Tiresias VII

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Eds., Anthony Gallipoli and Samantha Moser

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A Letter from the Editors-in-Chief

Salvete!

Welcome to the sixth instalment of CMS' student journal *Tiresias*. In this journal, you'll find a selection of the some of the excellent work produced by both undergraduates and graduates alike. This year, the essays range in both topic and time period, from an art style found as early as the 5th century BCE, to an essay on Leontius of Neapolis' *Life of Symeon* from the 7th century CE, and even a piece of Classical reception: a beautiful Greek poem composed by one of our very own students!

As always, we as the editors-in-chief want to thank the wonderful group of people who have helped make this instalment of *Tiresias* possible. To the editors, Josh Mifsud, Aleksandra Nastić, and Anthony Gallipoli for your comments and feedback on the fantastic submissions that we received. In particular, as this instalment was unable to published until following the graduation of both of us editors-in-chief, a very big thank you to Tiara Russell, who in the early days of her new consulship, agreed to help oversee the publication of *Tiresias VI* and act as a coordinator to help us publish this journal.

Of course, I think that all of us as students can agree that none of the work in this journal would have been possible without the continued support from our fantastic staff and faculty. You all make coming to class enjoyable, and we appreciate your constant efforts to help us feel comfortable to participate and discuss ideas, as well as for your dedication to us students and our educations. Thank you, especially, to Drs. Andrew Faulkner and Christina Vester, for your help in reviewing the poem in this journal. And a big thank you to Brigitte, who never fails to provide us with the guidance we need to make something like *Tiresias* happen.

Finally, thank you to everyone who submitted their essays for review, and congratulations to everyone who was published in this instalment.

On that note, we are so excited to present you with *Tiresias VII*. We hope that you enjoy.

Si valetis, valemus,

Anthony Gallipoli and Samantha Moser

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ἄλλη ἡ ᾠδὴ περὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἀμφορέως

Tiara Russell

This poem is dedicated to my family, friends, and partner who have supported me and listened to me as I became fascinated with this language. I want to recognize the rich poetic tradition from which I derived inspiration for this poem, specifically John Keats. And finally, I want to thank my wonderful professors for teaching me about this language and helping to make this poem what it is.

ὑμεῖς τὰ ἥσυχα φύλλα ἐπὶ τῷ δένδρῳ ἃ ἀκμηνὰ ἀεὶ ἔσται,
ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀτρεμοῦς ἀνέμου ψοφούμενα, τῷ συγγράφει ἐκλάμψεσθε ὅς
εἰς τοῦτον ὄψεται εἰς τὰ ἑπόμενα ἔτη. ὑμεῖς ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ,
καὶ ὦ νεανίας καὶ ὦ παρθένος ὑπὸ τοῖς δένδροις ἐρωτικῶς καθιζόμενοι,
ἀεὶ συνόντες ἀλλὰ οὐδέποτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους συζεύξετε.
σὺ ὃς τοῖς κρυσταλλόπηκτοις χερσὶν ἀεὶ τὴν λύραν ψάλλων,
καὶ εἴθε ἐθέλοιμι ἡδέως ἀκούειν τὸ καλὸν. ἐν τούτοις
ταῖς εἰκόσιν ἅμα, τὸν λαμπρὸν λόγον λέγεις.

τίνας τοὺς μῦθους ἔχεις, ἡσύχως ἱστάμενος ὡς σὺ εἶ;
τίνας τοὺς λόγους καὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν ανθροπῶν λέγων;
τί συ ὑπὸ τῶν μελῶν καὶ τῶν ᾠδῶν ἐνθουσιάσθης γράψαι;
ποίαι αἱ κῶμαι ἁλίσκονται ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι σου,
οὐκέτι δύνανται λέγειν, οὐκέτι ποιεῖν;
τί ἡδὺ, ὁπόταν ὁρᾶται, ἀλλὰ ἡδύτερον ἐπεὶ τις αὐτὸ ὁρᾷ ἐπὶ σοι τῷ ἀμφορεῖ,
καὶ ὁπόταν αὐτὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου παύεται ἱκανῶς καὶ ἀεὶ τιμᾶται;

τίνα οἱ ἀγῶνες; τίνα τὰ εὐτυχήματα; τί ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν χρονῶν
δύνασαι διδόναι ἡμὶν ὅτι τόυς ἀνθρώπους σήμερον ἀναμιμνήσκει
ὅτι ἡμεῖς πάντες αὐτοὶ ἐσμεν;
ὑμεῖς αἱ ἀθάνατοι εἰκόνες, αἵ ἀμελὴς χρόνου ἡμὰς ἐνθουσιάζουσιν,
καὶ δεικνύασιν τί ἐν τοῖς νοῖς ἡμῶν το καλὸν μενεῖ.
τὸ καλὸν ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἐστιν τὸ καλόν.
καὶ ἴσμεν πάντα ἃ χρῆ ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι.

Another Ode to a Grecian Urn

You quiet leaves on the trees that will forever be grown,
Rustling in a still wind, gleaming for a historian, who will peer
upon this in the years to come. You there upon the ground,
Young man and maiden, beneath the trees sitting dearly,
Always together yet never will you marry. You with frozen hands,
Playing eternal music from a lyre, oh how I wish its beauty could reach my ear.
In these images, together, the story you tell is so grand.

What other legends do you hold, standing quietly like you do?
What gods and mortals do you tell about? What melodies
And rhymes inspired you? What villages are encapsulated
Within your walls, no longer able to speak, no longer able to create?
What is sweet when seen, but sweeter when upon you,
whenever it is slowed enough by time and always appreciated?/when time slows it down
enough to be forever appreciated?

What struggles? What successes? What can you offer from then
That reminds humans today that we are all the same?
You immortal scenes, who inspire regardless of time,
And show us why beauty remains on our minds.
Beauty is truth, truth beauty,
And we know all that we need to know.

Divine Playacting: Paradoxical Behaviour in Leontius of Neapolis' Life of Symeon as means of Salvation

Aleksandra Nastić

Za mog tatu, Žarka Trifunovića, koji me je vaspitao, voleo, i naučio urednosti truda. Koji sve što ima izgradio iz temelja. Sa punog ljubavi, tatin bubac.

He who fails to acknowledge the will of Christ is uttered as a fool. In the same vein, he who does is also called a fool by the former people. Contrary to the name, a true fool for Christ only feigns such behaviour. Babbling incoherently, acting shamefully to society's standards, or practicing casual violence is not a natural instinct for these saints but a form of playacting to conceal their sacred perfection. However, the role and purpose of holy foolery in hagiographical texts is not as self-evident as something as concealment. Instead, the function is innately paradoxical, as each part of their behaviour has the purpose of bringing about salvation. This salvation is not merely for oneself but for the sin-ridden city and its inhabitants. This essay will explore Leontius of Neapolis' The Life of Saint Symeon, the behaviour of Leontius' figure, and how he brings salvation to Emesa. This shall be presented through Symeon's sacred parody of Christ to bring holiness, his apatheia, the exorcizing of his own inner demons to rid others of theirs, and his simulated madness, teetering him on the edge of sanctity and sinfulness to denounce the very sin he surrounds himself with.

Written around 642 to 648 A.D., The Life of Symeon was written by Leontius of Neapolis, a bishop in the late to early seventh century.[1] He is referred to as Symeon Salos, the Fool, but what makes him so? The finest way to put it is that in all facets of his life, he plays and is the madman, at least to outsiders. He behaves in a manner that society deems crude and unbecoming, too violent and too brash. To the citizens of Emesa, he is the outlier due to his unusual behaviour. His asceticism, lack of passion, and imitation of Jesus serve as a sort of inverted Christ-like figure. Symeon seems just as peculiar to Emesians as Jesus did to the Jerusalemites. To give up worldly possessions for a life of constant prayer, grazing, and solitude could be viewed as something foolish because "it strikes back against the black heart of the world's sin - egoism and pride."[2] Despite his otherness to those around him, the urban populace, Symeon as it happens, is the epitome of devotion and obedience. Holy foolery emerged in the East with the monastic movement. From there came extreme forms of asceticism: stylites, hermits, foolishness for Christ's sake, all of which had very little in terms of social acceptance.[3] The

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[1] Syrkin, Alexander Y. *On the Behavior of the 'Fool for Christ's Sake.* History of Religions 22, no. 2 (1982): 150–71. Pg. 151. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1062567.

[2] Saward, J. (1983). *Perfect Fools. Folly for Chist's Sake in Catholic and Orthodox Spirituality.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Pg. 14.

[3] Poulakou-Rebelakou, E., A. Liarmakopoulos, C. Tsiamis, and D. Ploumpidis. *Holy Fools: A Religious Phenomenon of Extreme Behaviour*. Journal of Religion and Health 53, no. 1 (2014): 95–104. Pg. 101. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24485063.

deployment of asceticism meant obedience. Obedience to God but also the obedience to shun society at large, to free oneself from the shackles of temptation that lurk at every corner of the city.[4] While Symeon does practice as an ascetic, albeit an extreme one, for twenty-nine years, he breaks away from this secularization and returns to an urban area. He internalizes the workings of asceticism, prayer, fasting, and devotion to God, and in the same stroke, becomes an ascetic from an already solitary religious practice. He is, all at once, obedient and disobedient.

Symeon, as holy fool, is innately paradoxical. A holy fool is not a fool because of his contradictory behaviour. Rather, his contradictory behaviour is because of his holy foolery, a means to a greater end. In John Saward's Perfect Fools: Folly for Christ's Sake in Catholic and Orthodox Spirituality, he delves into each feature of a fool's behaviour such as their eschatological being, discernment of spirits, and purity and simplicity of heart.[5] However, as briefly mentioned, the features of Symeon's behaviour that will be discussed are his Christocentricity, asceticism, allowing for apatheia, and simulated madness.[6] With these three layers of Symeon in mind, it shall also be explained what each of them achieves, and how they all come together for the result of salvation for himself, Emesa, and its people.

The first aspect of Symeon's behaviour to be discussed is his Christocentricity, as Saward describes. A holy fool's elements consist of humbling himself, mimicking Jesus' poverty, and evoking a town's mockery.[7] The result of this is "to know Christ and the power of His resurrection and the fellowship of sharing in His sufferings, becoming like him in His death."[8] Though the end result of Symeon's imitation of Christ is attaining this knowledge, it also comes with a moral lesson of conversion to Leontius' audience and the guidance of holiness into Emesa.

As a sacred parody of Christ, Symeon has many parallels with Him. They both enter their cities with animals; Symeon with a dead dog tied to himself and Jesus with a donkey.[9] Other direct parallels include leaving the desert life behind to enter the city, the banishment of demons, providing food to others, healing, and most significantly, the

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[4] Thomas, Andrew. "The holy fools: a theological enquiry." PhD diss., University of Nottingham, 2009. Pgs. 38-9.
[5] Saward, J. (1983). *Perfect Fools. Folly for Chist's Sake in Catholic and Orthodox Spirituality.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Pg. 27, 29, and 30.
[6] Saward, J. (1983). *Perfect Fools. Folly for Chist's Sake in Catholic and Orthodox Spirituality.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Pg. 25.
[7] Saward, J. (1983). *Perfect Fools. Folly for Chist's Sake in Catholic and Orthodox Spirituality.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Pg. 15.
[8] King James New Testament. Phil. 3:10.
[9] Leontius of Neapolis. IV. 145 and the Bible. Matthew 21.

absence of their bodies once their tombs are opened.[10] Not only is Symeon directly channelling and bodying Christ, but he also creates inversions of Him. In response to John refusing to leave the desert to save the people in the city, Symeon says, "Believe (me), I won't stay, but I will go in the power of Christ; I will mock the world."[11] Symeon, in drawing attention to himself with ridicule and mockery, is viewed the same way Jesus was. But by mocking the people of Emesa, Symeon challenges the values and perceptions of society and serves as a reminder that the ways of the Lord are non-linear.[12] The way Christ can be unpredictable, forgiving, and punishing, so too is Symeon. This is seen in a passage where a group of girls jeer and jest at monks. Symeon prays to God and He makes them all cross-eyed. They are kissed by Symeon, thinking they will be healed, but are stuck with their affliction, as, "Unless God had made them cross-eyed, they would have exceeded all the women of Syria in debauchery. But through the disease of their eyes they gave up all their evil."[13] The same passage makes clear that his goals are to save souls, with illnesses and in methodical manners, and to keep his virtue hidden. In an odd case, the saint heals, not physically, but spiritually by physical means, demonstrating his inverted Christ-like nature. By bringing this malady unto them, he heals their spirit of sin, their inner demons. Contrarily, he too heals physical ailments, though in bizarre ways. Mirroring an episode from the Bible, Symeon heals a blind man by anointing his eyes with mustard, nearly burning him. He is told to "Go wash, idiot, with vinegar and garlic," to be healed immediately.[14] Instead, he goes to a physician to be healed to no avail and finally heeds Symeon's word. At length, Symeon perfectly evokes the image of Christ in his overall ascetic practice of holy foolery. Yet in his more precise actions, absolving those of their sins in ludicrous manners, he becomes an inverted figure of Christ. He accomplishes the goal of bringing holiness to Emesa.

Continuing the discussion concerning Symeon's Christocentricity, by being the ultimate holy being in the flesh, Leontius challenges the "audience by mixing shamelessness with sanctity and by placing holiness in the city where it does not belong."[15]As he ushers Christ and his asceticism to Emesa, he brings the chance of salvation for all. In expressing this in his text, Leontius makes evident his desire to introduce the moral lesson of salvation and conversion to a greater audience.

Remaining pure and practicing abstinence just as Jesus Christ did, Symeon is unmoved by bodily passions. He mixes himself into the company of prostitutes, securing their fidelity to him, or rather to Christ. If sensing one of their betrayals, he either "prayed that a deadly disease would come to her, or often, if she continued in her unchastity, he would

[10] Syrkin, Alexander Y. *On the Behavior of the 'Fool for Christ's Sake.* History of Religions 22, no. 2 (1982): 150–71. Pg. 165. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1062567.
[11] Leontius of Neapolis. III. 142.
[12] Ivanov, S. A. *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond*. Oxford University Press, 2006. Pg. 124.
[13] Leontius of Neapolis. IV. 158.
[14] Ibid. IV. 160-61.
[15] Krueger, Derek., and Leontius. *Symeon the Holy Fool Leontius's Life and the Late Antique City*. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 1996. Pg. 114.

send her a demon. Because of this, henceforward, he got all those who promised him to remain chaste and not betray him."[16] In another account, he converts a man from Judaism to Christianity.[17] The end result of utilizing Symeon as an inverted Christ-like figure through holy foolery is threefold: to demonstrate the gift of holiness to a once sinful city, for Leontius to show his readers that anyone shall be saved through conversion and for Symeon's attainment of godly knowledge declared in Phil. 3:10. His tomb is devoid of his body, for: "the Lord had glorified him and translated him. Then all came to their senses, as if from sleep, and told each other what miracles he had performed for each of them and that he had played the fool for God's sake."[18]

The second aspect of a holy fool's behaviour that can be applied to Symeon is that of his asceticism and extreme apatheia, the absence of passions, considered the greatest virtue in Orthodox monasticism.[19] In the first half of Leontius' text, readers are exposed to Symeon's time in the desert with John for twenty-nine years, whereby he attains the purest soul and mind. With this time spent "of unceasing prayer, through which in a brief span the tireless workers progressed...they were judged worthy of divine visions, and God's assurances, and miracles."[20] He invites the Holy Spirit inside him. He casts out his own inner demons, ceasing to be a slave to profanity. He has reached divine wisdom with Christ by his side. He has brought himself to salvation, but what good is salvation if the rest of the world burns behind you? This is exactly what he asks, saying to John, "get up, let us depart; let us save others. For as we are, we do not benefit anyone except ourselves, and have not brought anyone else to salvation."[21] He leaves for Emesa straight away.

As aforementioned, by withdrawing from his solitary life in the desert to placing himself in a sin-ridden city, he makes an ascetic move against asceticism. Monasticism was viewed as a break from society itself, a way for the pious to turn their back on secular groups. While Symeon breaks from what has already been 'freed,' it epitomizes the behaviour of the holy - now Symeon decided to engage with the world, through consciously making an effort to be contrary to it."[22] This contrariness, however, is not without reason. Because he has reached complete apatheia, he is able to face the demons of Emesa head on, bringing the city to salvation. He does not preach the Gospel weeping, and neither is he in a constant state of repentance. Instead, Symeon dances, jokes, and

[16] Leontius of Neapolis. IV. 155-56
[17] Ibid. IV. 154.
[18] Leontius of Neapolis. IV. 168.
[19] Poulakou-Rebelakou, E., A. Liarmakopoulos, C. Tsiamis, and D. Ploumpidis. *Holy Fools: A Religious Phenomenon of Extreme Behaviour*. Journal of Religion and Health 53, no. 1 (2014): 95–104. Pg. 97. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24485063.
[20] Leontius of Neapolis. II. 139
[21] Ibid. III. 142.
[22] Thomas, Andrew. "The holy fools: a theological enquiry." PhD diss., University of Nottingham, 2009. Pgs. 39-40.

laughs, all of which are of the Devil.[23] John warns him, "Beware, please, lest when your face laughs, your mind be dissolved; lest when your hands fondle,your soul fondles as well."[24] Symeon knows this already and uses trickery and laughter to lure the Devil out in order to defeat him.

He achieves such a level of impassivity that he is unmoved by passions because, "It is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me."[25] He dances with dancing girls who fondle him, poke and prod at him, and yet he remains unbothered, "not defiled by them at all."[26] In the same passage, he converts the girl, getting them to remain faithful to him. Johnson comments on the use of asceticism in The Life of Symeon, that it ought not to result in indifference to the world, but a concern for it.[27] This, I am inclined to think, is evident in the text. Symeon first uses his asceticism for himself, to achieve apatheia. Once the Holy Spirit has manifested inside him, he moves on to Emesa to procure the salvation of others. The asceticism in holy foolery, especially in the case of Leontius' Symeon, is a means to an end for all. By remaining passionless and by being a holy fool, he attacks the hypocrisy of Emesa's foolishness with his own. With his mask of madness, Symeon turns the city's cheek to Christ.

The final feature that Saward discusses is charisma and simulated madness, which he describes as a "special gift of the Spirit," and a "vocation and gift of God."[28] In speaking of his charisma, the bizarre manner in which he acts, as a vocation, Saward implies Symeon has a job to accomplish. This is more or less true; to save Emesa and her citizens. As previously mentioned, to first resist the temptations that lay in the city, he first lives in the desert, where he "nearly exceeded the limit of human nature."[29] As Guy Stroumsa puts it, one must be like a beast to be an angel, and this is exactly what Symeon executes.[30] In the desert, he does both constant prayer, like an angel, and grazing, like a wild animal.[31] When he arrives at Emesa, he maintains this balance, acting both decently and indecently. Before the eyes of others, "He played all sorts of roles foolish and indecent, but language is not sufficient to paint a portrait of his doings. For sometimes he

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[23] Stroumsa, Guy G. *Madness and Divinization in Early Christian Monasticism*. *S*elf and Self-Transformation in the History of Religions (2002): 73-90. Pg. 79.
[24] Leontius of Neapolis. III. 143.
[25] King James New Testament. Gal. 2:10.
[26] Leontius of Neapolis. IV. 155.
[27] Johnson, C. D. (2014). "Base, but Nevertheless Holy": Lessons in Liminality from Symeon the Holy Fool. Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses, 43(4), 592-612. https://doi.org/10.1177/0008429814548171.
[28] Saward, J. (1983). *Perfect Fools. Folly for Chist's Sake in Catholic and Orthodox Spirituality.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. Pg. 25.
[29] Leontius of Neapolis. III. 142.
[30] Stroumsa, Guy G. *Madness and Divinization in Early Christian Monasticism*. *S*elf and Self-Transformation in the History of Religions (2002): 73-90. Pg. 73.
[31] Leontius of Neapolis. II. 137. And 139.

pretended to have a limp, sometimes he jumped around, sometimes he dragged himself along on his buttocks, sometimes he stuck out his foot for someone running and tripped him."[32] But before the eyes of Christ, privately in his own hut, he "Often he passed the night without sleeping, praying until morning, drenching the ground with his tears."[33] Symeon is a liminal being. He is naturally a pious and divine man but masks his perfection with madness in order to deliver others to salvation.

