CHAPTER VI

Roman Hercules

Long before Romulus laid the foundation of Rome, the everlasting city, Herakles had left his mark on the site. The tradition has it that when he returned from Spain with the cattle of Geryon, they were stolen from him on the pastures that were to be Rome. Herakles recovered the cattle and punished the culprit. In memory of the event king Evander, a Greek exile, or Herakles himself built what was the greatest altar in those regions at the time. The cult of Hercules at the Ara Maxima in the Cattle Market, the Forum Boarium, continued through the entire pagan history of Rome.[1] So far from being a literary figure pure and simple, Hercules in Rome was a religious phenomenon which we must briefly describe before proceeding to its adaptations and reflections in literature.

Besides the cult of Hercules in Italy, the cult of Herakles in Greece continued through the Hellenistic age and the Roman period. But there is a significant difference. Greek religion was vital because it engendered myth and ultimately wound up being myth. While the Greek Herakles appealed to the popular and mythic imagination, his properly religious role—in the sense of his fulfilling a real religious need—progressively declined. Alexander and his contemporaries did not hail Herakles as the giver of strength or helper in adversity, but as the achiever of wondrous deeds and as a fellow-traveller to exotic lands. In passing from Greece to Rome, Herakles took on 'a new seriousness more in keeping with the character of the people that welcomed him'.[2] There he satisfied true, religious aspirations which the ritualistic and rather impersonal state religion could not provide. The essential characteristic of the Roman Hercules cult was exactly its contrast to and freedom from the mortifying interference of the pontifical religion. According to the

tradition, a private family, *gens*, originally was in charge of the cult at the Ara Maxima and even after the state priests became its custodians and the feast of Hercules was given a place in the official Roman calendar, the worship remained private and individual. Unlike the traditional gods of the state religion, Herakles was worshipped on individual occasions rather than one day of the year, the people—rather than the priests alone—partook in the sacrificial banquet, and so far from being localized at one, state-supported sanctuary, Herakles' cult was practised in a multitude of smaller shrines and temples, which had been built as tokens of private gratitude. Herakles satisfied the personal cult needs that were left unfulfilled by the state religion and thus came to share in the same religious intensity that was accorded the oriental cults for exactly the same reason. The capacities in which he was invoked ranged from provider of a good birth to silent partner in business deals. Herakles, in short, regained religious functions similar to those he had held in sixth-century Greece: he was once more the ἀλεξίκακος, the patron saint who would help one overcome all imaginable difficulties of life and hence he was called *invictus*, the invincible one. Above all, he was a personal god and worshipped as such by Roman generals from Scipio to Antony.

The absorption of Herakles into Roman religion had two important results for his literary tradition. First, since Roman religion in contrast to the Greek was not mythopoeic, little was added to the Herakles myth in the way of new stories or adventures. The one new event Roman writers treat is his foundation of the Ara Maxima. There are several versions, but they do not spin off into additional or more extensive products of the mythical imagination. Quantitatively, very little is added to the mythological Herakles tradition. Spiritually, however—and this is our second point—the Roman contribution was significant. It consists of the total seriousness with which the hero is now approached. Roman religion and the philosophies, that is mostly Stoicism—and the Romans were Stoics long before Stoicism became a philosophical system—worked hand in hand to shape an image of Herakles whose *gravitas* has been a distinctive trait to our day. From here, for instance, stems the uneasiness of the adaptors of the *Alcestis* about the burlesque Herakles and their zealous obliteration of his unseemly behaviour. There is an occasional humorous note such as in

Propertius, Ovid and in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, but the reasons are anti-Augustanism and literary parody rather than a mockery of the hero himself. His absence, in any comic role, from the Roman stage, is truly remarkable considering the dominant role of the comic Herakles in the Greek theatre. At the time when the Alexandrian audience guffawed about 'the drunken Herakles in his yellow coat' teetering over the stage, Caesar and Seneca were writing tragedies on Herakles, and Cicero, Dio Chrysostom, and Epictetus idealized him as the perfect embodiment of Stoic wisdom and virtue.

Herakles' early popularity in Roman literature is sufficiently attested by the comedies especially of Plautus where references to him abound. *Mehercle!* (by Herakles!) is a stock exclamation and Herakles' labours and other exploits are frequently used as metaphors.[3] For example, a troubled lover, in one of the comparisons typical of Roman comedy, contends that his labours are far greater than Herakles' (*Persa* 1–5), and an uppity *adulescens* warns his tutor that they might play Herakles and Linus (*Bacch.* 155). The brevity of such references, which are not accompanied by any explanations, attests the Romans' thorough familiarity with the stories, but the exploitation of the hero for raucous entertainment is missing entirely. The *Amphitruo*, Plautus' only mythological comedy, is unique because of his exalted treatment of the theme which is a far cry from the farcical, slapstick humour that prevailed, e.g. in Rhinthon's *Amphitryon* or whatever the Greek model happens to have been.[4] Throughout the play, Plautus seems to allude to the pretensions of the Scipionic family and the Elder Scipio in particular. Plautus' dramaturgical emphasis in this play on the divine birth of Herakles agrees well with that purpose. The association of Scipio and Herakles is familiar from later Roman literature—Silius, as we shall see, being the most explicit example—and had its roots in Ennius' attempt to deify Scipio. Herakles, the mortal who became a god by strength of his own *virtus*, was his model, just as the Augustan poets would almost canonically associate Augustus with Herakles for the same reason. *Virtus*, a word related to both *vir* ('man') and *vis* ('energy'), was the counterpart of the Greek *aretē*.

The absence of the comic Herakles from the Roman plays is explained not only by the *pietas* with which 'the masters of the earth, the togaed race' regarded him. He also does not appear in the tragedies of

