

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
SCHREYER HONORS COLLEGE

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS AND ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES

THE HERCULES-CACUS EPISODE, VIRGIL'S GAZE, AND THE IDEAL HERO:
ROMAN IDENTITY IN THE *AENEID*

DOUGLAS H. CHATTERTON
SPRING 2014

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements
for baccalaureate degrees
in History and Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies
with honors in Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies

Reviewed and approved* by the following:

Dr. Stephen Wheeler
Associate Professor of Classics
Thesis Supervisor

Dr. Mary Lou Zimmerman Munn
Senior Lecturer in Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies
Honors Adviser

* Signatures are on file in the Schreyer Honors College.

ABSTRACT

This paper begins with a narratological analysis of the mythic traditions of the Hercules-Cacus episode in an effort to discern what aspects of his version Virgil received, preserved, and modified. The next chapter explains those aspects which Virgil innovated with respect to the characterizations of Hercules, Aeneas, and Augustus. The final chapter discusses Virgil's methods of describing Roman identity, and in what senses Aeneas is the ideal Roman hero.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....i

Chapter 1 Introduction 1

Chapter 2 A Narratological Analysis of the Hercules-Cacus Episode.....6

Chapter 3 Levels of Significance27

Chapter 4 Aeneas as the Ideal Roman Hero: Roman Identity41

BIBLIOGRAPHY54

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Such a project would be difficult to complete without help from many. My first thoughts are of course about my parents, Ed and Polly, who have given me the support and instilled in me the determination necessary to succeed in my undergraduate career. Then of course those responsible for igniting my passion for the Classics need thanks; Pam Cole who taught me Latin, Christopher Moore who guided my Greek studies from their early stages, Garrett Fagan who especially turned me toward the study of Roman history, Juana Celia Djelal who has nurtured by continuing interest in myth and whose fresh perspective I have often benefitted from, Mary Lou Munn who from the first days of our relationship in Rome constantly offered a listening ear, sound advice, and a helping hand when I needed them, Zoe Stamatopoulou who I met rather late in the game but nonetheless has had a profound effect on my senior experience, and finally Stephen Wheeler whose mentorship has greatly instructed and enlightened me for several years now. I owe a debt of gratitude also to my housemates Zach, Andrew, and Melissa whose labors have motivated me throughout this process.

Chapter 1

Introduction

A proper introduction to the *Aeneid* should not begin with Virgil, his benefactor Maecenas, or even Augustus, but with earlier Iulii. Even before Julius Caesar the Iulii were publicizing their family's descent from Venus and its link to the Trojan past. As early as 129 B.C. Venus appeared on the coinage of Sextus Iulius Caesar, and also that of Lucius Iulius Caesar in 103 BC.¹ A claim of divine heritage from Venus gave the family a certain distinction among the other aristocratic families. The social esteem of the Iulii only grew under Julius Caesar and his heir.

After the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. Virgil began to write the *Aeneid*, a poem to praise the Julian family and Augustus. The work was published in 19 B.C. after Virgil's death. Its story brought to prominence the Trojan hero Aeneas, son of Venus, whose descendants would become the Roman people. His son, Ascanius, also called Iulus, was the ancestor of the Iulian family. The poem immortalized the deeds of Aeneas, the now famous ancestor of Augustus' family, thereby both swelling their fame and strengthening their claim to power.

The *Aeneid* came at a time of political and social instability in the empire which Augustus had worked to amend. Virgil's product was part of this effort, for it stressed the importance of traditional Roman values such as *pietas* and *virtus* which helped to reinstitute established order. It also helped to solidify a new "national" and cultural identity set in a familiar mythical past, and it gave readers a newfound sense of *Romanitas*.² This paper will explore these

1 Andrew Erskine, *Troy between Greece and Rome: Local Tradition and Imperial Power*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 21.

2 The word "national" is here used for lack of a better term. It is not intended to carry the connotations of its function in the modern geopolitical system, but rather refers to a collective ethnopolitical identity

two themes with particular reference to the Hercules-Cacus episode in book VIII and Virgil's so-called "gaze" (a term popular in the literature which amounts to Virgil's tendency to create a subject position for the reader). They both established Aeneas as the ideal Roman citizen and helped readers to develop an understanding of what it means to be Roman.

The *Aeneid* weaved an intricate and complex story of national foundation, *κτισις*, into an epic form familiar to its readers from ancient Greek and Hellenistic poems. The travels of Aeneas spanned from the destruction of his ancient city of Troy to the establishment of the foundations for his descendent race. Along the way he encountered hardship in the form of shipwreck, was detained by the bewitching effects of love, cheated death in his descent to the underworld, survived a bloody war, and yet he endured, at great personal cost, for the future of the Roman people. Aeneas served as an epitome of *pietas* and *virtus*, and as an "ideal Roman" for Virgil's readers.

To this end the poet led the reader to associate his fledgling epic hero with the veteran, established figure of Hercules. In the Roman tradition the Greek panhellenic hero Herakles was deified and both his image and function were transformed into that of a more traditionally worshiped god. A divine hero persecuted by Hera, the Greek Herakles was forced to undergo labors of incredible difficulty and ardor, upon the completion of which he took up a spot on Olympus. He endured them all, shed his mortal flesh, and was apotheosized. Herakles was worshiped among the Greeks as a savior hero whose physical strength, mental endurance, and dutiful responsibility distinguished him as a dynamic figure of wide appeal. Virgil makes countless allusions and references, both implicit and explicit, to the similarities between Aeneas and this famous figure. The most obvious of these is narrated by Evander in book VIII.

shared by subjects of the state. It refers to the concepts embodied by the words *gens*, *genus*, and *populus*.

The Arcadian king pointed out to Aeneas the site at which the monster Cacus hid from Hercules when he stole his cattle. Enraged by the theft, Hercules sought a way to infiltrate Cacus' cave which was sealed shut with the help of Vulcan's industry. Hercules ran around the hill three times searching for a way in and three times collapsed in exhaustion in the valley below. Finally he summoned his super-human strength and tore the roof from the cave. In a violent struggle Hercules killed Cacus and reclaimed his cattle. This story is the perhaps the most transparent connection between Aeneas and Hercules that Virgil makes. Hercules' efforts, his struggle, strength (both physical and mental), and determination represent those which Aeneas demonstrates on his journey to settle the Trojans and father a new people. Indeed, the Hercules-Cacus episode is also recognized as predicting the showdown between Aeneas and Turnus and, by extension, Augustus' defeat of Marc Antony at Actium.

This connection is well established in the scholarship on the subject. Although the episode is well studied and its significance has been analyzed on several levels, there is more to be noted. It is clear to scholars that in many ways Hercules is an heroic example for Aeneas and, in turn, for the emperor Augustus. What hasn't been well noted in conjunction with the Hercules-Cacus episode is that Aeneas' association with the hero enhances his general reputation. It's more than that, though. Aeneas becomes an ideal national hero.

The advent of Aeneas as an ideal Roman hero reinforced some ideas about what "Romanness" was. These ideas were in turn defined by Virgil's "gaze" and the reader's perspective. In a number of scenes, including the Hercules-Cacus episode, the reader's perspective affects their interpretation and indeed the significance of the scene. In addition, Virgil subtly characterized the ideal Roman throughout the poem. He did this not by direct description as one might expect, but rather by contrast and counter example. Virgil applied racial, ethnic, and even gender stereotypes which were often inconsistent and trivial. A keen reader will notice this, as scholars have, and realize that their function was not at all to describe the people to whom they

were applied. In presenting these stereotypes Virgil was rather using their negative image to project a shadow of *Romanitas* in the likeness of Aeneas. The poet never gave his readers a specific physical or character description of Aeneas so that his figure be left to the imagination. Readers are free to interpret him as they wish and apply their own impressions: Aeneas is a blank slate. The stereotypes which Virgil impressed upon other characters and ethnic groups collectively identified them as foreign Others. Aeneas is the figure upon whom their reflection was shone. The relief of Virgil's descriptions became the mold in which *Romanitas* was cast, the mold which Aeneas was designed to fit as the ideal Roman.

In addition to his function in the episode narrated by Evander, Hercules had a second function in the *Aeneid*. He, like Aeneas, embodied the virtues of *virtus* and *pietas*, and was used also as a tool to define the character of Virgil's new Roman hero. Hercules' role in Roman society as a multipurpose god made him distinctly different from the Greek hero Herakles. As a result, the Roman mytho-religious tradition had no dominant "epic hero" before Aeneas' ascendance in the *Aeneid*. Herakles served as the predecessor of and model for Virgil's Aeneas whose persona was characterized by the virtues and experiences of Herakles. When Aeneas' transformation into the ideal Roman hero he filled the heroic void left by Herakles' move toward a more religious role in the Roman tradition as Hercules.

The first chapter will consist of a survey of the tradition regarding the Hercules-Cacus myth. It will trace Cacus' development from his earliest appearance down to the myths of the first century B.C. Along the way various versions of the myths surrounding Cacus and the Hercules-Cacus episode will be examined. This effort will produce an understanding of the mythic tradition which Virgil received when writing his own version. Thus we can easily note which aspects of the myth he retained, which he altered, and which he may have invented. The second chapter will examine the significance of these in their effects on the characterization of Aeneas, Hercules, Augustus, and more briefly Cacus and Turnus. In the final chapter we will examine Virgil's

methods of discussing Roman national identity, or *Romanitas*, including deferral, contrast, and the reader's subject viewpoint.

Chapter 2

A Narratological Analysis of the Hercules-Cacus Episode

Before jumping right into an analysis of the episode itself, it would be valuable to understand the characters and some of the underlying traditions, themes and motifs which appear in Virgil's and other authors' versions. We will begin with Cacus and explore others as we examine the episode.

Cacus' origins are unclear to scholars. He seems to be a very early figure in Etrusco-Roman myth, but his exact provenance is shady at best. It seems that his character first appears on a fourth century Etruscan mirror from Bolsena, now housed in the British Museum.³ On it, the Etruscan character Cacū, known as Cacus in Roman myth, is depicted. He is seated with a companion in a forest playing a lyre, about to be ambushed by two Etruscan heroes: Caile Vipinas and his brother Aule Vipinas. Scholars have described Cacū's character on the mirror as that of a seer. This association is supported by the fact that he is depicted on second century Etruscan funerary urns as such.⁴ In addition, Cacū is shown to be in a forest; Italic seers and other prophetic characters are often depicted in natural environments – forests, caves, etc.⁵

Although Cacū(s) began as a seer in Etruscan myth, he was depicted variously by concurrent authors in the second century. It wasn't until Virgil's version became dominant that any one tradition eclipsed the others.

Small dates the life of Cacū to have been in the second half of the sixth century B.C. based on the traditions of Caile and Aule Vipinas as well as other evidence.⁶ Over the next five centuries, then, the character of Cacū evolved as myths shared by separate traditions are wont to do. The details of his story were invented by some, confused and conflated by others, and omitted by yet other authors. The first of these was a second-century B.C. annalist named Gnaeus Gellius whose version is quoted in Solinus:

Ambiguity raised questions, because certain things were worshipped there much before Romulus. To be sure the altar, which Hercules had vowed if he found the lost cows, he dedicated to Pater Inventor after Cacus had been punished. This Cacus inhabited the place, which is called

3 Small, *Cacus*, 4.

4 Small, *Cacus*, 4-6.

5 Small, *Cacus*, 33.

6 Small, *Cacus*, 13-16.

Salinae where the Porta Trigemina now stands. He, as Gellius recorded, with Megales the Phrygian as a companion, was sent as an envoy by Marsyas the king to Tarchon the Tyrrhenian, who put him in custody. He broke his bonds and went back home. Returning with greater forces, he seized the area around Vulturnus and Campania. When he dared to appropriate even those places which the laws had granted to the Arcadian, he was killed by Hercules who happened to be present. The Sabines received Megales who taught them the art of augury. Hercules himself also set up an altar to his own divinity that is held to be the greatest among the pontifices, since he had learned from Nicostrata, the mother of Evander, who was told by the prophesying of Carmenta, that he would be immortal...

*Ambiguitatum quaestiones excitavit, quod quaedam ibi multo ante Romulum culta sint. Quippe aram Hercules, quam voverat, si amissas boves repperisset, punito Caco patri Inventori dicavit. Qui Cacus habitavit locum, cui salinae nomen est: ubi Trigemina nunc porta. Hic, ut Gellius tradidit, cum a Tarchone Tyrrheno, ad quem legatus venerat missu Marsyae regis, socio Megale Phryge, custodiae foret datus, frustratus vincula et unde venerat redux, praesidiis amplioribus occupato circa Vulturnum et Campaniam regno, dum adtrectare etiam ea audet, quae concesserant in Arcadium iura, duce Hercule qui tunc forte aderat oppressus est. Megalen Sabini receperunt, disciplinam augurandi ab eo docti. Suo quoque numini idem Hercules instituit aram, quae maxima apud pontifices habetur, cum se ex Nicostrate, Euandri matre, quae a vaticinio Carmentis dicta est, immortalem conperisset.*⁷

This account is especially noteworthy because Solinus, a second century A.D. antiquarian, combines the Virgilian version with Gellius' earlier one. Gellius writes of Cacus as a daring man associated with augury (because his companion, Megales, taught the Sabines the skill) who lived concurrently with the Tarquins of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Solinus conflates this version with elements of Virgil's in which Cacus deals with Hercules and Evander, hubristically taking what is not his. Solinus is conspicuously silent about Cacus' heritage and the presence of cattle as part of the myth.⁸ Even in the second century A.D., by which time Virgil's Aeneid had been well circulated, different versions of Cacus' story still survived.

