from Spain, support is promised to Gaius and Lucius, the sons of Augustus, and Agrippa his grandson. At Paphlagonia, allegiance is sworn to unnamed children and descendants.
[86] Levick 2010 p. 183, 2011 p. 250.
[87] Levick 2010 p. 184 sees it as a "cultivated image" of a threat by local authorities to show their support.
[88] Suet. *Tib*. 10.1; Tac. *Ann*. 1.53.2; Dio 55.9; Levick 1972 p. 797.
[89] The letter was encouraged by Sempronius Gracchus: Tac. *Ann*. 1.53.5; Levick 1972 p. 791-792.

support for her cause. As has been suggested in previous chapters with Fulvia and

Cleopatra, disparaging someone as a sexual deviant was standard procedure when trying

to diminish their reputation.[90] Julia's activities may not have been illegal (if we see her

meetings as merely that and not sexual in nature), but they would have been politically

challenging. Congregating at the symbolic Marsyas statue in the forum could signal a

push for political freedom from the current administrative policies.[91] The political move

is supported by the fact that her "lovers" included men from important families who

arguably would have benefitted from a return to the old ways of the republic (Iullus

Antonius, Quinctius Crispinus, Appius Claudius, Sempronius Gracchus, and Scipio),[92] in

addition to Tiberius' lengthy absence and pending end of tribunician power. Even with

her alleged adultery charge, the people still protested for her return. Agitated by the

requests, Augustus reportedly told them that fire would mix with water before he brought

her home; the people's response was to throw torches into the Tiber![93] One can only

imagine what the mob would have done if they thought she was exiled for challenging

the regime. Under the potentially politically challenging circumstances, it would not

serve Livia or Tiberius well if she advocated on behalf of Julia. Therefore, a possible

reference in beseeching the Great Mother must be found elsewhere.

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[90] Richlin 1992b; Hillard 1992.
[91] Levick 1972 p. 799-800. The Marsyas statue will be discussed further below.
[92] Vell. 2.100 supplies the names; for potential conspiracy: Dio 55.10.15; Pliny *NH* 7.149; Sen. *de Brev. Vit.* 4.6. Conspiracy supporters: Syme 1939 p. 427, 1955 p. 32; Balsdon 1962 p. 86 ff.; Bowersock 1965 p. 29; Levick 1972 p. 797-800; Wiedemann 1975 p. 267-628. Denying a plot: Bauman 1967 p. 200ff., 1992 p. 108-119; Raaflaub & Simons 1990 p. 428-430 suggest that instead of a conspiracy, it was a dynastic power struggle; against this I argue that the outcome would be the same, endangering Augustus, and so it is only a matter of semantics.
[93] Dio 55.13.1.

Scribonia as a Great Mother

To return to the *Fasti*, the description of the Great Mother getting stuck, *illa velut medio stabilis sedet insula ponto* (4.303), may be a reference to Scribonia and the island of Pandateria. Ovid's Claudia asks Magna Mater to come along with her to prove her innocence by emphatically repeating the chastity (*casta*) of 'mother' and 'daughter': … **castas casta sequere** *manus* (4.324). The goddess is moved by the request, emotionally and physically, thereby vindicating Claudia. In describing the goddess' action, Ovid twice repeats the verb 'follow'(*sequor*) used in the prayer: *mota dea est* **sequitur**que *ducem laudatque* **sequendo** (4.327). Perhaps the repeated use of *sequor* in one line for Magna Mater refers to Scribonia following Julia both to her exile on the island of Pandateria in 2 BCE and then to her reduced punishment in the town of Rhegium in 3/4 CE.[94] The latter year would correspond roughly with the restoration of the Magna Mater temple by Augustus after a fire, which left the statue of Claudia Quinta miraculously unharmed.[95] I suggest that Ovid connected the renewed interest and/or revised practices of the Magna Mater and Claudia with Julia's lessened punishment of being allowed to move to Rhegium.

Scribonia willingly accompanied her daughter, which Levick proposes showed "the lie to charges of adultery, and it displayed political solidarity."[96] The suggestion that Scribonia was trying to support and defend her daughter may be emphasized with Ovid's *laudatque sequendo*. Scribonia was well-connected politically, as the wife of two former

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[94] Vell. 2.100.5; *AE* 1975 (1978) n. 286; Linderski 1988 p. 194-99.
[95] The statue was reportedly unharmed after both fires of 111 BCE and of 3 CE. Val. Max. 1.8.11, Tac. *Ann*. 4.64. Fantham 1998 p. 161: Augustus' temple restoration is one of the latest dates mentioned in the *Fasti*.
[96] Dio 55.10.14; Levick 1972 p. 799; Schmitzer 1990 p. 88.

consuls; also, her son was a consul and her daughter was eulogized by Propertius.[97] We

know that Scribonia was involved in politics and presumably disliked Tiberius. In 16 CE

she unsuccessfully tried to convince her grand-nephew M. Scribonius Libo that he should

not commit suicide to avoid trial for his alleged conspiracy against Tiberius.[98] She must

have been in her 80s at the time, and Julia had died two years earlier, possibly caused by

the new emperor.[99]

Prayers in vain

Unlike Claudia Quinta, Julia was not exonerated from her supposed adulteries by

her mother's support; she was condemned for *maiestas*, and her male companions were

punished. Iullus Antonius was executed for his involvement with Julia,[100] and

Sempronius Gracchus was exiled and later executed in the early days of Tiberius' reign

for undermining the new emperor.[101] *Maiestas*, it should be noted, is presented by Ovid

as a Roman goddess who commands order over both humans and deities (*Fasti* 5.25-52).

Aside from this reference, there is only a single known inscription that calls *Maiestas* a

goddess (CIL3.449). According to Nicola Mackie, Ovid's depiction of a divine *maiestas*

highlights the new status given to this concept in the Augustan regime, with a nod to the

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[97] According to Leon 1951 p. 169, the first husband was Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, cos 56 BCE (Dio 36.16.3), and the second husband was L. Cornelius Lentulus, cos suff 38 BCE (CIL 12 p. 65, PIR 2².355). Scheid 1976 p. 485-91 suggests instead that Cornelius Marcellinus was her second husband. This aligns with Suet. *Aug*. 62.2: *Mox Scriboniam in matrimonium accepit nuptam ante duobus consularibus, ex altero etiam matrem*. There is also an inscription that lists her son by Marcellinus, CIL 6.26033: *Libertorum et familiae Scriboniae Caes. et Corneli Marcell. f. eius*. Propertius 4.11 eulogized Cornelia.
[98] Tac. *Ann*. 2.27; Sen. *Ep*. 70.10; Linderski 1988 p. 199.
[99] Tac. *Ann*. 1.53.3 says she died from *inopia ac tabe*, suggesting that her allowance from Augustus had been discontinued upon his death.
[100] Tac. *Ann*. 4.44.3; adultery with imperial women was considered treason, *Ann*. 3.24; Vell. 2.100.4 instead says Iullus committed suicide.
[101] Tac. *Ann*. 1.5.

charges against Julia and Iullus Antonius.[102] Julia reportedly cheated on, or threatened the legitimacy of, a Claudian and therefore was punished.