Another faction of Symeon's behaviour being liminal is that he is compassionate but not without also being violent. This is evident in the following passage:

> Symeon had extraordinary compassion for those possessed by demons, so that from time to time he went off to make himself like one of them, and passed his time with them, healing many of them through his own prayer, and therefore some daimoniacs cried out and said, "O violence, Fool, you jeer at the whole world. Have you also come by us to give us trouble? Retreat from here; you are not one of us. Why do you torture us all night long and burn us?" While the saint was there (in Emesa), he cried out against many because of the Holy Spirit and reproached thieves and fornicators. Some he faulted, crying that they had not taken communion often, and others he reproached for perjury, so that through his inventiveness he nearly put an end to sinning in the whole city.[34]

To conclude, though holy foolery may seem like a bizarre grouping within early Christianity and asceticism, their use in hagiographic literature is much more substantial than what meets the eye. In Leontius of Neapolis' Life of Symeon in particular, what may initially come off as an extreme ascetic and a religious eccentric, Symeon is in actuality, a figure of devotion and hope. By masquerading his perfection, apatheia, and concern for society with madness and violence, he achieves in ending a cycle of profanity in Emesa. This may not be clear while viewing the text face on, but when examining each facet of his behaviour, it is all the more evident. His Christocentricity achieves in bringing holiness to the city, just as Christ did to Jerusalem, gives a moral lesson of salvation and conversion to readers, and allows Symeon to attain angel-like status and God-like wisdom. His asceticism and apatheia invited the Holy Spirit within him, necessary to defeat the demons of each individual in Emesa. Finally, his charisma and feigned madness itself, a vocation to take up from God, presents itself as insanity or deliriousness but is actually what makes Symeon a protector. Violent, judgemental, and indecent he may be, but it comes from a place of gentleness for the soul, caretaking of the spirit, and guidance of man.

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[32] Ibid. IV. 155.
[33] Ibid. IV. 166.
[34] Ibid. IV. 162.

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Livia: A Handbook to Mothering an Empire (While Staying Pretty for your Husband)

Aleksandra Nastić

To my (not so little) baby brother, Borislav Trifunović. You drive me up walls, but I couldn't ask for a more perfect sibling. I love you, my Borbanzo bean."

Standing gloriously at ninety-nine inches, the Ceres Borghese, housed in the Louvre, is a Roman sculpture with many messages and meanings. Made of marble and built between the years 20-40 A.D., the matronly figure, though made to resemble the fertility goddess Ceres, is in fact Livia Drusilla, the first empress of the Roman Empire. In her right hand, she holds a stalk of wheat, and in her left, a cornucopia, both of which signify fecundity. She dons the nodus hairstyle, a style most associated with the Augustan household with the hair parted into three and tied into a bun. Ontop is also a floral crown and a veil, furthering her association to Ceres. Livia wears a peplos and himation, like that in images of goddesses while simultaneously, her soft and aging visage reminds the audience of her mortality. Slightly veristic in nature, her face is plump, unlike typical portraits of her in earlier years, while smile lines frame her mouth and around her nose. Overall, the figure alludes to Livia's role as a woman of great feminine virtue, most notably that of matron.

Traditional analysis of this object and other similar works heavily stress her role as matron to all of Rome, which emphasize her virtuous nature, and observes the stereotypical gender roles of women within the early empire. Besides the position of motherhood imposed onto every woman, she was expected to be entirely devoted to her husband, run the domus, and to physically exude modesty and fidelity. In this way, Livia is exemplary as she embodies and personifies these moral grounds. A woman's modesty, or lack thereof, reflected onto her husband, and by extension, the entirety of Rome. Moreover, this ideology is made apparent in other aristocratic and plebeian families. It was not uncommon to erect a statue in the name of a woman who exemplified motherhood, though certainly not as divinely charged as the Ceres Borghese. A shared similarity is the placement of chastity, devotion, and generosity onto their depictions. Yet, given the status of Livia as empress, the Ceres Borghese is the ultimate representation of woman, one that urges others to emulate her while also placing Livia onto a pedestal.

Lovelace asserts that Livia herself promoted these Roman ideals of modesty and assuming a matronly role, tying them back to the imperial family, just as Augustus had done in his own sculptures. Lovelace also mentions that Livia was never dressed elaborately, rather she continued to be one of her greatest assets as she separated herself from the regular Roman woman, shown through the flower crown on the Ceres Borghese, instead of being adorned with jewelry. This itself puts Livia a moral high ground, one worthy of emulation and comparison to a goddess. Most scholars agree that the statue of Livia as Ceres and other sculptures in a similar vein, personify the empress in a way that cements her into a maternal role. This is especially true when she was considered a mother to all of Rome, "because she had saved the lives of not a few of them, had reared the children of many, and had helped many to pay their daughters' dowries, in

consequence of all which some were calling her Mother of her Country" (LVIII. 2). There is no doubt that this is what is meant to be portrayed on the Ceres Borghese. It is, however, worthwhile to analyze the sculpture through a different lens, one even more catered to the male gaze.

How women ought to have acted and the virtues that they ought to have embodied were thought up by men, or at least driven into them by men. Looking strictly at the feminine ideal is not enough, and one must take into consideration the side of men and their gaze when thinking of the Ceres Borghese. As wife to the emperor, a certain image had to be maintained, to symbolize everything the state either stood for or should have stood for. Of course, Livia did not shy away from such a role or representation. While chastity and fidelity were expected of women, the sexually alluring aspects of a sculpture should also be considered. Davies discusses the contrast between sculptures of men and women, writing that the former is much more assured, confident, and unafraid to take up space, while the latter has the tendency to be positioned elegantly, demurely, and "ladylike." Despite this brief exploration, Davies points out that regardless of the fact that a woman in sculpture takes up less space than that of a man and is seen to be meek and unassuming, there is some level of sexuality and allure given to it. Sculptures of men, particularly in the imperial sphere, have sexual charge through power, excellence, and dominance. This however is different for women, as her sexual allure is made apparent through both her modesty through the layers of fabric and veiling. In the case of the Ceres Borghese, her subtle assuredness is shown in her relaxed contrapposto position evident from the clever drapery and her perked nipples.

All at once, this sculpture of Livia as Ceres attracts and pulls, but never improperly. She is not overbearingly resigned, letting her power as empress known, but it is not a power that is to overshadow her husband. Livia is simultaneously matron of Rome, gentle and pious, while acting as empress, manifested through her composed self and connection to Ceres. While Livia herself bolstered her own self-image, tying herself and her family to the Golden Age of Rome, others contributed to it as well. Bartmen has argued for the dating of the Ceres Borghese. She claims it to be created in the reign of Tiberius due to the eyes, nose, and mouth bearing resemblance to Tiberian portraits. If this is to be followed, then a few stylistic things must be noted. Lovelace states that although Livia was distinct with her nodus hairstyle, one that had become popularized, she was not the one to popularize the trend, but in fact it is one seen since the Late Republic in sculptures. In a way, the nodus style ties back to the golden days of the Republic. As Livia tied herself back to Julius Caesar, and older ideals and morals, perhaps so too did Tiberius, in attempts of consolidating his power through Livia, a woman so powerful in her own right yet who still retained the feminine ideals of modesty, fidelity, with a touch of some allurement that alludes to her role as mother to Rome.

To conclude, while the Ceres Borghese may be a work that is a testament to Roman feminine ideals, there is much more to it than it being a modestly draped matronly figure that women should strive to be and look up to. Of course, the meaning behind the statue relies heavily upon feminine virtues but a second examination, one of the male gaze must also be used while analyzing the work. Not only were men behind these ideas of what an upstanding woman ought to be, but they also somewhat reflect how images of Livia, most

especially the Ceres Borghese, propagate her power as empress. Though men promoted their power through representations of dominance and were quite ostentatious with themselves, women were more docile and unassuming in their images, but in a way that had allure, that reeled the viewer in with modesty and sexuality. The Ceres Borghese is evidence of her epitomizing Roman ideals for women, thus giving her power as such, while also highlighting her role as wife, empress, and matrona to all of Rome. She is worthy of praise for her virtue, of emulation for being such an honourable and respectable woman, and for guidance as she mothered the Roman Empire in her early years.

Ceres Borghese. Photo taken from the Louvre.

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Masculinity, Body-Politic, and the Augustus of Prima Porta: An Idealized and Inevitable Destiny

Anthony Gallipoli

I'd like to dedicate this paper to the Vatican Museums. There was no guarantee that this statue would be on display. Thankfully, it was, and once I finally laid my eyes upon it, I became filled with inspiration, so much so that I knew I would someday write something about it. As always, veni, vidi, deus vicit.

Iconography is an essential tool for rulers to form their self-perception and to communicate that identity to others. Augustus was keenly aware of this concept and demonstrated his mastery of it early on during his reign as Princeps. The Augustus of Prima Porta statue is an example that attests to both Augustus' cognizant skill in crafting and disseminating an identity that further cemented his position in Rome. The traditional analyses of the Prima Porta statue typically examine either the influence of the Classical Greek style of Polyclitus or the apparent political messaging in the statue. Scholars argue that the statue is a conceptualization of the Roman Empire as a body, a visualization of Pax Augusta, or a statement about Augustus' supposed divinity. These analyses are not incorrect, as they will serve as the framework for this project's overall argument.

Augustus' concern with his communicated identity was clearly evident in Roman society. Cassius Dio wrote that prior to taking the "Augustus" title, Octavian wanted to be called Romulus. He eventually recognized the dangerous connotations of the name and chose Augustus instead. This choice pandered to his fellow Romans yet subtly signalled his emerging identity, as Cassius Dio noted that the title was "signifying that he was more than human."[35] Further proof of this emerging identity can again be traced to language, as Augustus meant "venerable" and is also connected to Romulus' augury, a critical aspect of Rome's foundation story. Augustus adopted a noticeably different identity post-Actium.[36] As he grew into his new role of Princeps and the title of Augustus, a shift in his representation on artwork became necessary as he realized that his nude dux representation during the Second Triumvirate period did not accurately reflect his new identity. The Prima Porta statue best portrays this new identity. It is representative of how Augustus' imagined and identified himself with his title, as many scholars have argued. However, what has not been as thoroughly explored is the masculinity of Augustus in the statue. As the statue can be read as a conceptualization of the Roman Empire as a body, the purpose of this project is to examine Augustus' masculinity on the Prima Porta and determine what that masculinity says about the body-politic he represented.

To properly situate the overall argument of this paper, an explanation of what the body-politic is must first be given. The body-politic concept was discussed throughout the Greco- Roman world. Thucydides refers to the body-politic concept in his History of the

[35] Cass Dio. 53.16.
[36] Pollini, 2012, 74. Cf. Zanker, 1990, 98, the title is also connected to *augere*, which means "to grow."

Peloponnesian War as something intimately connected with physical exercise.[37] In Cicero's Philippics, he states that any decaying limb must be destroyed to save the whole body of the republic, referring here to the Catilinarian conspiracy.[38] As Augustus built his new identity after Actium, he modified this understanding of the body-politic to suit his own purposes. While the body-politic retained its political and medical connotations, those ideas began to revolve around the Princeps. The primary meaning of the body-politic evolved to represent the Princeps, the empire, and the cosmos, all as one in the same.[39] Suetonius' description of Augustus serves as an accurate characterization of this modified concept:

> "It is said that his body was covered with spots and that he had birthmarks scattered over his breast and belly, corresponding in form, order and number with the stars of the Bear in the heavens."[40]

Before approaching the main arguments of the paper, a brief explanation of the historical context and the statue is necessary. During the First and Second Triumvirate periods, Rome lost a collection of sacred legionary standards to the Parthians. The most ignominious of these defeats occurred under Marcus Licinius Crassus at the Battle of Carrhae in 53 BCE. The Romans lost other legionary standards in Hispania, Gaul, and Illyria, but the Parthian defeats in particular rankled the Romans. For instance, Horace elucidates his lament over the defeat at Carrhae, 30 years after the battle had occurred in his Carmina.[41]

Starting around 28 BCE and ending in 27 BCE, Augustus concluded his negotiations with the Senate and obtained his new title and role as Princeps. Concluding the negotiations was further necessitated by a major challenge posed to Augustus' political and military base. The grandson of Crassus became eligible to dedicate Spolia Opima, which would have placed Crassus on par with Romulus and, in effect, placed Augustus in a compromised position.[42] Years later, in 23 BCE, Augustus sent the kidnapped son of King Phraates IV back to Parthia and asked for the return of the lost standards and Roman

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[37] Thuc. 6.18.
[38] Cic. *Phil*. 8.15.
[39] Squire, 2015, 310.
[40] Suet. *Aug*. 80.
[41] Hor. *Od*. 3.5.
[42] McPherson, 2010, 26-29. The dedication of *Spolia Opima* (rich spoils) at the Temple of Jupiter *Feretrius*, Rome's first temple to be consecrated, was regarded as the most prestigious military honour in Rome. Only Roman generals were eligible, and in order to qualify for this honour, the general had to slay the enemy leader in single combat. The practice was instituted by Romulus when he killed King Acron of Caenina, stripped Acron's armour off his body, and dedicated it at the Temple of Jupiter *Feretrius*. Only two other men in Republican history— Aulus Cornelius Cossus in 437 BCE and Marcus Claudius Marcellus in 222 BCE—were able to dedicate *Spolia Opima*. Cf. McPherson, 2010, 21. What is clear is that Crassus' potential dedication of *Spolia Opima* posed a major challenge to Augustus' immediate future.

prisoners. By 20 BCE, Augustus' request was granted.[43] Augustus made his way back to Rome in 19 BCE, and a bronze statue was erected sometime after his diplomatic victory involving the Parthians.[44]

The Prima Porta statue is a copy of that bronze statue and was likely crafted after his death in 14 CE. It is 2.08 meters in size and made of Parian marble, a marble so pure that it was comparable to Horace's love for Glycera.[45] Augustus is shown as an idealized and youthful figure, similar to how a deity was represented.[46] R.J. Barrow nicely summarizes the style of the statue as a combination of Classical Greek idealism and Roman verism in the manner of a Republican general, while within a Hellenic god template.[47] He is in a contrapposto pose while dressed in military armour and a Hellenistic-type cuirass, yet he is not a usual Roman soldier as he has bare feet and legs, which are characteristic of Greek heroic nudes.[48] He has his right arm raised, indicating that Augustus is at the second exordium of his adlocutio to his audience.[49] To the side of his right leg is Cupid riding a dolphin. Elsewhere, his left hand is empty, but it may have once held a military standard or a spear, among other options. Lastly, he is draped in his paludamentum in a style that recalls hip-mantle nudes, an important detail to consider as those depictions were reserved for senior male gods in Greece and Rome.[50]

Augustus' cuirass depicts a scene of divine significance. At the centre of his cuirass is a Roman representative attributed to be a variety of mythical and real Romans. This representative is receiving a lost legionary standard from a barbarian, often seen, perhaps mistakenly so, as a Parthian representative.[51] A number of gods are watching the scene unfold, such as Caelus, Aurora, Luna, Tellus, Apollo, and Diana. A layering of anatomical details is visible on the breastplate, implying nudity to R.J. Barrow, who views the cuirass as both an exposition of flesh and a covering costume.[52] Consequently, Augustus is offering a gesture of humility to his audience and revealing his body as

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[43] Rich, 1998, 72.
[44] Barrow, 2018, 89.
[45] Hor. *Od*. 1.19.
[46] Smith, 2015, 41. In fact, Augustus' physiognomy blended with the ideal forms of Greek art. While these forms were subtly mixed in, some authentic personality traits were present as well. Cf. Zanker, 1990, 99.
[47] Barrow, 2018, 91.
[48] Barrow, 2018, 91, 94. These attributes would have been understood by the elite and likely seen by others as a sign of success and authority.
[49] Pollini, 1995, 272.
[50] Hallett, 2005, 176, 178.
[51] Simpson, 2005, 86. It is important to note that the cuirass is shaped for a muscular chest, thereby negotiating between Greek nude heroism and the Roman ideal of military prowess. Cf. Barrow, 2018, 95.
[52] Barrow, 2018, 96. As the cuirass both visualizes and hides his body, it renders Augustus' body both real and metaphorical. Cf. Squire, 2015, 320.

encompassing a new reality.[53] By doing so, Augustus became associated with the gods, as complete or partial nudity was reserved for deities in Rome.[54]

With the proper historical and artistic context established, this project can begin to examine Augustus' masculinity on the Prima Porta. The first masculine attributes to be analyzed on the statue are virtus and gravitas. Virtus can be defined as manliness, while gravitas can be defined as dignity. These qualities are conferred onto Augustus' masculinity on the Prima Porta statue by the apparent influence of Polyclitus and the Doryphoros statue. There are many physical similarities between the Doryphoros statue and the Prima Porta statue, such as a similar height, stance, and perfectly symmetrical hair, but it is the meaning of these similarities that is more pertinent to this project.[55]

The Doryphoros statue was viewed in antiquity as a depiction of a physically and spiritually superior being.[56] More importantly, however, the Doryphoros was viewed as a metaphor for masculine beauty, moral purity, and strength.[57] These Polyclitan attributes are proportioned onto the Prima Porta, as the statue portrays a calm and youthful Augustus who exudes dignity.[58] His face, according to R.J. Barrow, is reminiscent of Classical Greek statuary, as his face radiates a calm, idealistic demeanour.[59] Quintilian praises the Doryphoros as being full of dignity and holiness, while Dionysius of Halicarnassus notes that the Polyclitan style possessed the qualities of holiness, grandeur, and dignity.[60] The Doryphoros statue and the Polyclitan style by Augustus' time were the benchmarks for rendering human and divine figures.

Quintilian writes that the Doryphoros statue possessed a youthfulness so exact to the human form that it could fit seamlessly into military and athletic environments.[61] This youthful and idealized physical beauty on the Doryphoros was appropriate for mythological figures and proved to be critical in bestowing virtus and gravitas on Augustus' masculinity on the Prima Porta. Mariateresa Curcio mentions that Pliny the Elder likely saw the Doryphoros as an exemplary model of virility and that Doryphoros' virility was linked to his youthfulness.[62] It is clear then that the Doryphoros and the Polyclitan style confers an idealized sense of virtus onto Augustus' masculinity. The

[53] Squire, 2013, 260-261.
[54] Hallett, 2005, 92.
[55] Zanker, 1990, 99.
[56] Destrée et.al., 2015, 103.
[57] Pollini, 1995, 268
[58] Zanker, 1990, 98.
[59] Barrow, 2018, 91.
[60] Zanker, 2018, 99, 248.
[61] Hölscher, 2004, 93. The Polyclitan model expressed the social prominence and virility of the represented man, unlike any other style. Cf. Curcio, 2018, 235.
[62] Curcio, 2018, 233.

Doryphoros simultaneously represented an athlete and a military hero, both quintessential male arenas of activity. The Polyclitan style was essential in defining the male body and representing its masculine features. Thus, Polyclitus and the Doryphoros statue confers an idealized and immediately recognizable sense of virtus onto Augustus' masculinity.

The same statue and style also lent an abstract and idealized sense of gravitas to Augustus' masculinity as well. When considering the previously examined qualities of virility, youthfulness, and athleticism meant for the virtus aspect of his masculinity, it is clear that the same approach towards the Doryphoros statue and the Polyclitan style was taken in order to bestow an equally strong measure of gravitas onto Augustus' masculinity. This took shape through the somewhat abstract forms of moral purity, dignity, and holiness traditionally attributed to the Doryphoros statue and Polyclitan style, broadly speaking. More concretely, however, Augustus' bare feet indicated heroization. This depiction placed his existence beyond the scope of time and space, thus imbuing his masculinity with a literal and metaphorical sense of gravitas. It is evident that the Doryphoros statue and the Polyclitan style were deliberately chosen to represent Augustus' masculinity on the Prima Porta statue, as this portion of his masculinity represented a return to the idealized and ordered Classical age.[63]

The second quality of Augustus' masculinity depicted on the Prima Porta is auctoritas, which can be defined as social and spiritual authority. This particular quality was bestowed upon Augustus' masculinity and is displayed on the statue as a consequence of his connection to the prominent Julia gens. To start, Octavian was born into the Octavia gens and was Julius Caesar's great-nephew. Caesar played a prominent role in easing Octavian into the Roman political realm at a young age. To give an example, Caesar awarded pontifical college membership and military prizes to a teenage Octavian. Just as significant, Caesar allowed Octavian to ride behind his chariot during his African triumph and designated Octavian as Magister Equitum, meaning Master of the Horse, which simply meant that Octavian was Caesar's main lieutenant during his dictatorship.[64]

After Julius Caesar's assassination in 44 BCE, Octavian officially entered the Julia gens as Caesar's heir and adopted son. Two years after Caesar's death, he was the first historical Roman leader to be deified and consecrated as a god of the Roman state.[65] With this in mind, Augustan poets gradually began to write of Augustus' eventual deification.[66] Virgil, writing around the time of the construction of the original bronze statue, offers clear evidence of the power of being the son of the deified Julius Caesar:

> "Here Caesar, of Iulus' glorious seed, behold ascending to the world of light! Behold ascending to the world of light! Behold, at last, that man, for

[63] Pollini, 1995, 272-273.
[64] Pollini, 2012, 169-170.
[65] Pollini, 2012, 133. It is important to note that he was also worshipped by a cult.
[66] Hallett, 2005, 230.

> this is he, so oft unto thy listening ears foretold, Augustus Caesar, kindred unto Jove. He brings a golden age..."[67]

Years later, the deified Julius Caesar was shown on a denarius, semi-nude, and with a hip-mantle.[68] This imagery evoked and amplified Augustus' own auctoritas on the Prima Porta as the sole son and heir to the heroized and divine Julius Caesar.

With the genealogical and historical background covered, this paper can now begin to discuss the more observable and thus more pertinent mythological connections that influence the auctoritas portion of Augustus' masculinity on the Prima Porta statue. As a result of his adoption, Augustus began to claim divine heritage through the deified Julius Caesar and the mythical progenitors and ancestors of their gens, specifically Venus, Mars, and Aeneas. These connections are best seen in the dolphin-riding Cupid scene and the military standard sequence between the Roman and barbarian representatives.