1. Herakles Farnese, by Glycon of Athens; original attributed to Lysippus (fourth century B.C.)

PLATE 1

2. Herakles and his family

3. Herakles and Dionysus banqueting

4. Herakles, Dionysus and Hermes

5. Herakles at a banquet

6. Herakles staging a *kōmos*

PLATE 4

7. The Drunkenness of Herakles, by Rubens

PLATE 5

8. Satyr disguised as Herakles

9. Herakles kills Busiris and his priests

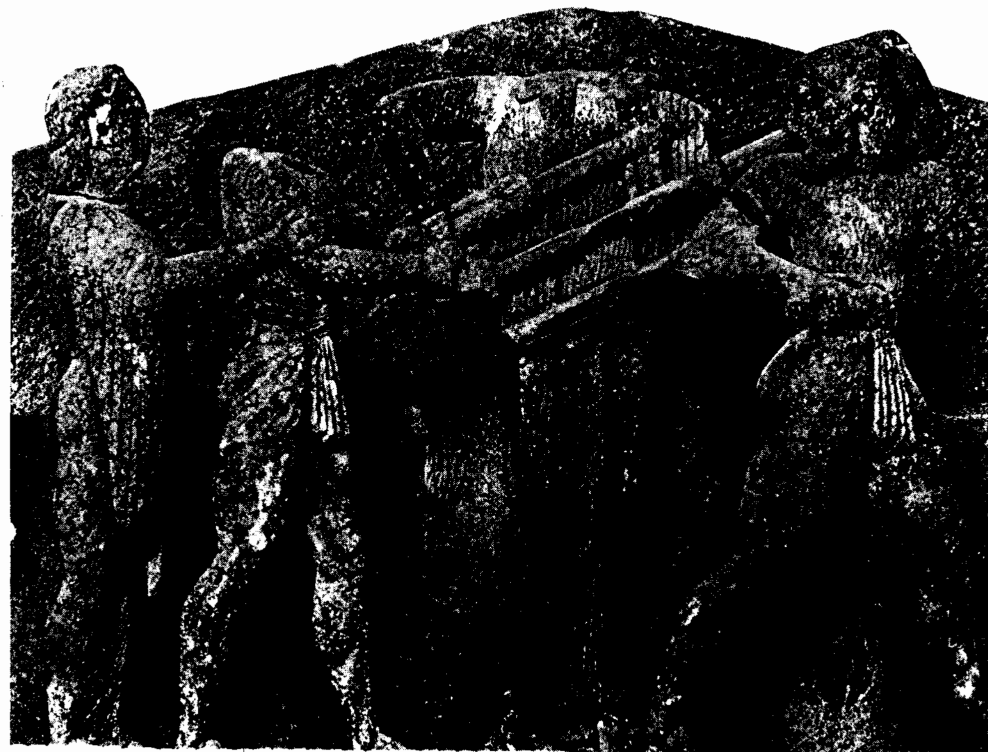
10. Herakles and the Kerkopes

11. Comedian attired as Herakles (fourth century B.C.)

12. Middle Comedy actor as Herakles (fourth century B.C.)

13. Herakles threatens Apollo. Phlyakes vase

14. Herakles and Apollo contend for the tripod



15. Herakles angers Zeus. Phlyakes vase

16. The infant Herakles strangling the snakes

17. Herakles and Omphale

Comment hercules vain
le roy athlas et commenca
a estudier la science dastro
nomie et les sept ars li
beraulx

Quant hercules
veyt les libiens
tourner en
fuyte Il fist sonner la re
traitte pour ce quil estoit

18. Der Hercules, by Albrecht Dürer

19. Herakles and Atlas

20. The Choice of Herakles, by Annibale Carracci

ELOQVENTIA FORTITVdine præstantior.

21. The Gallic Herakles

22. Herakles the Archer, by E. A. Bourdelle

23. The Triumph of Herakles, by G. B. Tiepolo

the early Roman dramatic poets, thus making impossible the parody of such a tragedy on the part of the comedians. Aside from Herculean subjects, the range of Roman tragedies reflects that of their Greek originals, Euripides in particular, with some more preference being given to the Trojan cycle because of Rome's incipient awareness of her Trojan legend. The failure of the Roman tragedians to write on Herakles reflects the very un-Greek, strict distinction between religion and myth. In Republican Rome, Herakles belonged too much to the former to be a ready subject for the latter. It was only Vergil who absorbed Roman religion into his epic, a fact that accounts for a considerable part of its uniqueness.

Before turning to Vergil's Herakles, who made a strong impression on the Renaissance, we must mention briefly one tendency that left some imprint on the tradition, at least through the Middle Ages, and provides a backdrop for Vergil's and Seneca's portrayal of Herakles as the divine man, *θεῖος ἀνήρ*. That was the anthropological criticism of myth by one Euhemerus, who lived around 300 B.C. Reduced to its simplest terms Euhemerus' theory was that the gods originally were men who had been elevated to divine status through the respect of their descendants.[5] Whereas Euhemerus' contemporaries do not seem to have been impressed with his speculations, Ennius translated his work into Latin in the early second century, and the first writer who openly espoused Euhemerus' principle was the Greek historian Diodorus, a contemporary of Caesar and Augustus. To Diodorus Prometheus, for example, so far from being a martyred Titan, was a governor in Egypt whose province was threatened by an inundation of the Nile which was called 'eagle' because of its destructiveness (1. 19. 1–4). To rescue Prometheus from his predicament, Herakles was therefore cast as a sort of glorified ancient engineer.[6] Similarly, the giant Antaeus, according to Diodorus, was simply another, rebellious governor whom Herakles, a general, brought to bay (1. 21). At the site of Rome Herakles did not meet any governor, but Diodorus' debunking of the story was even more thoroughgoing than in the other episodes. Herakles, as usual, appears merely as a general who is leading an army back from Spain. One should think that the traditional version of the cattle theft and the punishment of Cacus, the thief, would have attracted Diodorus because it supported his basic thesis: Herakles achieved some deed

and, as a result, was worshipped as a god at the Ara Maxima. Instead, Diodorus went even further and turned the myth inside out. Herakles is received with great hospitality by Cacius, as Diodorus calls him. Instead of there being a meaningful *raison d'être* for his deification, Herakles simply takes it for granted and offers the Romans a good deal along the lines of *do ut des* (4. 21. 3–4):

> Now Herakles received with favour the good will shown him by the dwellers on the Palatine and foretold to them that, after he had passed into the circle of the gods, it would come to pass that whatever men should make a vow to dedicate to Herakles a tithe of their goods would lead a more happy and prosperous life. And in fact the custom did arise in later times and has persisted to our own day; for many Romans, and not only those of moderate fortunes but some even of great wealth . . . have presented him with a tenth of their possessions, which came to four thousand talents.

The euhemeristic humanization of Herakles at first may strike one as absurd. After all, virtually all writers, with the exception of Herodotus, were in agreement that Herakles had originally been a man. Anticipating the Latin church fathers, however, Diodorus went on to deny that Herakles and others, such as Castor and Pollux, had been transformed into real deities and said that they had simply remained men on whom worship had been falsely bestowed. The euhemeristic concept is quite different from the humanization Herakles underwent at the hands of an author like Euripides. The latter had humanized the divine aspirations of the cultic Herakles into an exalted, if human, spiritual idealism. Herakles was worth emulating not because his life held out the promise of divinity, but because he was a great man. To Euhemerus and his followers, by contrast, Herakles was a man pure and simple, and there was nothing ennobling about him. Thus it is not surprising that Lucretius, who needed some way of belittling the tenets of his Stoic adversaries, offers a critique of Herakles that is entirely euhemeristic in spirit (5. 22–54).

Lucretius pointedly uses Herakles as a foil for happiness' onlie begetter, the Master himself, Epicurus. 'Well,' he says with a patronizing sneer, 'in case you are one of the deluded men who happen to believe that Herakles' famed labours are distinguished, be advised that you are

removed even further from the true ground of all reason.' Then Lucretius cavalierly tosses off the names of a few of the monsters against which Herakles fought, and he concludes with a deprecating So what? Would those creatures be of any harm, he asks, if they had remained alive? Of course not, because the earth still swarms with wild beasts and we all survive anyway. All these external dangers are nothing compared to the rending troubles of the mind—desires, cares, agonies, fears, pride, filthy lust, and wanton conduct in general. 'Therefore the man who subdues all these and drives them from his mind—with words, not arms—is it not fitting that this man should be numbered among the gods?' And that man, needless to say, is Epicurus—*deus ille fuit, deus, inclyte Memmi*. For Epicurus was the first to find the philosophy of life that is now called wisdom. . . . Lucretius, it will be noticed, now has it both ways: he uses Euhemerism for debunking Herakles and for deifying Epicurus. He contrives blithely to ignore any spiritual interpretation of Herakles, such as the Stoic one,[7] and presents him as the primitive strongman whose exploits are as meaningless as they are useless. And Lucretius' critique was not to be denied. It was echoed, for instance, by the Epicurean Cotta in Cicero's dialogue *On the Nature of the Gods* (3. 15, 16, 19), by Tiberius in his eulogy of Augustus (Dio 56. 36. 4), and by Varro, the greatest of all Roman scholars, who proceeded to dissect Herakles into forty-three different men of that name, much to the edification of Renaissance authors such as Salutati.[8] Even though Lucretius' view of Herakles was anything but universally accepted by his contemporaries—it certainly was not by Cicero,[9] who may have edited Lucretius' poem—it did reinforce Apollonius' characterization of the hero and reminded writers, such as Vergil, who were sympathetic to Herakles that the hero's ancient, non-spiritual past still could render him vulnerable.