Also present in the second century was a version written by the annalist Cassius Hemina:

7 [Solinus 1.7-10] Trans. Small, *Cacus*, 5.

8 Small, *Cacus*, 6.

At the time when [Evander] was ruling, by chance a certain Recaranus, of Greek origin, a shepherd of huge frame and great strength, who, excelling others in form and courage, was called a Hercules, came to this place. While his herd were grazing about the Albula [Tiber], Cacus, the slave of Evander, crafty with evil and beyond other things most thieving, stole the cattle of the guest Recaranus and, lest there be any trace, dragged them backwards into the cave. After the neighboring regions had been explored and all the hiding-places examined in this way, Recaranus despaired that he would find them. Nevertheless he bore the loss philosophically and decided to leave the area. But indeed when Evander, a man of excellent justice, found out what had happened, he gave the slave for punishment and had the cattle returned. Then Recaranus dedicated an altar to the Inventor Pater at the foot of the Aventine and called it Maxima...These things Cassius wrote in his first book.

Eo regnante forte Recaranus quidam, Graecae originis, ingentis corporis et magnarum virium pastor, qui erat forma et virtutue ceteris antecellens, Hercules appellatus, eodem venit. Cumque armenta eius circa flumen Albulam pascerentur, Cacus Evandri servus, nequitiae versutus et praeter cetera furacissimus, Recarani hospitis boves surripuit ac, ne quod esset indicium, aversas in speluncam attraxit. Cumque Recaranus vicinis regionibus peragratis scrutatisque omnibus eiuscemodi latebris desperasset inventurum, utcumque aequo animo dispendium ferens, excedere his finibus constituterat. At vero Evander, excellentissimae iustitiae vir, postquam rem uti acta erat, comperit, servum noxae dedit bovesque restitui fecit. Tum Recaranus sub Aventino Inventori Patri aram dedicavit appellavitque Maximam....Haec Cassius libro primo.⁹

Hemina's version includes several motifs which Gellius' did not, despite their contemporaneity. A foreign strong man arrived in Italy at Rome, where his cattle grazed. He was "called a Hercules" (*Hercules appellatus*). This has interesting implications for Virgil's inclusion of that hero: it is more likely the case that Hemina created a stock character, the foreign strongman fooled by the local trickster, than that Virgil included Hercules because of Recaranus' nickname, however. This is so because in the tradition, "the action became fixed earlier than the actors" and "the event obviously was more important to the Romans than its perpetrators, who were invariably typecast."¹⁰ Amongst the extant versions of the myths of Cacus and his

9 OGR 7.6-7. Trans. Small, *Cacus*, 26.

10 Small, *Cacus*, 26-27.

activities in Rome, there is a much greater variance of involved characters than there is in deed, as we will see.

Hemina takes the first step in besmirching Cacus' character by making him Evander's slave (*Cacus Euandri servus*) and a thieving man, crafty and vile (*nequitiae versutus et praeter cetera furacissimus*). Hemina's Cacus hides the cattle in a cave, having dragged them there by the tail. This motif, common among later versions including those of Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Virgil, is reminiscent of Hermes in his Homeric hymn:

Helios had sunk down beneath earth toward Oceanos with his horses and chariot when Hermes came running to the shadowy hills of Pieria, where the deathless cows of the blessed gods ever had their haunt. There they fed on the fair unshorn meadows. From their number did the keen-sighted Slayer of Argos, the son of Maia, cut off fifty loud-lowing cows and drive them here and there over the sandy land, reversing their tracks, and mindful of his cunning, confused the hoof-marks, the front behind, the hind in front, and himself went backward.

ἠέλιος μὲν ἔδυνε κατὰ χθονὸς Ὠκεανόνδε
 αὐτοῖσιν θ' ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασιν: αὐτὰρ ἄρ' Ἑρμῆς
 Πιερίης ἀφίκανε θεῶν ὄρεα σκιάοντα,
 ἔνθα θεῶν μακάρων βόες ἄμβροτοι αὐλῖν ἔχεσκον
 βοσκομέναι λειμῶνας ἀκηρασίους, ἐρατεινούς.
 τῶν τότε Μαιάδος υἱός, εὐσκοπος Ἄργειφόντης,
 πεντήκοντ' ἀγέλης ἀπετάμνετο βοῦς ἐριμύκους.
 πλανοδίας δ' ἤλαυνε διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χῶρον
 ἴχνι' ἀποστρέψας: δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης
 ἀντία ποιήσας ὀπλκᾶς, τὰς πρόσθεν ὀπισθεν,
 τὰς δ' ὀπισθεν πρόσθεν: κατὰ δ' ἔμπαλιν αὐτὸς ἔβαινε.¹¹

11 Homeric Hymn to Hermes lines 68-78. Trans. A. Lang in: Stephen M. Trzaskoma, R. Scott Smith, and Stephen Brunet, ed. and trans., *Anthology of Classical Myth: Primary Sources in Translation* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2004), 189.

A number of parallels can be drawn between Hermes and Cacu(s) as he is described throughout several versions of his myth:

For then she [Maia] bare a son, of many shifts, blandly cunning, a robber, a cattle driver, a bringer of dreams, a watcher by night, a thief at the gates, one who was soon to show forth wonderful deeds among the deathless gods. . . . [Yet] your father got you to be a great worry to mortal men and deathless gods.

καὶ τότε ἐγένετο παῖδα πολύτροπον, αἰμυλομήτην,
 ληιστήρ', ἐλατήρα βοῶν, ἡγήτορ' ὄνειρων,
 νυκτὸς ὀπωπητήρα, πυληδόκον, ὃς τάχ' ἔμελλεν
 ἀμφανέειν κλυτὰ ἔργα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν. . . .
 ἔρρε πάλιν: μεγάλην σε πατὴρ ἐφύτευσε μέριμναν
 θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.¹²

Both figures are described as cunning thieves, both steal cattle, and Cacu's role as a seer resembles Hermes' description as a bringer of dreams (ἡγήτορ' ὄνειρων). In each version Cacus hides his cattle in a cave, as Hermes does, and both he and the god cleverly deny their theft.¹³

Then Hermes answered him [Apollo] with crafty words: "Son of Leto, what harsh words are these you have spoken? And is it cattle of the field you are come here to seek? I have not seen them: . . . Am I like a cattle-lifter? . . . This is no task for me: . . . I care for sleep and milk of my mother's breast . . . "

Τὸν δ' Ἑρμῆς μύθοισιν ἀμείβετο κερδαλέοισι:
 Λητοΐδη, τίνα τοῦτον ἀπηνέα μῦθον ἔειπας;
 καὶ βοῦς ἀγραύλους διζήμενος ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνεις;
 οὐκ ἴδον, . . .

οὐδὲ βοῶν ἐλατήρι, . . . ἔοικα.
 οὐκ ἐμὸν ἔργον τοῦτο, . . .

12 Homeric Hymn to Hermes 13-16, 160-161. Trans. A. Lang in: *Ibid.*, 190.

13 Small, *Cacus*, 10-11.

ὑπνος ἐμοί γε μέμηλε καὶ ἡμετέρης γάλα μητρὸς
σπάργανά. . .¹⁴

Compare Cacus:

But Cacus stood before the door, and when Hercules inquired after the cattle, denied that he had seen them, and when the other desired to search the cave, would not suffer him to do so, but called upon his neighbours for assistance, complaining of the violence offered to him by the stranger.

τοῦ δὲ Κάκου πρὸ τῆς θύρας ἐστῶτος καὶ οὐτ' ἰδεῖν τὰς βοῦς φάσκοντος ἐρομένῳ οὐτ'
ἐρευνᾶσθαι ἐπιτρέποντος αἰτουμένῳ τούς τε πλησίον ὡς δεινὰ πάσχοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ξένου
ἐπιβοῶντος. . .¹⁵

The motifs of cattle thieving, dragging the cattle backward, employing deception in denying the theft, and having an association with prophecy establish Cacus as a trickster figure and yet preserve the idea that he was originally a seer. His character demonstrates a certain cleverness which, even in Virgil's version was not be completely obscured by his monstrosity.

Hemina's version also introduces the idea of Evander as a character in Cacus' myth. The opposition between Εὐάνδρος, the good man, and Κακός, the bad man, has long been recognized, especially by Servius in the late fourth or early fifth century A.D. in his commentary on the *Aeneid*. He claimed that the name Cacus derived from the Greek κακός, but this is a false etymology. Small suggests that Cacu's character began to be blackened only after the Romans realized the connection between Cacus and κακός. Indeed, as we have read, even in the second century B.C. Gellius did not give a name to the Arcadian whose lands Cacus usurped. Small argues that when the Romans realized their connections with the Arcadians, such as the similarity between the place names Palatine and Pallanteum, they sought a way to unite their two traditions, and the character of Pallas, the eponymous figure of these two places, seemed the obvious choice. But, she continues, if Cacus was being characterized and called κακός, then Εὐάνδρος was a perfect counterpart. Indeed, Small concludes, Cacus was characterized as κακός only when Evander featured in his story.¹⁶

14 Homeric Hymn to Hermes 260-263, 265-268. Trans. A. Lang in: *Anthology*, 192.

15 D.H. 1.39.3

16 Small, *Cacus*, 7-9.

In a rather detailed discussion, of which a summary is here sufficient, Small establishes that Cacus was one of the four primary figures associated with the Palatine Hill in Roman myth alongside Faunus, Evander, and Romulus. Each of these figures was connected to divination in a different way: Faunus prophesied while his inquirer slept, and he was associated with the oracle at Albunea; Evander's mother¹⁷ sang her prophecies; Romulus' skill at augury is well known from various versions of his myths; and Cacus, as we have mentioned, prophesied with his lyre. Romulus seems to have come later, but the other three figures all played the role of host and entertained guests on the Palatine as well. Faunus first received Evander, to whom he gave a place on the hill, and both Evander and Cacus welcomed Hercules in at least one version of their stories. Of these receptions only that of Cacus is problematic.¹⁸ His poor performance as host led to conflict and only added to the blackening of his character.¹⁹

By the second century B.C., then the events of the myth were fixed. Hercules had become the obvious protagonist and counterpart to Cacus. The idea of Cacus as a seer from Etruscan myth had been integrated and solidified by the importance of the cave and his trickster nature had been defined by his affiliation with Hermes.

Turning now to the traditions of the first century, by which point the basic *fabulae* of Cacus' story had been established, we will examine the versions of Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Virgil. These authors, about whom we know more than those of the second century, all wrote for different purposes which must be considered when reading their works.

Livy, for example, in his preface stated that he attached no particular importance to the legends before the founding of Rome, and that he was especially concerned with edifying his readers by espousing moral virtue:

Such traditions as belong to the time before the city was founded, or rather was presently to be founded, and are rather adorned with poetic legends than based upon trustworthy historical proofs, I purpose neither to affirm nor to refute. It is the privilege of antiquity to mingle divine things with human, and so to add dignity to the beginnings of cities;..But to such legends as

17 Evander's mother is mentioned in several sources, often by different names. Both Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.31) and Virgil (*Aen.* 8.399) include her in their versions. See Small, note 62.

18 Diodorus Siculus (4.21), Propertius (4.9.7), and Dionysius, in his euhemeristic version (1.42.2), all mention Cacus' reception of Hercules. The first represents an amicable reception: GET ORIGINAL TEXT. Dionysius and Propertius both characterize Cacus negatively. Dionysius describes their encounter as an armed conflict between their respective forces. Propertius explains that Cacus was a thieving host (*infido hospite*).

19 Small, *Cacus*, 16-24.

these, however they shall be regarded and judged, I shall, for my own part, attach no great importance.

Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est. Datur haec venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat;
 ...Sed haec et his similia, utcumque animadversa aut existimata erunt, haud in magno equidem ponam discrimine²⁰

Indeed, it seems that Livy, “declines to vouch for their [the poetic legends'] authenticity, though he means to set them down as he finds them; and he apparently regards them as possessing a certain symbolic truth, at least.”²¹

By Livy's time (59 B.C.–17 A.D.) the myths of Cacus had been somewhat standardized as the Hercules-Cacus episode. Although the events of the myth which later writers would follow had been roughly established in the second century by Hemina – that Cacus took the cattle of a foreign visitor who, after their eventual recovery, dedicated an altar in thanks – the involved characters were not yet standardized. As the Augustan grammarian Verrius Flaccus writes: “that Garanus [the same as Recaranus] was a shepherd of great strength, who crushed Cacus, and indeed all those of great strength were called Hercules among the ancients.”²² So by the first century Hercules had become the obvious choice for the protagonist in the story. He was a strong foreigner whose tradition had him wandering through Italy on his return from Erythia with Geryon's cattle. Hercules' arrival in Rome with cattle in the context of his own myth made it a simple matter to conflate the two stories; he wasn't selected as the permanent protagonist simply because he happened to possess cattle from his labor. In other words, his existing story naturally lent itself to incorporation into Cacus' myth.