Starting with the dolphin-riding Cupid scene off the right leg of the Prima Porta, the dolphin is a symbol of Venus' birth from the sea and was commonly used as a symbol for Hellenistic Aphrodites.[69] The rider of the dolphin is Cupid, the son of Venus and Mars. This was not a unique image, as Julius Caesar had the scene depicted years earlier on coins.[70] This scene and the underlying significance attached to it evoke connections to the mythical Aeneas, founder of the Roman people and embodiment of Roman values. The connections to Venus and Mars affirmed Augustus' divine genealogy and his own divinity.[71] These two deities were essentially the parents and guarantors of Rome, as Mars fathered Romulus and Remus, while Venus gave birth to Aeneas. These roles are confirmed in several ways. First, the pediment on the Temple of Mars the Avenger, where Mars stood alongside Venus.[72] Next, the Venus depicted at the Temple of Mars the Avenger is not the adulterous lover of Mars; rather, she is the wife of Mars, known as Venus Genetrix. Venus Genetrix is known as the mother of the Julian gens, the Augustan ideal for women, and she was responsible for granting fertility and prosperity.[73] In book three of Propertius' Elegies, he describes his anxiety over Augustus retifying Crassus' disgraceful defeat and pleads for "Father Mars" to guarantee the success of Augustus' Parthian campaign in the form of a Roman triumph, and then asks Venus to "protect your children: let it be eternal, this head that survives from Aeneas' line."[74]

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[67] Verg. *A*. 6.789-794.
[68] Koortbojian, 2013, 11.
[69] Holland, 1947, 281.
[70] RRC 468.1.
[71] Barrow, 2018, 97.
[72] Zanker, 1990, 196.
[73] Wise, 2017, 32. In addition to this, Venus *Genetrix* was the goddess of motherhood and domesticity. Her temple was dedicated by Julius Caesar and completed by Augustus.
[74] Prop. 3.4.1-22.

The dolphin-riding Cupid scene carries clear connections to Mars, Venus, and the mythological founders of Rome, which confers a great deal of auctoritas upon Augustus' masculinity on the Prima Porta. This image demonstrated the divinity of his gens and, just as importantly, the destiny of the Julii as the chosen people of Rome.[75] This image characterizes Augustus as a mediator between the gods and man, like Romulus and Aeneas before him.[76]

The military standard scene on the cuirass has received plenty of scholarly attention. It is popularly read as a scene involving Roman and Parthian representatives. However, as this paper has already discussed, Augustus recovered legionary standards across the Mediterranean in the 20s BCE. All lost military standards had equal value, despite the lamentations of Horace and Propertius. It is reasonable to suggest then that the military standard scene is a commemoration for all victories and recoveries of lost military standards under Augustus' auspices.[77] This is acknowledged in Res Gestae Divi Augusti:

> "I subdued the enemy and recovered from Spain and Gaul and from the Dalmatians several military standards which had been lost by other generals. I compelled the Parthians to give back to me spoils and standards of three Roman armies and humbly request the friendship of the Roman people."[78]

The conclusion of a variety of wars, the recovery of military standards, and the befriending of Rome's greatest enemy at the time signalled to all viewers of the Prima Porta that Pax Augusta had been achieved. Augustus was the primary instigator of this state, as he introduced a peaceful world order guaranteed by the harmonious unity of the Roman Empire and the gods. This reinforces the notion that Augustus was a mediator between the gods and man while also supporting his claim that he came from a divine gens chosen to rule Rome. These factors clearly confer more auctoritas upon Augustus' masculinity on the Prima Porta. Underneath this reading, however, exists evidence that bestows even stronger connotations of auctoritas onto Augustus' masculinity.

By his own admission, Augustus compelled the Parthians to return the lost standards. If the military standard sequence is a commemoration of all of Augustus' victories, this scene carries major implications for Augustus' auctoritas. Despite the hawkish calls for revenge against Parthia by poets such as Propertius, Augustus opted for a peaceful conclusion. This decision has been read by many modern scholars as a practical, if unsatisfying, choice. However, choosing this option raised Augustus' auctoritas beyond measure when examining the idealized Roman mindset towards war. Modern conceptions of war and peace should not be transposed to antiquity. The essence of Pax Augusta is that peace can only be achieved through victory. Displaying an eagerness for peace

[75] Zanker, 1990, 196.
[76] Pollini, 2012, 85.
[77] Simpson, 2005, 89.
[78] Aug. *Anc*. 29.

exposed a Roman as weak. Thus, the idealized Roman mindset of war is to be vigilant and cautious, to give peace, not to seek it.[79] The dog or she-wolf beneath the Roman representative depicts this mindset. It is cautious of the barbarian and ready to lunge forward at any indication of treachery.

This scene shows the true auctoritas of Augustus, as he only needed to engage in sabre-rattling to compel Parthia to yield to his demands. Augustus' choice to achieve peace through war and diplomacy placed him on the same level as Aeneas. His mythical ancestor was famous for his auctoritas and peace-making style, which used both diplomacy and warfare when necessary.[80] Augustus' ability to achieve peace through diplomacy or warfare signalled that his auctoritas was almost unparalleled in Roman history, especially as he closed the Temple of Janus three times.[81] It is evident why this scene was chosen to be the focus of the cuirass on the Prima Porta, as it confers an idealized sense of auctoritas upon his masculinity. Augustus became a man above reproach, further cementing his own divinity and that of his gens as the chosen rulers of Rome.

Divinity plays a key role in all aspects of Augustus' masculinity on the Prima Porta, but especially so for auctoritas. The dolphin-riding Cupid and military standard scenes depict him as a mediator between the gods and man and a divinely-selected leader. It is this connection between divinity and auctoritas on the Prima Porta that allowed Augustus to comfortably portray himself as divine and to thus have the ability to intervene in domestic matters without fear of reprisals, as this paper shall later consider. For instance, Ovid writes in his Metamorphoses that "Jupiter commands the heavenly citadels, and the kingdoms of the threefold universe. Earth is ruled by Augustus. Each is a father and a master."[82] Later, while in exile, Ovid addresses Augustus as "a distant god if its allowed for mortals to address Jupiter."[83] This connection between the divinity of Augustus, his gens, and his auctoritas on the Prima Porta statue illustrates the importance of masculinity and divinity in maintaining Augustus' status in Rome. This connection also paved the way for Augustus to reimpose the third quality of his masculinity on the Prima Porta onto his subjects: pietas.

The last quality of Augustus' masculinity depicted on the Prima Porta is pietas, which can be defined as dutifulness and respect to the gods and the fatherland. This attribute is conferred onto Augustus' masculinity as a result of his actions to restore the Republic to its idealized and natural state, according to some Roman authors. Prior to Augustus becoming Princeps, Horace describes Rome as in decline. The dutifulness shown to the

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[79] Pollini, 2012, 181.
[80] Holland, 1947, 282-283.
[81] Rich, 1998, 73.
[82] Ov. *Met*. 15.858-860.
[83] Ov. *Tr*. 5.45-47.

gods was nonexistent, and their temples were "mouldering in decay."[84] Horace summarizes the time as an "evil age erewhile debased the marriage-bed, the race, the home."[85] Essentially, Rome had suffered an immense religious, sexual, and moral decline that resulted in military failures.

Post-Actium, Augustus began restoring pietas to the wayward Rome: "I restored 82 temples of the gods in the city as consul for the 6th time, in accordance with a resolution of the senate, and I neglected none which need repair at this time."[86] To fix what was considered an "evil age" and restore Rome's broken pietas, Augustus' divine heritage and masculinity allowed him the opportunity to intervene in family matters as the dutiful Pater Familias of the state. To achieve this position, Augustus referred to his subjects as Quirites, meaning descendants of Romulus. By using this term during a particular Ludi Saeculares speech, Augustus stressed a common national bond and descent that all past, present, and future Romans shared. His divine heritage, coupled with his overwhelming virtus, gravitas, and auctoritas, allowed Augustus to be named Parens Patriae, illustrating the father-like role and duty Augustus now possessed.[87]

Restoring temples was a superficial measure. To defeat the supposed evil plaguing Rome, Augustus, now as Parens Patriae, had the appropriate role and authority to address the roots of the Roman decline. In order to combat this evil, Augustus enacted the Lex Julia de Maritandis Ordinibus and Lex Julia de Adulteriis Coercendis in 18 and 17 BCE, respectively. The Lex Julia de Maritandis Ordinibus forced all Roman citizens to enter into marriage with the purpose of producing legitimate offspring.[88] The Lex Julia de Adulteriis Coercendis repressed all forms of non-marital sexual relations, and civic crimes of this nature were now arbitrated over by the Parens Patriae and the state.[89]

The depiction of pietas in Augustus' masculinity on the Prima Porta is somewhat obscure. The best evidence to support this argument exists in the overall scope of his cuirass and the female personifications on each side of his breastplate. The cuirass, as previously discussed, is a visualization of Pax Augusta, a harmonious unity between the Roman Empire and the gods. This state could not exist if Rome itself was spiritually and sexually debased. The Romans understood that women were essential to the growth of any state but also believed that the supposed sexual vulnerability of women posed a threat to the state.[90] The sexual state of female Roman citizens indicates the state of Rome. The circumstances surrounding Verginia's death support this fact. She was illegally sought

[84] Hor. *Od*. 3.6.
[85] Hor. *Od*. 3.6.
[86] Aug. *Anc*. 20.
[87] Pollini, 2012, 21.
[88] Giltaij, 2019.
[89] McGinn, 2003.
[90] Wise, 2017, 19.

after and, consequently, died. Her death provoked retribution predicated on political encroachment. Verginia's death offers an insight into the importance of women in Rome and how their sexual behaviour was intimately connected to the health of the Roman state:

> "If you have taken from the Roman plebs the assistance of the tribunes and the right of appeal, two citadels for the defence of liberty, it has not therefore been granted to your lust to lord it over our children and our wives as well! Vent your rage upon our backs and our necks: let female honour at least be safe."[91]

If women's supposed sexual vulnerabilities were not constantly safeguarded, the stability of Rome and the existence of Pax Augusta would be tenuous. This state of safeguarding and subjugating the sexual vulnerabilities of women can be seen on either side of Augustus' breastplate. In the Augustan age, women were personifications of provinces.[92] While each woman on his cuirass is supposed to be read as a regional representation of Hispania and Gaul, this interpretation can be transposed to Roman society. By subjugating women and policing their sexual vulnerabilities, comparable to what is occurring on the Prima Porta, Augustus rid his empire and Rome itself of the unchaste women who threatened his Pax Augusta. It can be inferred that Augustus is demonstrating his own pietas on the Prima Porta statue as he subjugated and suppressed the sexual vulnerabilities of women in Rome and throughout his empire, thereby preserving the harmonious state and unity with the gods.

The overall cuirass and the depiction of subjugated female personifications, when analyzed with relevant historical examples, shed light on how an idealized sense of pietas is conferred onto Augustus' masculinity on the Prima Porta statue as a result of his actions. His pietas proved to be successful in reversing the decline of Rome. According to Horace, Augustan Rome was a state where wild passions were controlled, the plagues of the state were dismissed, religious devotion increased, and the family unit returned.[93]

So far, this paper has examined the masculinity of Augustus on the Prima Porta statue. The aforementioned evaluation of his masculinity has demonstrated that the qualities of virtus, gravitas, auctoritas, and pietas were specifically highlighted on the statue. The balance and proportion of the statue are similarly imitated by the masculinity of Augustus, as there is a perfect balance of realism and idealism, which reveals his character.[94]

The masculinity of Augustus on the Prima Porta statue suggests several important ideas about the body-politic he represented. The Battle of Actium represented a new

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[91] Liv. *Auc*. 3.45.
[92] Barrow, 2018, 99.
[93] Hor. *Od*. 4.15.
[94] Pollini, 1995, 270.

Gigantomachy.[95] Augustus managed to preserve his authority and rule, yet Rome itself was in a spiritual and moral decline. He realized that a new coherent national identity was of paramount importance in order to create and maintain his Pax Augusta. While writing his Aeneid, Virgil recognized the significance of creating a new national identity and the importance of ensuring that the construct of that identity was exemplary. Augustus, like Virgil, realized that identity is not a conception shared by all citizens but rather a family of ideas, memories, and the anticipation of a common future.[96] Considering that Augustus, in his role as Princeps, became the body-politic, it is reasonable to suggest that he acquired similar power, if not on a much greater scale, as his mythical ancestor Aeneas.[97] Italy and the Roman Empire determined Augustus, and the Roman Empire was determined by Augustus. Under his rule, the body-politic flourished according to Horace: "Restore, dear chief, the light thou tak'st away: Ah! when, like spring, that gracious mien of thine Dawns on thy Rome, more gently glides the day, And suns serener shine."[98]

What his masculinity in the Prima Porta says about the body-politic Augustus represented is clear. The idealized depiction of Augustus' virtus, gravitas, auctoritas, and pietas served as an idealized model for what the Roman Empire would become. His masculinity is retrospective and prospective, indicating that the body-politic will embrace the heroic ideals of the Classical age while replacing the decaying body-politic Augustus took control of.[99] The balance and proportion of the art style and his masculinity on the Prima Porta statue correspond with the well- proportioned body-politic that Augustus represented.[100] The order and unity of Polyclitan models are reflected in the body-politic of Augustan Rome.[101] Similarly, the shared values of virtus, gravitas, auctoritas, and pietas from Augustus' masculinity on the Prima Porta statue manifest as, according to Horace, Augustus was responsible for bringing back the old, idyllic life to the Romans.[102] Thus, Augustus' masculinity on the Prima Porta statue depicted the Princeps as re-establishing masculine standards of an idealized age. What his masculinity in the Prima Porta says about the Roman body-politic is that his masculinity represents the conclusion of the teleological narrative begun by his divine lineage. Cicero adequately summarizes the importance of Augustus' masculinity on the Prima Porta statue and what that masculinity said and meant for the Roman body-politic:

> "For, as physical beauty with harmonious symmetry of the limbs engages the attention and delights the eye, for the very reason that all the parts combine in harmony and grace, so this propriety, which shines out in our

[95] Castriota, 1995, 93.
[96] Toll, 1997, 40-41.
[97] Toll, 1997, 44.
[98] Hor. *Od*. 4.5.
[99] Pollini, 1995, 272.
[100] Squire, 2013, 266.
[101] Pollini, 1995, 268.
[102] Hor. *Od*. 4.15.

> conduct, engages the approbation of our fellow-men by the order, consistency, and self control it imposes upon every word and deed."[103]

This paper has examined Augustus' masculinity on the Prima Porta statue using appropriate historical and mythological evidence. On the Augustus of Prima Porta statue is a deliberate highlighting and idealization of virtus, gravitas, auctoritas, and pietas. These qualities of his masculinity served as an idealized model of what the Roman body-politic would become with Augustus as its Princeps and Parens Patriae.

His masculinity and its connection to the Roman body-politic represented a conclusion to the teleological destiny started by his mythical ancestors, and it served as a symbol for universal harmony under his auspices. The Prima Porta statue is the tangible answer to the Shield of Aeneas. Lastly, Augustus' masculinity on the Prima Porta statue as well as its connection and influence on the Roman body-politic portrayed a Roman exemplum that would become the standard for how future Romans judged their emperors as successful and legitimate or as a diseased limb that needed to be removed.

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[103] Cic. *Off.* 1.98.

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Matronae Meretricesque: Desirable Women

Samantha Moser

To Isis and Emily, my Julin and Phoebe.

There were two ways to classify women in Ancient Rome: as a matrona or a meretrix. Such a dichotomy is not unfamiliar to one raised in a contemporary, Western context, with psychoanalytical concepts like Sigmund Freud's 'Madonna-Whore complex' demonstrating a comparable notion of categorising women based upon their sexual promiscuity or level of desirability.[104] According to the Madonna-Whore complex, a woman can either be "pure and virginal or promiscuous and easy."[105] This kind of dichotomous view, while not explicitly expressed in Latin literature, can be understood to have existed within a functionalist context. For example, Horace noted that "ut matrona meretrici dispar erit atque/ discolor, infido scurrae distabit amicus."[106]

However, just as it would be inaccurate to state that the Madonna-Whore complex provides a fully encompassing view on the perceptions of contemporary female sexuality, it would be unfair to assume that a dichotomous view of women's sexuality existed in antiquity as well. For the Romans, while the 'matrona-meretrix dichotomy' provided a basic categorisation of how these women were conceptualised, it was not an absolute way to perceive these women. This is particularly noticeable in the representation of 'Eros' in Roman art. As Strong has previously noted, these women cannot be distinguished from each other on the basis of whether or not they are being depicted as actively performing a sexual act, as neither the matrona or meretrix were precluded from such representations.[107]

It is thereby the purpose of this essay to examine the representation of these women during the Imperial period, specifically from the reigns of the Julio-Claudians to the Nerva-Antonines (c. 27 BCE – 192 CE).

Moreover, this essay shall argue that both the matrona and meretrix were depicted with 'Eros', and that the difference in presentation of this 'Eros' lay in their opposing

[104] Admittedly, Freud is not the most positive figure in modern psychology. However, the Madonna-Whore complex can both be used as a shorthand to explain the attitudes which form the basis of the perception of contemporary female sexuality, as well as continues to form an integral part in modern psychological discussions of intimacy issues. Cf., Helen Singer Kaplan, "Intimacy disorders and sexual panic states.", for a discussion of the former and Holland, Janet, Caroline Ramazanoglu, Sue Sharpe, and Rachel Thomson. "Power and Desire: The Embodiment of Female Sexuality." *Feminist Review*, no. 46 (1994): 21–38. https://doi.org/10.2307/1395415, who note how young women's relationship with sexuality has been greatly influenced by the propagation of strict sexuality rules.
[105] Mary Crawford, and Danielle Popp. "Sexual Double Standards: A Review and Methodological Critique of Two Decades of Research." *The Journal of Sex Research* 40, no. 1 (2003): 13–26. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3813767.
[106] Horace, *Epistulae*, 1.18.
[107] Cf., Anise K Strong. *Prostitutes and Matrons in the Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

relationships with desirability. For the matrona, her depictions with 'Eros' reflect the context in which she is being presented (private v. public) and symbolise her ability to act as desirable, while for the meretrix, her depiction with 'Eros' does not depend on context and reflects the idea that she is 'essentially' desirable, meaning that she, as a person, is desirable. Much of the reason for a difference in perception of these images lie in gaze, something which will be explored more thoroughly when depictions of each woman are examined independently. Importantly, for the purpose of this paper 'Eros' shall be divided in two different categories of representation: 'active Eros' which refers to the representation of a sexual act in art, and 'passive' or 'memorialising Eros', which refers to the memory of 'active Eros' and appears latently.

Before any formal discussions surrounding the depictions of Roman matronae and meretrices in art can occur, it is first necessary to acknowledge the perception of each woman in Ancient Rome. The simplest way to define the expectations for a matrona and meretrix are by placing them in contrast to each other, as by doing so, it not only demonstrates what the expectations for each woman were but also what they were not.

The matrona had many different roles to play in Roman society. She was a mater, an uxor,[108] a mater familias,[109] and a custos domi or bearer of memory.[110] While the definition of each of these terms is contested, both presently and in antiquity,[111] it is fair to state that all elite matronae were public representatives of their family, and were thus more closely tied to the private (or domestic) sphere rather than the public one.[112] Such an idea is reflected both in archaeological and literary sources. As Boatwright noted, evidence for the representation of women, even of elite Imperial women, was scarce in locations symbolic of the public sphere, such as the Roman Forum.[113] Moreover, authors, such as Tacitus and Cassius Dio illustrate the expectation for the ideal matrona to not meddle in the public sphere by commending Livia, the quintessential bona matrona, for her ability to support her husband without involving herself too greatly.[114] With this in mind, it follows that expectations for the matrona's public behaviour would be tightly restricted to ensure that she represents her family in a positive light.

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[108] Uxor, in comedy, can be both in reference to a wife (J.N. Adams, *Sexual Vocabulary,* (Ducksworth: London, 1982): 174, lists the use of these 'uxor' and the different sayings associated with ideas of prostitution.

[109] Cf., Richard P. Saller, "Pater Familias, Mater Familias, and the Gendered Semantics of the Roman Household." *Classical Philology* 94, no. 2 (1999): 182–97. http://www.jstor.org/stable/270558. Saller speaks about the role of the *mater familias* and how its construction does not immediately parallel that of a *pater familias*. See also Ulpian's *Digesta* 1.6.4 for ideas of *mater familiae*.

[110] Cf., Kubler, Anne. "Roman Matrons, Guardians of Memory: The Announcement of the Defeat at Trasimene." *Clio. Women, Gender, History*, no. 46 (2017): 246–63. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26795735.

[111] Cf., Cicero, *Pro* Caelio, 49 (*ut non solum meretrix, sed etiam proterva meretrix),* Aulus Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 18.6, in which he ridicules Aelius Melissus' definition of a *matrona*.