Guilt and deserved punishment hold prominent positions for Cybele. This is exemplified when her attendant Attis castrates himself in a frenzy screaming that he deserves his penalty: *Merui! Meritas do sanguine poenas*.[103] Alternatively, as has been mentioned, Claudia claims that she is chaste but will pay the fatal penalty if condemned by the goddess: *si tu damnas, meruisse fatebor;/ morte luam poenas iudice victa dea* (4.321-322). Both worshippers directly address the goddess in exclamation; one is guilty, one is falsely charged. I suggest that Ovid alludes to Julia and to her recently reduced punishment in his expanded portrayal of Claudia Quinta, thereby advocating that she should be completely vindicated because she is, in fact, chaste, if only politically challenging.

In addition to their Julio-Claudian associations, both Claudia and Anna are hounded by a rumor, which Ovid then sets straight. While *fama* appears eleven times in the *Fasti*, *rumor* only appears three times, two of which relate to these personae.[104] If we conflate the two tropes of wandering and rumors, perhaps Ovid is subliminally addressing the problem of exile that is unduly caused by unfair reports. Both Anna and Claudia are falsely suspected of unchaste behavior, and both are vindicated, albeit in very different ways, as Anna becomes a nymph and Claudia is enshrined as a primary example of the proper Roman matron. Why did Ovid compose their stories in a manner that is

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[102] Mackie 1992 p. 91-93.

[103] *Fasti* 4.239: "I have earned it! I pay the deserved penalty with blood."

[104] *Fama*: 2.203, 2.379, 2.380, 2.809, 3.167, 3.662, 4.156, 4.311, 5.85, 5.625, 6.557. *Rumor*: 3.543, introducing the saga of Carthaginian Anna; 4.307, for the rumor that harms Claudia's reputation; 6.527: used for Ino, who also travelled westward to be Romanized. Ino, the mythological murderous stepmother turned Roman deity (Mater Matuta) could also play into this conversation of potential imperial allegories in the *Fasti*, following Tacitus' depiction of Livia mentioned in this paper.

more complex than previous versions? While we may never know the answer

definitively, we may conjecture that Ovid was speaking on behalf of those falsely

accused, as well as against their prosecutors. In his politically sensitive time, one is

tempted to see a defense of Julia the Elder, and perhaps even of Ovid himself, albeit

ambiguously enough composed that Ovid's fans would enjoy the cleverness without the

danger of offending his detractors. As shown with the examples of Anna and Claudia

Quinta, perceived guilt is sometimes a misperception. Ovid remarks when describing

how Claudia laughed off the lies because she was sure of her innocence, that "a charge

was made of a false crime… but we, the crowd, are prone to believe in sins."[105]

Unfortunately for Ovid and Julia, the gods on the Palatine Hill did not save them from

exile.

Art & Artists

Why would Ovid place protests allegorically in his poetry? Aside from the

obvious answer that it was an artistic trend to cleverly follow the Alexandrian examples

of playing with *exempla* and allegories in poetry, it is likely that Ovid cloaked his

complaints in coded mythical references in such a way that Augustus' supporters would

enjoy the poetry and the poet's fans would get the gist. Unlike the sympathetic portrayal

of an enemy's demise portrayed by Vergil, Ovid's coded depictions more directly

challenge the *maiestas* of Augustus. Along with the moral reforms confronted by the poet

comes an increase of restrictions on artistic expression. These restrictions are not

specifically a question of legality, but consequences were suffered by those who pushed

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[105] *Fasti* 4.308-12: *falsi criminis acta rea est… sed nos in vitium credula turba sumus…*

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their words too far. Examples of those punished include the poet Cassius Parmensis and the historian Timagenes of Alexandria, both of Vergil's generation, and the orators Titus Labienus and Cassius Severus, contemporaries of Ovid whose books were burned.[106] Ovid repeatedly portrays artists being punished for challenging the gods, which shows his awareness of the risks involved in openly defying the *princeps*. While Ovid describes the punishment of several artists, two examples in particular seem autobiographical for Ovid, that of Arachne and of Marsyas.[107]

Arachne

In the contest between Arachne and Minerva (*Met*. 6.1-145), the two compete by weaving twenty-nine vivid scenes into their tapestries: Arachne depicts gods in disguise raping women, while Minerva shows gods punishing humans. Combined, their tapestries mimic the narrative of the epic *Metamorphoses.* What is most striking about Arachne, aside from her harsh punishment, is that Ovid calls her *popularis* (6.150) when reporting that Niobe did not learn to yield to the gods from Arachne's example. *Popularis* was a very loaded word during the century before Octavian became Augustus, a label worn with pride by some politicians but used derogatively by the optimates to refer to those who were considered dangerously popular and supportive of the lower classes. Arachne was a small-town girl whose art made her famous; this could relate to Ovid[108] or to non-

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[106] As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the seriousness of artistic oppression is debated. Repression: Syme 1939 p. 486, 1959 p. 72; criticism expressed through multi-referential allusions: Levick 2010 p. 251-300. Raaflaub & Sammons 1990 p. 441-454 are dismissive of Syme's analysis, doubting expressed opposition to Augustus.

[107] Other examples include the Emathides, the Minyads, and Orpheus. Lateiner 1984; Solodow 1988; Johnson 1997, 2008; Rosati 1999; Theodorakopoulos 1999; Oliensis 2004; Williams 2009.

[108] Lateiner 1984 p. 7: "The suffering artists of the poem, such as the artistically invincible Arachne, are surrogates for the stubborn Ovid himself."

elite artists in general. Arachne's punishment demonstrates "the problematic relationship

between artist and power… on the brutality with which power exercises its authority over

the artist's ambitions for autonomy."[109] Joseph Solodow relates the destruction of

Arachne's tapestry to a burned book;[110] destroying someone's text could be considered

the worst possible punishment, since Ovid avers that his work will live on, and he

through it: *iamque opus exegi, quod ne Iovis ira nec ignis/ nec poterit ferrum nec edax

abolere vetusta*s (*Met*. 15. 871-872).