Vergil's *Aeneid* is one of the most complex works of literature, and, accordingly, the reasons for Herakles' role in the *Aeneid* are many. One of them, however, stands out in particular since it is related to one of the central purposes of the epic. *The Aeneid* was an attempt to make Aeneas the truly popular, national hero of all of Italy, to give him precisely the role that Herakles had held in Greece. The Aeneas legend lacked the popular foundation which the Herakles myth had in Greece and even in Italy. Vergil's contemporary Dionysius (*Rom. Antiq.* 1. 40. 5) relates that

> In many other [i.e. outside Rome] places in Italy precincts are dedicated to this god and altars erected to him, both in cities and along highways; and one could scarcely find any place in Italy in which the god is not honoured.

It therefore was by no means impossible that Herakles might have been accepted as the popular ancestor of the Romans and Italians.[10] For even in Rome, Aeneas had been the sole property of a few noble families, among them the Julians, and since Octavian was a member of that family Aeneas was chosen to be the hero of the new epic.

Vergil assimilates Aeneas to Herakles virtually from the very beginning. In its proem, which is a programmatic synopsis of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas is introduced as 'a fugitive by fate' and a man 'persecuted by the relentless wrath of harsh Juno'. The traditional echoes are obvious and intentional. We need only compare what Homer's Achilles, another model of the Vergilian Aeneas, said about Herakles (*Il.* 18. 119): 'But fate subdued him and the troublesome wrath of Hera.' Of all the themes sketched in the seven-line proem, Vergil proceeds to reiterate that of Juno's wrath in the invocation to the Muse. He explicitly impresses upon the reader that of the basic themes in the *Aeneid*, this is the most significant. 'What reason,' asks the poet, 'what hurt drove Juno to make Aeneas undergo so many labours? Is divine wrath so great?' 'Labour' and 'wrath' are placed emphatically at the end of lines 10 and 11. Throughout the epic, Juno is the personal enemy of Aeneas and she acts from petty, personal motives. Both Juno's prominent role and her characterization are Vergilian innovations which are the result of the poet's desire to portray Aeneas as a second Herakles.[11]

The strongest verbal reminder of Aeneas' Herculean role is the persistent use of *labor* to denote Aeneas' task. Aeneas himself uses it many times to characterize himself and his adventures to those whom he meets on the way. The beginning of his programmatic introduction to Venus, whom he at first fails to recognize, is perhaps the most typical example (1. 372–4):

> O dea, si prima repetens ab origine pergam,
> et vacet annalis nostrorum audire laborum,
> ante diem clauso componet Vesper Olympo.

> (O goddess, if I should tell you my story from its beginnings, and you had time to listen to the story of my labours, the Evening Star would close Olympus' gates and end the day before I finished.)

Only after Aeneas has stressed his *labores* does he mention the quality for which he was dear to the Romans and to Augustus in particular, his *pietas* (1. 378).

This conception of Aeneas of himself is confirmed by the many oracular and divine agencies who are guiding him through his trials. Venus pleads with Jupiter to grant Aeneas an end to his *labores* (1. 241), and she uses the term again when she asks Vulcan to provide Aeneas' arms (8. 30). After all the oracles in Book III apply the term *labor* to each new trial of Aeneas, Jupiter himself sanctions it in Book IV when he asks Mercury to tell Aeneas to shoulder his burden (*molitur . . . laborem* 4. 233). The expression recalls the exertion of Atlas, but Herakles' shouldering of Atlas' starry burden was well remembered in Augustan Rome. Ovid (*Fasti* 1. 565–8) linked it explicitly to Herakles' fight against Cacus which, as we shall see, plays such a significant part in the *Aeneid*. Aeneas' greatest *labor*, foreshadowed by the Herakles–Cacus episode in Book VIII, is his fight against Turnus and the Latins. This is the note on which Anchises ends his prophecy in Book VI (890–92):

> exin bella viro memorat quae deinde gerenda,
> Laurentisque docet populos urbemque Latini,
> et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem.

> (He tells him of the wars which he has to wage and of the Laurentian peoples and the city of Latinus, and how he is to flee and bear each toil.)

'The practice of these warning agencies', as one scholar has noted, 'of applying the term *labor* to each fresh trial of Aeneas implies a perception of the similarity of the experience of Aeneas with the labours of Herakles on the part of those who presumably would have a clearer insight into the workings of destiny—Venus and the ghost of Anchises, for example.'[12] Aeneas himself, however, meanwhile expresses far more strikingly that he considers himself Herakles' heir. When he leaves Troy, he lifts his father on his shoulders, a scene which in both art and

literature has been considered as the very incarnation of *pietas*. 'This labour will not weigh me down', Aeneas assures Anchises. For, as it turns out, around his shoulders he wears the lion's skin (2. 722). Besides Aeneas' being a saviour, σώτηρ, like Herakles, his immediate task—the pious rescue of his father—and the task for which he is setting out—*Romanam condere gentem*—have both the physical and the spiritual dimension which had characterized Herakles' labours since Pindar. The balance between the two aspects is exquisite; Vergil's Herakles ideal is a world apart from Apollonius'.

Aeneas' Herculean self-awareness is emphasized even more as the epic progresses. When he descends to the underworld he duplicates a feat of Herakles. It is by reference to Herakles that he tries to dispel the Sibyl's doubts. His justification begins on the note of his *labores* (6. 103–5):

> non ulla laborum,
> o virgo, nova mihi facies inopinave surgit:
> omnia praecepi[13] atque animo mecum ante peregi.

(For me, o prophetess, not one new or unexpected kind of labour rises up: I have foreseen them all and pondered them in my mind.)

The analogy is quite precise, for the fetching of Cerberus was Herakles' last and crowning labour. Aeneas then goes on to speak of his first Herculean labour, the rescue of his father (6. 110–11). All this builds up to the powerful conclusion of his speech (122–3):

> quid Thesea magnum,
> quid memorem Alciden?—et mi genus ab Iove summo.

(Why should I mention Theseus? why the great Herakles? I, too, have descent from Jove most high.)

The Sibyl fully understands the force of these arguments by acknowledging that Aeneas is god-born (125) and that he is engaged in a difficult labour: *hic labor est* (129). This labour is not, as Aristophanes' Dionysus believed, the descent to Hades, but the return to the world of reality, to the very *labores* with whose mention Anchises sends Aeneas back from Hades. As in Aeneas' departure from Troy, *labor* here stands for both the immediate—the actual retracing of the steps—and the

more comprehensive, future task. One is again reminded of Euripides' Herakles whose real labours only began after he had successfully returned from the underworld. The terms in which the Sibyl describes the men who prevailed before Aeneas (129–31) clearly shows that she, too, considers Herakles as his chief model. Already Homer had stressed that Herakles was dearest of all to Zeus (*Il.* 18. 118), and in all of Greek and Roman mythology, he was the hero *par excellence* whose *virtus*, ἀρετή, was explicitly said to have raised him to heaven. Aeneas' claim to being Herakles' heir has prevailed, and the Sibyl will help him in his *insanus labor* (6. 135).