[112] Cf., Judith P. Hallett, Fathers and Daughters, (Princeton University Press: New Jersey, 1984):299-346 who discusses the idea of 'filiafocality'. Also, see Marilyn B. Skinner, *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Culture,* (Second Edition. Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2014):256, who discusses the position of women as public representatives of their family.

[113] Mary Boatwright, "Women and Gender in the Forum Romanum," *Transactions of the American Philological Association (1974-)* 141, no. 1 (2011): 105–41. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41289737.

[114] Tactius *Annals*, 5.1.1; Cassius Dio, *History of Rome*, 58.2.5.

Furthermore, this idea is represented on a macrocosmic scale as well. The strategy of associating a declining society with the visible and rampant sexual behaviour has been a well noted rhetorical strategy amongst Roman authors.[115] It is thus fair to suggest that ideas of pudicitia and modesty were of great importance in the representation of matronae, as they were held responsible for both the positive representation of her family and the well-being of the state. This is demonstrated by typical visual symbols of the matrona, such as the stolla or pulla, which Olson has identified as garments that exemplified ideas of female virtue in Roman society, even after they had gone out of fashion.[116]

In contrast to this, the meretrix seemed to play one role, and was largely limited to being represented as an inherently transgressive character, notably one who exists as a sexually promiscuous woman. The word meretrix itself reflects this, as unlike matrona, which is a derivative from the noun mater, meretrix derives from the verb merere.[117] The use of this word effectively separates the meretrix from being involved in domesticity or the private life, and thus immediately labels her as a transgressive character. Moreover, her portrayal in literature is largely negative. For example, Ovid speaks of her as gaining 'miserable wealth', "stat meretrix certo cuius mercabilis aera./ Et miseras iusso corpore quaerit opes,"[118] and Propertius uses the term as an insult, "scilicet incesti meretrix regina Canopi."[119] Neither of these usages reveal a positive perception of the meretrix, with both of them reflecting the negative image of a sexually available, transgressive woman.

Interestingly, the meretrix's association with foreign women is not the only characteristic that leads to the perception of her as the 'Other.' Unlike the matrona, whose visual symbol is that of the stolla or pulla, the meretrix was associated with the toga, a garment commonly worn by men and only done so in public contexts.[120] Such ideas demonstrate that the meretrix was, in all areas, a transgressive woman, whose behaviour and perception fell outside what was expected for a woman. While her behavioural expectations are not necessarily well defined, it is still possible to understand that she was perceived as 'essentially' sexual, since she stands outside the realm of what was allocated for a matrona.

Such a juxtaposition in reception would lead one to the immediate expectation that when regarding artistic depictions containing representations of 'Eros', there would be a similar dichotomy between the matrona and the meretrix. The relationship the matrona-meretrix dichotomy has with the Madonna-Whore complex fuels this, as Freud himself stated that

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[115] Cf., J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979): 93. Propertius takes this rhetorical stance as well (Elegy 3.13).
[116] Kelly Olson, "*Matrona* and Whore: The Clothing of Women in Roman Antiquity," Fashion Theory, 6:4. DOI: 10.2752/136270402779615352 : 391.
[117] Cf., Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*. Meretrix has an interesting position in Latin literature. While it is used in negative context by Golden Age authors like Ovid and Propertius, it becomes less pejorative by the time of Plautus' comedies. Rather than the use of *meretrix* as derogatory word for prostitute, *scortum* begins to appear. *Meretrix* is used more frequently in the context of named, 'good' prostitutes who are the object of verbs like *amare*.
[118] Ovid, Amores, 1.10.21
[119] Propertius, Elegy, 3.11
[120] Strong, *Prostitutes and Matrons*, 22.

"wo sie lieben, begehren sie nicht, und wo sie begehren, können sie nicht lieben."[121] For the matrona-meretrix, this would imply that the matrona, who exhibits 'pudicitia' and is thereby 'pure' would be undesirable, while the meretrix who is a 'prostitute' and thereby 'promiscuous' would be desirable.

However, this was not necessarily the case. Despite the dichotomy illustrated, the matrona was not precluded from being represented with 'active Eros', and could be, in specific contexts, depicted as if she were a meretrix (figure 1). [122]As previously mentioned, this is due to the fact that the matrona and meretrix hold a different relationship with desirability. This idea can now be fully explored.

It is very easy to understand when a woman is being represented as a matrona, but it is not easy to understand when a woman is being represented as a meretrix. In other words, while stereotypical representations of a meretrix (a woman depicted with 'active Eros' as in figure 1) could be interpreted as either a matrona or a meretrix, a stereotypical representation of a matrona (a woman depicted with 'passive Eros' as in figures 2-6), would not be typically interpreted as a meretrix. Ultimately, the ability to differentiate between these images relies upon the gaze and underpinning attitudes regarding female sexuality which shape the viewer's perception of the woman in the image. Thereby, images that could either be interpreted as either a meretrix or a matrona shall be discussed first, as it can be well demonstrated through them that the representations of 'Eros' for both the matrona and meretrix lay in their relationship with desire.

As previously mentioned, an image cannot be determined as a presentation of a matrona or meretrix simply by the presence of 'active Eros,' since such images were frequently found within Roman society, both in public and private contexts. Moreover, it cannot even be stated that all public images which represent 'active Eros' depict meretrices, as these erotic scenes were not limited to places which a modern mind would deem appropriate. For example, while it would be logical to assume that the public images of 'active Eros' found in lupanaria are depicting meretrices, and that such a context is appropriate, the same logic would not provide an adequate explanation for how images of 'active Eros' could appear on the walls of public baths.[123]

The clothing or position of a woman in depictions of 'active Eros' also does not immediately reveal whether she is a matrona or a meretrix. Although both women had stereotypical visual symbols, such as the aforementioned stolla and pulla for the matrona and the toga for the meretrix, their artistic depictions did not necessarily reflect this.[124] Rather, women in these frescoes were often depicted with strophium, or breast-band, an image which, while respectable matronae were not often depicted in, was not solely used as the clothing of a meretrix (figure 7).

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[121] Sigmund Freud. *Über die allgemeinste Erniedrigung des Liebeslebens.* (Project Gutenberg, 1982) https://www.projekt-gutenberg.org/freud/kleine1/Kapitel19.html: 1.
[122] Notably, the *meretrix* could also be thought of in a way that was opposite to her typical portrayal as well. Cf., Strong, *Prostitutes and Matrons*, 42-44.
[123] Strong, *Prostitutes and Matrons,* 120.
[124] Strong, *Prostitutes and Matrons,* 132, 133.

If the content of an image cannot explain who is being depicted in an image, then it thereby implies that the distinction between a matrona and meretrix in art is dependent upon ideas of gaze, both in the sense of who the art is or meant to be viewed by, as well as where the image is being viewed. For such images that can be interpreted as the matrona, they exist in a purely domestic context, with the intended audience likely the elite couple themselves. For the meretrix, the presence of 'active Eros' is not restricted to domesticity and can be viewed by people outside of a marital context. These ideas connect directly to how each woman is desired, as the idea of being vs. acting creates the underpinning attitudes which in turn justify or necessitate the existence of 'Eros' in a certain context.

Images of the matrona with 'active Eros' shall be treated first. Evidence for these kinds of images is mainly limited to the frescoes Pompeian residence, in which the art representing matronae exist in secluded areas of the house, such as in cubicula. As Riggsby notes, the cubiculum's function as a place for erotic art has been an inappropriately assumed fact.[125] However, regardless of what the exact function of these rooms were, the idea that they were more secluded areas is significant in understanding ideas of desire and the presentation of 'Eros'.

Strong has identified frescoes found in the secluded areas of the Villa della Farnesina (figure 1) and the House of the Cenetary (figure 8), as possibly representing the matrona.[126] Strong also notes that there was a fresco found in a secluded cubiculum in the House of the Vetii, however because the identity of the person who would have occupied this room is debated, it will be largely ignored.[127]

When the frescoes are analysed, the matrona, as expected, appears closely related to the stereotypical representation of a meretrix. It is possible that these images were intended to be viewed in a voyeuristic fashion by the elite couple themselves, and that they were meant to present a woman as desirable for her husband. This is not impossible when one considers the fact that the matrona, within a purely domestic context, was meant to not only actively partake in sexual activity with her husband, but also present herself as acting desirable. For example, Martial states that "Si te delectate gravitas, Lucretia toto/ sis licet usque die: Laida nocte volo."[128] From this it can be understood that the representation of a matrona with 'active Eros' was acceptable in a domestic context due to the fact that she was expected to act as desirable.

The possibility that these images were meant to serve a didactic purpose to the matrona viewing these images reinforces this. Strong has previously argued this by stating that, "These paintings are more suggestive than explicit…Some panels may be depictions of a wedding night in which the formerly shy bride becomes an enthusiastic lover, serving as a didactic representation of the loyal, passionate wife."[129] Should this be the case, it suggests that the matrona's depiction with 'active Eros' highlights the fact that while the

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[125] Andrew Riggsby, "'Private' and 'Public' in Roman Culture: In the Case of the *cubiculum*." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 10 (1997): 182-97.
[126] Strong, *Prostitutes and Matrons*, 123-124.
[127] Cf., Strong, *Prostitutes and Matrons*, 125-8.
[128] Martial, 11.104.
[129] Strong, *Prostitutes and Matrons,* 122.

matrona was not inherently desirable, the correct context (i.e. domestic) and viewership (i.e. the elite couple) would create the acceptable situation for which she should act as desirable, and thus in turn be perceived within a sexual context.

Three of the six panels found in Pompeii's main lupanar (figures 9-11) emphasise the difference in reception between the representation matronae and meretrices with 'active Eros'. Strong has previously argued that the women in these pieces of art may not necessarily depict meretrices or identify the women by class at all. Instead, she states that they reflect the idea of a "luxurious environment" that "represent[s] a fantasy atmosphere of pleasurable, comfortable lovemaking."[130] But, this is not necessarily the case.

It is unlikely that Romans would have associated the lupanar with the matrona, as if open representations of her sexuality were confined to a domestic context, then it would not make sense for those within the lupanar. Moreover, since it can be assumed that those who visited the lupanar would have been aware of this cultural attitude, it would be odd to imagine they would associate the woman in the image with a matrona rather than a meretrix. Nevertheless, while it may be true that the atmosphere was intended to create one that reminded men of a comfortable, luxurious situation, and thereby demonstrates that the purpose of such an image was voyeuristic, it does not immediately follow that the woman in the image would be identified as a matrona. Rather, it is more likely that the viewer would have understood that since the image is found in a public space, which, like the meretrix is conceived as inherently erotic, the woman in the image would be someone 'essentially' desirable, such as the meretrix.

Furthermore, should the women in these paintings be understood as meretrices, then their position in a lupanar is significant for two reasons. As mentioned above, the existence of the art in a lupanar implies that its very context was encroached in a situation which reflected 'Eros', which illustrates that the perception of this image would be inseparable from desirability. In addition, it illustrates that the art depicting the meretrix did not have the same distinction of a public v. private context that art depicting the matrona had. With this lack of distinction in mind, it follows that the meretrix had no distance from the idea of desire. If a woman is being presented as desirable in every context (including outside of her own home), in a society that held negative attitudes towards the un-cased, non-domestic woman, then it suggests that she is desirable rather than a woman who is capable of acting as desirable. Thus, while a matrona may be represented with 'active Eros' in a private context, ultimately the reception of her image differs from the meretrix, who is not awarded ideas of distance from being desirable and is continuously understood as occupying that role.

Interestingly, a similar contrast can be made to ideas of being vs. acting desirable with public, sculptural representations of the matrona. At a first glance, the artistic representations of matronae seem to largely be 'asexual,' and convey no clear illustration of 'Eros'.[131] However, just because a matrona is depicted 'asexually' it does not necessarily preclude her representation from provoking ideas of desire. Although she is

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[130] Strong, *Prostitutes and Matrons,* 134.

[131] In this context, asexual is not referring to the sexual orientation, but rather the idea that there is a lack of sexual content being represented.

not 'essentially' desirable in the way the meretrix was, it has been well established that the matrona was expected to act desirable within a domestic context. While public representations are removed from the private space that would allow for the representation of the matrona as a meretrix, public representations would not rid the viewer of the expectation that a bona matrona would play the role required by her within a marital context. This in turn allows 'Eros' to become latent and appear as 'passive' or 'memorialising Eros', which exists both within depictions of living and deceased matronae.

Primarily, the depiction of an 'asexual' matrona reinforces her role as an uxor, or good wife. For example, Davies notes that these portrait statues highlight "the ideal of the sexually faithful, domestically oriented, heir-producing matron." [132] One of the clearest examples of this are the statues of Livia who as previously noted, was considered the ideal bona matrona, and whose status as a member of the Imperial household would have set the standard for elite matronae to copy (such as figures 4-6, which represent the common types of Roman matronae in either 'Pudicitia' poses, illustrated by the small and large Herculaneum women, or in the guise of Ceres).[133] Although it could be assumed that this kind of portrayal removes the idea of desirability, the inability for a matrona to be separated from her familial duty of being a good wife implies that any representation of her, even if 'active Eros' is not present will contain the underpinnings of her role as 'acting' desirable for her husband. 'Eros' in this context, can therefore be understood as appearing latently or 'passively', as for the gaze of the viewer applies such ideology onto her representation.

This is further illustrated by funerary monuments for matronae which, like other public monuments for matronae, serve to act as a way to memorialise the desirability of the matrona. This is primarily accomplished through the use of traditionally feminine objects such as mirrors or cosmetic boxes (figure 12) or partial nudity (figure 13). While both representations would seem counter-intuitive, as both have been connected to ideas of luxury or foreignness, the use of these tools may serve as symbols for the desirable role that the matrona had once played within her marriage. Taylor has previously noted this:

> "This is a very orderly manifestation of Eros, but it is Eros nonetheless, invoked all the more ardently in a woman's maturity. Her goal is no longer sex, but rather the memory of sex. A woman who has probably outlived her usefulness as defined strictly by society … has fashioned a reminder to her society that she abided by its rules and was rewarded with honour and wealth."[134]

The function of these 'asexual' appearing representations of the matrona is thus a memorializing one, where desire can be attributed to her latently, and yet still invoke ideas of a domestic and marital context. Her 'Eros' is only present because of her societal role, and the duties she had played within her marriage. It can thus be argued that

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[132] Glenys Davies. "Portrait Statues as Models for Gender Roles in Roman Society." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes* 7 (2008) http://www.jstor.org/stable/40379355: 208.
[133] Cf., Davies, "Portrait Statues as Models for Gender Roles in Roman Society"
[134]. Rabun Taylor. *The Moral Mirror Of Roman Art.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 39.

representations of public matronae which do not illustrate ideas of 'active Eros' continue to represent a woman in the role of acting desirable through the appearance of this 'passive Eros', which memorialises the role a matrona would play inside the context of her marriage.

Notably, public statues which present the matrona in full nudity can also be said to convey a similar idea. By the time of the Nerva-Antonines', there began to be representations of Imperial women in the guise of Venus. While the nudity would seemingly suggest ideas of 'active Eros', when the context behind their depiction as Venus is analysed, it illustrates that these sculptures were not meant to be viewed as desirable in the same fashion as a meretrix, but rather in line with how the matrona performed 'active Eros' within the context of a marital setting. This is due to the fact that the representations of these women as Venus were meant to invoke ideas of myth, specifically of the marriage between Mars and Venus.

Kousser has previously noted this. "Sculpted groups of Roman couples in the guise of Mars and Venus offer a rare but illuminating example of the use of monumental mythological portraiture for the representation of married love."[135] While it is true that some statues of Antonine women are found individually (figure 14), it is likely that this image would have invoked the same theme. For the viewer, then, statues of women as Venus would invoke ideas of a marital context, and thus convey the appropriate representation of desirability for a matrona.

Overall, this essay has presented that both the matrona and meretrix could, and very well were, depicted with 'Eros'. While this seems to contradict the matrona-meretrix dichotomy, the context in which these images are found illustrates that the depiction of 'Eros' is related to attitudes about desirability and can appear both actively and passively. For the matrona, her desirability was a result of her role as an uxor, as it necessitated that she fulfil her duty of being a sexual partner for her husband, and was thereby strictly connected to the domestic sphere. For the meretrix, desirability was not strictly encased, and could thus lead to representations of her as 'essentially' desirable. Ultimately, much like in modernity, reactions to depictions of an erotic woman are shaped by the cultural attitude towards the desirable body. Moreover, it is the same force which prompts the viewer of such images to place women into categories of good or bad, a Madonna or Whore, a matrona or meretrix.

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[135] Rachel Kousser. "Mythological Group Portraits in Antonine Rome: The Performance of Myth." *American Journal of Archaeology* 111, no. 4 (2007). http://www.jstor.org/stable/40025268: 673.

Figures

Figure 1: Freso from the 'Villa della Farnesina', Pompeii, 1st c. CE. Wikimedia. https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Fresco_depicting_an_erotic_scene,_from_the_cubiculum_of_the_villa_of_Marcus_Vipsanius_Agrippa,_1st_century_AD,_Palazzo_Massimo_alle_Terme,_Rome_-_12172004766.jpg

Figure 2: Unknown matrona, c. 60-70 CE. https://collections.artsmia.org/art/488/roman-matron-roman

Figure 3: Livia. Spanish ministry of culture. 14-19 CE.
https://www.man.es/man/en/exposicion/recorridos-tematicos/imprescindibles/livia.html

Figure 4: Small Herculaneum Woman. 30-1 BCE. Getty Images.
https://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/herculaneum_women/

Figure 5: Large Herculaneum Woman. 40-60 CE. Getty Images. https://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/herculaneum_women/

Figure 6: Ceres Borghèse. c. 20 – 40 CE. Louvre. https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010275396

Figure 7: Bikini Fresco. c. 3rd – 4th c. CE.
https://archaeostore.com/blog/girls-in-bikini-mosaic

Figure 8: House of the Cenetary. C. 1st c. CE.
https://www.worldhistory.org/image/2944/sex-in-pompeii/

Figure 9: Pompeiian Lupanar Panel. https://www.historytoday.com/author/sarah-e-bond

Figure 10: Pompeiian Lupanar Panel.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fresco_Lupanar_Pompeya_04.jpg

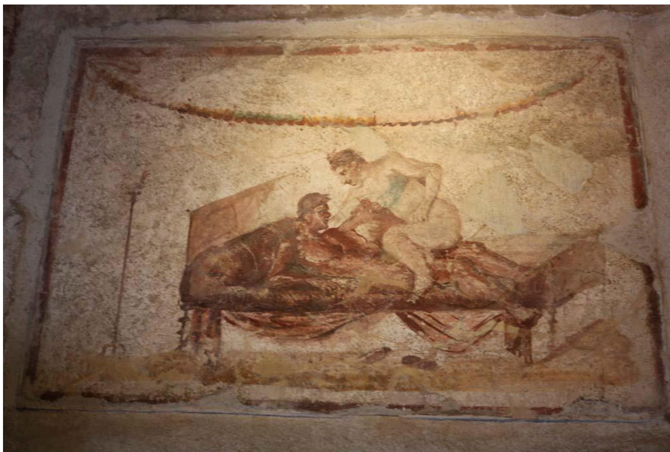

Figure 11: Pompeiian Lupanar Panel.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fresco_Lupanar_Pompeya_01.jpg

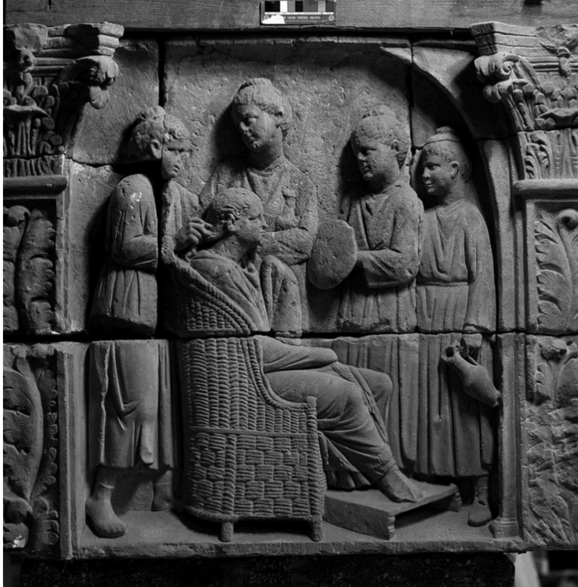

Figure 12: Roman funerary monument representing the use of 'feminine' objects. https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Relief-from-the-side-of-a-funerary-monument-from-Noviomagus-in-Gallia-Belgica-Neumagen_fig5_290446540

Figure 13: Roman funerary monument for Ulpiae Epigone. c. 1st – 2nd c. CE. https://www.flickr.com/photos/69716881@N02/13599086314

Figure 14: Marcia Furnilla as Venus, 90-100 CE.
https://classicalchopped.artinterp.org/omeka/exhibits/show/ancient-portraits/item/39

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The Severe Style in Greek and Roman Sculpture: Greek Originals vs. Roman Copies

Josh Mifsud

To Katrina, my rock.