Marsyas

An artist depicted by Ovid who even more closely resonates with the poet is

Marsyas, the satyr who famously challenged Apollo to a music contest and was flayed

when he lost. In the earliest extant Greek account, Melanippus of Melos (fl. c. 480 BCE)

disparaged the Phrygian flutes in his *Marsyas*,[111] perhaps as a reaction to the Persian

War. Later in the 5th century, a statue group by Myron was set on the Acropolis depicting

Athena hitting Marsyas for using her discarded pipes.[112] Changes in interpretation about

the story occur early: Telestes of Selinous (c. 400 BCE) challenged the story that Athena

would care about how the flutes made her face look.[113] Neither Herodotus nor Xenophon

elaborate on Marsyas' characteristics, they merely associate his loss in the contest to

Apollo and his death with the location of the Marsyas River. The satyr's musicianship is

attested to by Plato's Alcibiades, who compares Socrates' speaking skills with Marsyas'

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[109] Rosati 1999 p. 251; Lateiner 1984.
[110] Solodow 1988 p. 229.
[111] Ath. *Deip*. 14.616E.
[112] Paus. 1.24.1.
[113] Ath. *Deip*. 14.606B ff.

playing, in that both entice their listeners.[114] Diodorus Siculus recounts that Marsyas was

intelligent and chaste, and later writers provide an expanded account in which Apollo

must outwit Marsyas to win.[115] The changes in perspective of Marsyas in Greek literature

have been connected to the political environment of the author; this process continues in

the Roman versions, as well.[116]

Ovid's Marsyas is one of the earliest extant depictions in Latin literature.[117] Ovid

provides a concise account in *Fasti* 6.697-710, summarized by Minerva from the

invention of the flute to the establishment of the holiday *Quinquatrus*. Marsyas, as an

unnamed satyr, makes only a brief appearance as he finds the instrument, learns how to

play it, is arrogant towards the nymphs, challenges Apollo and is punished, all in 6 lines

(6.703-708). The repetition of p's and the juxtaposition of Phoebum/Phoebo (6.707) is

striking as the challenged god punishes the unnamed Marsyas:

> inventam satyrus primum miratur et usum
>   nescit; at inflatam sentit habere sonum;
> et modo dimittit digitis, modo concipit auras.
>   iamque inter nymphas arte superbus erat:
> provocat et Phoebum. Phoebo superante pependit;
>   caesa recesserunt a cute membra sua.

In *Metamorphoses* 6.382-400, Ovid reduces the lead-up to the punishment into slightly

over one line: *satyri… /quem Tritoniaca Latous harudine victim/ adfecit poena* (*Met*.

6.383-385). Marsyas' flaying is described in bloody detail as he screams in pain and

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[114] Plato *Symp*. 215, though Alcibiades also says Socrates is ὑβριστὴς like a satyr!
[115] Diod. 3.58; Apollodorus 1.4.2 and Hyginus *Fab*. 165 report that Apollo played an upside-down lyre, which Marsyas could not do with his flute; Hyginus *Fab*. 191 claims that Marsyas was deemed the winner by Midas, who then had his ears changed into those of a donkey by Apollo.
[116] Diodorus, as a Sicilian writing in Greek during the time of Caesar and Augustus, is a liminal author. Small 1982; Rawson 1987; Niżyńska 2001; Fantham 2005.
[117] Livy 38.13.6 mentions the river as the location of the contest; Hor. *Sat*. 1.6.120, Pliny *NH* 21.6, Mart. *Ep*. 2.64, Sen. *de Ben*. 6.32 and Juv. *Sat*. 9.2 all mention the statue in the Forum. Marsyas is depicted much earlier in art than in literature in Italy, as shown by a *cista* from Praeneste depicting Marsyas and Cybele.

repentance, and he is not named until the eponymous river is formed by his friends' tears at the end of the episode.

Many scholars have related Marsyas with Ovid,[118] correctly I believe, especially if we see a foreshadowing of the poet's downfall in *arte superbus erat* (*Fasti* 6.706). Another connection may be suggested: Ovid's description of Marsyas' punishment could be related to Julia the Elder's downfall. The statue of Marsyas in the forum was reportedly crowned by Julia and her friends, much to the dismay of Augustus.[119] While Ovid's Marsyas is centered on the music contest, the satyr also has connections to Cybele and to Liber.[120] The statue in the forum prominently exhibited an alternate ending to the story, an Etrusco-Italic ending, in which Liber rescued Marsyas, one of his companions and the inventor of augury, from the punishment of Apollo.[121] The statue is lost but depictions remain on the coinage of L. Marcius Censorinus (Figure 25) and on the Anaglypha Traiani. As *comparanda*, similar statues appeared in the *fora* of free cities,[122] and an example has been found in Paestum.[123]

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[118] Leach 1974; Lateiner 1984; Newlands 1995, *et al*.

[119] Pliny *NH* 21.6.

[120] Pausanias 10.30.9 reports that Marsyas was a devout companion of Cybele and was the author of her flute-song, which saved Phrygia from invading Gauls.

[121] Servius *ad Aen.* 3.20.10 claims Marsyas was *in tutela Liberi Patris est.* Niżyńska 2001 and Small 1982 discuss Marsyas' Etrusco-Italic story.

[122] Servius *ad Aen.* 3.20.10: *in liberis civitatibus simulacrum Marsyae erat, qui in tutela Liberi patris est.*

[123] Small 1982 p. 83-84, 131; Coarelli 1985 p. 95-100. For images see Small 1982 figure 27 and Coarelli 1985 figures 13-17.