The Herculean reminiscences continue. When Aeneas sees various *monstra* (285), he acts like Herakles in Bacchylides' Meleager poem, draws his sword and tries to kill them before he learns that they are only shades.[14] Among the monsters are those against which Herakles fought—the centaurs, the Lernaean hydra, and Geryon. Another is the flame-spouting Chimaera which later appears on the helmet of Turnus. Aeneas' Herculean shadow-fight anticipates the real *labor* he faces after returning from the underworld.

When the Sibyl and Aeneas reach the river Styx, Charon explicitly refers to the precedent of Herakles and at first refuses to ferry Aeneas over. After the Sibyl reassures him that Aeneas is not a man of force, but *pietas*, Charon permits the 'gigantic Aeneas' (*ingentem Aenean* 413) to step into the boat. The result is almost the same as when Herakles came aboard the Argo (413–14): 'The sewn-leather boat groaned under his weight; marshy water seeped in through the rents he had made.' Somewhat later, Aeneas sees Dido as Lynceus in the *Argonautica* saw Herakles for the last time. From then on, Aeneas' way becomes a burden for him (*molitur . . . iter* 477), the kind of burden that Jupiter, implicitly likening Aeneas to Herakles, said Aeneas would have to shoulder (*molitur . . . laborem* 4. 233). Later in Book VI the shades of the deceased flee before Aeneas (489–93) as they had fled before Herakles in the *Odyssey* (11. 605–6). This Homeric adaptation is all the more remarkable as the literary model for Aeneas' descent into Hades was the Odysseus of the *Nekyia*. But while Vergil was strongly interested—mostly because of the popular *Odissia Latina*, Italy's national epic before the *Aeneid*—that Aeneas should supplant Odysseus, he was just as anxious to stress that Aeneas was Herakles' spiritual heir.

Finally, the Herakles theme in Book VI recurs in Anchises' ecstatic prophecy about Augustus' future greatness (6. 801–3). 'Not even Herakles', he exclaims, 'traversed so much of the earth, though he shot the bronze-footed deer, or brought peace to the woods of Erymanthus and made the Lernaean hydra tremble at his bow'—

> nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit,
> fixerit aeripedem cervam licet, aut Erymanthi
> pacarit nemora et Lernam tremefecerit arcu.

The passage is, to be sure, imperial panegyric, and Augustus' association with the Herakles theme needs some additional comment. Before discussing it, however, we should be aware that Vergil never stops at singing the praises of his emperor. The passage—and it is typical of virtually any passage in the *Aeneid*, even the most 'episodic' ones—is carefully integrated into the immediate and larger context. Throughout Book VI and even earlier Aeneas has been presented as a second Herakles; it is only natural that Augustus, who would bring to fruition the labours begun by Aeneas, should surpass Aeneas and his model, Herakles. The labours are purposely so chosen as to illustrate Augustus' particular achievement.[15] The poet is not really concerned to show that Augustus travelled more widely than Herakles, for of the three labours mentioned, only that of the Cerynean hind, which Herakles pursued to the Hyperboreans, would have been suitable for that purpose. Rather, Herakles once more is depicted as the *sotēr* who brings peace (*pacarit*) as did Augustus who used the same word, *pacare*, three times in his autobiography. More specifically, Herakles pacifies Arcadia. Vergil had praised Augustus for this very achievement as early as the First *Eclogue*, and the implication is the same in the *Aeneid*. The fight of Herakles against Cacus also is placed into the bucolic setting of old Italy, which is ruled by Evander, king of the Arcadians.

Anchises follows up the Herakles *exempla* and the prophecy of Augustus' glory with a moral exhortation to Aeneas: he is to add to his *virtus*, the distinctive attribute of both Herakles and the Romans, by doing yet more (806)—

> et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extendere factis . . .?

Later in the epic, another father repeats almost the same exhortation

to his son. This is in Book IX when Jupiter consoles Herakles, whom Pallas had invoked to grant him victory over Turnus (10. 468–9):

> sed famam extendere factis
> hoc virtutis opus.

This intentional echo reinterprets Anchises' admonition to Aeneas. Jupiter's and Anchises' advice is pragmatic in the best Roman tradition. What matters is the *res gestae*, the fulfilment of the task at hand. And, in the spiritual Herculean tradition, outward glory and outward success are minimized, if not eschewed entirely. Pallas fails in his combat with Turnus whereas Aeneas, though ostensibly victorious to the very end, is agonized by the conquests he must constantly make to bring the gods to Latium. The Augustan reign is in the too distant future, and the glories of Homeric carnage are in the too distant past for Aeneas joyfully to partake in either. He is the reluctant hero, somewhat like Jason—*Italiam non sponte sequor*—who is revolted by many things he must do, but accepts the demands of fate and the gods for the sake of a good that is greater than his personal interests. This is Vergil's god-fearing sublimation of Euripides' Herakles ideal. Nor was abhorrence of bloody deeds incompatible with Herakles' character by Vergil's time. The Greek historian Timaeus, who was one of the first to write on Rome and thus exerted a considerable influence over Roman historiography, had further expanded the notion of Herakles' unwillingness to engage in his bloody type of work. According to Timaeus, he did so only because of the orders of others, and when he had his own way, he instituted the Olympic games which featured contests that did not require the shedding of blood.[16] Likewise, Aeneas' ideal and, we might add, Vergil's, is that of *placida quies*, although the hero can achieve it only through bloody warfare with all its brutalizing effects.

So it is in the spirit of Herakles when, for the third time in the *Aeneid*, a father—Aeneas—addresses his son, Ascanius (12. 435–6):

> disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem,
> fortunam ex aliis.

(Learn, my son, *virtus* and true labour from me; fortune from others.)

Besides echoing the earlier father–son scenes, both of which involved Herakles, Aeneas' admonition recalls two other, earlier exhortations. In Book III Andromache, the wife of Troy's greatest warrior, ends her speech by exhorting Aeneas that he and the memory of Ascanius' uncle, Hector, should arouse in Ascanius the old-fashioned (*antiqua*) *virtus* and manly spirit (3. 342–3). It is the Homeric *aretē* of the warrior which Andromache, deprived of her own son, would like to see live on in her nephew. Similarly, in Book IX (641–2), where Ascanius has his glorious day in the field, Apollo—Augustus' favourite god—emerges as his divine cheer-leader and addresses the victorious Iulus: 'A blessing, boy, on your young *virtus*. That is the way to reach heaven, you offspring and father of gods'—

> macte nova virtute, puer, sic itur ad astra,
> dis genite et geniture deos.

But when Aeneas himself, who has just been wounded in battle, finally exhorts Ascanius, he reinterprets the martial *virtus*, to which Andromache and Apollo had appealed, as the Herculean *virtus* of endurance and toil. For a better Fortuna, or Tychē, Ascanius will have to look elsewhere. In the *Aeneid*, Fortuna is as closely associated with Juno as Tychē was with Hera in Euripides' *Herakles*. Herakles endured her bravely, and that is exactly the advice which old Nautes gives Aeneas and which Aeneas will follow in Book V after the Trojan women, instigated by Juno and Iris, have burned the ships (5. 709):

> quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.

> (Whatever will happen, all fortune is to be overcome by bearing.)

This is exactly what Aeneas will do, thus establishing himself as the true spiritual and heroic heir of Herakles. But what about Augustus? Or, more precisely, was Vergil motivated by an existing identification of Augustus with Herakles to cast his Aeneas in the image of Herakles also?