Introduction

Although the Ancient Greeks are known and revered for their precedence in many forms of the arts, sculpture perhaps was, and still is, the most well-respected form of art produced in the Ancient Greek world. The Severe Style of Greek sculpture began shortly after the end of the Persian Wars in 480 BCE and paved the way for what would eventually become the High-Classical Style, believed by many to be the pinnacle of perfection for sculpture in the round.[136] However, much of our knowledge about the preceding Severe Style sculpture (also commonly referred to as the "Early-Classical style") comes from secondhand sources, whether it be later historians or from the Roman copies of these Greek Bronze originals. Scholarship on this topic has often tended to discredit the achievements of Romans sculptures in favor of the more well respected and famed Greek bronze originals. Very often scholars label a bronze as an "original" simply because we are accustomed to the modern notion that the Greeks made bronze "originals," which the Romans "copied" in marble.[137] How true were these Roman copies to their Greek originals and what are some of the problems that have developed in scholarship as a result of the elevated level of respect for Greek (versus Roman) sculpture in the round?

Beginnings of the Severe Style

First and foremost, the origins of the Severe Style of Greek sculpture should be discussed, as there have been many conflicting scholarly opinions about this subject. The Archaic era traditionally ends around the year 480 B.C.E, after the Persian invasion was halted. The thirty-year period that follows this (480-450 B.C.E) is referred to as the Transitional Period and it is recognized in the archaeological record from the distinctive Severe Style in the arts.[138] However, scholars such as Ridgway point out that it would be wrong to assume that the Severe Style and the "Transitional" or "Severe" Period are synonymous, as not all works between 480-450 B.C.E demonstrate "Severe" characteristics, and works after this period are Severe in style as well.[139] Therefore, the

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[136] Pliny believed the most important sculptures to have been done in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.E, but only beginning with the works of Pheidias in 448 B.C.E. and after 292 B.C.E. Pliny says "there was no more art" (*Nat* 34.51-52). Mattusch, Carol. C. 2004. "Naming the 'Classical' Style." *Hesperia Supplements* 33: 277.

[137] Mattusch, Carol. C. 2002. "In Search of the Greek Bronze Original." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes* 1: 99.

[138] Pedley, John Griffiths. 2011. *Greek Art and Archaeology* (Prentice Hall: Pearson Education): 207.

[139] Ridgway, Brunilde S. 1970. *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton University Press: New Jersey): 3.

Transitional Period should be defined as the time in which the Severe Style predominated sculpture, before giving way to the influence of Pheidias and the High-Classical style.[140] Though some scholars, such as Hallet, see a much more complex relationship between the Severe and Classical Styles and even argue that Severe sculpture is technically more 'Classical' in style than the High-Classical Style because of its innovativeness.[141]

The Severe Style was not only present in sculpture in the round (the primary discussion in this paper), but also in architectural sculpture, relief carvings and even the famous Red-Figure Vase Paintings of this period.[142] The reason for this drastic change from the Archaic Style, which seems to have taken place almost instantaneously, is something largely discussed in scholarship. After the end of the Persian Wars, the majority of the troops who fought at Plataea returned home through lands undamaged by the Persians. Morgan believes that the Archaic Style of Sculpture that had been deeply rooted in Greek culture for so long would have been the only style in mind to be commissioned by these Doric troops upon their return home.[143] However, the Athenians would have returned home through lands ravaged by the Persians, which Morgan believes would have created a will for them to reshape the future upon rebuilding these lands.[144] The spirits of the Athenians would have certainly been high after impressive victories such as Marathon. Taking this into account, it is possible to see why we see the change to the Severe Style of sculpture happened in Athens before the rest of the Greek world and so soon after the end of the Persian Wars.[145] The Tyrannicide Group was commissioned in 477 B.C.E in Athens for home consumption; the only sculptural monument made for this purpose since the Persian Wars. It was sculpted by Kritios and Nesiotes and dedicated to Harmodius and Aristogeiton, the beloved assassins of the Peisistratid tyrant Hipparchus.[146]

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[140] Ridgway, 1970: 3.

[141] Hallet, C.H. 1986. "The Origins of the Classical Style in Sculpture." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 106: 82.

[142] Ridgway concludes that architectural sculpture was done more-so for religious significance than for aesthetic appeal and therefore free-standing sculpture is much more important to study.
Ridgway, 2005. "The Study of Greek Sculpture in the Twenty-First Century." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 149 (1): 63-71.

[143] Morgan, Charles H. 1969. "The End of the Archaic Style." *Hesperia* 38 (2): 205.

[144] Morgan, 1969: 205.

[145] Discussion of the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina has been omitted here because the discussion is specifically on sculpture in the round and because the numerous theories on the dating of the pediments there would require too many pages.

[146] Pedley, 2011: 231.

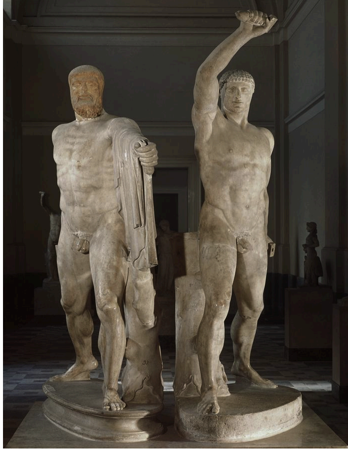

Fig. 1: The Tyrannicide Group.[147]

These life-size statues, although only known now from Roman marble copies[148], are almost entirely ridden of the Archaic Style that persisted in Athenian sculpture only a few years earlier. The only surviving elements of the Archaic tradition can be seen in the fixed smiles and the curls on the head of Harmodios.[149] Aside from these features, the figures introduce a free and naturalistic pose, with realistic and powerful anatomy that is completely removed from the Archaic Style.[150] This near-fully-realized form of the Severe Style influenced sculptors for the remainder of the Transitional Period and helped to define the canonical traits of the Severe Style.

Traits of the Severe Style

The Severe Style is recognizable by many new and innovative traits employed by the sculptors of the Transitional Period. It is beneficial here to discuss the traits of the Severe Style before looking at more specific examples of sculptures in the round from this period. Scholars such as Ridgway have compiled a list of traits used by sculptors from this period that define the Severe Style. Ridgway attributes six basic characteristics to the style.[151] These traits are listed as follows: 1. A certain simplicity or "severity" of forms. 2. A change in drapery. 3.A change in subject matter. 4. Interest in emotion. 5. Interest in motion, and lastly 6. The predominant use of bronze. It should also be mentioned that Hallet believes Ridgway's characteristics do not describe a single unchanging style, but one that was experimenting with new innovations and passing interests. This variation that Hallet describes can certainly be seen when comparing numerous examples of Severe Style sculptures.[152]

One of the earliest works for demonstrating Severe traits is the Angelitos' Athena. This statue was discovered on the Acropolis at Athens during the building of the Acropolis

[147] The Tyrannicide Group. Kritios and Nesiotes. 477 B.C.E. in ARTstor [Database Online]. [Cited March 30th, 2013]. Available from ARTstor, Inc., New York, New York.
[148] More discussion on the Roman copy of this statue group later.
[149] Morgan, 1969:206.
[150] Morgan, 1969:206.
[151] Ridgway, 1970:8-10.
[152] Hallet, 1986: 82-83.

Museum and is one of the first works that demonstrates the originality of the Severe Style.[153] Standing only 2 ft and 6in, this statue dates to c. 470 B.C.E and unlike most truly Severe Style Greek originals, it is in fact made of marble. However, the change in drapery (one of Ridgway's traits) is certainly worth noting here, as this statue demonstrates not only a shift from Ionic to Doric fashions, but also a uniqueness in the treatment of the folds.[154] We recognize the statue as Athena because of the new-peplos style beneath her Aegis decorated with the gorgon's head. This statue truly marks the change from the Archaic to the Transitional period.[155]

Fig. 2: Angelitos' Athena.[156]

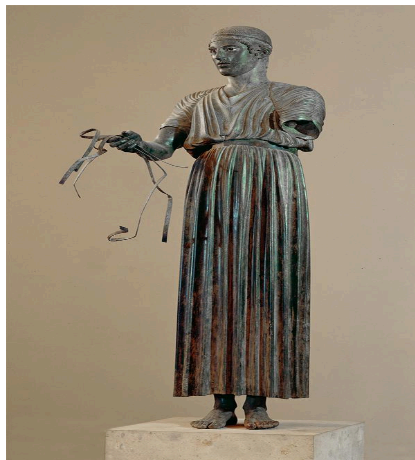

Fig. 3: The Delphic Charioteer[157]

A slightly later work, the Delphic Charioteer statue, better demonstrates the Severe characteristics listed by Ridgway. This statue provides an example of a true Severe Style, Greek bronze original. Standing 1.8 meters high (5ft 11 in), this statue was cast in eight pieces and dedicated in the 460s B.C.E by a Sicilian prince named Polyzalos for a victory won at the Pythian Games in either 478 or 474 B.C.E.[158] The statue was originally part of a group with a quadriga and large horses as well. The choice of the moment of the race that the statue portrays (after the competition) is typical of the Severe Style sculpture in the round, which usually portrays anticipation or aftermath, as is the new, more naturalistic treatment of the drapery.[159] It is beneficial to have an understanding of the Severe Style traits of these Greek originals before moving on to further discussion about Roman copies.

Dating the Severe Style

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[153] Ridgway, 1970:29.
[154] Ridgway, 1970: 8, 29-30.
[155] Pedley, 2011:233.
[156] Angelitos' Athena, Euenor, c. 470 B.C.E. in ARTstor [Database Online]. [Cited March 30th, 2013]. Available from ARTstor, Inc., New York, New York.
[157] The Delphic Charioteer, Delphi Museum, c. 460s B.C.E. in ARTstor [Database Online]. [Cited March 30th, 2013]. Available from ARTstor, Inc., New York, New York.
[158] Pedley, 2011:244.
[159] Ridgway, 1970: 34.

Lastly, before an analysis of Greek originals vs. Roman copies can be explored, it is important to understand the chronology of the Severe Style statues in question. There has been a great deal of scholarly debate in the last 50 years regarding when the Severe Style truly came into existence. Excavations took place on the Athenian Acropolis that found deposits filled with the remains of broken statues, which was thought by scholars to be a result of the Persian sack and therefore dated to before 480 B.C.E.[160] This material is referred to as the Perserchutt ("Persian debris") and was thought by many scholars to mark the change from the Archaic to the Severe Style.[161] Relying upon the contexts of some of the fragmentary statues found in the Perserchutt, some scholars, such as Morgan, took the view that the Severe Style actually began before the Persian attack on Athens.[162] Scholars such as Morgan based this theory on the Severe Style traits of some of the statues found within the Perserchutt, such as the "Blonde-boy" head and the "Kritios Boy" statue.[163] Morgan noted that these statues broke Archaic Style customs with their unsmiling mouths and irregular hair, including the break of the "law of frontality," showing the body in a more natural and off-balance pose.

Fig. 4: The Kritios Boy[164] [165]

A recent re-examination of these deposits and the early Acropolis excavations was done by Andrew Stewart in 2008.[166] These findings were incredibly important for the understanding of the origins of the Severe Style, as they found that the Perserchutt was actually mixed with construction fill from the building of the southern fortification wall,

[160] Pedley, 2011:207.
[161] Pedley, 2011: 207.
[162] Morgan, 1969: 205.
[163] Morgan, 1969:208.
[164] The Kritios Boy, Kritios, c. 475 B.C.E. in ARTstor [Database Online]. [Cited March 30th, 2013]. Available from ARTstor, Inc. New York, New York.
[165] Due to Stewarts findings, the Kritios Boy has been placed at a date of 475 B.C.E.
[166] Stewart, Andrew. 2008. "The Persian and Carthaginian Invasions of 480 B.C.E. and the Beginning of the Classical Style: Part 1, the Stratigraphy, Chronology and Significance of the Acropolis Depostis." *AJA* 112 (3): 377-412.

carried out between the 460s to 430s B.C.E.[167] Therefore, the remains are not solely Perserchutt and since the Terminus Ante Quem is much later than 480 B.C.E., the Severe Style objects found in these deposits are most likely not any earlier than that date. Further examination of other Severe Style contexts, throughout both Greece and Sicily, have also demonstrated confirmation of the original idea; that the Severe Style was in fact created as a result of the victory over the Persians (and the Carthaginians at the same time).[168]

Greek Originals vs. Roman Copies

Having now established the traits and chronology of the Severe Style during the Transitional period, it is evident that the style was an incredible innovation for Greek statuary. These statues were in fact so innovative that they were constantly copied by later Roman sculptors and discussed by later historians such as Pausanias and Pliny the Elder. In Book 34 of Pliny's Natural History he writes about the famous Greek bronze sculptors and their original works.[169] The importance that Pliny placed on the Greek bronze original has certainly created a notion that has continued to the present day, even in scholarship; i.e. that Greek bronze originals are intrinsically more valuable and significant than Roman marble copies.[170]According to Mattusch, we cannot be sure that any of the freestanding sculptures described by Pliny or Pausanias even survive, and artists' names are never attached to the originals that do survive.[171] There is often a tendency for scholars to make attributions of these works if they are stylistically Greek and seem to match with the style of an artist that Pliny describes. This is done despite the fact that very few bronze originals actually exist.[172] However, there are an abundance of Roman marble copies and the search for the Greek bronze "original" often begins with the study of these copies. This also creates a tendency for scholars to study the character of the "original" statue by using the copy, without any actual assessment of the Roman marble statue in its own right.[173] This is where we run into issues with the both the reliability of these Greek originals and Roman copies and with the problems that become apparent when this method of study is used in scholarship.

Differences in Manufacture and Study

The metalworking done for Greek bronze originals required a much more complex method of manufacturing than the sculpting of natural marble Roman copies. It is useful here to discuss the methods used for manufacturing bronze original Severe Style sculptures, as it helps to explain the reason for the importance that historians such as Pliny and Pausanias placed on bronze over marble.

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[167] Stewart, 2008: 377-412.
[168] Stewart, 2008. "The Persian and Carthaginian Invasions of 480 B.C.E. and the Beginning of the Classical Style: Part 2, The Finds from Other Site in Athens, Attica, Elsewhere in Greece and on Sicily; Part 3, The Severe Style: Motivations and Meaning."*AJA* 112 (4): 581-615.
[169] *Nat* 34.51-52.
[170] Mattusch, 2004:277-278.
[171] Mattusch, 2004:278.
[172] Mattusch, 2002: 99.
[173] Mattusch, 2002: 99.

Examining ancient Greek casting procedures is necessary for a thorough understanding of Severe Style bronze statuary.[174] The method that was used for this procedure is called the lost-wax method; a method still commonly used by metalworkers today.[175] This casting method had both a "direct" and "indirect form, which was applied for both small and large-scale works.[176] The direct process was more commonly used and was originally employed for more minor arts, such as terracotta figurines.[177] First, a core was constructed out of clay, made slightly smaller than the planned final product. After this step, a beeswax model was formed over top and worked with both hand and tools. The final casting in bronze would then replace and duplicate the appearance of the model, creating the final product. These statues were made in several parts to prevent risk of damaging the entire statue.[178] A bronze statue that would have been produced in Greece during the fifth century B.C.E was a unique work, meaning it would not have been made with a mold able to create an exact duplicate.[179] Even the workshops that these Greek bronze originals were made in would have been temporary installations, set up for the sole purpose of creating specific bronzes and then closed down afterwards.[180] This certainly demonstrates a reason why there has been a continuous importance placed on the Greek bronze original as opposed to the Roman marble copy.

Fig. 5: The Lost-Wax Method

When studying the workshops or "schools" that were responsible for creating Roman marble copies of Greek originals, there are many problems at hand. Scholars often attempt to understand the production of Roman marble copies by establishing the

[174] Mattusch, Carol. C. 1988. *Greek Bronze Statuary: From the Beginnings through the Fifth Century B.C* (Cornell University Press: Ithaca and London): 15.
[175] Mattusch, 1996. "Myth, Man and Metal: Bronze Sculpture of Ancient Greece and Rome." *Institute for Mediterannean Studies Video Lecture Series Vol 3*. (Harvard University Art Museum).
[176] Mattusch, 1988:15.
[177] Ridgway, 2005: 66.
[178] Mattusch, 1988:16-17.
[179] Mattusch, 1988:16.
[180] Mattusch, 1988:16.

workshops or “schools” that were responsible for certain works. There are two methods that are used to accomplish this goal, both of which are problematic.[181] The first is “typological gathering”, which attempts to attribute works to regional workshops. This is problematic because the archaeological record shows wide geographical distribution of specific types of Severe Style statuary.[182] The second method is “stylistic gathering”, which attempts to group specific works on their stylistic elements, based on the assumption that they were carried out under a master sculptor and his pupils. This proves as an even more unsatisfactory method, due to scholarly subjectivity and disagreement of the works, and from the difficulty of assessing Roman copies in comparison with the lack of Greek originals.[183] Ridgway argues that the attempt to understand where Roman workshops were located is irrelevant at this point, since it is often questionable whether or not a work even belongs to the Severe period or even reflects the Severe style.[184] In a more recent article, Ridgway states that the focus on this method has diminished in scholarship.[185]

Reliability

The types of methods used for studying Roman marble copies lead to a discussion of whether or not they are actually reliable for studying the Severe Style Greek originals themselves. A beneficial example to discuss here is the Roman marble copy of the “Diskobolos” statue by Myron. Scholars often view Myron’s statue as the definitive example of the Early-Classical Style of sculpture, though we do not have the Greek bronze original that Pliny the Elder describes.[186] Although many smaller and less-well preserved copies of this statue have been found, the one that is often seen as the “best copy” of Myron’s original is the “Lancellotti Diskobolos.”[187] This copy of the statue is often described as being a silhouette, based on a drawing, that creates a series of triangles and that is meant to be viewed from a single viewpoint.[188] However, a much more fragmentary Roman marble copy of the same statue was found at Castel Porziano in 1906. This statue is very different from the Lancellotti Diskobolos, as it can be viewed from multiple angles and is very three-dimensional.[189] Mattusch proposes that the restored plaster version of the Diskobolos found at Castel Porziano may have been much closer to the original and that scholars tend to wrongly define Myron’s style on the more well-preserved “Lancellotti Diskobolos.”[190] Therefore, as Mattusch states, “We tend to bypass the question of how true that statue (or any of the other versions) might be to Myron's Diskos-thrower because it makes a good textbook illustration.”[191]

[181] Ridgway, 1970: 56.
[182] Ridgway, 1970: 56.
[183] Rigway, 1970: 60, 69
[184] Ridgway, 1970: 70.
[185] Ridgway, 2005:70.
[186] Mattusch, 2004:282.
[187] Mattusch, 2004:282.
[188] Mattusch, 2004:283.
[189] Mattusch, 2004:283.
[190] Mattusch 2004: 283-284.
[191] Mattusch, 2004: 284.

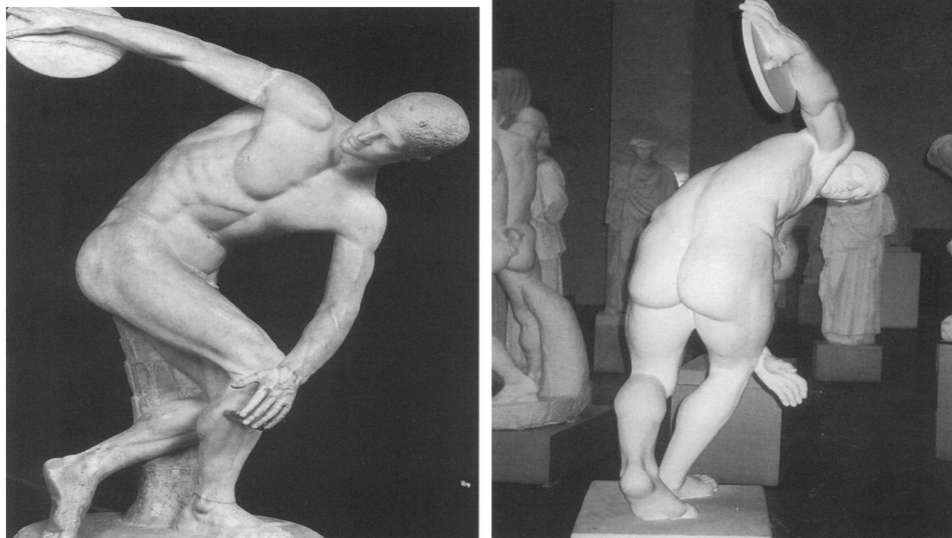

Fig. 6: The Lancellotti Diskobolos[192] Fig. 7: Restored Plaster Diskobolos, Castel Porziano[193]

In circumstances such as this, the reliability of using Roman marble copies, such as the Lancellotti Diskobolos, is certainly called into question. Reliability of Roman marble copies is not the only issue however, as there are even reliability issues with studying the Greek Bronze originals themselves. Two examples that clearly demonstrate this are the Riace Bronzes.[194]

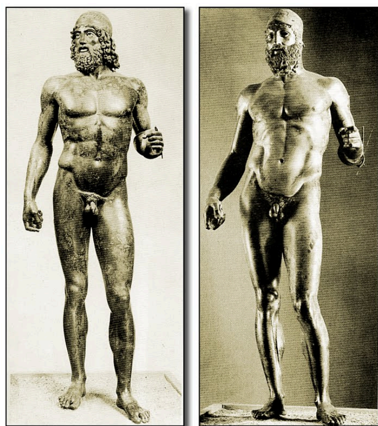

Fig. 8: The Riace Bronzes.[195]

Ridgway points out that it would not have been uncommon for a single basic model to have been used by sculptors from all different geographical areas and workshops from the

[192] Mattusch, 2004: 282.
[193] Mattusch, 2004: 282.
[194] I realize that the Riace Bronzes are a separate topic, but they are Severe in style and useful in illustrating the point at hand.
[195] The Riace Warriors A and B, National Museum, Reggio Calabria, c. 460-450 B.C.E. . in ARTstor [Database Online]. [Cited March 30th, 2013]. Available from ARTstor, Inc. New York, New York.