Small also points out that the prominent figures of the Palatine, Cacus, Faunus, and Evander, in their competition for control of the hill, would have also contended for cattle and pasturing lands which it offered. The myth of Cacus stealing cattle therefore may be rationalized as his attempt to seize territory or wealth, as represented in the accounts of Dionysius and Gellius.²³ This may be the sort of symbolic truth which Livy

20 *Ab urbe condita* (Praefatio) Trans. Foster, *Livy*, 4.

21 Foster, *Livy*, xxi.

22 “. . . solus Verrius Flaccus dicit Garanum fuisse pastorem magnarum virium, qui Cacum adflixit, omnes autem magnarum virium apud veteres Hercules dictos.” Servius, *ad Aen.* 8.203 Trans. Small, *Cacus*, 27.

23 Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* (1.42.2.), Solinus (1.7-10.)

thought like stories to hold. Thus he gives his account as an etiology for Romulus' sacrifice to Hercules according to the Greek ritual. True to his word, Livy added no element of poetic fantasy or indulgence to the story, as we will come to see Virgil did, but claimed to report the story as it had come to him.

His version goes like this: Hercules arrived at the Tiber where he pastured his cattle and was himself taken over by sleep after eating and drinking wine. A local shepherd (*pastor*) named Cacus, insolent because of his strength (*ferox viribus*), saw the beautiful cattle and desired to take them as plunder (*praedam*). He dragged the best cattle into his cave by their tails to avoid their tracks leading to his cave. The next morning Hercules woke up and perceived that some of his herd was missing. He went to the nearest cave in case there might be footprints leading to it. The tracks which appeared to lead from the cave confused him, so he prepared to leave with his herd. As they were leaving, the herd lowed for the missing cattle which answered from within the cave. Hercules turned back. Cacus would have resisted his entrance, but Hercules clubbed him dead while he was calling in vain (*nequiquam*) to the other shepherds for help. Evander, who was king of the region, came to the crowd which had surrounded Hercules and which was accusing him of murdering Cacus. When the situation was explained to Evander he asked Hercules his identity. He recognized him as the Hercules about whom his mother had prophesied. The two clasped hands and Hercules vowed to fulfill the prophecy that he should become a god and an altar should be erected in his honor by establishing the *Ara Maxima*. They chose a cow for slaughter and placed the Potitii and the Pinarii in charge of the rites. These rites were the only foreign ones which Romulus observed because Hercules had achieved the immortality to which fate was leading Romulus.²⁴

There are several important things to be noted in this version: First is the characterization of Hercules, whom we haven't discussed yet. Livy portrays Hercules as very human. This isn't surprising given the fact that he thinks the myths are just poetic stories. Hercules partakes of food and wine and is overcome with sleep. The hero observantly perceives his missing cattle, but is bewildered by the tracks outside Cacus' cave. No mention is made of his super-human strength, nor is he overwhelmed by blinding rage as he is in Virgil's version.

Another point of interest is Cacus' characterization. In Gellius' version Cacus was a bold man, an envoy of Marsyas, and according to Hemina he was a crafty, thieving slave of Evander. Livy combines the two descriptions and makes him a strong, insolent shepherd who would by nature be interested in cattle. In

24 Livy *ab urbe condita* (1.7.3-15.)

this attribution we can see Livy's attempt to rationalize the myth in a way which corresponds to our mention of cattle as a proxy for wealth and territory. It is also significant that Livy describes Cacus as insolent due to his strength. In none of the versions from the second century is there any mention of Cacus being especially strong. This characteristic must have developed as part of the tradition in the first century. His transformation into a shepherd may have been either a result of his conflation with the strong, foreign, shepherd figure of Recaranus from Hemina's version, and/or as a rationalization of his preoccupation with cattle, wealth, and territory; the two are not mutually exclusive. This confusion explains both his new-found strength and his identity change, features which were not included until the first century (though not all versions displayed them).

Cacus' status as a shepherd allowed him to become part of a community of local herders. In certain respects he reminds us of the cyclops Polyphemus and his ordeal with Odysseus. This allusion, along with Cacus' resemblance to Hermes, not to mention the inclusion of Hercules, shows the myth's significant Greek influences. Whereas in the encounter between the trickster Odysseus and the brute Polyphemus the cunning protagonist won the day, here the thieving Cacus is overcome by the brute force of the morally-upright Hercules. There is a distinction between the theft of trickster characters like Cacus and Hermes as “appropriation by stealth” and Hercules' robbery of Geryon's cattle as “open and forcible appropriation.”²⁵ The latter would not be viewed, at least in the context of Greek myth, as an “illegal” act, while the former was a crooked deed. This scheme of a moral hero defeating a wicked villain recurred in Virgil where it was intensified, as we will see.

Erskine points out in his exploration of the role of the Trojan myth in both the Greek and Roman worlds that it was not until the Augustan age and thanks to the *Aeneid* that the Romans adopted that poem's foundation myth and the practice of venerating Aeneas. Although perhaps his case that Augustan literature distorted the record of earlier works is a bit overstated, Erskine successfully demonstrates that before Aeneas' surge in popularity Romulus was the preeminent founding figure.²⁶ Livy's account supports this idea. He tells the story of the Hercules-Cacus episode as an etiology for Romulus' use of Greek ritual in worshipping Hercules. That god's is the only foreign cult which Romulus kept because Hercules had achieved the divinity

²⁵ Brown qtd. In Small, *Cacus*, 27. See note 78.

²⁶ Andrew Erskine, *Troy between Greece and Rome: Local Tradition and Imperial Power*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

to which Romulus aspired. In this way the Roman hero was modeled on an older Greek original. We shall see this idea repeated presently when we turn to Virgil's account.

The first pentad of Livy's histories was probably being circulated while Virgil was writing the *Aeneid*. Virgil's account of the Hercules-Cacus episode resembles that of Livy, many of whose novel features it replicates and expands on.

A summary of Virgil's version contains similar details: The Arcadians had been praying for relief from the nuisance of the monstrous son of Vulcan, Cacus, who terrorized the countryside. Hercules then arrived in the area of Rome as he was returning from Spain where he had just killed Geryon and taken his cattle. While his herds grazed and were unattended by Hercules, Cacus stole four heifers and four bulls from the herd. In order to prevent the discovery of his crime, he dragged them backward by their tails into his cave. When Hercules was ready to leave and his herd was full from pasturing, he began to leave. The cattle bellowed for those eight which had been taken by Cacus. One heifer lowed back from deep inside the cave, revealing Cacus' crime. Hercules instantly ignited in rage and sought to kill the thief within his stone fortress. Three times he searched for a way in after Cacus had sealed the door, but three times he failed. Finally, he tore the roof off of the cave, exposing Cacus, the cattle, and the lair within which they had both been concealed. Despite Cacus wrenching smoke and flame from his gullet, Hercules found him and throttled him. Freed from the menace, the Arcadians from then on honored the hero with sacred religious rites led by Potitius of the Potitii, who created the *Ara Maxima*, and the Pinarii family as well.²⁷

While the basic structure of events remains the same, the *Aeneid* presents a highly embellished and rhapsodic version of the traditional myth. This is at least partly attributable to Evander's narration of the story to Aeneas. In accordance with the sacrifice that the Arcadians and their Trojan guests were celebrating to honor Hercules, Evander's speech is likewise honorary. Its length, descriptive detail, and style are all suggestive of a hymn dedicated to a god. His introduction is indeed grand:

...That greatest avenger, triumphant because of the death and spoils of triple-bodied Geryon,

Hercules arrived driving his huge bulls here as victor. . .

..Nam maximus ultor

tergemini nece Geryonae spoliisque superbus

Alcides aderat, taurosque hac victor agebat

²⁷ *Aen.* 8.184-8.272

ingentis. . . (8.201-4)

Hercules is not the only figure that Evander describes vividly. Cacus also, his lair, and the events of his interaction with Hercules are likewise animated. From his very introduction Cacus is described as a monster by Evander:

There was a cave here once, an immense hollowed recess,
 which housed the horrible figure of half-human Cacus
 in a place inaccessible to the sun's rays; and the ground
 was always warm with fresh slaughter, insolently nailed to the doors
 the faces of men hung rotting, pale with putrefication.

Vulcan was the father of this monster: whose black flames
 he spewed from his mouth as he lugged about his immense hulk.

*Hic spelunca fuit, vasto summota recessu,
 semihominis Caci facies quam dira tenebat
 solis inaccessam radiis; semperque recenti
 caede tepebat humus, foribusque adfixa superbis
 ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo.*

*Huic monstro Volcanus erat pater: illius astros
 ore vomens ignis magna se mole ferebat. (8.193-9)*

The character of Cacus is no less hideous than his visage. Evander describes him as treacherous far beyond the level of his thievishness in other versions:

But the mind of the thief Cacus was so savage that he, lest
 he should leave any crime or trick unattempted,
 turned four bulls of outstanding figure from the pastures,
 and the same number of excellent heifers.

*At furis Caci mens effera, ne quid inausum
 aut intractatum scelerisve dolive fuisset,
 quattuor a stabulis praestanti corpore tauros
 avertit, totidem forma superante iuencas. (8.205-8)*

Despite this negative characterization, Cacus retained some level of intelligence and association with a seer.²⁸ Cacus was still said to live in a natural setting, a cave, which was associated with prophecy. He employed the same tactic to obscure the cattle's tracks and this fooled Hercules. Although Virgil made it subtle and indirect, he also related that Cacus denied having stolen the cattle:

He [Hercules] immediately ripped off the doors and threw open the black gloom,
the stolen cattle denied as plunder were exposed to the sunny sky, and the shapeless corpse he
took by the feet and dragged it out.

*Panditur extemplo foribus domus atra revolsis,
abstractaeque boves abiurataeque rapinae
caelo ostenduntur, pedibusque informe cadaver
protrahitur. (8.262-5)*

There are a number of elements from the mythic tradition which Virgil preserves and also a number which he innovates. Cacus' resemblance to a seer has been handed down from Etruscan myth intact. His character grew in depravity with the passage of time until in Virgil he became a wicked, hideous monster. His size and strength are carried over from Livy's account. These, along with the plot which was established in the second century, were preserved in the *Aeneid*.

Virgil also invented a good deal regarding the myth. Most notably he has a character within his poem narrate the tale. This significantly changes the perspective of the reader when compared to historical text like that of Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus whom we will discuss below. Virgil was the first to make Cacus the son of Vulcan and a monster which spewed flames. Virgil's Hercules is a passionate figure instantly enraged at the theft of his cattle. His intensity goes far beyond the realm of brute force or the superhuman strength of a hero. Virgil also depicted Cacus' cave as a stone fortress which when torn open by Hercules revealed a scene resembling the underworld. We will see the reasons for and significance of these innovations in the next chapter, but we must first look at two other tellings of the myth which post-date the *Aeneid*. They give us an idea of how other authors perceived Virgil's version to have fit the mythical tradition and offer insight into their impressions of it.

28 It may be the case that Cacus' intelligence and thievish wit were seen as negative characteristics by Virgil since despite these resources Hercules was able to overcome Cacus by brute force. The light in which their respective attributes are seen have been reversed when compared to the story of Polyphemus and Odysseus. This might have led Virgil to intentionally enhance Cacus' apparent intelligence by preserving his traditional parallels with Hermes.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (60– ca. 7 B.C.) was a Greek historian who lived roughly contemporaneously with Livy (59 B.C.–17 A.D.) and Virgil (70-19 B.C.) but whose works appeared after theirs.²⁹ He did not use Livy as a source but the *Aeneid* was available to him.³⁰ Although Dionysius wrote after Virgil and could have had no direct effect on the *Aeneid*, it is nonetheless useful to look at his version of the Hercules-Cacus myth. Doing so helps us to understand the tradition of this myth in the first century when the *Aeneid* was written. It allows us to highlight marked differences between that tradition and what Virgil wrote, and it will show us that Virgil's version had not yet become the standard.