Vergil's intent in associating Augustus with Herakles was to hint at Augustus' deification. This is illustrated best by the several passages in which Horace mentions Augustus and Herakles in one breath. In the *Third Roman Ode*, for instance, Horace praises the just and steadfast man, and goes on to say that

> hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
> enisus arces attigit igneas,
> quos inter Augustus recumbens
> pupureo bibet ore nectar.

> (By these merits Pollux and the far-wandering Herakles reached the citadels of heaven. Augustus will recline in their company and sip nectar with youthful lips.)

Because he has the same spiritual qualities as Herakles, Augustus will be deified also. At the beginning of his *Letter to Augustus* Horace established an even more explicit analogy between Herakles and the Roman emperor. The metaphor with which the poem begins, that of Augustus' lonely carrying of many burdens, at once recalls Herakles' endeavours. The three burdens which Horace enumerates in the next lines continue the analogy. They are protection with arms, civilizatory achievement, and correction with laws, the *νόμος*, as it were.[17] Then follows, as in other poems, the canon of god-born men who were deified, except that Herakles is accorded special mention:

> diram qui contudit hydram
> notaque fatali portenta labore subegit,
> comperit invidiam supremo fine domari.

> (He who crushed the frightful hydra and subdued the fabled monsters through the labour imposed on him by fate, he learned that envy could be overcome only by death that comes at last.)

Augustus' fight against the *Invidia*, Envy, of his enemies is a theme to which Vergil had alluded in the proem to the Third *Georgic* (37–9). It is as if Horace in this letter, which was written after the enthusiasm that had greeted the arrival of Augustus' reign had somewhat abated, was trying to console the princeps by reference to Herakles' lifelong frustrations. One is reminded of the furious disappointment of Milton's Samson Agonistes:

> Made of my enemies' scorn and gaze
> with his heaven-gifted strength.[18]

There is no indication that Augustus promoted his connection with Herakles. The Hercules cult at Tibur, today's Tivoli, apparently was

linked to Augustus from his own time, but it is uncertain whether the initiative rested with him as he showed no special favour to the cult of Hercules in Rome or elsewhere. We need not see the heavy, helping hand of the emperor behind his association with Herakles in Horace's and Vergil's poetry because this association suggested itself readily and was not restricted to poetic allusiveness. When Augustus returned from warfare in Spain in 24 B.C. after an absence of almost three years, the Roman people greeted him joyously, for like Herakles he had risked his life to protect them from danger.[19] And the notion that a man might be deified for his service to mankind—and to the Romans in particular—was familiar in Rome. Cicero cites it repeatedly as the reason for Herakles' apotheosis; perhaps the passage most typical of both the sentiment and Cicero's style occurs in the First *Tusculan Disputation* (33): 'For what better nature is there among the human race than those men who believed they were born to aid, protect, and preserve mankind? Herakles went to the gods: he would never have gone unless he had undertaken that way for himself while he was among men.' Somewhat too late, Ovid chimed in and wrote from exile that like Herakles, Augustus had been raised to the stars because of his *virtus* (*Pont.* 4. 8. 63). Long before Cicero's time, the Romans had used the example of Herakles for deifying the founder of the city, Romulus. Ennius established it in literature 'giving approval to public opinion' (*famae adsentiens*), as Cicero puts it.[20] That the basis for it was popular rather than poetic can also be seen from some of the earliest Roman coins.[21] Their obverse shows the head of Herakles, their reverse the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus. Like Herakles, Romulus was the stronger of a set of twin brothers. With this connection in mind, Livy presents Romulus as adopting, of all foreign religious rites, only the cult of Hercules. 'For', Livy continues (1. 7. 15), 'by so doing he showed himself, even then, a favourer of that immortality which is the reward of *virtus*. His own destiny was already leading him to the same reward.' Augustus was the second Romulus, and the application of Romulus' Herculean associations to him was therefore entirely apposite.

All this sets Vergil's and Horace's endowment of Augustus with Herakles' aura quite apart from the tawdry servility which romantic prejudice often leads us to associate with court poetry and which in the

decades after Augustus indeed came to pass in Rome. Other emperors craved association with Herakles, Caligula and Nero preferring, for good reasons, to play the role of the mad Herakles.[22] Herculean connections were almost forced on any emperor who was receptive as is shown by the example of Vespasian who, however, derided such attempts (Suet., *Vesp.* 12. 2). Whereas Martial's repeated praise of Domitian as 'the greater Herakles'[23] is nothing but the vilest flattery, Horace's and Vergil's comparison of Augustus to Herakles is free from any such cheapness. It is, as is especially evident from Horace's *Letter to Augustus*, an appeal to that 'moral energy' of which Herakles was the noblest embodiment in antiquity and in Elizabethan and Restoration drama.[24]

By linking Augustus to Herakles the Augustan poets may also have intended to detract from Pompey's and Antony's claims to be the successors of Herakles on earth. Although Antony looks like a good example on the stage of life of the braggart sham-Herakles of comedy, he apparently was quite serious about his presumed Herculean ancestry.[25] Appian (*B.C.* 3. 16) writes that Caesar reluctantly gave up his plan to adopt Antony because Antony was unwilling to exchange kinship with Herakles for the Julian descent from Aeneas. In view of all this it is hardly accidental that Octavian scheduled his great triple triumph, celebrating his victories over Antony and Cleopatra, on the day of the official, annual festival of Hercules at the Ara Maxima, August 13. It is exactly on this day that Vergil has his Aeneas arrive at the site of Rome and, on that occasion, he develops most extensively the analogies between his own hero and the greatest hero of the Greeks.

Aeneas comes to ask for Evander's help (8. 126ff.). The basis for this proposed alliance, Aeneas says, is his own *virtus* and their ancestral kinship. Consequently, so far from being an unwilling colonizer of Italy—*Italiam non sponte sequor*—Aeneas now willingly accepts the call of fate: *fatis egere volentem* (8. 133). The notion of Aeneas' spirit of endurance is continued by reference to the genealogies of both Aeneas and Evander. Both are ultimately descended from Atlas, and Atlas is therefore singled out twice—'mightiest Atlas, who on his shoulders sustains (*sustinet*) the heavenly spheres' (8. 13–6), and 'the same Atlas who uplifts the starry heavens' (141). In this capacity Vergil had mentioned Atlas in the Augustus panegyric in Book VI, where he was

linked to Aeneas, while Horace in his *Letter to Augustus* hailed the princeps for sustaining (*sustineas*) his lonely burden like Herakles.