Figure 25: RRC 363.1d. Silver denarius, 82 BCE. OBV: Laureate head of Apollo. REV: L·CENSOR: Marsyas walking with right arm raised and holding wine-skin over left shoulder; behind, column bearing statue of Victory. ANS 1948.19.113, American Numismatic Society, accessed August 1, 2021, http://numismatics.org/collection/1948.19.113

The statue on the coin represents a nude male carrying a wineskin over his left shoulder, his right arm raised over his head, and wearing travelling boots. The statue in Paestum stands in the same pose, but lacks the wineskin and he has shackles on his ankles, which are not visible on the coin. In the Republican period, his posture was interpreted as augural, in that he was scanning the skies for signs in order to purify the land.[124] By performing this rite of exauguration, the land became *libera* (free) from prior religious claims in order to introduce new deities or temples. This meaning of *libera* in association with Marsyas changed over time, denoting a more civic sense of freedom as stated by Servius 4.58: *unde etiam Marsyas, eius minister, est in civitatibus, in foro positus, libertatis indicium, qui erecta manu testatur nihil urbi deesse.*[125] The coinage of L. Marcius Censorinus (82 BCE) could commemorate both aspects of Marsyas, augural and civic *libertas*, since the statue was erected by C. Marcius Rutilius Censorinus c. 294 BCE in honor of the laws against *nexum* (debt slavery) and for his families' plebeian

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[124] Niżyńska 2001 p. 158; Small 1982 p. 77-8 suggests that Marsyas' hand gesture indicates the watching of bird signs; Livy 1.55.2-4 reports that the bird signs show divine approval for the land to be used for the Jupiter Optimus Maximus temple as free (*libera*) from all other religious claims.
[125] Servius *ad Aen.* 4.58: "… where also Marsyas, his (Bacchus') minister, is a sign of liberty in cities, placed in the forum, who with his raised hand testifies that nothing is lacking in the city." Macr. *Sat.* 3.12 is almost identical.

accomplishments. Rutilius' father was the first plebeian dictator and censor, and Rutilius

was one of the first plebeian augurs.[126] Marsyas' statue seems to have been

recontextualized in the Augustan period, and his location next to the tribunal for the

foreign praetor may have contributed.[127] The satyr's new association with civic freedom

was tied to the *princeps*, since the freedom granted to a *civitas* had to be approved by

him.

It is important that Marsyas' association with religious prophesying changed to a

political/civic connotation under Augustus because divination was consolidated under

Apollo as part of the *princeps'* religious restorations. Doubtful or challenging religious

texts were destroyed during this process. Suetonius reports that Augustus burned more

than 2,000 prophetic writings of "little repute" and even some of the Sibylline texts,

placing what he deemed fit under the pedestal of the Palatine Apollo.[128] During the

Republic, powerful Romans could employ augurs or become one themselves; Augustus'

reformation removed this opportunity and all access.[129] Likewise, Marsyas' religious

status had been appropriated, leaving him as merely Apollo's challenger. This depiction

worked to the advantage of the *princeps*, whose patron deity violently suppressed his

challenger.[130] This vengeful Apollo is depicted in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a text in which

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[126] Morstein-Marx 2004 p. 99 warns that the depiction of the satyr could just be a pun on the moneyer's
name. For the statue, see Torelli 1982 p. 99-106 and Coarelli 1985 p. 91-119. Acron and Porphyry *ad Hor
Sat*. 1.6.120.
[127] Niżyńska 2001 p. 158, citing the discussion of *libertas* in Syme 1939 p. 152.
[128] Niżyńska 2001 p. 159, Small 1982 p. 97, 110. Suet. *Aug*. 31.1.
[129] Niżyńska 2001 p. 159 n.14. Augustus became an augur in 42 BCE and proudly listed it among his many
priesthoods in *RG* 7: *pontifex maximus, augur, quindecimvirum sacris faciundis, septemvirum epulonum,
frater arvalis, sodalis Titius, fetialis fui.*
[130] Interestingly, the painting *Marsyas Religatus* by Zeuxis of Heraclea was displayed in the nearby Temple
of Concord- Pliny *NH* 35.66. We do not know exactly when this piece was placed here, in position to
visually challenge the *libertas* of the forum statue, but the temple was vowed by Tiberius in 7 BCE and
dedicated in 10 CE as a symbol of harmony in the imperial family. The message of the painting could have
been loaded.

he also appears selfish and lustful; the author seems to be mocking the patron god of Augustus as a coded rebuttal to the increasing religious, political, and artistic restrictions in Rome.

In Diodorus Siculus' version of the mythical contest, Apollo regrets his harsh treatment of Marsyas and refrains from music for a while (5.75.3); this addition to the story seems to originate in the latter half of the 1st century BCE.[131] Apollo's remorse only allows him to redeem himself, as it is too late for Marsyas, unless we recall the Etrusco-Italic rescue by Liber. Perhaps, by crowning Liber's freed companion, Julia's clique was trying to remind Augustus of his patron god's regret after violently suppressing competition. Unfortunately, this imagery may have been too politically loaded for a happy ending; Liber/Dionysus was the patron deity of Mark Antony,[132] and the most prominent of Julia's accomplices was his son Iullus. There is no remorse from Ovid's Apollo nor rescue for the satyr, only a swift punishment (*Fasti* 6.707) and the gory description of Marsyas' torture and death (*Met.* 6.382-400); like Ovid's artistic challenger, Julia and Iullus Antony paid dearly for their provocative behavior (*provocat et Phoebum…*).

Family Strife Continues…

The political posturing of the members of Augustus' household, as mentioned, seems to have been centered around the promotion of Julia's off-spring versus that of Livia's son, Tiberius. Even while Julia was in exile, her remaining children seemingly

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[131] Small 1982 p. 103.
[132] Fantham 2005 p. 221 notes that after a fire in 31 BCE destroyed the temple area of Ceres, Liber, and Libera, Augustus left it in ruins until there was a famine and then he restored it.

continued to oppose the advancement of Tiberius, and the familial discord was continued

after Julia's demise by her mother, Scribonia. Dio reports that after Tiberius returned

from his exile on Rhodes, he visited Rome frequently during his military campaign in

Germany because he was concerned that Augustus would promote someone else in his

absence.[133] Levick suggests that tensions arose from partisans of Julia the Younger and

Agrippa Postumus.[134] These two eventually paid the price for their machinations when

they were exiled by Augustus. Julia the Younger suffered the same reputation and fate as

her mother. Her husband, L. Aemilius Paullus, was not only a grandson of Scribonia and

a half-cousin of his wife,[135] but also a first-cousin to one of the elder Julia's lovers,

Scipio; his pedigree may contribute to his connection with a conspiracy against Augustus

in 6 CE.[136] There were reportedly plans for revolution and bulletins were posted at night

by a certain Rufus, who was acting on behalf of "others." The population was

disconcerted by damage from a fire and flooding, a famine, raised taxes, and a troop-

depleting revolt in Pannonia; the people seemed ready for change.[137] The "others"

presumably included Aemilius Paullus,[138] and possibly Julia the Younger and Agrippa

Postumus.[139] Aemilius Paullus was exiled for his conspiratorial behavior in 6 CE, and

while it has been suggested that he was executed, that date is too early, since he was

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[133] Dio 55.27.5. Suet. *Tib.* 13 reports that Tiberius felt he was in physical danger from Gaius' associates while he was at Rhodes.

[134] Levick 1976 p. 326-27.