Severe Period into the Roman Period.[196] Ridgway believes that the Riace Bronze Warrior B demonstrates this point, as its dimensions correspond exactly to a Roman marble statue of Gaius Caesar from the Imperial Period.[197] It is for this reason that Ridgway asks whether the Riace Warriors were in fact produced as a statue type that could have be reproduced at any time after the Severe period. Ridgway concludes that the Riace Bronzes were most likely produced no earlier than the first century B.C.E and that they are actually a Roman period example of an earlier Severe type model.[198] Therefore, since stylistic elements could be replicated at any time after their initial introduction, statues with no context are largely indistinguishable between being an original or a copy.[199] As a result, it is easy to see the lack of reliability that some examples of both Greek bronze originals and Roman marble copies provide.

Further Problems

Although the topics that have been discussed so far are in essence problematic, this section will discuss further problems with the approach that many scholars take when studying the Severe Style in Greek originals and Roman copies. Ridgway believes that one of the largest problems when studying Greek originals is the emphasis on the Roman copies and on the stylistic elements of the statues.[200] Instead it is suggested that the study of the original itself should be more heavily based on documentary evidence of the statue.[201] Since, as we've already seen, bronzes without a context are often difficult to distinguish between original and copy, it is suggested that the study of types and formulas should be emphasized over the search for a "hypothetical" prototype.[202]

Furthermore, as previously mentioned, historians such as Pliny and Pausanias have largely influenced the favouring of Greek bronze originals over Roman marble copies. It should be remembered that these writers were not art historians and that they have been proven to be more unreliable in this regard than once thought.[203] Ridgway sees the biased favouring of Greek over Roman statuary as faulty, stating that, "No chronological period should be considered inferior to others on the basis of ancient sources."[204] Although many of these problems are now being recognized by scholars such as Ridgway and Mattusch, it is important that they are remembered by all who are studying Severe Style Greek sculpture.

Conclusions

The Transitional Period was certainly one of the most innovative periods in history for the development of realism in statuary. It then comes as no surprise that Severe Style works were copied well into the Roman period. However, it is clear that the fascination

[196] Ridgway, 2005:67.
[197] Ridgway, 2005:67
[198] Ridgway, 2005:67.
[199] Ridgway, 2005:67.
[200] Ridgway, 2005:70.
[201] Ridgway, 2005:70.
[202] Ridgway, 2005:70.
[203] Ridgway, 2005:71.
[204] Ridgway, 2005:71.

with the innovative Severe Style of sculpture in the round has led to favouritism of Greek originals, with little appreciation given to the Roman statues themselves. In some cases, as we have seen, the Romans worked in bronze as well and it even becomes difficult to distinguish between original and copy. The Romans also copied Severe Style works in significantly different ways, as seen in the example of Myron's "Diskobolos." It is clear that many problems exist with the reliability of both Greek bronze originals and Roman marble copies of Severe Style works, and with the way that this subject is often approached. The skill of later Roman sculptors and their ability to recreate the Severe Style should be given credit in its own right. It is beneficial to place more focus on the innovativeness and stylistic elements of the Severe Style that these Roman copies have preserved for us today. As Ridgway points out, "Duplication does not stem from lack of creativity, nor does it always bespeak a famous creation."[205]

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[205] Ridgway, 2005:71.

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Un-Roman Romans: Virtue under siege in Republican and Augustan Rome

Anthony Gallipoli

This paper is specifically dedicated to my family and friends, especially those that I made in Waterloo, Ontario. I have learned so much from you all about life that I am unable to express how truly blessed I feel to have you all in my life. Finally, veni, vidi, deus vicit.

The Late Republican period is commonly viewed by ancient and modern scholars as a time of substantial moral decline in Roman society. The Jugurthine War, fought during the late 2nd century BCE, illustrated this moral decline among Republican leadership to Sallust, a Roman historian who wrote about the war during the late 40s BCE. In his work, he condemned the decline of morality amongst Republican leadership. His evidence to support this argument was built upon his deliberately pejorative descriptions of non-Roman peoples, specifically the Numidians and their leader, Jugurtha. Less than 20 years after Sallust wrote The Jugurthine War, Horace produced a set of Latin lyric poems known as the Odes. These poems were published during Augustus' reign as Princeps. Considering the political environment in which Horace wrote, Ode 1.29 stands out in particular due to its composition as a veiled critique of Augustus' ambitions through pejorative descriptions of the Arabian peoples. The thesis of this paper argues that Sallust and Horace intentionally described non-Roman peoples in a disparaging manner in order to criticize their respective Late Republican and Principate period leaders for the decline of Roman virtues.

Starting with Sallust, this paper shall examine the representation of non-Roman peoples in The Jugurthine War, proceeding with why those characterizations reflect criticism upon Late Republican leadership. First, it is necessary to define the terms that are important to this section. Those terms are Republican deities known as Fides, Honos, Virtus, and Pietas. Fides represented good-faith and fidelity, while Honos was the god of honour.[206] Virtus symbolized courage as well as manliness, and Pietas symbolized dutiful affection to the gods and the fatherland.[207]

In section 17 through 19 of The Jugurthine War, Sallust gave an ethnographical and ethnogenetic account about Numidia and North Africa. First, to justify his story, Sallust informed his audience that his information came from the Libri Punici, a book supposedly written by the Numidian King Hiempsal.[208] By invoking this text, E.H. Shaw points out that Sallust attempted to preempt criticism of his work by implying that the book he used reflected the values and beliefs of North Africans.[209] It is important to

[206] Axtell, 1987, 20-22.
[207] Axtell, 1987, 25 & 28.
[208] Sal. *Jug*. 17.7.
[209] Shaw, 2022, 181.

consider that according to George Paul, there is little evidence that Sallust ever consulted the indigenous population regarding their homeland.

The first key derogatory passage from Sallust to be introduced is, "Africa was originally inhabited by the Gaetuli and the Libyans, they were wild and uncultured people, who fed on the meat of wild animals or, like cattle, on the fodder of the field. They were not governed by customs or by law or by anyone in authority. They lived a nomadic wandering life and made their home wherever nightfall compelled them to stop."[210] Sallust also noted that once Heracles died, his army broke off and "many individuals began to seek power for themselves. From their numbers the Medes, Persians, and Armenians travelled by ship to Africa …"[211]

Next, Sallust wrote how Carthage and Numidia bonded together and "forced their neighbours by arms or fear to accept their authority."[212] The last piece of evidence to be introduced in this section is Sallust's comment about the Altars of the Philaeni.[213]

In the first passage, Sallust used North African stereotypes of nomadism to portray them as a gang of uncouth and lawless nomads. This depiction directly fed into the typical perception of North Africans as the antithesis of Roman civilization, despite evidence of settled life in North Africa being well-known during this time.[214] In this sense, Sallust's otherwise heterodox account of North Africa aligned with past and future Roman interpretations of nomadism, and as Dick Whittaker recognized, was indicative of a Roman disinterest in "the science of movement."[215]

In the second passage, Sallust provided his own pejorative myth of ethnogenesis for North Africa. Robert Morstein-Marx observed the peculiarity of Sallust's myth about the rise of the Numidians which began with the three different sections of Heracles' army, not Heracles himself, despite the demigod typically portrayed as the progenitor of new races.[216] Sallust's ethnogenesis of North Africa, specifically his view on Heracles, differed significantly from his Roman contemporaries as it was a combination of Greek, Phoenician, and indigenous beliefs, as well as his own opinion on the matter.[217] The significance of this quote is two-fold. First, Sallust relayed his tale of North African ethnogenesis in order to align it with the Greek myth and experience continuums. This alignment is important because Sallust wanted to emphasize the connection between the North Africans, Heracles, and his army of the Medes, Persians, and Armenians.[218] Doing this enabled Sallust to cast North African development, specifically the Numidian development, in the same light as the Romans.[219] Lastly, Sallust's comment on how

[210] Sal. *Jug*. 18.1-3.
[211] Sal. *Jug*. 18.3-5.
[212] Sal. *Jug*. 18.11-12.
[213] Sal. *Jug*. 19.3.
[214] Paul, 1984, 75.
[215] Whittaker, 2009, 190.
[216] Morstein-Marx, 2001, 188.
[217] Paul, 1984, 75-76.
[218] Shaw, 2022, 182.
[219] Shaw, 2022, 189.

individuals sought power for themselves upon news of Heracles' death paralleled the actions of the leading men of late Republican Rome, emblematic of the decline of Roman virtues.

Sallust commented on how the Numidians and Carthaginians banded together and forced their neighbours into submission. As a result, he wrote that Numidia eventually controlled most of North Africa and all the peoples they conquered were assimilated "into the race and name of their rulers."[220] Sallust again reinforced his casting of Numidian development in a similar vein to Rome by building on his mythic genealogy with a historical background similar to Rome's own rise in Italy. Doing this allowed Sallust to give the Jugurthine War, "continental significance" according to Shaw which subsequently inflated the importance of his subject.[221]

The pejorative aspect in the first passage was presented earlier in this section. Whereas Rome was a city governed by laws, Numidians were cast as the dangerous "other" due to their supposed lack of laws, propensity for violence, and nomadic nature.[222] Not only did the Romans lack interest and understanding in the concept of nomadism, Romans considered it to be an untenable concept. Whittaker noted that Numidian conquests apparently lacked virtue, whereas the Romans conquered for themselves and others, a result of their own virtus and love of libertas. With no city, laws, or virtues to guide their military pursuits, Numidian conquests were then inextricably linked to nomadism as their conquests were depicted as glory-seeking, expansionist massacres, lacking any sense of virtue or reason, much like nomadism itself.[223] Sallust's depiction of Numidia as a both a mythic counterpart and natural enemy to Rome provided a perfect foil to illustrate the depths to which Roman virtues fell to in the late Republic.

The final piece of evidence to be examined in this section is Sallust's comment on the Altars of Philaeni, a boundary marker between the Carthaginian and Egyptians.[224] In The Jugurthine War, Sallust wrote how two brothers set forth to negotiate a treaty with diplomats from Cyrene.[225] The boundary between these two peoples would be determined by where the brothers and diplomats met.[226] The diplomats of Cyrene accused the brothers of trickery by leaving their homeland earlier than the agreed upon time.[227] The Carthaginians offered to consider other terms and the diplomats suggested that the Carthaginians could keep their supposedly ill-gotten boundary if the brothers agreed to be buried alive at that location, otherwise the diplomats would carry out under the same condition to wherever they desired.[228] The brothers agreed to be buried alive and died for their homeland.[229]

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[220] Sal. *Jug*. 18.12.
[221] Shaw, 2022, 190.
[222] Morstein-Marx, 2001, 193-194.
[223] Whittaker, 2009, 194-195.
[224] Sal. *Jug*. 19.3-4.
[225] Sal. *Jug*. 78.2-6.
[226] Sal. *Jug*. 78.4-5.
[227] Sal. *Jug*. 78.7-8.
[228] Sal. *Jug*. 78.8-9.
[229] Sal. *Jug*. 78.9.

The pejorative aspects of this comment on the Altars of Philaeni characterize North Africans as a people of tricksters devoid of good-faith while simultaneously demonstrating that they were willing to die for their lawless and uncouth republic. While this story carries an undoubtedly denigrating element regarding North African peoples, it curiously contains a glimpse of redemption in the form of a Carthaginian version of pietas. A Carthaginian version of pietas was a mirror constructed by Sallust to reflect how far Roman virtues had fallen among the Late Republican leaders during the Jugurthine War. Further exposition on this topic will be explored in the upcoming section.

Sallust's disparaging remarks about North Africa and Numidia in particular was a deliberate effort to reframe the African narrative in order to highlight its unconventional aspects.[230] Sallust regarded the textual portrait he created as more important than creating an accurate picture of North Africa. Shaw correctly stated that Sallust's ethnography and ethnogenesis of North Africa were not a part of the prevailing Roman historiographical tradition.[231] Rather, the purpose of this account was to teleologically focus on the Numidians.[232]

The purpose of this teleological focus was to present the Numidians as a corrupt mirror to the Romans. As a mythic counterpart to the Romans, Sallust portrayed the Numidians as a people similar in origins and history to Rome, but fundamentally corrupted due to their lack of Roman virtues such as fides, honos, virtus, and pietas. Without these virtues, the Numidians served as a moral mirror for Sallust to demonstrate how far Roman virtues among Republican leadership had fallen.

The first passage this paper examined was a pejorative description of how violent and lawless North African peoples allegedly were. With no laws, virtues, or permanent city to guide them, North Africans had no perception of honos, otherwise known as martial valour, in their nomadic gangs according to Sallust. In the second passage, the remnants of Heracles' armies broke off and sought power for only themselves. This indicates that the Medes, Persians, Armenians, and by extension their descendants as well were devoid of pietas. Cicero believed pietas was best described as something "which warns us to fulfil our duties towards our country, our parents, or others connected with us by ties of blood."[233] While North Africans were typically depicted as prioritizing their individual success and glory over their own country, it was not universally applicable when recalling the Altars of Philaeni story and how the brothers committed suicide for their republic.

The third passage categorized North African, specifically Numidian conquests, as glory-seeking, expansionist campaigns devoid of reason or purpose, unlike the Roman conquests which spread civilization and libertas. With a lack of purpose beyond mere expansionism and bloodlust, Sallust portrayed the Numidians as a people without virtus. Simply put, he portrayed Numidians as a people without courage, character, or manliness.

[230] Shaw, 2022, 187.
[231] Shaw, 2022, 195, 193.
[232] Shaw, 2022, 187.
[233] Cic. *Inv*. 2.22.

The story about the Altars of Philaeni insinuated that North Africans lacked fides. While they possessed a version of pietas, this story indicates that North Africans were considered to be a gang of roving tricksters and liars.

As North Africa and Numidia were established as the moral mirror to reflect the decline of Roman virtues, we can now argue why those pejorative descriptions discussed earlier serve as criticism of Late Republican leaders. According to Sallust, at the heart of the decline of Roman virtues was ambitio.[234] He also equated ambitio as the vice closest to virtue.[235] It is reasonable to postulate that other vices such as luxuria, avaritia, and corruptio, flowed from the key attribute of ambitio.[236]

To demonstrate how Sallust's ethnographical comments reflect criticism upon Roman leadership, we will analyze the character sketches of Jugurtha, Metellus Numidicus, Gaius Marius, and Sulla in The Jugurthine War. Starting with Jugurtha, he was initially portrayed as an admirable man and as an individual with the proper Roman mindset, despite being a non-Roman. Sallust depicted Jugurtha as a loyal, courageous, honourable, and devoted person who was consequently counted as a friend of the Romans.[237] In other words, Jugurtha possessed the Roman virtues of fides, honos, virtus, and pietas even as a non-Roman. Jugurtha's transition to a figure of extreme corruption occurred because the powerful yet unscrupulous Roman politicians of the time infected his mind with ambitio, saying that the Kingdom of Numidia would be his once King Micipsa died and that everything in Rome was for sale.[238] Scipio Aemilianus warned Jugurtha that he should cultivate friendship with the whole of Rome, not individuals in the city, implying that Scipio knew Rome was no longer a city of fides, honos, virtus, and pietas, rather an immoral swamp, similar to how Sallust depicted North Africa.[239]

David Levene correctly asserted that a general malaise of corruption existed in Rome and the state's corruption funnelled down to individuals and then back to the state.[240] A direct and immediate corruption occurred with Jugurtha once he became involved with Rome. Metellus Numidicus suffered a gradual decline in virtue however. Metellus was initially described as an intelligent, energetic and incorruptible man.[241] When Jugurtha proved to be a worthy and wily foe, Metellus became frustrated with a slow operation and planned traps in order to win via treachery.[242] As the war dragged along, Metellus' famous energy dissipated into the vices of socordia and desidia. Metellus' moral decline suitably compares with Sallust's depiction of North Africans who lacked fides and honos. Metellus acted in a similar manner to his enemy by showing no good-faith or respect to

[234] Sal. *Cat*. 3.5.
[235] Levick, 1982, 54.
[236] Adekannbi, 2017, 4.
[237] Sal. *Jug*. 7.2-7.
[238] Sal. *Jug*. 8.1-2.
[239] Sal. *Jug*. 8.2.
[240] Levene, 1992, 60.
[241] Sal. *Jug*. 43.1-5.
[242] Sal. *Jug*. 61.3-4.

Jugurtha by attempting to defeat him via treachery and he showed no martial valour by abandoning his plans to defeat Jugurtha honourably in battle.

The next individual to receive a character description was Gaius Marius. He was portrayed as hard-working, honest, intelligent, moderate, uncorrupted, and glory-seeking man with guarantees of greatness from the gods.[243] Notably Sallust wrote that Marius was eventually destroyed by his own ambitio.[244] When Marius faced difficult situations in the war, he became increasingly dependent on fortuna to guide him to victory.[245] Only through chance was Marius able to avoid blame for his own recklessness and eventually achieve glory.[246] Clearly, Marius' initial virtues were eventually overshadowed by his dependence on fortuna for his achievements. Reliance on fortuna for victory is not compatible with virtue as Levene states.[247] Furthermore, Marius' refusal to rely on his own virtus or love of libertas to achieve victory runs parallel to how Sallust characterized North Africans as a gang of expansionist glory-seekers with no conception of virtus or reason for conquering beyond glory itself.

The last individual to receive a character sketch was Sulla. He was depicted as an intelligent, deceitful, glory-seeking person who craved pleasure and as Sallust concluded, an individual who could have been more honourable.[248] As the last character to receive a sketch, we can witness the linear decline in virtue that occurred in Roman leaders. Sulla's sketch illustrates a clear lack in pietas as there no mention of him devoting his life and actions to the gods, the fatherland, or anything beyond himself and his own gratification. While Sallust depicted Carthaginians as not capable of possessing a Roman version of pietas, considering their republic was seen as lawless and uncouth, they were partially redeemable as they were willing to serve something beyond themselves. By this logic, Sulla could not even possess a Carthaginian version of pietas. What can be ascertained from Sallust's ethnography and character sketches is that Roman leadership during the Jugurthine War had morally devolved into the moral mirror Sallust created: Rome became un-Roman.