Dionysius provided his readers with two different versions of the Hercules-Cacus myth. The first was the so-called “legendary” (μυθικός) account which may be thus summarized:

Hercules, returning to Argos with Geryon's cattle, stopped near Pallantium to graze his cattle. There he was overcome by sleep. The robber (ληστής) Cacus happened upon the unguarded cattle and desired them. He saw Hercules sleeping and decided that he could not drive away all of the cattle without being discovered. Instead, he took a few to his nearby cave, dragging them backwards by their tails. Hercules soon awoke and, counting his cattle, noticed a few were missing. He did not know where they had gone so he searched the whole region. When he was unable to find them he went to Cacus' cave. Cacus blocked his way and denied having seen the cattle when Hercules asked. Hercules wanted to search the cave, but Cacus would not let him, instead calling on his neighbors for help, complaining of the violence against him. Hercules did not know what to do, but presently thought to drive the rest of the herd in front of the cave. Thus the cattle hidden inside became aware of the herd and lowed to it, betraying the theft (κλοπή). Since his evil deed was discovered, Cacus called out again for help from his fellow herdsmen. Hercules killed him with his club and drove the cattle out from the cave. He noticed that the area was well-suited to evil deeds (κακούργων ὑποδοχαῖς εὔθετον ἔωρα τὸ χωρίον), so he destroyed the cave, leaving Cacus' body in the ruins. He purified himself in the river, erected an altar to Jupiter the Discoverer (Διός Εὐρεσίου), and sacrificed a calf to the god in thanks for finding his cattle. This sacrifice continued down to Dionysius' own time, observed according to the Greek ritual. The locals and Arcadians who lived at Pallantium learned of Cacus' death and saw Hercules, they were glad to be rid of the former because he was a nuisance, and they were amazed at the

29 There is some disagreement about the dates of his works. Dionysius also relies (to what extent is debated) on the histories of Fabius Pictor, written ca. 210 B.C. His version therefore may be an older one than those Livy and Virgil are dealing with.

30 Earnest Cary, trans. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: Roman Antiquities*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937), xvii.

appearance of the latter. Hercules was crowned with a laurel wreath and the kings invited him as their guest. He told them of himself, and they all desired his friendship. Evander, who knew from Themis' prophecy that Hercules was destined to change his mortal nature because of his virtue (ἀρετήν), was the first to give divine honors to Hercules. He erected an altar to Hercules and had the hero sacrifice a calf upon it. Hercules held a feast for the common people and gave up a tenth of his spoils upon the altar. He gave the kings land, asked the inhabitants to continue his Greek rites annually, and instructed the Potitii and Pinarii in the Greek ceremony. The altar on which he gave up his tithes is called the *Ara Maxima* and is the most venerated by the inhabitants; oaths and business deals are sworn on it and tithes offered. Its construction is inferior to its reputation. In many other places in Italy also are altars to Hercules; it would be difficult to find a place where he was not honored.³¹

It is important to consider Dionysius' orientation, his motives, and biases when reading this version. He himself was a native-born Greek who lived in Rome and wrote (in Greek) to a primarily Greek audience. His foremost purpose in writing his history was to prove to discontent Greeks that their Roman masters were in fact originally Greeks themselves:

I shall in this Book show who the founders of the city were, at what periods the various groups came together, and through what turns of fortune they left their native countries. By this means I engage to prove that they were Greeks and came together from nations not the smallest nor the least considerable. . . and, so far as I am able, I shall omit nothing worthy of being recorded in history, to the end that I may instil in the minds of those who shall then be informed of the truth the fitting conception of this city – unless they have already assumed an utterly violent and hostile attitude toward it – and also that they may neither feel indignation at their present subjection, which is grounded on reason. . . nor rail at Fortune for having wantonly bestowed upon an undeserving city a supremacy so great and already of so long continuance, particularly when they shall have learned from my history that Rome from the very beginning, immediately after its founding produced infinite examples of virtue in men whose superiors, whether for piety or for justice or for life-long self-control or warlike valour, no city, either Greek or barbarian, has ever produced...

31 The Greek is quoted in full in Appendix B but select sections will be included in the text for immediate reference. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.39.1-1.40.6

περὶ μὲν τῶν οἰκισάντων τὴν πόλιν, οἵτινες ἦσαν καὶ κατὰ τίνας ἕκαστοι καιροὺς συνῆλθον καὶ τίσι τύχαις χρησάμενοι τὰς πατρίους οἰκίσεις ἐξέλιπον, ἐν ταύτῃ δηλώσω τῇ γραφῇ, δι' ἧς Ἕλληνας τε αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἐπιδείξειν ὑπισχυοῦμαι καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἢ φαυλοτάτων ἔθνῶν συνεληλυθότας. . . παραλιπὼν οὐδὲν ὄση μοι δύναμις τῶν ἀξίων ἱστορίας, ἵνα τοῖς γε μαθοῦσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἃ προσήκει περὶ τῆς πόλεως τῆσδε παραστῆ φρονεῖν, εἰ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀγρίως καὶ δυσμενῶς διάκεινται πρὸς αὐτήν, καὶ μήτε ἄχθεσθαι τῇ ὑποτάξει κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς γενομένη . . . μήτε κατηγορεῖν τῆς τύχης, ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτηδείῳ πόλει τηλικαύτην ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον προῖκα δωρησαμένης: μαθοῦσί γε δὴ παρὰ τῆς ἱστορίας, ὅτι μυρίας ἤνεγκεν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὰς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμὸν, ὧν οὔτ' εὐσεβέστερους οὔτε δικαιότερους οὔτε σωφροσύνη πλείονι παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον χρησαμένους οὐδέ γε τὰ πολέμια κρείττους ἀγωνιστὰς οὐδεμία πόλις ἤνεγκεν οὔτε Ἑλλάς οὔτε βάρβαρος, εἰ δὴ ἀπέσται τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἐπίφθονον. . .³²

Readers may therefore expect this version to offer a somewhat Hellenocentric viewpoint. He is the only author to explicitly mention Eurystheus as the reason for Hercules' labors, the only one who made Hercules clever enough to discover Cacus' theft on his own, and the only one to relate the hero's honorary reception by the locals in such detail (whose description constitutes the entirety of 1.40.1-6). Hercules was so loved by these locals, explains Dionysius, that he became extremely popular in Italy:

...and one could hardly find some land of Italy where the god does not happen to be honored.

...καὶ σπανίως ἂν εὔροι τις Ἰταλίας χώρον, ἔνθα μὴ τυγχάνει τιμώμενος ὁ θεός.³³

Although he is an historian like Livy, Dionysius does appear to have allowed his motives to permeate the stories which he related, perhaps intentionally so. If the reader is aware of Dionysius' intentions, he or she can filter through this sort of material and isolate the original myth. But as previously mentioned, there is another version that he gave his readers, one he said was nearer to the truth (ὁ ἀληθέστερος), literally “the more truthful one”. In it, Dionysius seems simply to have inserted the Hercules-Cacus episode into a euhemerizing myth, one which he claimed had been adopted by historians (ὅ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν ἱστορίας σχήματι τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ διηγησαμένων ἐχρήσαντο). Dionysius explained that Hercules was the leader of a military expedition which was conquering towns in Italy when he came across Cacus:

32 *Dion. Hal.: Ant. Rom.* (1.5.1-3) Cary, *Dionysius*, 17-19.

33 *Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.* 1.40.6

Cacus, a leader just as barbarous as any of the savage people he led. . . He was situated in fortified positions and therefore was a nuisance to those living in the surrounding country. When he learned that Hercules was encamped nearby, he equipped and prepared his brigands for a sudden raid while the army was sleeping, surrounding and driving off as much plunder as they found unguarded. Later, when he was shut in by the Greeks in a siege, his fortifications were taken by force and he was also killed amidst his defenses. After his forts were destroyed, those who came with Hercules each took for their own the surrounding land, these people including some Arcadians with Evander and Faunus, king of the Aborigines.

Κάκον, δυνάστην τινὰ κομιδῆ βάρβαρον καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀνημέρων ἄρχοντα. . . ἐρμυνοῖς χωρίοις ἐπικαθήμενον καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς πλησιοχώροις ὄντα λυπηρόν. ὃς ἐπειδὴ καταστρατοπεδεύσαντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἔμαθεν ἐν τῷ προσεχεῖ πεδίῳ, ληστρικῶς διασκευασάμενος ἐπιδρομῇ αἰφνιδίῳ ἐχρήσατο κατακοιμωμένου τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῆς λείας ὄση ἐπέτυχεν ἀφυλάκτῳ περιβαλόμενος ἀπῆλασεν. ὕστερον δὲ κατακλεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς πολιορκίαν, τὰ τε φρούρια κατὰ κράτος ἀλόντ' ἐπεῖθε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἐρύμασιν ἀνηρέθη. τῶν δὲ φρουρίων αὐτοῦ κατασκαφέντων τὰ πέριξ χωρία οἱ συνεξεληθόντες Ἡρακλεῖ κατὰ σφᾶς ἕτεροι παρέλαβον Ἀρκάδες τέ τινες οἱ σὺν Εὐάνδρῳ καὶ Φαῦνος ὁ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων βασιλεύς.³⁴

The details of this version are not very different from those which he just presented in the last account. He likely gave the myth a euhemeristic interpretation to enhance his own credibility as an historian. And no doubt Dionysius knew that the idea of Hercules leading a grand military expedition to Spain, through Italy, and back to Argos would seem attractive to most Greeks. Ultimately, this version isn't significantly different than the first that he gave us except that it was couched within a different tradition. The standard details are there; Cacus' depraved character, a stealthy theft from a foreigner, Hercules' eventual victory through force, and the death of Cacus. The plunder which Cacus and his brigands surrounded and drove off is a clear reference to the cattle of his first version.³⁵ Cacus' forts no doubt represent the cave where he hid, besieged. Dionysius told the same story twice, just with a different style.

His accounts, in addition to those of Livy and Virgil, tell us a couple of things about the tradition of the myth in the first century. Firstly and most obviously, there was no canonical version. Secondly, although

³⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.42.2-3

³⁵ The language itself is suggestive of cattle; it would seem strange to surround or round up (περιβαλόμενος) booty and drive it off (ἀπῆλασεν).

none of the versions were identical, they did share the same basic *fabulae*: Hercules arrives at Rome, Cacus is described as a disgraceful character who steals the cattle, Hercules somehow discovers the crime and kills Cacus, and an altar to Hercules is established. Excepting this basic plot, the author was free to alter details of the myth to suit his own purpose. Virgil and Dionysius both took advantage of this opportunity.

Another author who took full advantage of his poetic license was Propertius. He was a Latin elegiac poet, slightly younger (ca.50 B.C.–15 A.D.) than Virgil, and a friend of his as well. They shared the same patron, Maecenas, who was a political adviser to Augustus. Propertius' surviving works include four books of elegies, the last of which contains his version of the Hercules-Cacus myth:

<p>When he who called Amphitryon his sire, Driving the herd from Erythea's byre, Reached the wild hills of pastoral Palatine, And rested, resting too his weary kine, Near the Velabrum, which its river made A mid-town lake, where sailors plied their trade— Not undisturbed by Cacus were they left: That treacherous host polluted Jove with theft. A local brigand, with three mouths that gave Three sounds, he lived within a fearsome cave. Fearing their prints might show the rustler's trail, He dragged the cattle backwards by the tail. Their cries said 'thief' and made the god aware: His rage burst open Cacus' bestial lair; And when the rogue with three cracked skulls lay dead, "Pass on, my herd" the Arcadian club-man said: "My her, last labour of my club, pass on, By Hercules twice sought for, and twice won. Hallow your pasture with a long-drawn moo: A Roman forum shall be named from you."</p>	<p>Fierce thirst assailed him when his speech was done; And earth, so free with water, gave him none. He heard girls laughing in a grove near by, A ring of shade, a woodland sanctuary, Where sacred to the female devotee Were hallowed springs and rites no man might see, And purple-draped, a dwelling screened from sight, A crumbling shrine, whose fire gave scent and light. A poplar overhung the roof, and made For singing birds a broad and leafy shade. Hither with dry and dust-grimed beard came he, And language lowering to his deity: "You glad ones of the sacred grove, I plead: Open your shrine: give rest to men in need. Thirsting amid the sound of streams I stray: What a cupped hand will hold is all I pray. You know of one whose back sustained the sky, Whom the world calls Alcides—he am I. The club's bold feasts, the shafts of Hercules</p>
--	--

Which no wild beast could face—who knows not
these?

Who has not heard of him to whose sole sight
The darkness of the Stygian realms was light?

This nook o' the world now takes me, tired of
strife:

This land admits me, lingering out my life.
My stepdame, spiteful Juno—were it she
You worshiped—would not bar her springs to me.
And if my looks, my lion's pelt, my hair
Baked by the Libyan sun, are things that scare,
Also, in Lydia, as a lady's maid,
I've worn soft stuffs, and spun my tale of thread.
My shaggy breast received the brassiere-band:
A proper girl was I, though hard of hand.”

Thus Hercules: The priestess thus replied:

(Her white hair with a crimson fillet tied):

“Risk not your eyes, Sir Stranger: flee away
From this dread grove, these portals, while you

may.

Forbid to men and fenced by law divine
With fearful sanctions is this secret shrine.
When Pallas doffed the gorgon, and the seer
Tiresias saw her bathe, it cost him dear.
Heaven give you other springs—strict bounds

enclose

This water, which for none but women flows.”

For answer, through the darkened door he

burst:

No bars could keep at bay that raging thirst.
He drained the stream, his fevered throat had ease;
He dried his lips, then uttered stern decrees:

“Let the Great Altar, built by hands of mine,
And hallowed at the finding of the kine,
Be barred to women's worship evermore:
Thus for his thirst Alcides pays the score.”