[135] Aemilius Paullus, PIR [2] A 391, son of Paullus Aemilius Lepidus cos 34 BCE and Cornelia, a daughter of Scribonia. Levick 1976 p. 303 notes that Aemilius Paullus was a cousin of the Scipio who was an accused adulterer of Julia the Elder.

[136] However, one must not assume that all family members follow the same political path- Paullus' brother, M. Lepidus, was a trusted friend and general for Tiberius.

[137] Conspiracy with Plautius Rufus: Suet. *Aug.* 19.1; Dio 55.27.1-2; Levick 1976 p. 329-30 and Birch 1981 p. 451 connect Rufus to Aemilius Paullus, Julia, and Postumus. See also Dettenhofer 2000 p. 195-97. Taxes: Dio 55.25.4-6, 56.28.4-6.

[138] Suet. *Aug.* 19.1.

[139] Norwood 1963 p. 158-59; Levick 1976 p. 329-30; Birch 1981 p. 451.

replaced as an Arval Brother in May 14 CE.[140] The Arval Brethren met annually and its

members were appointed for life and remained brothers even if exiled; therefore, he must

have died during the year prior to his replacement. If Aemilius Paullus was alive but

exiled, Julia's charge of adultery with Decimus Junius Silanus in 7/8 CE would be more

logical;[141] if he was already dead the charge is problematic. Of course, the accusation of

adultery may have been an easy way to avoid the embarrassment of a conspiring family

member.

Similar to the charges of promiscuity in women, claims of someone having a

defective character may imply a political difficulty.[142] Allegations ranging from stupidity

to insanity are timeless political ploys to discredit a rival. Dio reports that Agrippa

Postumus had a violent temper and a visceral dislike for Livia, accused Augustus of

misappropriating his inheritance, and referred to himself as 'Neptune' while frequently

fishing in the bay of Naples.[143] Postumus was relegated to his villa near Surrentum, and

was later banished by senatorial decree to the island Planasia with an armed guard,

suggesting a scenario more serious than just an unpleasant personality.[144] In the year of

his banishment (7 CE), the elections were so problematic (ἐστασιάζετο) that Augustus

personally appointed magistrates; the *princeps'* involvement may indicate political

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[140] Smith 1875 *Dictionary of Greek & Roman Antiquities* entry on 'arval brethren;' *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* 1.10-17 (Henzen 1874 p. 29-30) states that Fabius Maximus and Augustus left letters of recommendation for Drusus, son of Tiberius, to replace Aemilius Paullus at the meeting on May 14, 14 CE. The vote by letter seems to support the story that Augustus visited Postumus on Planasia around this time (Suet. *Aug.* 97); Tac. *Ann.* 1.5 reports the gossip that Fabius told his wife Marcia about the trip, who then told Livia, and Fabius died soon after, causing Marcia to feel guilty. Jameson 1975 p. 310; Levick 2014 p. 188.

[141] Tac. *Ann.* 3.24.3; Wardle 2014 p. 417 places Paullus' death in 6 CE.

[142] Tac. *Ann.* 1.3-4; Suet. *Aug.* 65; Vell. 2.112 is the harshest, but as noted by Detweiler 1970 p. 290, the author was "a staunch supporter of Tiberius." Political implications: Detweiler 1970 p. 290; Birch 1981 p. 448.

[143] Dio 55.32.

[144] Tac. *Ann.* 1.3; Suet. *Aug.* 65; Dio 55.32.

intrigues supporting Postumus, echoing the electoral situation that surrounded his older brother Gaius in 6 BCE.[145]

It has been suggested that Postumus' association with Neptune hints at his aspirations to follow in his father Agrippa's footsteps[146] or that the nickname alludes to possible attempts to rally the fleet at Misenum.[147] Perhaps poetic echoes of his life and disgrace may be seen in the Mestra episode of the *Metamorphoses*: Neptune changes Mestra into a fisherman, temporarily saving her from her father. Mestra's disguise could correlate with the reported attempt by L. Audasius and Q. Asinius Epicadus to free Postumus and his mother Julia in order to use them as a rallying point for the armies.[148] The connection with the fleet at Misenum may form a link to this allegation.

Another correlation could be loosely made with Neptune's son Polyphemus, who appears in a wall painting in the so-called Villa of Agrippa Postumus in Boscotrecase, a short distance from the family's villa on the Sorrento coastline (Figure 27).[149] The painting depicts Polyphemus twice in one rocky landscape: on one side he stares longingly at the nymph Galatea, and on the other he throws a boulder at Odysseus/Ulysses. The paintings in this room have been dated stylistically to Postumus' possible time at the villa (Third Style, late 1st c. BCE/ early 1st c. CE), though they may

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[145] Dio 55.34.2; Levick 1976 p. 332.
[146] Pappano 1941 p. 30ff.
[147] Levick 1976 p. 333; on p. 335: "a fishing trip to Misenum … was manifestly treasonable."
[148] Suet. *Aug*. 19.2. Levick 1976 p. 337 suggests Suetonius' mistake is geographical, placing the event in late 7 CE and thereby allowing Younger Julia to be involved in the plan; this would contribute to her downfall. Pappano 1941 p. 41 instead places the rescue mission in 14 CE as a last effort to gain control as Augustus' health was failing. The rallying potential of Agrippa is exemplified with the scathing letter forged in his name by Junius Novatus about Augustus (Suet. *Aug*. 51.1). After the deaths of Augustus and Postumus, the youth still haunted Tiberius, when Postumus' slave Clemens impersonated him and rallied "many to his cause" in Gaul and Italy. Clemens was captured and tortured by Tiberius, who asked him how he became Agrippa; he retorted, "the same way you became Caesar" (Dio 57.16.).
[149] The painting is currently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/250946. It is discussed by Pappalardo 2009 p. 134.

have been completed as part of a renovation project by the new owners of the villa shortly after Postumus' exile. If the latter situation is true, perhaps the painting choice was meant as a reference to Postumus.

Figure 26: Boscotrecase, Villa of Agrippa Postumus c. 11-7 BCE. Room 19, west wall: Polyphemus and Galatea. The Metropolitan Museum of Art,gallery 166, Accession 20.192.17. Retrieved from https://images.metmuseum.org/CRDImages/gr/original/DP138763.jpg.