In his reply, Evander keeps up the Herculean allusions. He met Anchises, he says, when Anchises came to Arcadia during his voyage to the realm of Hesione (8. 157). This recalls Herakles' saving her from the sea monster, just as he would save primitive Rome from the monster Cacus. Evander bids Aeneas participate with him in the ritual and banquet at the Ara Maxima and places Aeneas on the seat of honour, which is cushioned with a lion's skin. After the completion of the meal, Evander tells Aeneas the story of Herakles and Cacus. The way in which this story has been prepared for and its length suggest that it is meant to be an integral part of the epic rather than aetiological appendage.[26]

To understand the poet's intent, it is again best to take as a starting point the unique features of his version. In contrast to the Cacus of Dionysius and Livy, Vergil's Cacus is not merely a thieving herdsman or a robber but a son of Vulcan and thus of divine origin. He is an infernal creature, a real *monstrum*, who belches forth smoke and fire and lives in a cave that the poet compares to the opening of hell itself:

> The court of Cacus stands revealed to sight;
> the cavern glares with new-admitted light.
> So the pent vapors, with a rumbling sound,
> Heave from below, and rend the hollow ground.
> A sounding flaw succeeds; and, from on high,
> The gods with hate behold the nether sky:
> The ghosts repine at violated night,
> And curse the invading sun, and sicken at the sight.
> The graceless monster, caught in open day,
> Enclosed, and in despair to fly away,
> Howls horrible from underneath and fills
> His hollow palace with unmanly yells.
> (Dryden's translation)

Accordingly, Vergil does not depict Cacus' theft of the cattle as a clever ruse, but as the act of a man who is possessed by the furies and who acts from sheer impiety and wickedness (8. 205–8):

> at furiis Caci mens effera, ne quid inausum
> aut intractatum scelerisve dolive fuisset,
> quattuor a stabulis praestanti corpore tauros
> avertit. . . .

(But Cacus, his wits wild with frenzy, lest he leave any crime or craft undared or unattempted, stole four beautiful bulls from their pastures. . . .)

Moreover, whereas all other writers—notably Dionysius, Livy, Propertius, and Ovid—describe the actual combat between Herakles and Cacus in a few words or, at most, ten lines, it is Vergil's central concern. Vergil spends almost fifty lines depicting Herakles' hard struggle and his conquest of the underworld monster. Lastly, Vergil added the hymn on Herakles which the Salian priests sing in commemoration of the event.

The contents of the hymn (8. 287–302) again are so chosen as to underscore the affinity between Aeneas and Herakles. Juno is singled out twice as persecuting Herakles. First, she sent *monstra* and snakes against him. In the epic she has already done the same, through Allecto, in Book VII. Then, more generally, the poet says that Herakles suffered countless, arduous *labores* because of *fatis Iunonis iniquae*. The poet used almost the same phrase when Venus explained to Cupid the reason for Aeneas' suffering: the hatred of unjust Juno (*odiis Iunonis iniquae* 1. 668). The phrase is, of course, reminiscent of the proem also. Herakles is further hailed as the destroyer of Troy, because Laomedon did not keep his promise. Similarly, Aeneas is about to conquer the city of the Latins because Turnus disputes his right to Lavinia, who had been promised to Aeneas. Freely adapting his mythological material, Vergil has Herakles fight against the 'cloud-born' centaurs Hylaeus and Pholus. Two of Aeneas' enemies had been compared, in the catalogue of warriors in Book VII, to such 'cloud-born centaurs' (7. 674–5).

Soon after, Vergil frankly identifies Aeneas with Herakles. When Evander bids Aeneas enter his domicile after the festival of Herakles, he tells him: 'Herakles, the victor, walked over this threshold. This house received him. Dare, my guest, to scorn riches; fashion yourself to be worthy also of the god, and come not disdainful of my humble household'—

haec, inquit, limina victor
Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit.
aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum
finge deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis. (8. 362–5)

So Aeneas is the measure of Herakles not only spiritually, but physically also: gigantic, *ingens*,[27] he enters into Evander's house as Herakles had done before him. The parallelism between Herakles and Aeneas is further enhanced as Evander describes them virtually as contemporaries. The next day, Aeneas turns out to be Herakles' follower indeed. After a sign from Venus confirms to him, beyond all doubt, that his task will be a bloody struggle against Turnus and the Latins, he immediately rises from the throne that, as we saw earlier, was covered with the lion's skin, kindles the fire on Herakles' altar, and joyously brings another sacrifice to Herakles, the household god of Evander (8. 541–4). Anticipating many good Romans, Aeneas himself now sacrifices to Herakles instead of being a mere spectator. And, to cap his association with the Greek hero, Aeneas, accompanied by Pallas, sets out for the war against Turnus on a horse that is caparisoned in a lion's skin (8. 552–3):

A sprightly courser, fairer than the rest,
The king himself presents his royal guest.
A lion's hide his back and limbs infold,
Precious with studded work, and paws of gold.
(Dryden's translation)

The Herakles–Cacus episode, then, serves as a parable of Aeneas' struggle against Turnus. This is borne out by the many changes made by Vergil which are designed to liken Cacus to Turnus and by the numerous thematic and verbal parallels which underline the similarity of their behaviour.[28] The animal blood-thirstiness of Cacus, for instance, is paralleled by that of Turnus. Cacus' throat is drained of blood (*siccum sanguine guttur* 8. 261), and so are the jaws of the maddened wolf with whom Turnus is compared in Book IX (*siccae sanguine fauces* 9. 64). The blood-dripping heads that are nailed to the entrance of Cacus' cave (8. 195) anticipate the heads of Turnus' enemies which

he attaches to his chariot (12. 511–12) before he does battle with Aeneas. All this indicates that the poet was anxious to impress on the reader the analogy between Herakles and Aeneas, and between Cacus and Turnus even at the risk of seeming tedious.

Great warriors and civilizers as they are, Herakles and Aeneas are not bent on bloodshed. They are goaded into a righteous rage by the deceitfulness and cruelty of their opponents. Vergil deliberately has the Salians hail Herakles as being 'not devoid of reason' (8. 299). Similarly, that heroic paragon of reason, Odysseus, is 'beside himself' with rage in the face of the crimes committed by the *monstrum* Polyphemus (3. 626–9). Polyphemus abides by divinely sanctioned conventions as little as does Cacus. Nor does Turnus, even though he is not a *monstrum*, but he breaks the sacred truce (*foedus*) and keeps the spoils of Pallas instead of giving them to the gods. Both these actions seal his doom. Forced by Turnus' treachery (*insidiisque subactus* 12. 494) as Herakles was by Cacus' crime and deceit (*scelerisve dolive* 8. 205), Aeneas overcomes and kills his opponent, whose tragedy is that he cannot live up to his own ideals, among them *virtus*. These themes reflect traditional concepts. Speaking of warfare, Livy (42. 47. 4) contrasts *dolus* and *insidiae* with *virtus*. To be sanctioned as holy and just, any war the Romans waged had to be defensive, at least in theory, and Herakles and Aeneas are involved in such a *bellum pium et iustum*. It is against this whole background also that the prayer of Pallas in Book X, who prays to Herakles as any Roman would, takes on its full significance.

Vergil's treatment of the Herakles–Cacus story is a genuine mythopoeic addition to the Herakles myth, and was recognized as such by Renaissance writers and artists. Ronsard, for instance, mentions the 'anger of Herakles killing Cacus' as one of his inspirational sources in the posthumous preface to the *Franciade*. This brings us to an important point. Whereas in the earlier books of the *Aeneid* Vergil had modelled Aeneas' *labores* on those of Herakles and even adapted Juno's opposition to Aeneas for that purpose, the roles are now reversed as a Herakles legend is adapted and, in large part, created to illustrate the nature of Aeneas' final struggle.[29] It is, above all, Vergil's concept of the heroism of both Aeneas and Herakles that made possible a symbiosis where there had been a seemingly unbridgeable gap in Apollonius. Aeneas' heroism is internal, and it is here that Vergil saw a strong similarity