The Sabine people then, since all the lands
Were cleansed and consecrated by his hands,
so consecrated him, and brought to rest
At Cures this protector ever-blessed.

Hail, holy sire, now in grim Juno's grace;
Take in my book, I beg, a patron's place.³⁶

Propertius, like the other first century authors, followed the standard sequence of events. One change he made was to insert the etymological story of the *Forum Boarium* at the point in the story when the altar was normally dedicated to Hercules. “The Forum at Rome will be renowned as your pastures (*nobile erit Romae pascua vestra Forum*),” he said. After this proclamation Propertius introduces another episode into the standard account: Hercules violated the grove sacred to female worshipers. Consequently, in the dedication of the *Ara Maxima*, Propertius had Hercules declare, “Let this altar which was devoted when the herds were found. . . the greatest altar built by my hands, be ever open for worship to no young women, lest the thirst of Hercules be unavenged forever (*Maxima quae gregibus devota est Ara repertis, ara per has. . . maxima facta manus, haec nullis umquam pateat veneranda puellis, Herculis aeternum ne sit inulta sitis*).”³⁷ In this way Propertius conforms to normal structure of the myth, although he added to it.

He also took opportunities to innovate. In addition to introducing the etymology for the *Forum Boarium*, Propertius took cues from Virgil in characterizing both Hercules and Cacus. His hero was insolent, easily enraged, and arrogant; Cacus was a triple-mouthed³⁸ robber who lived in a frightful cave (*incola Cacus erat, metuendo raptor ab antro, per tria partitos qui dabat ora sonos*).

We can see, then, that despite the fact that the plot of this myth was established in the second century, each author, while still preserving the essential elements of the myth stretching back as far as the Etruscan tradition, alerted their readers to its certain particular aspects by means of innovation and variation. Livy presented what seems to have been a standard version for the first century, with Cacus having become a strong shepherd figure. Dionysius emphasized the importance of the Greek ritual at the *Ara Maxima* by relating the details of its foundation and

37 This seems to be a prohibition limited specifically to the *Ara Maxima* and not to other altars for the cult of Hercules. Celia E. Schultz, "Modern Prejudice and Ancient Praxis: Female Worship of Hercules at Rome," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 133 (2000).

38 This triple nature is probably an allusion to Geryon. Thus Cacus becomes a second Geryon, a strong, tripartite shepherd from whom Hercules must take cattle.

ceremonial tradition. Propertius explained the etymologies of both the *Forum Boarium* and the prohibition of female worship at Hercules' altar, and he supported some of the characterizations which Virgil's account had pioneered. To these we turn now to take a closer look at their significance both for the interpretation of the myth itself, and for the *Aeneid* and Roman society at large.

Chapter 3

Levels of Significance

Excepting the euhemerized version produced by Dionysius, Virgil probably created the most inventive version of the Hercules-Cacus episode to date. Livy seems only to have changed Cacus' physique and adapted the myth to his moralizing agenda. Virgil significantly modified Cacus' character, almost to the point that it no longer resembled the human thief known to the second century. He also introduced some changes to Hercules, and he had the whole episode narrated by Evander. Hidden beneath these overt modifications are layers of significance and allusion.

To grasp the full significance of the episode is a challenge which may not even yet have been accomplished by scholars. The first step in any effort to do so, however, must begin with an understanding of the story's context. The Hercules-Cacus episode is intentionally well situated within the *Aeneid*. The description of the shield of Aeneas and its reference to the battle of Actium in book VIII serve to reassure Aeneas of his fate and to predict his ultimate victory over Turnus in book XII. Likewise, the Hercules-Cacus episode anticipates both the ekphrasis on the shield and the conclusion of Aeneas' battle in XII. It has been well established that Hercules serves as a heroic model for Aeneas, and that Cacus closely resembles Turnus. This is the most basic level of the episode's significance within the larger epic.

Sitting with Aeneas and his followers after their festive meal, Evander begins to tell the story behind the rituals of the annual sacrifice. As a devotee of Hercules, which it seems Evander was, at least on this particular day of his annual rites, the Arcadian king was particularly bound to

honor the god. Evander's after-dinner entertainment then, usually provided by a bard in traditional epic, begins to resemble a hymn in praise of Hercules. From the beginning the tone is grand:

...these rites, these traditional feasts, this altar of such a deity no empty archaic superstition or ignorance of the gods forced upon us: no, Trojan guests, we founded these honorary rites and we renew them annually, deservedly so, because we were saved from savage dangers.

*...non haec sollemnia nobis,
has ex more dapes, hanc tanti numinis aram
vana superstitione veterumque ignara deorum
imposuit: saevis, hospes Troiane, periculis
servati facimus meritosque novamus honores.*(8.185-9)

Evander begins the ekphrasis of Cacus' cave by describing it in vivid detail:

First behold this cliff supported by rocks, how their masses were strewn far away. Here still stands a deserted mountain abode where the projecting rocks were drawn down in a massive landslide. There was a cave here once, an immense hollowed recess, which housed the horrible figure of half-human Cacus in a place inaccessible to the sun's rays; and the ground was always warm with fresh slaughter, insolently nailed to the doors the faces of men hung rotting, pale with putrefaction.

*Iam primum saxis suspensam hanc aspice rupem,
disiectae procul ut moles desertaque montis
stat domus et scopuli ingentem traxere ruinam.
Hic spelunca fuit, vasto summota recessu,
semihominis Caci facies quam dira tenebat
solis inaccessam radiis; semperque recenti*

caede tepebat humus, foribusque adfixa superbis

ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo. (8.190-7)

The purpose of the ekphrasis can be demonstrated by looking at a parallel scene in book I. When Aeneas takes in the reliefs on the walls of Juno's temple, the reader is aware of the ironies which the scene presents and is able to perceive its underlying meanings. Because the reader is aware that they are viewing the reliefs with Aeneas, they share his point of view. As a Trojan warrior who participated in the battles which he is viewing, Aeneas' presence adds irony to an otherwise stale description of the relief. Nor is the ownership of the temple itself insignificant; Aeneas was persecuted by Juno, for which reason he is in Carthage. Contemporary readers would have realized the irony of his presence there, the home of the future mortal enemies of his decendent people. All of these hidden meanings are implicitly condensed into the scene by the ekphrasis. The reader is invited to share Aeneas' view, since the narrator explains the scene through his eyes, and is thus alerted to these undertones. Perhaps even more emphatic of this device is the scene when Venus renders Aeneas invisible and he becomes like the reader; he is "removed from the stage of events: he sees without being seen, he witnesses, responds to, and interprets events and images, but he does not participate in the action of the narrative."³⁹ Likewise in book VIII the reader must interpret Evander's ekphrasis along with Aeneas, bearing in mind that he is the story's main audience. Here, too, there are undertones and deeper meanings which are suggested to the reader. These consist primarily in parallels between characters: first we will explore the similarities between Hercules, Aeneas, and Augustus, then move on to briefly note the parallels between Cacus and Turnus.

39 Yasmin Syed, *Vergil's Aeneid and the Roman Self: Subject and Nation in Literary Discourse*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005), 54.

Before Evander even told his story Aeneas was aware of his resemblance to Hercules. In book VI during his descent into the underworld Aeneas told the Sibyl of his mission and his lineage in order to gain passage:

If Orpheus was able to send for the shade of his wife, the Thracian reliant upon his cithara and its melodious strings, if Pollux was able to redeem his brother by exchange of death, and thus often passed back along the way, why should I name Theseus, why recall great Hercules? My descent too is from greatest Jove.

*si potuit Manes arcessere coniugis Orpheus,
Threïcia fretus cithara fidibusque canoris,
si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit,
itque reditque viam totiens. Quid Thesea, magnum
quid memorem Alciden? Et mi genus ab Iove summo.* (6.119-123)

Indeed, Charon the ferryman of the river Styx remembered having ferried Hercules and Theseus (6.392-7). Since Charon resented being forced to allow Hercules and Theseus to pass because they did not bring the golden bough and instead used force, the Sibyl explained that Aeneas' purpose was different:

Trojan Aeneas, renown for his devotion and feats of arms, descends to the deepest shades of Erebus to see his father. If this no image of such piety moves you, take this bough...

*Troius Aeneas, pietate insignis et armis,
ad genitorem imas Erebi descendit ad umbras.
Si te nulla movet tantae pietatis imago,
at ramum hunc...*(6.403-6)

This is the first hint that Aeneas was a different kind of hero than Hercules. Indeed when Aeneas came upon the ghosts of the creatures which Heracles battled, he was terrified yet ready

to face the challenges. But the Sibyl explained that these were merely ghosts, implying that Aeneas' role as a hero was not the same as that of Heracles. His *pietas* distinguished him from his exempla.

Aeneas recognized the similarities and contrasts of his circumstances and those of Heracles. He had these things in mind when he heard the Hercules-Cacus story. Indeed, he was seated on a lion's skin as he listened. This could be simply another device that Virgil used to remind his readers of the connection between the two heroes. Evander may also have been a subliminally suggesting to Aeneas that he should help him defeat the Rutulians as Hercules had defeated Cacus. We can't be certain of Evander's ulterior motives for telling the story but he surely meant to emphasize the great struggle between Hercules and Cacus which had altered the landscape. Straight away Evander pointed out the site of the cave and the fallen rocks, the canvas on which he painted in the listeners' mind an image of Cacus' original lair:

First behold this cliff supported by rocks, how their masses were strewn far away. Here still stands a deserted mountain abode where the projecting rocks were drawn down in a massive landslide.

*Iam primum saxis suspensam hanc aspice rupem,
disiectae procul ut moles desertaque montis
stat domus et scopuli ingentem traxere ruinam.* (8.190-2)

Having set the scene, he began painting Cacus' cave and character with vivid description:

There was a cave here once, an immense hollowed recess, which housed the horrible figure of half-human Cacus in a place inaccessible to the sun's rays; and the ground was always warm with fresh slaughter, insolently nailed to the doors the faces of men hung rotting, pale with putrefaction.

*Hic spelunca fuit, vasto summota recessu,
semihominis Caci facies quam dira tenebat
solis inaccessam radiis; semperque recenti
caede tepebat humus, foribusque adfixa superbis
ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo. (8.193-7)*

At this point the reader is, as Aeneas likely was, picturing the scene in their mind.

Evander continued as he told Aeneas about the terrible creature Cacus, whose father was Vulcan:

Vulcan was the father of this monster: whose black flames he spewed from his mouth
as he lugged about his immense hulk.

*Huic monstro Vulcanus erat pater: illius astros ore vomens ignis magna se mole
ferebat. (8.198-9)*

This attribution of divine heritage appeared first in Virgil. Small thinks that the poet made Cacus the son of Vulcan in order to increase the depravity of his character and monstrosity of his persona, and she points out the matter of Cacus' sister, Caca, whose early fire cult on the Palatine was superseded by that of Vesta. His sister's fiery association was likely conflated with Cacus as a means to facilitate his identification as a *monstrum*.⁴⁰ But as Caca was replaced on the Palatine by Vesta, so too was Cacus by Augustus, who built his house near the *Scalae Caci*, and a temple to Vesta nearby.⁴¹ So not only does Cacus' divine heritage evoke demonic connotations, Virgil may also have intended a subtle reference to Augustus' succession of Cacus on the Palatine as a reflection of Hercules' victory over him.

40 Ogilvie believes Cacus and Caca to have originally been a bisexual deity like Faunus–Fauna, Pomona–Pomona, Janus–Jana, and Liber–Liberia. R. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy Books 1-5*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 57-8.

41 Small, *Cacus*, 32-34.

This *monstrum* who hung men's faces from his doors was a menace to the Arcadians and certainly made colonizing the area difficult. Evander explained how the Arcadians were rid of his presence:

And even to us praying time eventually brought the aid and arrival of a god.
Attulit et nobis aliquando optantibus aetas auxilium adventumque
dei.(8.200-201)

For that greatest avenger. . .Hercules came.

Nam maximus ultor. . . Alcides aderat. (8.201-3)

Maximus ultor are two significant words. Hercules was a great avenger of the crime that Cacus committed against him. But Evander did not praise him simply for that. Rather Hercules was indirectly an avenger of those who could not avenge themselves: the Arcadians. He rid them of the nuisance of Cacus, and this was the deed which made him worthy of their veneration. His actions seem selfish when one considers that Hercules accepted the omen given by Evander's mother concerning his apotheosis, and not only allowed the construction of the Ara Maxima, but even instructed the Potitii and Pinarii in its rituals. In as much as Aeneas (who hears this story) is modeled on Hercules, he is selfless in a way which Hercules never is.⁴² This is another way in which Aeneas and the reader may have realized the difference between the two heroes.