The episodes about Polyphemus depicted here are the only two that appear in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,[150] the text that the poet would have finished shortly after the time of Postumus' exile. This possible sequence of events only allows a year for Ovid to have added this story in reference to the sea bound Postumus, because the poet was exiled in late 8 CE, perhaps in related circumstances.[151] However, there are two parts of Polyphemus' rant to Galatea that could remind a reader of Postumus, the son of Neptune's favorite, Marcus Agrippa. The first part is probably coincidental; anticipating

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[150] Galatea, *Met*. 13. 744ff; encounter with Odysseus/Ulysses *Met*. 14 167ff.
[151] Norwood 1963 p. 158-9 suggests Julia hired Ovid to teach the uncouth Postumus, and the poet witnessed their scheming; Levick 1976 p. 336 cites the anonymous work Περὶ τοῦ Καισαρείου γένους to claim that Ovid witnessed Julia's marriage to Silanus, angering Augustus.

Tacitus remarks that Postumus was brutishly bold in his physical strength, Ovid's

Polyphemus brags repeatedly about his size and power.[152] This boast brings us to the

second part, since, while bragging, Polyphemus challenges Jupiter in a tantalizingly

subversive way (13.857): *quique Iovem et caelum sperno et penetrabile fulmen*.[153]

Polyphemus' statement is reminiscent of Ovid's description of his exile (*Trist*. 1.72):

venit in hoc illa fulmen ab arce caput. These anecdotes and the suggested literary

references to them, like many others posited in this study, are not entirely provable. The

proposed correlations are a matter of reception: a viewer of the villa's paintings, and

possibly a reader of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, could infer echoes of Postumus in the

depictions of Polyphemus.

Conclusion

As has been shown throughout this chapter, the last two decades of Augustus' rule

were fraught with familial tension over succession. This friction is woven into Ovid's

final two works, the *Fasti* and the *Metamorphoses*, like Arachne's tapestry, along with a

sense of the pending downfall for the outspoken artist. By analyzing the historiographical

sources, we can see the biographical layer hinted at under the mythological accounts

depicted by Ovid. The poet placed his complaints about the harshly changing

environment in Rome under a protective allegorical cover to express his observations

safely. Unfortunately for Ovid, the allegories may not have been lost on Augustus, and

this may have contributed to the *princeps'* ire against the poet, leading to the latter's exile

in 8 CE, the year he finished the *Metamorphoses* but only half of the *Fasti*.

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[152] Tac. Ann. 1.3: *robore corporis stolide ferocem*; Ovid *Met*. 13.842-69.
[153] "(I) who scorn Jupiter and his heaven and piercing lightning bolt."

Epilogue

I hope to have demonstrated that opposition to Octavian and to his establishment of the Principate was ubiquitous, taking many forms and originating from all social strata, even from his own household. After the taxonomy of resistance, I surveyed what I perceived as coded depictions of sympathy or support for those who died or were disgraced as part of Augustus' climb to power. I suggest that appreciating subtexts and coded depictions in literature may provide deeper understanding of contemporary events from the period, especially since many of our sources are biased, lacking, and/or were written centuries after the events they describe. I hypothesize that by deciphering clues in Augustan poetry through an integrated approach using maps and material culture, we may gain a more accurate contemporary perspective that is sometimes not readily available in our historiographic sources.

The case studies for the literary portion of this research included Vergil's Camilla and Palinurus in the *Aeneid*, Ovid's Daphne in the *Metamorphoses*, and an assemblage of episodes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* that potentially represent familial strife over the newly established hereditary power in the *domus Augusta*. I feel that a case has been made that Vergil, in his depictions of Camilla and Palinurus, expressed appreciation for the efforts of Fulvia and Sextus Pompey in advocating for those who lost their land or were placed on the proscription list during the Triumviral period. For very personal reasons, Vergil could relate to those who failed in their resistance to Octavian. Some of

the poet's highly regarded peers, most famously Horace, fought on the opposing side at Philippi, and Vergil lost his family farm in the subsequent land confiscations. Vergil is quite relevant for the present study because he is especially adept at depicting multifaceted people with complex associations. Therefore, the poet brilliantly analyzes and narrates events and stories from people with diverse perspectives.

Conflicting portrayals of past events influenced the chapter on Ovid's Daphne. My research proposes that Daphne may be satirically linked to Cleopatra VII's demise, since Octavian adapted and epically recast his victory over the queen after failing to keep her for his triumph, just as Apollo improvised and claimed his new triumphal tree in place of a 'wife.' Maria Wyke observes that the "Cleopatra of Augustan poetry can be read as part of a narrative of Actium and Alexandria which turns Roman civil war into a heroic Caesar's fight against tyranny, female dominance, and the perils of the Orient."[1] I suggest that Ovid was pushing back against negative literary and artistic portrayals by mocking the *princeps'* patron god in his fumbled pursuit of Daphne, the soon-to-be laurel crown.[2] During Augustus' reign, Egyptian art became a trend and had a significant impact on Roman monumental and domestic art,[3] even though the worship of Isis was banned inside the city;[4] this dichotomy may have added some fuel to Ovid's artistic fire.

The final chapter continued with Ovid's coded portrayals, examining stories about the downfall of heirs, the punishment of rebellious daughters, and accusations of alleged adultery presented in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*. By changing details from earlier

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[1] Wyke 1992 p. 112.
[2] Mader 2009 p. 24 sums up the tone of the depiction: "Ovid's comically inept Apollo… is used… to articulate the poetics of *Metamorphoses*- a poetics of transgressing and destabilizing epic norms."
[3] Wyke 1992 p. 127.
[4] Wyke 1992 p. 105: the altar of Isis on the Capitoline was destroyed by order of a *senatus consultum* in 28 BCE and Augustus banned worship of Isis inside the *pomerium*; in 21 BCE her cult practices were banned within one mile of the city.

versions of the episodes in a manner that challenges Augustus' authority and dynastic arrangements, Ovid expresses, mythologically, a sense of condemnation about the machinations of the Augustan household and the sensitive political environment. While Ovid's allusions to the imperial family are coded, the poet's angst about being punished for his art is palpable in his gory depictions of artists being condemned by the gods. Marsyas' bloody demise after challenging Apollo exemplifies Ovid's fear of angering Augustus.

In light of the connection between physical art and poetry suggested in this work, material evidence was used to support my literary analyses. This particular practice has been applied by scholars previously, but I have also utilized geography in terms of generic landscape types and specific locations to further connect the texts we have with the three-dimensional world of the Romans. Including topography in a 'close reading' is not commonly used by literary critics,[5] but I endorse the use of maps as a necessary tool for fuller understanding of the texts at hand. We are more readily capable of comparing maps, artefacts, and literary references than scholars in the past by means of technology; my use of digital scholarship for this project, particularly in the area of mapping, shows an important application for literary scholars and ancient historians.