between his hero and Herakles as portrayed, for instance, by Euripides. Yet Vergil did not ignore the tradition of Herakles' warlike heroism especially as Aeneas had traditionally been known as a great warrior,[30] and the Romans, whom Aeneas typifies, had conquered Italy and the Mediterranean basin with arms rather than *pietas*. Like Pindar's Herakles, Aeneas must overcome force with force because Jupiter commands him 'to bring the whole world beneath his laws' (4. 231). This is the *nomos* idea as we know it from the Greek poet. At the same time, as Vergil had Aeneas reinterpret the warlike *virtus* of Ascanius as the Herculean *virtus* of endurance, so he now adapts the madness of Herakles as anticipating the warlike anger of Aeneas. Herakles fights *furens animis* (8. 228), *dentibus infrendens* and *fervidus ira* (8. 230). So will Aeneas, notwithstanding his compassion especially for his young opponents and his grief about the human sacrifice that is necessary for *Romanam condere gentem*.[31] Like Euripides or Theocritus, Vergil saw in his hero a human being rather than a superman. This is another reason why the emphasis in the Cacus story is not on Herakles' divine reward but on his struggle against the enemy. This also links this episode to Augustus' conquest of the hellish forces of the east at the end of Book VIII, and the note of Herakles as a model of the emperor's divinity is sounded only very discreetly, far more discreetly than in Horace's poems and incomparably more so than in Martial's and Statius' gross flattery of Domitian.

The important result for the literary tradition of Herakles is that Vergil harmonized what Euripides, for instance, had set off one against another: the internal and outward heroism of Herakles. Like Aeneas, he is still an epic hero whose great deeds are anything but belittled or considered anachronistic. And like Aeneas, he has ample spiritual strength, fortitude, and compassion.

This last quality, among others, indicates that Vergil's portrait of Herakles did not come straight from the Stoic textbook. For when Pallas prays to him, Herakles 'stifles a great sigh deep in his heart, and sheds tears in vain'—

> magnumque sub imo
> corde premit gemitum lacrimasque effundit inanes.
> (10. 464–5)

This, once more, associates Herakles with Aeneas. When Anna was pleading with him on Dido's behalf, 'he felt anguish through and through in his heart; his mind remained unmoved, and his tears rolled in vain'—

> magno persentit pectore curas;
> mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes.
> (4. 448–9)

Given, however, the varied strands of Vergil's inspiration and the innate Stoicism of the Romans, it is not surprising that Stoic concepts and terminology found their way into the *Aeneid*. This is a well-known phenomenon, although its relevance to Herakles and Aeneas is not that they were portrayed as Stoic sages. Both have pity and compassion, and both, as good Romans, have martial fervour and even fury, which does not agree with the Stoic ideal of imperturbability. But there were other qualities which Herakles exemplified to the Stoics and for which Vergil regarded the hero as a worthy model of Aeneas. The Stoics extolled the principle of *tonos*, 'strain' or 'effort':

> This term originally seems to have expressed muscular activity, and was next used by the Cynics to denote that active condition of the soul which is the true end of life; 'no labour', said Diogenes, 'is noble, unless its end is tone of soul.' . . . With Cleanthes the word becomes fairly common, first in the ethical application, in which 'tone' is a shock of fire, which if it be strong enough to stir the soul to fulfill its duties is called strength and force, and then in physics to explain the unceasing activity of the universe.[32]

In the Stoic allegories, Herakles personified this *élan vital*.[33] Unlike the Epicurean, the Stoic creed was not passive. Besides enduring adversity, the ideal Stoic would constantly and actively practise and exercise virtue, and even would look upon adversity as an opportunity for such exercise. Epictetus, who lived in the first century A.D., gives a spirited, popular illustration of Herakles' exemplary value in that respect (1. 6. 32–6):

> Or what do you think Herakles would have amounted to if there had not been a lion like the one he encountered, and a hydra, and a

stag, and a boar, and unjust and monstrous men, whom he made his business to drive out and clear away? And what would he have been doing had nothing of this sort existed? Is it not clear that he would have rolled himself up in a blanket and slept? In the first place, then, he would never have become Herakles by slumbering away his whole life in such luxury and ease; but even if he had, what good would he have been? What would have been the use of those arms of his and of his prowess in general, and his steadfastness and nobility, had not such circumstances roused and exercised him? What then? Ought he to have prepared these for himself, and sought to bring a lion into his own country from somewhere or other, and a boar and a hydra? That would have been folly and madness. But since they did exist and were found in the world, they were useful as a means of revealing and exercising our Herakles.

The traditional necessity, *anankē*, of Herakles' labours now is literally turned into its opposite. The contrast, to which Epictetus returns in another discourse (2. 16.44), between sitting about at home in luxurious indolence and accepting the call to toil is, to cite only one example, the basis of Jupiter's appeal to Aeneas in *Aeneid* IV. That the sentiment voiced by Epictetus was current at Vergil's time is clear from Cicero's summation of it in a single, albeit Ciceronian, sentence (*Fin.* 2. 118).

Critical analysis, especially of a complex and sophisticated work of art such as the *Aeneid*, has the inevitable drawback of sorting out and fragmenting what the poet created as an organic whole. The various sources of inspiration for Vergil's Herakles—Roman cult and practice, Greek drama and epic, the Augustan aura of the deified man (θεῖος ἀνήρ), Stoic concepts, the popularity of the myth in Italy, the reaction against Apollonius and Lucretius, and some basic, initial similarity between Herakles and Aeneas which Vergil greatly refined—are not compartmentalized in the poem but complement one another and form an inseparable totality. The strongest reason, however, for Vergil's extensive mythopoeic adaptation of Herakles was, as we saw earlier, his role as the national hero of Greece. Herakles, in many ways, summed up the national experience of that country. His beginnings, like those of primitive Greece, were violent, and there were excesses with the concomitant anxiety to expiate them.[34] Then, at the time of Hesiod,

there was growing concern for law; we need only think of lawgivers such as Lycurgus, Dracon, and Solon. Herakles came to personify the rudimentary civilizing efforts—he drains swamps, builds cities, and destroys wild beasts and tyrants. He, the supreme champion of justice and civilizer, precedes Greek colonists wherever they go. Herakles then became the supreme symbol of Greek individualism and humanism in the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides. The sophists and philosophers finally accentuated his mental powers. Every age in Greece recast Herakles in its own image, and he thus became the incarnation of her history and aspirations. This is precisely the role which Vergil intended for Aeneas in Italy and Rome, and it is primarily for this reason that Herakles became an inspirational model for Aeneas. And, taking his inspiration from the Roman Hercules cult, Vergil doubtless hoped that his Italic readers would regard Aeneas with the same kind of personal intensity with which they worshiped Hercules.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. For detailed scholarly discussions of the cult of Hercules in Rome see J. G. Winter, 'The Myth of Hercules at Rome', *Roman History and Mythology*, ed. H. Sanders (*Univ. of Michigan Studies, Human. Series 4*, New York, 1910) 171–273, and Jean Bayet, *Les origines de l'Hercule romain* (Paris, 1925). More concise and up to date is K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1960) 213–21.
2. Winter (note 1, above) 173. Cf. R. Schottlaender, *Römisches Gesellschaftsdenken* (Weimar, 1969) 11ff.
3. The relevant passages have been collected by C. Knapp, *AJP* 40 (1919) 247–50, and are admirably discussed by W. Forehand, *The Literary Use of Metaphor in Plautus and Terence* (Ann Arbor, 1969; microfilmed Diss., Univ. of Texas, 1968).
4. For more detail see my discussion in *TAPA* 97 (1966) 203–35. My conclusions, of course, are only tentative.
5. The Latin church fathers seized upon Euhemerus' theory with glee; see Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 1. 14ff. and Arnobius 1. 38 (imitating Lucretius), and pp. 188f. On the general subject see J. D. Cooke, 'Euhemerism: A Mediaeval Interpretation of Classical Paganism', *Speculum* 2 (1927) 396–410.
6. So, fittingly, Des Essarts 192.