Hercules is not the only avenger that comes to mind. Contemporary readers would easily have recalled Augustus as an *ultor*. *Et nobis* may also have referred to Virgil's contemporaries, in which case *dei. . .maximus ultor* would have been recognized as deified Augustus.⁴³ He, by virtue of the connection between Hercules and Aeneas, and that of himself and Aeneas, whose persona was created with the emperor in mind, also resembled Hercules the apotheosized hero. Augustus'

42 Kristine Gilmartin, "Hercules in the *Aeneid*" *Vergilius*, 14, (1968): 43.

43 G. Karl Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus Episode in Aeneid VIII" *The American Journal of Philology*, 87.1, (Jan., 1966): 22. Although Galinsky recognizes the reference to Augustus, he does not make explicit his role as *maximus ultor* of Caesar and his ultimate battle with Antony in relation to the parallels between Hercules-Cacus and Aeneas-Turnus.

revenge for Caesar's assassination more closely resembled Aeneas' revenge for Pallas than Hercules' selfish revenge on Cacus. Yet all three revenge killings are comparable in that without them Roman history could not have proceeded. Hercules' defeat of Cacus, without which Rome would likely not have been settled, predicts Aeneas' ultimate victory over Turnus in book XII and, more immediately, that of Augustus over Antony on the shield ekphrasis later in book VIII.

Antony, in fact, may have been the source of Augustus' association with Hercules. During his travels in Greece and the East, Antony took as his patron gods Hercules and Bacchus. He had also become a member of the Augustan family by his marriage to Octavia in 40 B.C. Either on this account or after defeating Antony, Augustus began associating himself with Antony's patron, for "ultimate Romans, like Augustus emulating and surpassing the Orientalized Antony's patron gods, Hercules and Bacchus, do not so much defeat their rivals as best them on their own terms."⁴⁴

Indeed Virgil said that Augustus did as much:

But not even Hercules had gone to such an extent of the earth, although he shot the brazen-footed stag and pacified the woods of Erymanthus and made the Lernaean Hydra tremble at his bow; nor Bacchus, victor who drove with vines as a pair of reins, driving his tigers down from the high peak of Nysa.

*Nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit,
fixerit acripedem cervam licet, aut Erymanthi
pacarit nemora, et Lernam tremefecerit arcu;
nec, qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis,
Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigres. (6.801-5)*

44 Pg. 74 of J.D. Reed, "Virgil's Roman" in *A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and its Tradition*, ed. Joseph Farrell and Michael C.J. Putnam (Blackwell Publishing, 2010.): 66-79.

Augustus strongly resembled the hero in his roles as ἀλεξίκακος (protector from evil), establisher of peace, and deified mortal. But he became superior to Hercules as a victor over Antony, avenger of Caesar, and peace bringer. Aeneas, too, surpassed Hercules as a figure fit to be a Roman hero; Aeneas is able to overcome fury while Hercules cannot. One of the defining characteristics of Hercules in Evander's story is his *furor*. He instantly becomes angry when he discovers that some of his cattle are missing:

But at this [Cacus' theft] the wrath of Hercules was ignited by rage, in black gall...

Hic vero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro

felle dolor. . .(8.219-220)

There Hercules came, his spirit raging, examining every approach, carrying his eyes here and there, grinding his teeth. He went around the whole Aventine hill three times seething with rage; three times he tried the strength of the stone doors in vain; three times he sank back in the valley, exhausted.

ecce furens animis aderat Tiryntius omnemque

accessum lustrans huc ora ferebat et illuc,

dentibus infrendens. Ter totum fervidus ira

lustrat Aventini montem, ter saxea temptat

limina nequiquam, ter fessus valle resedit. (8.228-232)

Hercules could not bear it in his spirit; he threw himself with a headlong jump through the fire going where the smoke billowed thickest and the huge chasm was warm with coal-black smoke.

Non tulit Alcides animis seque ipse per ignem

praecipiti iecit saltu, qua plurimus undam

fumus agit nebulaque ingens specus aestuat atra. (8.256-8)

It seems strange that Virgil would so describe a character on whom he modeled Aeneas. But Hercules was not a perfect exemplum for Aeneas. Hercules was certainly at one point a candidate for being Rome's principle hero, as was Odysseus, but these two did not make the cut. A new hero was needed, one who was modeled on older figures, but who was distinctly Roman. As he did in book VI, Virgil continues to differentiate Hercules and Aeneas in the Hercules-Cacus episode.

The rage which possesses Hercules blinds his sense of reason and inhibits rational thought. But Galinsky notes an important difference between the *ira* and *furor* of Hercules and that of Aeneas. In book II Aeneas is blinded by his rage as Hercules is in Book VIII (2.316-17, 2.575-6, 2.655-72, 2.745-51). But Galinsky explains that “three times Aeneas wants to succumb to the *vis consili expers* and return to engage in a rash fight. . . it is only his reliance on his reason and deliberation that ensures his eventual victory.” Galinsky claims that Hercules was likewise taken over by desire for *vis consili expers* (violence without a plan or purpose) and only defeated Cacus with *vis temperata* (regulated force) when his rational faculties returned.⁴⁵ He argues that because Hercules' *furor* and *ira* are not referred to following his initial outburst, that his rage has subsided somewhat. This isn't by any means clear. In fact his anger does not seem to abate until Cacus is dead. Once Hercules tears open the cave:

So Cacus, before unseen, was revealed by the sudden light and trapped in his hollow rock, roaring as never before, Hercules stood and bore down on him from above with weapons, all weapons at hand – branches and massive millstones.

*Ergo insperata deprensum luce repente
includumque cavo saxo atque insueta rudentem
desuper Alcides telis premit omniaque arma
advocat et ramis vastisque molaribus instat.* (8.247-50)

⁴⁵ Galinsky, “Hercules-Cacus,” 41-42.

Cacus concealed himself in a cloud of smoke, so Hercules went in after him: Hercules could not bear it in his spirit; he threw himself with a headlong jump through the fire going where the smoke billowed thickest and the huge chasm was warm with coal-black smoke. He seized Cacus, who was spewing fire in the darkness, but in vain. Hercules bound him in a knot and throttled him, not letting go, his eyes popping out and his throat dry of blood.

*Non tulit Alcides animis seque ipse per ignem
praecipiti iecit saltu, qua plurimus undam
fumus agit nebulaque ingens specus aestuat atra.
Hic Cacum in tenebris incendia vana vomentem
corripit in nodum complexus et angit inhaerens
elisos oculos et siccum sanguine guttur. (8.256-61)*

Hercules killed Cacus in a particularly violent way, exceptional even for Evander's story. It seems difficult to make any definitive claims about the level or quality of Hercules' rage in this instance. Galinsky reinforces his claim that Hercules' reason overcomes his blinding *furor* by citing the hymn of the Salii:

...No figures, not even Typhoeus himself frightened you, brandishing his weapons aloft; nor when the Lernaean Hydra surrounded you with its throng of heads did you lose your wits (*rationis*).
...nec te ullae facies, non terruit ipse Typhoeus,
arduus arma tenens; non te rationis egentem
Lernaes turba capitum circumstetit anguis. (8.298-300)

The problem with this argument is that the passage Galinsky cites doesn't refer to *ratio* in the same way as it concerns Hercules in his fight against Cacus. The fact that Hercules wasn't

scared senseless by the monsters he faced does not mean that he always acted rationally. Thus the claim that he defeated Cacus because his rage had subsided (which we have shown cannot be determined) and allowed him to use regulated force becomes untenable. Rather it seems that Hercules is consistently blinded by fury and is surpassed by Aeneas in this respect. After raging for the duration of book XII Aeneas' anger abates when Turnus is struck down, asking for mercy:

Turnus lowered his eyes and as a suppliant reached out his right hand asking, "I deserve it all, I offer no excuses," he said: "take your chance. Or if any care for a miserable parent is able to touch you, I beseech you, (Anchises was such a father to you), to pity aged Daunus and send me, or if you would prefer, my body stripped of light back to my people. You have won, and beaten, I stretch out my open hands to you so that the Ausonians may see. Lavinia is your bride: travel no further toward hatred."

Ille humilis supplexque oculos, dextramque precantem

protendens, "Equidem merui nec deprecor," inquit:

"utere sorte tua. Miseri te siqua parentis

tangere cura potest, oro (fuit et tibi talis

Anchises genitor), Dauni miserere senectae

et me seu corpus spoliatum lumine mavis

redde meis. Vicisti, et victum tendere palmas

Ausonii videre; tua est Lavinia coniunx:

ulterius ne tende odiis." (12.930-12.938)

Turnus appealed to Aeneas' sense of *pietas*. The supplication was successful and Aeneas restrained his sword hand until he spotted the belt of Pallas around Turnus' waist. Not because of the blinding fury experienced by Heracles did Aeneas strike Turnus down, but for personal revenge and fraternal *pietas*. Aeneas learned from Hercules' example and demonstrated one of the

qualities which made them distinct: his selflessness and concern for others. Whereas Hercules' battle with Cacus was self-serving, Aeneas' whole journey, culminating with the vengeful killing of Turnus, exemplified selflessness and *pietas* toward his father, friends, and fate as ancestor of the Roman people.

To sum up the relationship established between the two heroes in the episode we must understand that just as the ekphrasis from book I situated the Aeneid within the larger context of poetic narrative as a continuation of the epic cycle, so too did Evander's narration situate and characterize Aeneas as a product of Greek mythology – a hero modeled on, yet a variation of and invention from, an older, more well-known original. Hercules was a hero with wide appeal and adaptability, but his characteristics weren't suited to the Roman world; Virgil had to create a new hero based on one familiar to his audience to assume the role vacated by Hercules. The next chapter will discuss in further detail why Aeneas can be considered the ideal Roman hero.

While the episode carefully defines the characters of Hercules, Aeneas, and Augustus and the parallels between them, it also connects their opponents. Turnus, Cacus, and to a lesser extent Antony were also compared in Evander's story by textual references and characteristic similarities. In his article on the Hercules-Cacus episode Galinsky thoroughly demonstrates the resemblance between Cacus and Turnus. Both characters, he says, are associated with trickery, darkness, flame, and both are enemies that must be vanquished by a hero for Roman history to progress. Each is involved with rock imagery in their respective scenes; Turnus primarily in book VII, Cacus in VIII. Cacus barred the door to his cave by releasing the chains which suspended a great rock above it. Thus he trapped himself and Hercules tore a huge rock from the roof of the cave, exposing the depths of Cacus' lair. That scene at once resembled the underworld and recalled the *κατάβασις* (descent) of Hercules and Aeneas. This rock imagery and association with the underworld may lead us to think of Sisyphus, whom Aeneas sees in book VI. His stone symbolizes futility and failure. Both Cacus and Turnus experienced lithic failure; Cacus' stone

barricade failed to save him from Hercules, and Turnus failed to kill Aeneas with the great boulder which he hurled at him in book XII.⁴⁶

In conclusion of this chapter on the significances of the episode, Hercules, Aeneas, and Augustus all established peace in the area of Rome through their victories; it is clear that the character resemblances between them should by no means be interpreted as mutually exclusive. The story at once glorifies Hercules as the civilizing figure, Aeneas as the harmonizer and synthesizer of the future Roman people, and Augustus as the grand peace bringer. The episode alludes to the victories of all three figures; a triple triumph like the one Augustus held on the day of Hercules' annual sacrificial rites.

46 Galinsky, "Hercules-Cacus," 26-38.

Chapter 4

Aeneas as the Ideal Roman Hero: Roman Identity

We have already examined the literary tradition of the Hercules-Cacus episode in an effort to isolate those of its aspects which were innovated by Virgil. The previous chapter, then, examined some of the underlying significances of Virgil's version. We saw that, as a whole, it is a symbolic rather than a functional story. It is clear that Virgil intended a comparison between Hercules, Augustus, and Aeneas, and that the latter two were formative figures based on the first, whom they reflected in some ways and surpassed or differed from in others. Together the three of them civilized, settled, and established peace for the Roman people. But who were these Romans? The direct descendents of Aeneas? The Trojan settlers? The Arcadians? The Latins or perhaps the Rutulians? Was it a combination of some of these? This chapter is dedicated to discussing Virgil's discussion of both the ethnic genealogy of the Roman people and the conception of *Romanitas* which the *Aeneid* creates. It will address specifically the question of how Aeneas' *persona* helps to establish these, and what about him makes him the ideal Roman hero when so many others fell short.

The Augustan age was one in which many were interested in exploring and defining Roman genealogy. Whereas before Roman dominance in the Mediterranean Greek culture was dominant, and perhaps it was still during Augustus' time, Rome was in ascendance in the first century B.C. Its scholars and people sought a way to identify themselves, a way “not to be Greek and still to be civilized.” This motivated the creation of genealogical literature which included the *Aeneid*.⁴⁷

47 Yasmin Syed, *Virgil's Aeneid and the Roman Self: Subject and Nation in Literary Discourse* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005), 211.

As a foundation epic, or κτίσις, explaining the origins of the Roman people, the *Aeneid* necessitates a proleptic approach to its description of Rome during the Augustan age. The poem therefore comments on the issue of Roman genealogy and racial identity in a number of inventive ways including prophecy, divine discourse, and rumor. The latter is how Juno heard that her beloved Carthage would be destroyed:

But she had heard that there was a line descended from Trojan blood which was going to overturn the Tyrian citadel of old; thence was destined to come a people great in war and wide-ruling, and with them the destruction of Libya.

*Progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci
audierat, Tyrias olim quae verteret arces;
hinc populum late regem belloque superbum
venturum excidio Libyae. . . (1.19-22)*

From this we may assume that the Romans who will come to defeat the Carthaginians in the Punic wars are simply Trojan descendants. Yet it can't be that simple because in book XII Juno implores Jupiter to destroy the name of Troy:

...Troy has fallen, let it have fallen along with the Trojan name.
...*occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia.* (12.828)

So the ethnicity of the Romans is not purely Trojan. It could sensibly be thought to be a combination of peoples, Trojan and Italian, for instance. But the answer is not so simple. The *Aeneid* complicates the issue, never explicitly defining either Roman ethnicity or national identity. The only means by which it is defined is when “the Roman self is cleanly opposed to an Oriental “other” – suggesting a Carthaginian identity narrowly avoided, an Egyptian identity rejected along with Antony's alliance with Cleopatra, or a Trojan identity left behind.”⁴⁸ Thus the

48 Reed, “Vergil's Roman,” 67.

way in which readers are informed about Rome and its people is by contrast. Even in the proem Rome's explicit description is avoided (1.1-7).

Just as mention of Rome is made the narrator invokes a muse, breaking the chain of thought and deferring Rome's description. The explicit description of Carthage, home to one of the peoples with which Romans are contrasted, just a few lines later (1.12-18) highlights Rome's own vague introduction. These two concepts, deferral and characterization by contrast, are the two essential tools used by Virgil in "defining" Roman identity.

Although Troy was "destroyed," it survived through its association with Rome. The River Tiber tells Aeneas that he has saved Troy by bringing its penates to Latium:

Oh! you born from the seed of the gods who brings back to us the Trojan city from the enemy and saves her citadel forever, you were expected here in Laurentine fields and on Latin soil, here home is assured for you, indeed, your penates too. Do not leave.

O sate gente deum, Troianam ex hostibus urbem

qui revehis nobis aeternaque Pergama servas,

expectate solo Laurenti arvisque Latinis,

hic tibi certa domus, certi, ne absiste, penates. . . (8.36-39)

Troy has not only survived, but Anchises says that Rome will come to exact its revenge on the Trojans' former enemy, the Greeks (6.836-46) So it seems that the Trojans were never really destroyed according to Juno's wishes and Jupiter's decree, only incorporated into a new composite race, the Romans. Indeed, prophecies in the *Aeneid* are often misleading, or of dubious veracity, customized to the perceived hopes of the addressee.⁴⁹ Jupiter's utterance satisfied Juno's anger, but never really came to full fruition.

49 Reed, "Virgil's Roman," 68-69.

We return now to the question of Rome's ethnic or national heritage. Besides the Trojans, what other groups were sheltered under the blanket of the Roman name? The indigenous Latins, from whose name Aeneas' Latin race derives its name, are included. The people of Evander and Turnus were also added to this mixture, but their identity is muddled in the poem. Evander was originally an Arcadian Greek, but he might also be considered an Italian. He refers to his group as "we Italians":

Then the Ausonian peoples came under arms and Sicanians too, and often the name of Saturn's land was fixed; then kings and savage Thybris with his huge body after whom we Italians call the river by the name Tiber. . .

*Tum manus Ausonia et gentes venere Sicanae,
saepius et nomen posuit Saturnia tellus;
tum reges asperque immani corpore Thybris,
a quo post Itali fluvium cognomine Thybrim
Diximus...*(8.328-32)

Similarly, Turnus is of Argive and Italian descent. But it doesn't seem as if only these groups comprise the "Roman." On the shield of Aeneas, Augustus is depicted as having "led the Italians into battle" (*Hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar* 8.678). Surely Augustus did not lead just the Italians into battle, but rather Italian is being used as a metonymy for Roman. By this time, however, the Romans had conquered the Mediterranean and governed many and diverse peoples. Reed nicely solves the problem by explaining that "any element of any compound as easily falls away from the others as coheres with them."⁵⁰ Thus this manner of ethnicity becomes rather fluid and arbitrary. Evander's people were as much Italian as they were Greek as they would become Roman.

50 Reed, "Vergil's Roman," 70.

The prophecy about Corythus, the oracle about the leader of the Etruscan armies, and the divinely arranged marriage between Aeneas and Lavinia may be solved in a similar fashion. The first said that Italy was the Trojans' true home since their ancestor Dardanus had come from there (3.161-71). This seems to establish Aeneas and his Trojans as indigenous Italians returning from Troy. And yet it is said that the Etruscan armies which Aeneas leads can only be led by a foreigner (8.499-503). Likewise it is said that Lavinia must marry a foreigner (7.96-101). Thus it seems impossible that Italy is Aeneas' homeland and he is still able to lead the Etruscan armies and marry Lavinia. Reed concludes that, "if origins matter, as they should in a ktisis, the search for Roman identity ends in aporia."⁵¹ Yet we should not simply dismiss the issue as attributable to the dubious nature of prophecy, nor as inconsistency on Virgil's account. Rather the poet utilizes contrast to establish the reader's subject position, as here with Caesar and Pompey:

...Oh! How great a war between themselves if they reach the light of life, how great battle lines, how great the slaughter will be! The father-in-law descending from his Alpine bulwarks and Monaco fortress, his son-in-law prepared to oppose him with Eastern armies.

...heu quantum inter se bellum, si lumina vitae

attigerint, quantas acies stragemque ciebunt!

Aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monoeci

descendens, gener adversis instructus Eois. (6.828-31)

Caesar is described as a Hannibal figure invading from across the Alps and Pompey is likened to an Eastern invader. These are both and neither Roman armies, depending on the reader's position. In other words, Virgil utilizes contrast and seeming contradiction to leave room for the reader to interpret the poem and apply his own conceptions about *Romanitas*. In this case,

51 Reed, "Vergil's Roman," 71.

“no matter which side “we” are opposed to, “we” are constructed as Roman against a symbolic non-Roman.” Description of the ideal Roman is always deferred.⁵²

One might argue that it could be found in Aeneas. Jove reassures Juno that the Trojans will be incorporated into a new Latin race who shall worship her:

Hence mixed with Ausonian blood this race will emerge above all men, you will see them superior in piety to the gods, no other race will celebrate your honors equally.

*Hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget,
supra homines, supra ire deos pietate videbis,
nec gens ulla tuos aequae celebrabit honores.* (12.838-40)

Clearly piety is a defining feature of the Romans, and throughout the *Aeneid* Virgil emphasizes Aeneas' *pietas*. Despite the connotations of familial and other responsibilities that the term had by Virgil's time and which Aeneas embodied, his *pietas* is ultimately a symbol of his submission to fate and the will of the gods. From the very proem he is described as “a man exiled by fate” (*fato profugus*). His piety dictates that he follow what fate has decreed, and he comes to desire it in place of his personal wants. His fortune is inextricably intertwined with that of the Roman people. He “burns with passion' to leave Carthage for Italy (*ardet abire*, 4.281),” and the “Roman future, 'igniting'...[Aeneas'] spirit with 'love for coming fame' (*incenditque animum famae venientis amore*, 6.889).”⁵³ He has submitted his own desires to the desires of fate, as demanded by his *pietas*.

Desire itself plays a role in our search for Roman identity within the context of “gendered ethnicity.” Syed discusses the roles of Dido and Lavinia as “ethnic others erotically linked to Aeneas.” Their two examples demonstrate that women representative of their own cultures help to define Aeneas (and *Romanitas*). By virtue of their contrast with Aeneas both with respect to

52 Reed, “Vergil's Roman,” 72.

53 Reed, “Vergil's Roman,” 73.

their ethnicity and gender they help to define him. Dido's desire to meld the future Roman people with her own evokes the theme of empire. Carthage is therefore represented through Dido as a territorial acquisition of the Roman empire because her conflict with Aeneas anticipates the Punic Wars. Likewise Lavinia's Latin ethnicity contrasts Aeneas with Rome's Latin neighbors.⁵⁴ Thus “the characteristic play of assimilation to and differentiation for mother nations can produce a capacious, accommodating sense of nationality that is suitable to an empire.”⁵⁵ This synthetic identity was necessary by Augustus' time since the “Romans” were no longer an ethnically or culturally homogenous people (if they ever were), but rather the Roman empire was multiethnic and culturally diverse.

So in a sense by presenting no consistent identity “the very oracles that keep prescribing outsiders – as a husband for Lavinia, as a leader for the Etruscan armies – guarantee the multiethnic reach of Rome, even as they confound the origins of Roman identity.”⁵⁶

Aeneas was chosen as the Roman national hero because he is the only character who was capable of representing such an identity. This is explained in part by Aeneas' contrast with Andromache. Whereas she dwells on the Trojan past and has recreated her Trojan life in Epirus, Aeneas was forced by fate to leave his Troy and his Trojan identity behind:

Live on enjoying your blessings, for whom fortune has been completed; we are called to other fates from still others. You have earned your rest; No sea must be ploughed, nor Italian fields always retreating backward. You see an effigy of Xanthus and Troy which were made with your hands, with better auspices, I hope, and which will be less exposed to the Greeks.

Vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta

iam sua; nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur.

54 Syed, *Vergil's Aeneid*, 174-5.

55 Reed, “Vergil's Roman,” 74.

56 Reed, “Vergil's Roman,” 74.

*Vobis parta quies; nullum maris aequor arandum,
 arva neque Ausoniae semper cedentia retro
 quaerenda. Effigiem Xanthi Troiamque videtis
 quam vestrae fecere manus, melioribus, opto,
 auspiciis, et quae fuerit minus obvia Graiis. (3.495-9)*

As Aeneas leaves Andromache behind in Epirus, he abandons any chance of reconstructing his former life. His fate and new identity are now bound to the Roman people.

Just as Virgil avoids describing the city of Rome in the proem by interrupting himself with an invocation of the muse, he consistently avoids characterizing Aeneas. While Lyne points out that “Virgil can characterize admirably when he wants to: individuals, and people in their affective relations with one another..,” he decidedly misses the point by concluding “that if a character is shown *not* responding at times to those who merit such a response, we must interpret that character as...incapable or undesirous of so responding.”⁵⁷ Lyne is of course referring to Aeneas, but it is not he who is incapable or undesirous of replying. Rather Virgil never gives him a chance; there is always an interruption of some kind, or Aeneas is simply silent. Lyne attributes this diversion to the busy kind of world in which Aeneas lives.⁵⁸ Lyne again misses the mark. It is true that Virgil's design was to quickly progress the plot; there was no time for lengthy speeches or personal encounters which could be avoided. This *modus operandi* had the added effect of allowing Aeneas to remain relatively nondescript physically, emotionally, and characteristically.

This sort of blank slate character is exactly what Virgil intended for Aeneas. He is the screen onto which the reflections of other ethnicities are shone. In other words, while he himself is not described, he is characterized as the reverse of other groups. Aeneas is only directly

57 R.O.A.M. Lyne, *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 175.

58 Lyne, *Further Voices*, 180.

characterized in any detail when insulted by someone. For example, the Nubian king Iarbas smears Aeneas:

...That Paris with his half-man retinue, A Maeonian turban bound about his chin and dripping hair...

...ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu

Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem

subnexus. . . (4.215-17)

He describes Aeneas as a distinctly Eastern figure. This is a trope, along with feminizing men, which is commonly used as insult in the *Aeneid* (9.614-20, 12.97-100). Yet neither the narrator nor any character ever describes Aeneas in this way except when he had been clothed by Dido (4.261-64). Then and only then does he appear in Eastern garb. We can't say for certain that this type of dress was unusual for Aeneas, but the effect of this one singular description is to suggest that it was. Trojans are, after all, descended from their Italian ancestor Dardanus and are not associated with the typical Eastern barbarians in the *Aeneid*.⁵⁹

As we saw in the previous chapter, Aeneas is a character with whom the reader is invited to readily identify. He himself is often spectator of ekphrasis or audience of oral stories as the reader is. Readers share his experience and viewpoint. His indeterminate appearance functions to this end, then, to allow readers to identify, empathize, and associate themselves with him. If Aeneas looks like no one in particular, displays the traditional dress of no specific group, all the more room is left to the imagination.