Maps are included to illustrate the correlating locations for Camilla's territory and the land confiscations after the battle of Philippi. Maps are also used to elucidate geographical similarities between Palinurus' exploits and the naval operations of Sextus Pompey and Octavian. Topographical comparisons are made for Daphne's flight to her river-father and Cleopatra's for her fatherland river. Additional parallels are suggested for

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[5] Farrell 1998 p. 118. Notably Stahl (1998) and McKay (1970, 1984, 1998) make topographical associations in their analyses, as I have discussed throughout this work.

the island and seaside-based struggles and punishments of challenging daughters in

Ovid's work in correlation with Julia's exile. As Nicholas Horsfall notes, in Roman

poetry "the place name distills and re-evokes everything that has happened in a place….

and all that has been written about that place in prose and verse, at least as much as the

poet's reader might reasonably be expected to know."[6] Of course, assessing locations that

Jeremy McInerney and Ineke Sluiter define as "symbolically charged 'landscapes'" has

similar pitfalls to analyzing poetry and artwork, especially because in myth and poetry

"landscape overlaps with narration and mythopoesis." The multifaceted nature of the land

and its associated stories make it susceptible to ambiguity and contrary interpretations,[7]

depending on the perspective of both the narrator and the reader, just as we have seen

with reports of events from the Roman civil wars.

   While some of the proposed correlations presented in this study are more

speculative than others, it is still a worthy effort to actively engage with the literature in

order to seek more information about the attitudes of non-politicians during such an

important transitional period. Susanna Braund posits whether allegories "reside in

authorial intent or at the point of reception."[8] The answer must be both, and some of the

more ambiguous character portrayals depend on this, in turn resulting in the timeless

nature of the poems. Braund's observation that Roman authors were "extremely self-

conscious of the resonances set up by their choice of words" supports the view that

Roman poets knew about and actively courted the varying levels of reception and

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[6] Horsfall 2002 p. 306.
[7] McInerney & Sluiter 2016 p. 7 & 11.
[8] Braund 2017 p. 186. Germany 2019 p. 71-72 applies the same outlook to Roman comedy: "Any allusion to controversial current events in Roman comedy would have to be vague enough to provide a cover of plausible deniability, but this vagueness may also make the reference unintelligible for us."

interpretation of their depictions.[9]

Authorial play with audience perception has a demonstrable history in the realm of dramatic performances as far back as Naevius' mocking of Scipio Africanus' youthful indiscretions.[10] Cicero reports that when the actor Diphilus taunted Pompey Magnus with the line "it is with our suffering that you are great," the crowd enthusiastically insisted on it being repeated.[11] The orator also brags that during his exile, the actor Aesopus was performing Accius' tragedy *Eurysaces*, from which the crowd emotionally interpreted references to Cicero (i.e. "O Pater" as relating to his title of *Pater Patriae*). Aesopus fed the crowd's enthusiasm by inserting lines from other plays that could also allude to Cicero's situation.[12] Suetonius reports that the line "do you see how that pervert controls the world with his finger?" was interpreted by a theater audience as a harsh but humorous allusion to Octavian's sexual proclivities in pursuit of power.[13]

Cicero demonstrates that politicians were in tune with the power of audience reception of allusions when he seeks news from Atticus about actors' jokes and the crowd's reaction.[14] Fascinatingly, Augustus may have sponsored such coded depictions himself when the highly acclaimed *Thyestes* of Varius Rufus was performed at the *ludi Actiaci* of 29 BCE. Matthew Leigh suggests that the play alluded to M. Antony as Atreus,

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[9] Braund 2017 p. 157. Marincola 2010 p. 187 discussing the echoes of several civil/Italian wars in the Aeneid quotes Quinn 1968 p. 55: "even on the most fundamental points more than one correlation is possible."

[10] Aul. Gell. *NA* 7.8.5-6.

[11] Cic. *ad Att.* 2.19.3: "nostra miseria tu es magnus - miliens coactus est dicere."

[12] Cicero discusses this and other audience responses in his *Pro Sestio* 118-126.

[13] Suet. *Aug.* 68: "sed et populus quondam uniuersus ludorum die et accepit in contumeliam eius et adsensu maximo conprobauit uersum in scaena pronuntiatum de gallo Matris deum tympanizante: videsne, ut cinaedus orbem digito temperat?" These may have been the Megalenses games based on the characters of priest and Mother of the Gods. This anecdote is included in a list of rumors about Octavian using sex as a tool for political power, often as the less dominant partner, hence the use of *cinaedus*.

[14] Cicero ad Att. 14.3.2: "populi ἐπισημασίαν et mimorum dicta perscribito."

following a trend of ideological connections between tyranny and unnatural hunger for blood as depicted in rhetoric, historiography, and tragedy.[15]

Of course, there could be consequences for such politically charged poetics. Naevius was jailed for slandering prominent politicians.[16] Augustus did not approve of the excessive applause given at the line "o dominum aequum et bonum;" he frowned and waved his all-powerful finger to quiet the crowd, reportedly making a proclamation against such behavior the next day.[17] Infamously, Ovid was exiled for something admittedly offensive in his poetry.[18] After Augustus' reign, the stakes were higher: a writer of Atellan farces was burned alive in the theater because of his ambiguous verses.[19]

Assuming a similar response between live performance and text, at the heart of the suggestions presented in this study are the reception and memory of the Roman reader. The portrayal of events that occurred during Augustus' reign has been reshaped and streamlined due to various reasons. In some instances, the reshaping of history was done purposely through the destruction of texts or with the use of influential artwork. In other instances, writers composing during the Principate may have felt anxious about openly challenging the path to empire or emphasizing situations that could have led to a

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[15] Leigh 1996, esp. p. 188; see also La Penna 1979, esp. p. 148; for the play: Codex Parisinus 7530 and Codex Casanatensis 1086: "Lucius Varius cognomento Rufus Thyestem tragoediam magna cura absolutam post Actiacam victoriam Augusto ludis eius in scaena edidit, pro qua fabula sestertium deciens accepit"; for Antony's bloodlust: Cic. *Phil.* 2.59, 2.71; Sen. *Ep.* 83.25.

[16] Aul. Gell. *NA* 3.3.15; he reportedly mocked the powerful Metelli.

[17] Suet. *Aug.* 53; Augustus did not like the use of the word *dominus*.