Shifting now to Horace, this section will proceed with depictions of non-Roman peoples and then how those characterizations reflect criticism onto Augustus. After this section, an overall conclusion on why both authors were critical of their respective leadership will follow. First, there are three terms that must be defined. Those terms are iustitia, pax, and providentia. Iustitia and Pax were the respective goddesses of justice and peace. Providentia was the goddess of foresight.[249]

The first piece of ethnographical evidence to be introduced in this section is, "preparing a ruthless campaign against the kings of Sheba never before subdued and weaving chains

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[243] Sal. *Jug*. 63.1-3.
[244] Sal. *Jug*. 63.6.
[245] Sal. *Jug*. 93.1-2.
[246] Sal. *Jug*. 94.7.
[247] Levene, 1992, 63.
[248] Sal. *Jug*. 95.2-4.
[249] Axtell, 1987, 36-38.

for the fearsome Mede? What barbarian virgin will be your slave, mourning her bridegroom in battle?" The last piece of evidence to be introduced in this section is, "you are in such haste to exchange for Spanish breastplates the Socratic school and the works of great Panaetius collected from all over the world— you promised better things."[250]

Before analyzing those passages, it is first necessary to give historical and scholarly context to this poem. Robin Nisbet and Margaret Hubbard place the setting and context of the poem during 26-25 BCE with the focus set on Augustus' Arabian expedition. Augustus sought to break the Arabian stranglehold on the lucrative eastern trade routes as well as to loot the rich Arabian lands.[251]

The main character of this poem is Iccius, an ambitious young friend of Horace.[252] Iccius has also been suggested to represent Augustus, which this paper considers as the most likely possibility. A debate exists regarding the seriousness of the criticism and tone towards Iccius. Nisbet and Hubbard subscribe to the theory that Horace "maliciously consoles him with edifying maxims."[253] David West believes Horace is gently making fun of his young friend. West categorizes the tone and criticism as light-hearted and the dynamic between them similar to a relationship between an older and younger brother.[254] Robert Goar wrote how this poem has a serious tone and criticism present as he believed that Horace was chiding the young Iccius for his abandonment of intellectual and cultural ideals. Furthermore, Goar considered this poem to demonstrate the darker side of Roman imperium to the reader.[255]

In the first ethnographic passage, Horace made reference to both the Shebans who lived in modern-day Yemen and the "Fearsome Mede", who were once a part of the Persian Empire. What is interesting about the "Fearsome Mede" comment is how Horace casted Iccius' enemy through a Greek, not Roman lens, which is notable considering that Rome was at war against the Parthian Empire, whereas Greek city-states spent centuries at war with the Persians. By referring to the Persians, Horace suggested that war with eastern peoples such as the Medes, would last for centuries. Lingering feelings of anger and disgrace against the east existed throughout Augustus' Rome. The source of these feelings came from the the Battle of Carrhae in 53 BCE, where the Romans were handily defeated by the Parthians, and the Roman commander, Marcus Licinius Crassus was executed. The weaving chains comment carried connotations of caution for young Iccius in his pursuit of war. Furthermore, by casting his enemy through Greek experiences, Horace suggested that war with eastern peoples who were content with long periods of warfare were not worthy of Iccius' time. Nisbet and Hubbard concur, arguing that Horace was implying that they were dangerous to provoke and fruitless to attack, and thus were

[250] West, 1995, 137.
[251] Nisbet et.al., 2001, 338.
[252] Nisbet et.al., 2001, 337.
[253] Nisbet et.al., 2001, 337.
[254] West, 1995, 137, 139.
[255] Goar, 1973, 116.

unworthy opponents in war, especially if Rome had to break their own cultural and intellectual ideals for that war.[256]

The next portion of the first passage transitions from the potential of a long war with eastern peoples, to immediate subjugation of them. The role of the barbarian virgin and her bridegroom was to remind Iccius that he was forgetting his cultural and intellectual ideals in the pursuit of luxury according to West.[257] Goar agreed with West's assessment by arguing that Iccius had a choice between cultural heritage to which he initially strove for, versus wealth and power which Iccius had now chosen with innocent Arabs serving as the means to his unjust end.[258] Robert Frieman noted that Horace believed foreign wars should only be fought to fulfill the imperial destiny of Rome, not for profit or booty like Iccius desired.[259] Horace wanted Iccius to remain a man of culture like the Greek works he studied, instead of reverting to his base nature as a Roman, which meant settling into a natural pursuit of worldly desires and temptations.[260] In this sense, Horace again depicted Arabian peoples as an unworthy reason to break cultural and intellectual pursuits for, as their subjugation would not be aligned with iustitia or the Roman imperial destiny, but their subjugation would represent a base pursuit of luxury and riches.

The disparaging remarks in the final passage can be found in the closing line, "you promised better things." This was in regards to Iccius temporarily forsaking his philosophy books for military equipment. As stated earlier, Horace believed that foreign wars should be conducted to fulfill imperial destiny, nothing else. Frieman states that Horace disapproved of Iccius' behaviour and the expedition as a whole as it was motivated by political ambition and greed, not imperial destiny. That said, Frieman also wrote that Horace did not lose faith in Iccius or the higher objectives of Roman imperialism.[261] Combined with the tone and seriousness of the last line, Horace clearly wanted Iccius to have better judgement when acting for himself and others. The pejorative aspect of this line suggests that regardless of how rich or influential the Arabians were, they were not worth sacrificing the cultural and intellectual ideals that Iccius initially believed in, nor were they a part of the imperial destiny of Rome. Horace considered them as side characters in a Roman-controlled world. Thus, proper foresight and judgement was needed to discern who was worthy to conquer for the glory of Rome.

The pejorative elements in these lines suggest that Horace considered the Arabians as an unworthy people to sacrifice Roman cultural and intellectual values promoted by Augustus. The tone and criticism of this poem is serious with elements of constructive criticism, but nothing overtly harsh. Horace seems to be offering words of inspiration to Augustus in a manner similar to an older brother talking to a younger brother. Augustus was a relatively young man when he became Princeps so it is logical to suggest that this poem was designed to help subtly guide Augustus to his moral bearings by illustrating to him how to properly use his absolute power in a virtuous manner.

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[256] Nisbet et.al., 2001, 340.
[257] West, 1995, 138.
[258] Goar, 1973, 118.
[259] Frieman, 1972, 80.
[260] Goar, 1973, 118.
[261] Frieman, 1972, 81.

In the first passage, Arabians are shown as dangerous fighters who would fight for centuries, as they had previously done against Greek city-states. Furthermore, by alluding to the Battle of Carrhae, Horace was cautioning Augustus against carrying out wars motivated by ambition and greed instead of Rome's imperial destiny. Horace essentially urged Augustus to adopt a policy of pax for Rome, as some peoples were not worth the lengthy wars required to bring them under Roman control.

In the second portion of the first excerpt, Horace continued to depict Arabians as people unworthy of breaking Roman cultural and intellectual values for, especially if the motivation for going to war was borne out of the pursuit of pleasure and luxury. By casting Iccius' decision between values and vices, Horace was suggesting to Augustus that his pursuit and goals of war should be just, meaning they should coincide with Roman imperial destiny, or simply put, iustitia.

In the final passage Horace again portrayed the Arabians as unworthy of Roman imperialism and he urged Augustus to refrain from wars motivated by ambition and greed. Additionally, Horace suggested to Augustus that by using prudent foresight and judgement as Princeps, he would learn who were worthy of Roman imperial attention and who were a drain on Rome's ideals and her destiny when considering war. By following providentia, Augustus would be able to identify who, if any, were worthy of temporarily sacrificing pax in the pursuit of the higher objectives of Roman imperialism.

What can be ascertained from Horace's ethnographical comments in relation to criticism against Augustus is that Horace attempted to caution and inspire Augustus against giving into his base desires against an unworthy foe. Horace's poem may have had some effect considering Augustus founded the cult of Iustitia, built a statue to Pax on March 30th 10 AD, and established the cult of Providentia Augusta.[262] Conjecture will remain regarding the influence of Ode 1.29 on Augustus, however what can not be refuted is that Augustus largely acted in accordance with the terms of iustitia, pax, and providentia as princeps following the Arabian expedition, exemplified by Pax Augusta.

The question of why Sallust and Horace were critical of their respective leadership remains. I believe the answer for each is similar. For Sallust, he wanted to demonstrate the consequences of removing a metus hostilis from Roman society, that being Carthage in 146 BCE.[263] Removing Carthage transformed Rome's politically united, honourable, and just society into a republic reminiscent of the barbarians they fought in the Jugurthine War as Andrew Lintott observed.[264] Sallust disparaged the North Africans in order to criticize Roman leadership because he worried that the moral decline would continue to get worse in the future.[265] Sallust wanted to remind and inspire his audience to live up to the virtuous legacy of their ancestors.

[262] Axtell, 1987, 36-38.
[263] Shaw, 2022, 194.
[264] Lintott, 1972, 633.
[265] Levene, 1992, 65.

Horace attempted to warn Augustus about pursuing his own metus hostilis at the detriment of Rome's cultural and intellectual ideals as well as her imperial destiny. Horace was keenly aware of the dangers of ambitio from late Republican history and that the acquisition and destruction of a metus hostilis would repeat the cycle from Sallustian history where Roman cultural and intellectual ideals were sacrificed for the benefit of the individual, not the state.

In conclusion, Sallust and Horace's depictions of non-Romans and the subsequent criticisms of their respective leaders are quite different in scope, length, and tone. The similar overarching thread that connects these texts and criticisms together is that each author recognized the supposed inherent danger of non-Roman peoples. It was not their military propensity or wealth, but rather their mere existence as a reflection and reminder that without unrelenting and devoted adherence to Roman virtues, Rome would decline into the barbarous states they fought.

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Vesta's Vital Value: The Importance of Vesta to Rome and Its People

Zo Kaplan

Vesta was one of many gods worshiped by the state of Rome. The domains of Vesta included the hearth and non-destructive fire. When Rome syncretized their gods with the gods of the Greeks, Vesta was syncretized with the Greek goddess Hestia, who was also a goddess of the household. While this became one of Vesta's domains, it was not a primary part of her portfolio as it was in Hestia's, as the role of household gods primarily fell on the Di Familiares in Rome. When Karolina Wyrwińska writes about Vesta in The Vestal Virgins' Socio-political Role and the Narrative of Roma Aeterna, she states that "Vesta, the daughter of Saturn and Ops became one of the most important and most willingly worshiped Roman goddesses."[266] Despite Rome being a male-dominated society, Vesta, as a goddess, was clearly very important to the state. One could even go so far as to say that Vesta was the most important goddess to the continued existence and identity of the people and state of Rome, demonstrated through the importance of the Vestal Virgins, her sacred fire, the tending of the Vestal Virgins to the sacred fire, the purity of Vesta and the Vestal Virgins, and the attitudes surrounding Vesta as an overseer of Rome and its religion.

The existence of Vesta in Rome is most directly seen through the Vestal Virgins. The Vestal Virgins were the priests of Vesta, having many duties related to propitiating the goddess, as well as duties related to the function of the Roman state, such as the creation of the mola salsa, a component of animal sacrifice, where the sacrifice was not necessarily being offered to Vesta. The Vestal Virgins were always six in number, and were taken as young children between the ages of six and ten years old. These young girls also had to have been from wealthy families, where their parents had neither been slaves, nor engaged in menial occupations.[267] The Vestal Virgins would serve in their positions for thirty years, broken down into three periods of ten years, during which time they would take on different roles, as a student in the first ten, as a full-time priest with partial mentorship to the apprentices for the next ten, followed by full-time mentorship to the apprentices for the last ten.[268] Through the importance of the Vestal Virgins to Rome, Vesta's importance to Rome can also be discovered. When Wyrwińska writes about the Vestal Virgins, she notes that the Vestal Virgins were a symbol of the state of Rome.[269]

[266] Karolina Wyrwińska, "The Vestal Virgins' Socio-political Role and the Narrative of Roma Aeterna," *Krakow Studies in the History of State and Law* 14, no. 2 (2021): 127, doi:10.4467/20844131KS.21.011.13519.
[267] Aulus Gellius, "Attic Nights," in *Roman Religion: A Sourcebook*, Valerie Warrior (Hackett Publishing Company, Incorporated, 2001), 54.
[268] Wyrwińska, "The Vestal Virgins," 134.
[269] Wyrwińska, "The Vestal Virgins," 129.

This statement begins to demonstrate just how important the Vestal Virgins were to the people of Rome. The people of Rome saw their state reflected in the Vestal Virgins. Without the Vestal Virgins, this symbol of the Roman state would be lost, and the state of Rome would have been intrinsically different. In Rome's Vestal Virgins by Robin Lorsch Wildfang, Wildfang takes it a step further, by noting that "whatever else one says about the Vestals, these priestesses were, in the eyes of the Romans themselves, from Rome's very beginning at the heart of what it was to be Roman."[270] While Vesta is not mentioned directly, it is because of her that the Vestal Virgins existed, and therefore it is because of her that the Vestal Virgins became what Wildfang describes as the heart of being Roman. Without Vesta and the Vestal Virgins, the Romans would not have had this heart to guide what their identity meant to them, as Vesta, through her Vestal Virgins, held that identity together. Wildfang goes as far as to say that in the Romans' eyes, there would be no Rome without Vesta and the Vestal Virgins.[271] The importance of Vesta, and what makes her he most important goddess to the existence of Rome's people, is shown through the declaration that Rome would have been lost without Vesta and her cult. It is not simply that the Roman identity would have been lost, but Rome itself would have fallen apart without Vesta and her cult there. In The Sexual Status of Vestal Virgins, Mary Beard considers how the Vestal Virgins were considered by some to be the wives of the early kings.[272] While Vesta and the Vestal Virgins were virgin and unmarried, this symbolic role demonstrates how important the people of Rome saw the Vestal Virgins to be, as the early kings of Rome could have been considered to represent Rome itself, meaning that the Vestal Virgins would be considered the wives of Rome itself. It is this that solidifies Vesta, through her cult, as the most important goddess to Rome.

There are few better examples for the importance of Vesta to the Roman state than her sacred fire. Vesta's sacred fire was contained in her temple and was also known as the state hearth of Rome, and tending to the state hearth was the primary duty of the Vestal Virgins. As Vesta was the goddess of the hearth in the home as well as the state, she, along with the Di Penates was responsible for the well-being of the home. As this is the case, it can be extrapolated that as Vesta was responsible for the well being of the home, and was in charge of the hearth in the home, her being in charge of the state hearth, meant that she was in charge of the well being of the state. Vesta's integral role to the wellness of the Roman state through her fire is further proven through the Roman belief that if the state hearth were to be extinguished, then Rome would be in grave danger, from the point of view of their prosperity and their well-being as a whole.[273] Vesta was considered one of the primary gods for determining the well-being of the Roman state, proving that she was of vital importance to the Roman people, as well as their attitudes. If the fire of Vesta were to be extinguished, the Roman people likely would have been in a panic, and this would have lowered the morale of the Roman state, causing them to be less successful

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[270] Robin Lorsch Wildfang, *Rome's Vestal Virgins* (Routledge, 2006), 1.
[271] Wildfang, *Rome's Vestal Virgins*, 6.
[272] Mary Beard, "The Sexual Status of Vestal Virgins," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 70, (1980): 13, https://doi.org/10.2307/299553.
[273] Rebecca I. Denova, *Greek and Roman Religions* (John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2019), 84.

and live in fear instead. It is this control over the attitudes of the Roman population that exemplifies Vesta's vital role to the Roman state. The sacred fire of Vesta, as the state hearth, was additionally considered the heart of Rome, and the cult was considered a pillar of the Roman identity, and the sacred fire stood as a symbol of Rome's ability to continue indefinitely.[274] Without the state hearth, and without the Vestal Virgins tending to it, a pillar of the Roman identity would have been lost. Additionally, if the sacred fire were to be extinguished, it would represent the inability of Rome to continue as a state indefinitely and without interruption. In essence, without Vesta as one of the goddesses of Rome, they would not have been the same people, as Vesta was vital to their Roman identity and to the continuity of their state. The people of Rome without the fire of Vesta would likely not be able to see themselves in the same light, or see their state as the great force that they had previously seen. The existence of Vesta's sacred fire, and its light represented the strength and everlasting power of Rome, meaning that Vesta was integral to the function of the Roman state, and could not be taken away without the Roman state crumbling.

Vesta's vital importance to the Roman state, and the importance of her sacred fire as the state hearth can also be seen through the importance of the Vestal Virgins and their duties in tending to the sacred fire of Vesta. Wildfang writes that the Vestal Virgins were "synonymous with the continued existence and safety of Rome. As long as the Vestals performed their appointed religious duties, Rome, the most powerful and foremost city in the ancient world, would remain."[275] Without Vesta and her cult, Rome would not be able to continue to exist, meaning that Vesta's existence was synonymous with the existence of Rome as a whole, solidifying her as Rome's most important goddess, as the state and people of Rome would fall without Vesta and her Virgins, given the importance of the duties that her virgins would carry out.

Moreover, the Vestal Virgins were required to stay pure. This is likely because Vesta herself was a virgin goddess, and therefore the Vestal Virgins, her cult, had to maintain the same strict sexual purity. The Vestal Virgins were required to not engage in any sexual activity, and had to remain unmarried, though they could get married after their thirty year term as a Vestal Virgin had ended. Marrying a Vestal Virgin, however, was seen as bad luck.[276] The theoretical bad luck from marrying a Vestal Virgin is likely due to the purity that they had to maintain while in office, and it may have been seen as sacrilege to be the person to undo that purity, even if it was no longer necessary for the Vestal Virgin to maintain it. This points to Vesta's importance within the opinion of the Roman people, as even after their terms were over, the purity of Vestal Virgins was held in such high regard that the people of Rome still did not want to break it. The mentality of not wanting to end the purity of a Vestal Virgin may be due to the fact that the purity of the Vestal Virgins was seen as essential to the well-being of Rome, and to violate it would

[274] Wyrwińska, "The Vestal Virgins," 130.
[275] Wildfang, *Rome's Vestal Virgins*, 1.
[276] Wyrwińska, "The Vestal Virgins," 135.

be akin to the failure of the hearth fire, and spell bad things to come for Rome.[277] As the hearth fire signified the continuing existence of Rome, likening the purity of the Vestal Virgins to its burning signifies that the purity of the Vestal Virgins was of the utmost importance to the state of Rome. The idea that the loss of a Vestal Virgin's purity spelled a loss of Rome's prosperity signifies that Vesta was the most important goddess to the Roman state, as even one of her cult members had the ability to signify danger if they were violated. In fact, the only way to remedy the violation of breaking the purity of a Vestal Virgin would be to put the Vestal Virgin to death, as a sacrifice, as her violation represented the Roman people being polluted.[278] It was believed that the Roman state would flourish as long as the Vestal Virgins stayed pure,[279] demonstrating the power that Vesta had over Rome through her cult, a power that cements her as the most important goddess to the state of Rome. The purity of Vesta could also have signified the purity of Rome itself, as Vesta was the goddess of pure, infertile flame,[280] and that was represented through her sacred fire, the state hearth. As the sacred fire represented the well-being of Rome, this would indicate that Vesta's purity represented the purity and well-being of Rome. If Vesta had not been a pure goddess this would not have been true, and Rome might not have been the powerful force that it was, meaning that Vesta, and her purity, were critical to the existence of Rome. Additionally, her pure flame was used in numerous festivals, including the Fordicidia and the Parilia, as well as to prepare the mola salsa for sacrifices.[281] Had Vesta not been pure, her sacred fire could not have been used for purification in these contexts, and Rome would not have been able to celebrate their festivals in the same way, risking angering their gods through not celebrating their festivals and causing the gods to seek vengeance. By having the flame used for purification, Vesta stood between the Roman people and their gods, and allowed them to continue forward, propitiating their gods rather than falling to their mercy.

When Rome was founded by Romulus in the estimated year of 753 BCE, he called upon the gods to stand by him as he founded the state of Rome. Specifically, according to Ovid's Fasti, he called upon three gods: Jupiter, king of the gods; Mars, his mythical father; and Vesta.[282] In this list, Vesta is the outlier. It makes sense that Jupiter, king of the gods, would be called on to witness the birth of Rome, as he is the ruler of the pantheon, and to not include him would likely be a slight that he would have taken swift vengeance for. Calling upon Mars is also logical in this scenario as, in the story of the birth of Romulus and Remus, Mars is their father, meaning that it is logical that Romulus would want Mars to witness his achievement, and take pride in what he had done. Vesta, on the

[277] Denova, *Greek and Roman Religions*, 84.
[278] Diane Baodoin, "Purete et Impurete des Vestales," *Storia delle Donne* 17, (2021), DOI: 10.36253/sd-13457-CCBY4.0IT.
[279] Andrew B. Gallia, "Vestal Virgins and Their Families," *Classical Antiquity* 34, no. 1 (April 2015): 113, https://doi.org/10.1525/ca.2015.34.1.74.
[280] Wildfang, *Rome's Vestal Virgins*, 9.
[281] Wildfang, *Rome's Vestal Virgins*, 10.
[282] Ovid, "Fasti," in *Roman Religion: A Sourcebook*, Valerie Warrior (Hackett Publishing Company, Incorporated, 2001), 16.

other hand, holds no apparent power in this situation compared to the other two, and is incidentally the only goddess named. This calling on Vesta for her support as Romulus founded the city of Rome illustrates how she was the most important female goddess, standing by the king of the gods and the father of the speaker. No other female goddesses are named by Romulus, but Vesta was seen as important enough to be called on, stabilizing her in the position of most important female god. Additionally, in Ovid's Fasti, Vesta is called upon to admit the gods brought by Aeneas from Troy to the city of Rome.[283] As a household god, it makes sense that it is Vesta that would be called to admit Aeneas' gods, as he was bringing his own family's gods into the city of Rome. However, the fact that it is Vesta's say that decides whether the gods will be admitted points to her significance to the state of Rome, as without her, Aeneas' gods would not have been permitted entry. As Aeneas is considered the founder of the people of Rome, without Vesta's admitting of his household gods to the city, likely the people of Rome would not have been able to settle, and Rome would not have existed. Vesta admitting these gods further proves that she was the most important goddess to the pantheon, as Rome likely would not have existed without her.

Through examining the integral roles and position of the Vestal Virgins in the state of Rome, the importance of the state hearth as a sacred fire of Vesta, the importance of the Vestal Virgins maintaining the sacred fire, the importance to Rome that Vesta and the Vestal Virgins stay pure, and Vesta's prominence in the matter of founding Rome and admitting gods to the state, it can be determined that Vesta was Rome's most important goddess to the endurance and identity of its state and people. Vesta was worshiped as a goddess of family, the home, and non-destructive fire, illustrating her persistence as a goddess, and the effect that she had as the most important goddess of the ancient Roman pantheon.

[283] Ovid, "Fasti," in *Roman Religion: A Sourcebook*, Valerie Warrior (Hackett Publishing Company, Incorporated, 2001), 136.

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Virgil the Farmer: Nationalism and Propaganda in Virgilian Poetry

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To my father, who not only read the countless versions of this essay, but all the other versions of all the other essays I've written throughout my life. Thank you for everything, Dad, I think I've turned out pretty well.