Still other conventions of the *Aeneid* help to define Aeneas and, therefore, *Romanitas* more generally. In the context of the Trojan War, the Greeks are characterized in stark opposition to the Trojans. In books I and II the Greeks appear as treacherous, cunning, and untrustworthy opponents to the upright, virtuous Trojans. These books recall the stories of the Trojan war,

59 Syed, *Vergil's Aeneid*, 194-99.

including the Trojan horse, and set the reader against the conquerers from the beginning. It is in contrast to the foil of the Greeks then, that the Trojans and their descendent Romans are seen. Aeneas is in effect the epitome of the virtuous, trusting, pious Trojan and father of the Roman people. And as Anchises points out to him, Rome will have its revenge on Greece for its offense against Troy (6.836-40). Yet the poem is not altogether dismissive of or hostile to Greeks. Their image is redeemed somewhat by a few characters, most notably Evander and Diomedes, in the latter half of the poem. As Syed puts it, “ethnic stereotypes of the Greeks are counteracted by the depiction of Greeks like Anius, Achaemenides, Euander, and Diomedes, hence drawing attention to the discursive nature of these stereotypes.”⁶⁰ Thus it is not the ethnicity which Virgil intends to contrast with Aeneas and the Romans, but rather the quality which characterizes them in each specific instance. These idiosyncrasies are arbitrarily applied to different ethnicities and are not necessarily meant to disparage them as ethnic Others, but only in each particular instance to typify the Romans' character by contrast.

And so Aeneas is defined only in small measure by his own actions or direct descriptions of his person, but more often by those of others. One of the few descriptors he is given is the epithet *pius*. Originally this term denoted devotion to the gods. In the Greek tradition Aeneas was known primarily as a fierce warrior, second only to Hector on the side of the Trojans. This martial prowess is received in Virgil, but supplanted by an explicit emphasis on his *pietas* (1.10, 1.378, 6.403, 11.921-22) which was not present in the earlier tradition. In the Iliad he was frequently referred to as Τρώων Βουλευφόρε “counselor of the Trojans.” His good council extended to the realm of divine affairs, but Galinsky suggests that this sage advice stemmed only from an eminent reasonableness and not exceptional religious dedication.⁶¹ Therefore Aeneas' piety in the *Aeneid* seems to be an invention of Virgil; he crafted the character of Aeneas to suit

60 Syed, *Vergil's Aeneid*, 204.

61 Galinsky, *Aeneas*, 36-37.

his purpose. *Pius* Aeneas accepted his god-given fate and left Troy, but with him took his penates:

And you, father, take the sacred native Penates in your hands; for me to handle them so recently returned from battle and slaughter is forbidden until I have cleansed myself in a flowing stream. With that over my broad shoulders and lowered neck I place the skin of a tawny lion as a cloak and I receive my burden; Little Iulus grasped my right hand and followed his father with uneven steps; my wife followed behind...

*Tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque Penatis;
me, bello e tanto digressum et caede recenti,
attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo
abluero.*

*Haec fatus, latos umeros subiectaue colla
veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis,
succedoque oneri; dextrae se parvus Iulus
implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis;
pone subit coniunx. . . (2.717-25)*

Here we see the start of Virgil's appropriation of Aeneas. *Pietas* in the *Aeneid* included more than just dedication to the gods. The inclusion of Anchises, Iulus, and Creusa in this scene is indicative of the shift in the connotations of the term. Virgil uses it to refer to familial responsibility, moral integrity, and proper reverence of the gods. These are the characteristics by which Aeneas is defined. In addition, Virgil makes an unprecedented move by associating Aeneas with Hercules in the same scene that typifies his *pietas*. Indeed, this is the first such association between the two characters.⁶² From the outset then, their association is established alongside Aeneas' *pietas*. Because of the fact that “where Hercules is alluded to in the *Aeneid*, he appears as

62 Galinsky, *Aeneas*, 22.

the warlike hero,” this scene demonstrates the two main defining attributes of Aeneas in the poem: *pietas* and martial prowess.⁶³

Aeneas' *pietas* compelled him to save his family, the penates, and the legacy of Troy by submitting to fate. Doing so led to the long series of trials, or labors, by which his association with Hercules already established by donning the lion skin was grown. These labors are alluded to many times throughout the *Aeneid* (1.241, 1.372-4). Most notable among these is at 4.233 when Jupiter tells Hermes to deliver the message that Aeneas must “shoulder his burden” (*mollitur...laborem*) and leave Carthage.⁶⁴ This association, in conjunction with elaboration in the Hercules-Cacus episode, was to “establish” Aeneas' myth. That is to say, without associating Aeneas with a character of such wide appeal as Hercules, who was the only true panhellenic hero and worshiped widely throughout Italy, including at Rome, his myth would not have successfully achieved the popularity that such a connection facilitated.⁶⁵

We may thus explain Virgil's aversion to describing Aeneas, his use of contrast to Other groups and ethnicities, and his effort to assimilate Aeneas to the reader in the same way. If Aeneas has no defining features, readers may easily imagine him looking like themselves. The stereotypes applied to Other groups do not exclude them from a Roman identity, since they appear to be arbitrary and inconsistent, but define Aeneas by contrast, associating him with positive qualities which appeal to readers. Virgil makes use of ekphrasis and vivid oral stories to make Aeneas a detached observer and thus easy for the reader to associate himself with. All of these were factors in the popularization of the *Aeneid* as the Roman national epic.

Aeneas' nondescript nature and definition by contrast also affect the idea of Roman identity within the poem. One might see “the *Aeneid*'s conundrums as highly polished surfaces in

63 Galinsky, *Aeneas*, 22.

64 Galinsky, *Hercules*, 132-3.

65 Galinsky, *Hercules*, 131-2.

which readers see only their own desire for a solution.”⁶⁶ That is to say, they see the Roman as they interpret him. Virgil refuses to concretely define him so that “the 'Roman' of the Aeneid is a rhetorical entity” who is “identifiable with the self – the reader's subject position.”⁶⁷

Aeneas' association with Hercules as the ideal Roman not only enhances his reputation as a great hero, but it introduces the idea that Aeneas can be the same kind of national hero that Herakles was to the Greeks. Aeneas fills the heroic void left by Hercules' movement toward the religious sector of Roman society. The Hercules-Cacus episode makes this shift explicit and calls the reader's attention to it. Evander tells the story to Aeneas whose help he needs like he once needed Hercules'. The Greeks and Italians once needed Hercules as a hero, but the Romans now need Aeneas.

66 Reed, “Vergil's Roman,” 77.

67 Reed, “Vergil's Roman,” 78.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bal, Mieke, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.
- Barchiesi, Alessandro, "Virgilian Narrative: Ecphrasis," in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. Charles Martindale, 271-281. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Camps, W. A., ed. *Propertius Elegies Book IV*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1965.
- Cary, Earnest, trans. *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937.
- Erskine, Andrew, *Troy between Greece and Rome: Local Tradition and Imperial Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Fagles, Robert, trans. *Virgil: The Aeneid*. New York: Penguin Group, 2010.
- Farnell, Lewis Richard, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921.
- Fordyce, C. J., comm. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Libri VII-VIII*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Foster, B. O., trans. *Livy: History of Rome Books I-II*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Fowler, Don, "Virgilian Narrative: Story-Telling," in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. Charles Martindale, 259-270. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Galinsky, Karl G., *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
- Galinsky, Karl G., "The Hercules-Cacus Episode in Aeneid VIII," *The American Journal of Philology* 87.1 (1966): 18-51.

- Galinsky, Karl G., *The Herakles Theme: The Adaptations of the Hero in Literature from Homer to the Twentieth Century*. Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1972.
- Gransden, K. W., ed. *Virgil Aeneid Book VIII*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Gilmartin, Kristine, "Hercules in the Aeneid," *Vergilius* 14 (1968): 41-47.
- Lyne, R. O. A. M., *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897.
- Ogilvie, R. M., *A Commentary on Livy Books 1-5*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Parkes, Ruth, "Where Was Hercules? A Note on Vergil "Aeneid" 8.201-212," *Vergilius* 53 (2007): 100-103.
- Reed, J. D., "Vergil's Roman," in *A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and its Tradition*, ed. Joseph Farrell and Michael C.J. Putnam, 66-79. Malden, Mass. And Oxford, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Reed, J. D., *Virgil's Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the Aeneid*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Schultz, Celia E., "Modern Prejudice and Ancient Praxis: Female Worship of Hercules at Rome," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 133 (2000): 291-297.
- Small, Jocelyn Penny, *Cacus and Marsyas in Etrusco-Roman Legend*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Smith, Riggs Alden, *The Primacy of Vision in Virgil's Aeneid*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005.
- Syed, Yasmin, *Vergil's Aeneid and the Roman Self: Subject and Nation in Literary Discourse*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005.
- Watts, A. E., trans. *The Poems of Sextus Propertius*. Chichester: Centaur Press, 1961.
- Wiseman, T. P., *The Myths of Rome*. Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2004.
- Zarker, John W., "The Hercules Theme in the Aeneid," *Vergilius* 18 (1972): 34-48.

ACADEMIC VITA

Douglas H. Chatterton
412 Dry Run Road Beech Creek, PA 16822 / DHowardChatterton@gmail.

Education

Pennsylvania State University

Expected May 2014

Schreyer Honors College, Gateway Program

Bachelor of Arts in Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies

Bachelor of Arts in History

Minors: Latin

Ancient Greek

Languages

Latin – 4 Semesters' experience as of Fall 2013

Readings:

Tacitus' <i>Annales</i> (1.1-4, 1.9-10. 1.24, 1.69, 3.29, 3.35, 3.72, 4.1-4, 4.7-12, 4.17-20, 4.32-33, 4.39) on the career of Sejanus and (12.15-21) on Mithradates	Fall 2013
Virgil's <i>Aeneid</i> (8.184-305)	Fall 2013
Cicero's <i>In Catalinam</i>	Fall 2012
Livy's <i>Ab urbe condita libri</i> (21.1-4, 21.26-30, 21.35-37, 21.40-41, 21.43-44)	Fall 2012
Julius Caesar's <i>De bello Gallico</i> (1.1-9)	Fall 2012

Ancient Greek – 3 Semesters' experience as of Fall 2013

Readings:

Plato's? <i>Κλειτοφῶν</i>	Fall 2013
Gorgias' <i>Ελένης εγκώμιων</i>	Fall 2013
Herdotus' <i>ιστορία</i> (1.29-32)	Fall 2013
Heraclitus Fragments (12, 30, 50, 78, 79, 93, 101, 108, 112-116, 121, 123 from Bryn Mawr <i>περί φύσεως</i> commentary)	Fall 2013
Thucydides' History of Peloponnesian War(34.1-8, 35.1-3, 40.1-541.1-5)	Fall 2013
Hippokrates' On Ancient Medicine (excerpts)	Fall 2013
Aristophanes' <i>Εκκλησιάζουσαι</i> (84-204, 395-465, 555-629, 746-805)	Fall 2013
Xenophon's <i>συμπόσιον</i> (1.1-10, 3.1-14, 4.56-64)	Fall 2013
Isocrates' <i>κατά των σοφιστών</i> (13.1-9)	Fall 2013
Herodorus Fragments on Herakles (1, 13, 14, 17, 22 a&b)	Fall 2013
Lysias' <i>κατά Ερατοσθένους</i>	Spring 2013

Modern Greek

Spent a semester in Athens, Greece learning and using Modern Greek

Publications

Honors Thesis Research

Tentative Title: *Hercules and Herakles: The Roman Appropriation of Greek Myth*

Advisor: Dr. Stephen Wheeler

Expected 2014

Wikipedia Article

Re-wrote the Wikipedia entry on Xenophon's *Symposium* as of 12/17

2013

International Experience

Murighiol, Romania (4 Weeks in Summer)

2013

Archaeological dig at the Roman fort of Halmyris, funded by the Romanian Department of Culture and associated with the History & Archaeological Museum in Tulcea and the Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest; Excavated 4th and 5th century Roman fortifications, military/ domestic structures and artifacts

Athens, Greece (Spring Semester)

2013

Courses in Greek History, Modern Greek Language and Culture, Art and Archaeology, Byzantine History, Study of the Trojan War, Crete Past and Present, Ancient Greek - 18 hours credit at the Athens Centre

Rome, Italy, (2.5 Weeks in Summer)

2012

Study tour of Roman archaeological sites, 6 hours credit

Honors and Awards

Honor Societies

Phi Beta Kappa National Honor Society

2013

The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi

2012

Phi Eta Sigma National Honor Society

2011

National Society of Collegiate Scholars

2011

Golden Key International Honour Society

2011

Awards and Grants for Academic Excellence

Reverend Thomas Bermingham Scholarship in the Classics	2013
Schreyer Honors College Study Abroad Scholarship	2013
Snowiss Scholarship	2011-2013
Walizer Renaissance Scholarship	2011-2012
Stitzer Trustee Scholarship	2011-2012
Academic Competitiveness Grant	2011

Miscellanea

Leadership Experience

Phi Sigma Pi Co-ed National Honor Fraternity	2012-Present
Initiate class President, worked with initiates and brothers to plan leadership, fellowship, scholarship and social events and represented the class in chapter	
Fraternity Brother, conducting initiate interviews, assisting in service and scholarship events, participating in leadership workshops	
CAMS (Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies) Club Officer	Presently
Vice President, Working with club officers and department faculty to plan meetings, lectures, social events, and professional opportunities	

Work Experience

Lowe's Corporation, Assembler Summer	Mill Hall, PA store	2013
Assembled floor items, provided customer service		
Subway Corporation, Sandwich Artist	Lock Haven, PA store	2008-09
Conducted business transactions, managed financial deposits, provided customer service, trained new employees, prepared food, cleaned work space		