[18] Ovid *Tristia* 2.207: *Perdiderint cum me duo crimina: carmen et error.* Ovid names the *Ars Amatoria,* although political allusions in other works as discussed in chapters 4 and 5 could have contributed to his punishment. The mistake has long been debated; for potential links to Agrippa Postumus and/or Julia the Younger, see Norwood 1963, Wiedemann 1975, Levick 1976, and Syme 1978; Goold 1983 argues against these conspiratorial theories in favor of Ovid's knowledge of mere adultery by Julia the Younger; similarly, Hutchinson 2017 connects Ovid's exile with the passing of the *lex Papia Poppaea*, which increased the strictness of earlier marriage laws.

[19] Suet. *Gaius* 27.4: *ob ambigui ioci versiculum.*

different political outcome, such as Octavian's frequent illnesses, his periodic

unpopularity in Rome, or his reliance on others, namely Agrippa and Tiberius, for

military success.[20] And, of course, our access to sources has been truncated by the loss of

materials through the ages. Our reception of the literature is influenced by these factors,

as well as by hindsight; it is difficult for modern readers to dissociate the known result of

opposition to Augustus when trying to put themselves in the mind of a contemporary

author.[21] Therefore, authorial connections between actual and mythological events would

have been clearer to the contemporary population, being more familiar with the context,

than they would be to a modern reader.

Of course, this study is not exhaustive; further work may be done using similar

techniques in respect to prose works or to subsequent emperors. However, for several

decades after Augustus, if literary allusions were discovered, the authors could be

punished and often their works were destroyed. Tiberius began this practice, possibly

influencing the harshness of Augustus' final years, and we temporarily lose poetic

sources after Ovid.[22] An example of Tiberius' severe treatment of writers is the historian

Cremutius Cordus, who in 25 CE was charged with treason for praising Brutus and

Cassius; in response, Cordus starved himself to death.[23] Yet, writing began flourishing

again under subsequent emperors, thus political allegories may again be found. Rather

productive are studies of allusions to politics in Statius' poetry concerning the reigns of

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[20] Burnett 2020 p. ix.
[21] Powell 2013 p. 171-200.
[22] Knox 2004, esp. 9-12, suggests that the year 8CE was a negative turning point for free speech, with the punishments of Labienus, Cassius Severus, and Ovid, and he blames it on Tiberius' growing influence. As noted, the punishments could be connected to the downfalls of Julia the Younger, Aemilius, Paullus, and Agrippa Postumus.
[23] Suet. *Tib*. 61.3; Dio 57.24; Sen. *ad Marciam* 22.4-7; Tac. *Ann*. 4.34ff records his trial in 25 CE.

Nero and Domitian.[24]

Beyond poetic treatments, assessing coded depictions may also be useful in prose, as demonstrated by Cicero's literary references to his contemporaries in speeches and letters. Further research on this topic could be done with Livy and his *exempla*. If we look at his portrayal of Philip V and the king's interactions with his sons, it is possible to suggest that Livy was using the Macedonian king as a warning of the hazards of hereditary rule. Philip is used as an *exemplum* by Livy himself and by Livy's historical personae to portray a ruler attempting to maintain control, both successfully and disastrously according to the speaker's perspective: Antiochus III uses Philip as an example of a king who lost power to Rome (37.25.6), whereas Scipio Africanus uses Philip in the same scenario to show the benefits of an alliance with Rome (37.25.11). Furthermore, Philip himself practices the behavior encouraged by Livy when he uses *exempla* to teach his sons about successful fraternal relations (40.8.7-16).

Often, the *exempla* of Livy discussed in modern scholarship are those of Roman figures. However, since no Roman previously held the same position as Augustus, a new paradigm would be appropriate. The challenges faced by Philip in Livy's account could correlate with scenarios mentioned by Pliny's assessment of Augustus' misfortunes. If we consider the political mood in Rome while Livy was compiling his vast work up to this point (roughly 14-9 BCE for books 39-40), we see that both the fashionable use of *exempla* and the trope of fraternal piety against discord were popular in rhetoric at the time. Therefore, when Livy's Philip mentions Roman brothers who collaborate

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[24] Ahl 1984 discusses political influences and references from Horace to Statius. For Statius's political allegories, see William J. Dominik, *The Mythic Voice of Statius: Power and Politics in the "Thebaid"* (1984) and Stefano Rebeggiani, *The Fragility of Power: Statius, Domitian and the Politics of the "Thebaid"* (2018).

successfully during the period of Roman expansion, a turning point for Roman politics, the scenario must have been particularly powerful for the author's contemporary audience, living in another period of significant political change. The Roman *exempla* show the potential good interactions of brothers, possibly in response to the political pressure placed on fraternal relations in Augustus' household between Livia's sons, as well as their interactions with Julia, Agrippa, and their children. Jane Chaplin asserts that *exempla* held particular significance for Romans in the period after the civil wars as they tried to find meaning in the past, and that Augustus was as active as Livy in his exploitation of *exempla*.[25] Augustus reportedly collected *exempla* to give to family and politicians as forms of advice;[26] this anecdote makes it clear that Livy's literary technique would not be lost on Augustus.

The interpretation of potential allusions in literature presented in this study, especially political readings of poetry, was a common practice for millennia, but then it was adamantly dismissed in the mid-20th century. Fortunately, this approach to reading poetry is, once again, gaining acceptability. Thus, this dissertation argues that the interpretative approach to reading poetry is worth revisiting as more coins and other archaeological evidence become readily accessible through digital resources. Because art is subjective, without the explicit expression of intent from the author, the reader must infer what possible meanings may lie beneath. This interactive way of reading poetry was embraced by ancient readers and may allow the modern scholar to obtain a more comprehensive view of Augustan Rome. I do not expect readers of this document to agree with all of the suggestions made, but I do hope to inspire more nuanced reading

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[25] Chaplin 2000 p. 170.
[26] Suet. *Aug*. 89.2.

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through the use of maps, coinage, and other materials in conjunction with the texts, as we acknowledge that literature was not created in a vacuum and that authors were often influenced by their contemporary environment.

The transformation from republic to empire in hindsight seems inevitable and any opposition to it may now seem futile; nevertheless, there were those who tried to stop it or at least to slow its momentum. Octavian successfully thwarted his challengers and rebranded himself as Augustus while claiming to reestablish Roman cultural and governmental traditions. Of course, not everyone believed these claims nor agreed with his new/renewed arrangements. Those who opposed Octavian's measures directly were exiled, including writers and some of his own family members. Ovid and others suffered the consequences for trying to skirt his moral reforms or for pushing back against them too noticeably. Many details in the accounts of the opposition and familial strife are limited or have been lost, but if we gather evidence from contemporary material such as coinage, art, and poetry and try to understand that material in its geographical context where applicable, we may glimpse a different perspective – the one which Augustus' rivals thought was possible.

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