Virgil, through the *Aeneid*, has become inextricably linked with Augustan Rome and with the princeps himself. The interpretation of his poetry occupies a prominent position in scholarly debate, with readings of the *Aeneid* heavily dependent on the context in which they are being discussed. For example, the political and social fabric of the 20th century allowed for the emergence of multiple 'schools' of thought in which the epic poem could be read. These included the 'Harvard School' approach, which was more pessimistic, and the 'German' approach, which was more traditional and patriotic.[284] The opposing readings have also contributed to ulterior interpretations. For example, Sforza believed that Virgil was an Italian patriot who had a grudge against Rome.[285] This idea is quite possible, due to the fact that Virgil himself heralded from Mantua, a place which he demonstrates his affinity for in *Georgics* 3.12-16.

In this essay, the question of if Virgil is a nationalist or a propagandist will be addressed. To do this, what constitutes propaganda and nationalism must be defined. For this essay, propaganda will closely follow Weeda, and be defined as: the intentional proliferation of a managed message in order to create a desired positive or negative effect towards a certain subject or object.[286] A propagandist, thereby, is someone who works in collaboration with an organisation or person to communicate a desired and controlled message, such as Goebbels did with Hitler. On the other hand, nationalism is the identification with one's own nation, and a dedicated support for its best interests. A nationalist, thereby, is someone who believes in the elevation of their nation, and whose loyalty will lie with said state. While nationalism has often been associated with patriotism, one does not inherently invoke the other, as they differ in terms of severity. For example, an American man who loves his country may be a patriot, but a member of a white supremacist group such as the KKK, may be an example of extreme nationalism. Virgil's position in this question is that of an Italian nationalist, as throughout his poems he consistently demonstrated support for the betterment of Italy. For the purposes of this essay, content from Virgil's *Eclogue* 1 and 4, select passages from the *Georgics* 1,2,3, and 4, as well as *Aeneid* 6 and 8 will be considered.

In order to understand how Virgil can be thought of as a nationalist, it is first important to devalue any connections that may contribute to perceptions of him as a propagandist, and

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[284] Ernst A. Schmidt. "The Meaning of Vergil's *Aeneid*: American and German approaches." *Classical World* 94 (2001): 145-171.
[285] Schmidt, "The Meaning of Vergil's Aeneid," 148.
[286] Leendert Weeda. *Vergil's Political Commentary in the Eclogues, Georgics and Aeneid*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015. 14.

to discuss how he expresses his nationalistic views. In this case, the former is equally important as the latter, as one can be simultaneously a nationalist and a propagandist. However, as the purpose of this essay is to discuss Virgil's role as the former, it is essential that any connections to him as a propagandist are discussed and devalued.

Notably, much of the political content in Virgil's work reflects conformity with Augustus' traditional propaganda programme. For example, there are arguments to be made surrounding the parallels between Aeneas and Augustus. However, this does not immediately suggest that Virgil fulfils the role of a propagandist, as conformity does not equate to the intentional communication of a desired and controlled message. Instead, it is more likely that any harmony found between Augustus' propaganda programme and Virgil's works may be a result of coincidence.[287] This is strengthened when one considers that Virgil himself is conceived to have been a man of high idealism, and that his political ideology was heavily shaped by his sympathies and own values.[288]

Moreover, Virgil is sometimes labelled as a propagandist due to his connection to Maecenas, who is known to have been the "greatest of the Roman patrons,"[289] and who had strong connections to the princeps. The relationship between Maecenas and Virgil has been previously described as authoritative, in the sense that any work produced with the former's patronage would have definitively been Augustan propaganda. This has been previously argued because of Virgil's own indication of the control Maecenas' would have had, as demonstrated by the iussa Maecenas in Georgics 3.41. However, much like Dalzell stated, it is unlikely that the iussa should be taken as a literal command in regard to politics. Instead, it is more likely that the content found in the Georgics was shaped by the poet's "own evident love of the Italian countryside."[290] Dalzell's suggestion of Virgil's love for rural Italy is important, as it is an indication of how Virgil presents his nationalism. This, however, will be explored later.

Interestingly, it is suspicious that direct mentions of the princeps appear in Virgil's poetry only following the poet's connection to Maecenas. For example, Virgil's Eclogue 1, which according to Suetonius was written prior to his induction into Maecenas' circle, depicts Octavian in a critical tone, while the Aeneid clearly praises the princeps. However, it is unlikely that this shift is a direct result of Maecenas' patronage. Instead, the sudden appearance of praise for the princeps can be explained through Virgil's acceptance of Augustus due to the poet's identification of him as the best means to achieve the values through which he portrays his nationalism.

Similar to the issue of Maecenas' influence, is the notion that Virgil wrote beneath an authoritative regime. While it is unfair to attribute modern political ideologies onto Rome, it is clear that certain elements of Augustus' ruling strategy, such as his

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[287] Cf. Weeda, *Vergil's Political Commentary*.
[288] Cf. T.J. Haarhoff. "The Element of Propaganda in Vergil." *Acta Classica* 11 (1968): 125–38. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24591204.
[289] A. Dalzell. "Maecenas and the Poets." *Phoenix* 10, no. 4 (1956): 151-62. https://doi.org/10.2307/1086017.
[290] Dalzell, "Maecenas and the Poets," 156

censorship, would be classified as authoritative or totalitarian.[291] It is clear that censorship occurred in Augustan Rome. For example, the later poet Ovid was exiled in 8 CE due to the ambiguous reason of a 'carmen et error.'[292] However, it is unlikely that the both the carmen et error were related to a political misstep. More convincingly, the error would have been a moral one, as it is known that Augustus intertwined his rule closely with morality, something which is illustrated by his moral reforms that begin c. 18 BCE. The idea of Ovid having committed a moral error is congruent with his self-label as a 'doctor adulterii.'[293] Furthermore, it is unlikely that even if there was heavy political censorship against the Augustan poets, all of Virgil's work would be attributed to propaganda. Farrell draws an appropriate, and effective, comparison between Virgil and the 20th century Russian composer, Dmitiri Shostakovich, who wrote beneath Stalin's Great Purge and experienced artistic censorship.[294] Despite the tension in Russia at the time, Shostakovich was able to subversively criticise Stalin through his fifth symphony, which went against the common musical theme of patriotism in favour of darker sounds that reflected the current living standard. For Virgil, who wrote beneath a regime far less totalitarian, it follows that Augustus' propaganda programme would not have precluded his ability to express his own political opinions through his poetry. This is reinforced with the knowledge that criticisms of the princeps had been published by other poets within his circle, such as Horace in Carmen 1.29 and Propertius in Elegy 2.7.

Furthermore, it is important to examine how Virgil presents his nationalistic ideals, as this will lay the foundation necessary to understand how he can be a nationalist. By the definition prescribed to nationalism earlier, it follows that a nationalist's values will focus on the betterment and elevation of their state. In the case of Virgil and Italy, one only needs to turn to his distinct love for the farm, and the position that farming holds in both the cultural fabric and literature. Farming in general was significant to the Romans, who viewed it as representative of their cultural ideal. This is demonstrated primarily by the legendary story of Cincinnatus, who through his actions represented the Roman values of moderatio. The farm also occupied an important position in literature. Nappa comments on Virgil's use of the farm in the Georgics by stating that "the farm is crucial to the strategies of the poem because it is a quintessentially Roman idea of life, one with literary history that transcends Rome itself and yet one that evokes numerous contemporary Roman concerns and prejudices."[295] For Virgil, the use and focus on the farm is central to his position of a nationalist. Although it is true that the farm was a Roman ideal, it becomes clear through Virgil's poetry, that his ultimate ideal, and what he believed was the best for Italy as a whole was farming. As previously mentioned, Virgil himself heralded from Mantua. When understood in conjunction with his family's occupation as farmers, it becomes easy to connect his well discussed love for the Italian countryside to his conceptualisation of the farm and Italy as the ideal land for farming as the main way

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291 For a discussion on the Roman *auctoritas*, cf. Sabine Grebe, "Augustus' Divine Authority and Vergil's 'Aeneid'"

292 Ovid, Tristia. *The Latin Library. https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/ovid.html 2.*207.

293 Ovid, Tristia 2.12

294 Joseph Farrell. "The Vergilian Century." *Vergilius* (1959-) 47 (2001): 14. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41587251

295 Christopher Nappa. *Reading After Actium: Vergil's Georgics, Octavian, and Rome.* Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2005. 12

in which he frames his nationalism. This then suggests that any reference or allusion made to the farm, should they be associated with Italy, would be indicative of his nationalism.

Moving forward, it is necessary to discuss the sections of his poetry which include representations of Virgil's nationalism, as well as the potentially propagandising elements within them. The most identifiable way in which Virgil represents his nationalism is through the connection between Italy and the Golden Age, which is traditionally thought of to be the idealised notion of an "innocent and carefree life in the far distant past."[296] While it is important to acknowledge that Virgil's conception of the Golden Age is highly controversial, due to the inconsistencies presented in his poems, the purpose of this essay is not to discuss them specifically.[297] What is more essential is to identify how Virgil conceives the Golden Age in its most fundamental function of representing the idealised time period, and how this relates to his depiction of Italy and the role that the princeps fulfils in the return to it. Since the Golden Age can be thought of as the ideal time period in society, the way in which Virgil chooses to portray Italy may be indicative of whether he is a nationalist or not. In the case of Virgil, any links made between farming as the Golden Age and Italy would demonstrate his nationalistic attitudes.

In order to see this, one only needs to turn to the Georgics 2.136-176, or the laudes Italiae. While the laudes Italiae are not indicative of the Golden Age by themselves, the themes of agriculture and farming as markers of Virgil's Golden Age,[298] reveal their identification with his conception of the time period. Immediately, Virgil demonstrates a bias and love for Italy, as in this section of the Georgics he places Italy ahead of other nations. Importantly, it is Italy's agricultural potential that is the focus of his praise. "Sed neque Medorum silvae, ditissima terra/ nec pulcher Ganges atque auro turbidus Hermus/ laudibus Italiae certent, non Bactra neque Indi/ totaque turiferis Panachaia pinguis harensi."[299] This suggests nationalism, as it does not only illustrate how Virgil's glorification of Italy pertains to its ability to be efficient in farming and agriculture, but also that he views this quality as something which renders the Italian land as superior to others. This is strengthened later with Virgil's hyperbolic praise towards the rate at which Italy is able to produce goods. "Hic ver adsiduum atque alienis mensibus aestas:/ bis gravidae pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbos."[300] Notably, the imagery created by these lines is that of a beautiful and abundant land, which suggests that Virgil hopes to elevate Italy in terms of its ability to be farmed and to produce all that one needs. This characterisation of Italy is congruent with Virgil's aforementioned values, and thus suggests a depiction of his nationalistic ideas. While it does not follow that the depiction of nationalistic values is indicative of a nationalist, the use of it in comparison to other states does, as he intentional places Italy on a pedestal.

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[296] Inez Scott Ryberg. « Vergil's Golden Age. » *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 89 (1958) : 112. https://doi.org/10.2307/283670.

[297] Cf. Christine, Perkell. "The Golden Age and Its Contradictions in the Poetry of Vergi." *Vergilius (1959-) 48 (2002): 3-39.* http://www.jstor.org/stable/41587264.

[298] Cf. *Eclogue* 4.39, Georgics 1.125-128, Georgics 1.506-508, Georgics 2.458-460.

[299] Virgil, Georgics. The Latin Library. https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/verg.html 2.136-139.

[300] Virgil, Georgics, 2.149-150.

The way in which Virgil represents the princeps in conjunction with the return of the Golden Age is also indicative of his role as a nationalist and not a propagandist. If Virgil had been a propagandist, it is likely that any mention of the Golden Age would have been inextricably linked to the princeps and his reign. However, when mentions of Augustus are examined, it becomes clear that Virgil's Golden Age is linked to Italy and the return to the simple life associated with farming, and the hope for an abundant land. The latter idea is made clear by the "omnis feret omnia tellus," in Eclogue 4.39. The appearance of this in Virgil's earliest known work is notable, as it demonstrates his attitude towards the Golden Age and its connection to abundance and farming. As this idea is found in later works as well, such as Georgics 2.458-460, it suggests that Virgil's idea of the Golden Age is not inherently linked to the princeps, and that the main focus is not to emphasise Augustus' role, but how it relates to Italy itself. This nationalistic interpretation of Virgil's depiction of the Golden Age is further strengthened when one considers that it aligns with previous traditions presented by past Roman authors such as Varro in De Agricultura 1.2.4-6.

Moreover, as mentioned, the direct references to the princeps in connection to the Golden Age are indicative of Virgil as a nationalist rather than a propagandist. In this essay, two passages that speak of the princeps in conjunction shall be discussed, namely, Georgics 1.498-514, and Aeneid 6.791-795. While both of these passages conform with Augustus' propaganda programme, as they portray him as the bringer of abundance and the Golden Age to Italy,[301] the praise in both can be explained in terms of Virgil's nationalism. This is due to the fact that when discussed, it becomes clear that the praise is not specific to the princeps but was instead attributed to him because of Virgil's desire to believe that he could bring about the pace required for Italy to achieve his cultural ideal. In other words, it does not matter to Virgil who brings the Golden Age, so long as it is able to be realised. Both passages mentioned shall now be briefly discussed.

To begin, in Georgics 1.489-514, Virgil, as Weeda appropriately notes, prays that the future princeps will restore peace so that the land can be farmed again.[302] This is demonstrated by Virgil's description of the 'multae facies scelerum' and Octavian's potential to create a world where "non ullus aratro/ dinus honos, squalent abductis arva colonis,/ et curvae rigidum falces conflantur in ensem."[303] These lines suggest that the evils which Virgil writes Octavian as being able to overturn, were related to the inability to farm due to the wars that were occurring. Notably, despite the fact that Virgil is propagating Octavian as the person who has the power to free Italy from its struggles, it can be argued that this is a veiled criticism of the future princeps for his participation and role in the wars. This is illustrated by the concluding lines to the Georgics, which highlights Octavian in conjunction with war.[304] When read in this way, it demonstrates how despite Virgil's prayer for Octavian to be the bringer of peace, his focus is on the proliferation of his nationalistic conception of the Golden Age rather than the person who is capable of bringing it.

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[301] Cf. Weeda, *Vergil's Political Commentary,* 3.
[302] Weeda, *Vergil's Political Commentary,* 88.
[303] Virgil, Georgics, 1.506-508. To note, the mention of Octavian as the solution to these *multae facies scelerum* comes early in this section, in line 503.
[304] Virgil, Georgics, 4.560-561.

The Aeneid contains similar ideas, with the exception that a direct connection between the princeps and the mention of the aurea saecula is made. "Hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,/ Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet/ saecula qui rursus Latio regnant per arva/ Saturno quondam."[305] While the bold connection of Augustus as the man who would bring the Golden Age could be indicative of Virgil as a propagandist, it is more likely that this reflected Virgil's high expectations for the prosperity projected by the princeps' plan. As mentioned earlier, Virgil has been commonly thought of to be a man whose loyalties lie with the Italian countryside.[306] It thus follows that Virgil's praise for the princeps can be explained by the poet's genuine belief in the Augustan regime. Weeda supports this idea by stating that, "Vergil underwent a development in his attitude towards Augustus, and this is visible in the Aeneid. He extolled the virtues of Augustus, as the right man to bring peace and stability, but privately his sympathy was with the suffering and sorrow of many of the characters in the poem."[307]

In fact, the representation of some of the characters in the Aeneid, specifically those who are deemed 'enemies', as well as other representations of enemies to Virgil's Italy, care capable of demonstrating Virgil's nationalism. There are two ways in which 'enemies' are portrayed in Virgil's poetry: those who Virgil himself perceives as an enemy, and those who are considered traditional enemies of Italy. The former indicates Virgil's nationalism, as he identifies the enemy as those who prevent his ideal of Italy from being realised. The latter, moreover, not only indicates his nationalism as it not only reveals the poet's dedication to his cultural ideals established by the Golden Age, but also devalues his identification as a propagandist.

Primarily, those who Virgil depicts as enemies will be discussed. Interestingly, despite the use of othering language, the people whom Virgil presents as enemies in Eclogue 1 are not foreigners. Much like the other Eclogues, this setting of this poem reflects the pastoral ideal which Virgil associates with the Golden Age. However, the ability for Meliboeus to achieve this ideal is interrupted by the threat of losing his land. "Impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit,/ Barbarus has segetes; en quo discordia cives,/ produxit miseros; his nos consevimus agros!"[308] Importantly, the use of 'barbarus' does not refer to a foreigner, but instead to a soldier who is receiving land in Octavian's resettlement programme following the battle of Philippi in 41 BCE.[309] While a common interpretation of Eclogue 1 is that it is to be read as Virgil expressing gratitude towards Octavian for the preservation of his own land,[310] it is clear by Virgil's use of the word barbarous that he harboured some resentment towards these soldiers for their negative impact on the life of farmers. In this passage, the biggest threats to Italy are those who threaten Virgil's ideal life of the farmer. As Virgil's nationalistic ideal for Italy is for it to be suitable for farming, his sympathy towards those affected by the land resettlements, as

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[305] Virgil, *Aeneid.* The Latin Library. https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/verg.html 6.791-794.
[306] Cf. Dalzell, Haarhoff, Weeda.
[307] Weeda, *Vergil's Political Commentary*, 109.
[308] Virgil, *Eclogues*. The Latin Library. https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/verg.html. 1.70-71.
[309] Weeda, *Vergil's Political Commentary,* 60.
[310] Cf. Ernest A. Fredricksmeyer, "Octavian and the Unity of Virgil's First Eclogue." *Hermes* 94, no.2 (1966): 1. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4475402. Also, Kevin E. Moch. "*Quonium Pecus:* Representations of Italian Identity in Vergil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*." PhD Diss. (University of California, 2019). 52.

well as his negative attitude towards the soldiers, reinforces his position as an Italian nationalist.

In other poems, such as the Georgics and the Aeneid representations of the traditional enemy, or foreigners, being to appear. Virgil's method for portraying these people is notable, as in both poems there is a lack of complete conformity with the traditional depiction of foreigners. For example, foreign people are often represented in orientalising manners, such as how Propertius depicts them as luxurious in Elegy 3.13. However, rather than representing these foreigners in such a manner, Virgil attributes paradoxical qualities to them while both 'other' them, but also allow him to express his cultural ideal. This is primarily demonstrated in Georgics 3.349-383, with the representation of the Scythians as 'Noble Savages'. Although the Scythians are portrayed in a barbarian-like way, such as the visual description of them as having impexis barbis in line 366, Virgil's veiled praised to their way of life allows for his nationalistic values associated with the simple life of the Golden Age to shine through. For example, the enviable simplicity in lines 376-380 parallels previous pastoral poetry, such as the concluding lines to Eclogue 1. Together, these ideas suggest that although Virgil identified the Scythians as barbaric, his belief in the ideal of farming pushed him to draw similarities between the Italian ideal and the state which the Scythians live in.

Finally, the atypical conformity with the representation of traditional enemies is found in Virgil's references to Mark Antony and Cleopatra in the Aeneid. Although his representation of them does not clearly point to him as being a nationalist, the divergence from a typical propaganda programme weakens the possibility of Virgil being a propagandist. Mark Antony's portrayal is unique, as unlike other poets such as Horace in Epode IX, Virgil identifies the Roman by name.[311] However, his portrayal of Cleopatra is more notable due to its subversion of expectations. Notably, there is a discussion to be had surrounding the links between Dido and Cleopatra, however, in this essay considerations will be limited to explicit mentions of the latter. In some ways, Virgil's representation of Cleopatra conforms with the traditional propaganda programme. For example, the tradition identified by Chaudhuri of Cleopatra remaining nameless occurs in Aeneid 6.688, wherein Virgil refers to her as the 'Aegyptia coniunx.'[312] While this is indicative of some conformity with the propaganda programme, Virgil's association with it is weakened by his description of a maerentum Nilum following Cleopatra's death in 8.711. Although a sympathetic approach to Cleopatra following her death is not unique to Virgil,[313] the image of a lamenting river known to be significant to Egypt brings forth notions of genuineness that push against the traditional representation of Cleopatra as mad. As this does not conform with the expectations of a propaganda, it limits the potential of Virgil to be labelled as a propagandist, as he does not attempt to contribute to the poor portrayal of Cleopatra found in his contemporaries.

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[311] Virgil, *Aeneid*, 8.685.

[312] Pramit Chaudhurt. "Naming Nefas: Cleopatra on the Shield of Aeneas." *The Classical Quarterly, 62, no. 1.* (2012): 223-26. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41820008.

[313] Cf. Horace *Carmen* 1.37. And Steele Commager, "Horace, 'Carmina' 1.37." *Phoenix* 12, no 2 (1958): 47-57. https://doi.org/10.2307/1086520.

In this essay, the question of if Virgil is a nationalist or propagandists has been discussed. Overall, Virgil has consistently presented himself as the former, due to the fact that his nationalistic ideals were attributed to his representation of the Italian land as ideal to bear the Golden Age, and his representations of enemies. Moreover, the connections that may have contributed to Virgil as a propagandist were discussed, with links to people such as Maecenas, or his depiction of traditional enemies, devalued. Of course, while all of Virgil's poetry contains elements of propaganda, it does not inherently link him to the position of a propagandist, as there is a fundamental love for Italy and its countryside attached to the root of his writing.

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