7. Dio Chrysostom, answering as it were Lucretius and Tiberius, came to the hero's rescue by pointing out that the monsters Herakles overcame were not literally wild beasts, but desires and passions (5. 22ff.). Cf. the allegories of Herodorus cited on p. 56.
8. Varro as quoted by Servius, *Ad Aen.* 8. 564; Coluccio Salutati, *De laboribus Herculis* 3. 1. 6. For medieval representations of Herakles as a 'wild man' see R. Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962) 101–2. Even Seneca echoed Lucretius' critique; see p. 174.
9. See, e.g. *Off.* 3. 25; *Nat. Deor.* 2. 62; *Leg.* 2. 19; *Sest.* 143; *Fin.* 3. 66; *Tusc.* 1. 28 and 4. 50, in addition to *Tusc.* 1. 32 and *Fin.* 2. 118, which are cited below. Cicero also admiringly translated Herakles' speech in Sophocles' *Trachiniae* 1046ff. (*Tusc.* 2. 20–2). This was the first translation of the passage into Latin and, as Huxley has noted (p. 23), Cicero emphasized Herakles' role as a victor, which is not found in Sophocles' play and is due to the Roman worship of *Hercules victor* and *invictus*.
10. So, e.g. H. Hill in *JRS* 51 (1961) 90. For the lack of the popularity of the Aeneas legend before Vergil see my *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome* (Princeton, 1969).
11. There is nothing in the pre-Vergilian tradition of the Aeneas legend to suggest even remotely a similar role of Juno. For Ennius' view of her see Servius, *Ad Aen.* 1. 281 and 12. 841, and J. Vahlen, *Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1928) CLIX–CLX. It has long been recognized that Allecto is modelled on Euripides' Lyssa, and this is no accident because Vergil deliberately so characterized Juno as to recall the Hera—Tychē of Euripides' *Herakles*.
12. P. McGushin, 'Vergil and the Spirit of Endurance', *AJP* 85 (1964) 236. James Henry, *Aeneidea* 1 (London, 1873) 187–8 was the first to notice that *labor*, as applied to Aeneas, was meant to correspond to Herakles' ἄεθλος.
13. *Praecipere* is used here as a technical Stoic term, as is clear from Seneca's comment on this line in *Epist.* 76. 33. Stoicism was another, though not the overriding reason for the association of Aeneas and Herakles in the *Aeneid*; see below.
14. See p. 26. For the most recent view on a possible epic katabasis of Herakles, which was known to Bacchylides, Pindar, Aristophanes, and Vergil, see H. Lloyd-Jones, *Maia* 19 (1967) 221–9.
15. See E. Norden, *RhM* 54 (1899) 472–3.
16. *FGH* 566 F 22.
17. Compare Jupiter's command, which is defined as *labor* (233), To Aeneas in *Aen.* 4. 231: *ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem*, discussed below, p. 146.
18. Lines 32–3. *Invidia*, 'Envie', became a topos in the Renaissance; see, e.g. Veen, *Emblemata Horatiana* (Antwerp, 1607) 172–3. Thomas Drant, the first translator of Horace's *Epistles* into English, therefore translated the Horatian passage in a characteristically expansive way (*Horace His Arte of Poetrie, Epistles, and Satyrs Englished* . . . [London, 1567] sig. F. viii):

> He that did crowse, and did culpon once
> *Hydra* of hellish spyte,
> And monsters knowne with fatall toyle
> to fetters frusshed quyte,
> Perceaved this by experience,
> the monsters all do fall
> Through manliness: envie is tamed
> at death, or not at all.

For the use of the topos by Spenser see 211 and Dunseath 231–5.

19. See Horace, *Od.* 3. 14 with the excellent remarks of Kiessling-Heinze. Augustus came from Spain to Rome, as Herakles had done.—R. Schilling, 'L'Hercule romain en face de la reforme religieuse d'Auguste', *RPh* 68 (1942) 31–57 offers the most comprehensive discussion of the Hercules cult under Augustus, but misinterprets Augustus' indifference to it as Augustus' wish to de-emphasize the cult's significance.
20. *Tusc. Disp.* 1. 12. 28; cf. Tac., *Ann.* 4. 38. The identification of famous Romans with Herakles is well discussed by Anderson 29–45.
21. *BMC Rep.* 2. 124–5 nos. 28–33; E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (London, 1952) 2 no. 6.
22. Caligula: Dio 59. 26; Nero: Suet., *Nero* 21 and 53.
23. *Maior Alcides*, as opposed to *minor Alcides*, i.e. Herakles himself: *Epigrams* 9. 101 and 64; cf. *Epigrams* 9. 65 and the sneer of Jean Lemaitre de Belges: 'le petit Hercule Grec', as cited on p. 223.
24. See Waith, *passim*, and esp. 16–18.
25. Shakespeare's very positive view of Antony's Herculean associations, which is discussed by Waith 113–21, thus has some historical justification.
26. I have discussed the Herakles–Cacus episode in more detail and from some other points of view in *AJP* 87 (1966) 18–51; see also V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* (Heidelberg, 1963) 116–33.
27. *Ingentem Aenean* (8. 367); cf. *ingentem Aenean*, also at the beginning of the line, in 6. 413 as discussed above on p. 135.
28. For details see the works cited in note 26, above.
29. This reinforces Aeneas' coming into his own in the second half of the epic. Another function of the Herakles–Cacus episode is that it provides a rejoinder to Lucretius' depreciation of Herakles' fight against *monstra*; yet another is Vergil's utilization of the technique of Greek tragedy to inform the reader in advance of what course the events will take (cf. Chapter III, note 5). This allows him to concentrate on their interpretation. Also, it was known in Rome that Herakles was connected with the beginnings of Carthage (Cic., *Nat. Deor.* 3. 42), and thus Vergil emphasized the god's connection with the beginnings of Rome.
30. For the considerable literary and artistic evidence see the first chapter of my *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome* (note 10, above).

31. To regard *pietas* and martial fervour as mutually exclusive would be to confuse a modern attitude with an ancient one. Compare, in Renaissance literature, the rage of Ariosto's Orlando, comparable to the mad rage of Euripides' or Seneca's Herakles, and the warlike anger of Tasso's Rinaldo, which corresponds to that of Vergil's Herakles.
32. E. Vernon Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (London, 1911) 160.
33. Cornutus, *Theol. Comp.* 31, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* I (von Arnim) fr. 514.
34. For a summary of the significance of the Greek Herakles in this and the next sentences see already Des Essarts 229–30; compare the poetic expression of a similar view by de Heredia as discussed on p. 269.

CHAPTER VII

Herakles in the Roman Elegiac and Epic Tradition

The importance Vergil accorded Herakles in the *Aeneid* was fully recognized by Vergil's contemporaries and followers. This, combined with the continued popularity of the Herakles cult and the Cynic/Stoic influence, accounts for much of the Silver Latin epic poets' compulsion to give Herakles a place in their works also. But Herakles' predominant part in the *Aeneid* had a further result. Although Augustus showed neither any special preference for the god's cult nor for being associated with him, Herakles, by virtue of his role as a prototype for Aeneas and thus also Augustus, came to be considered an Augustan symbol. Poets such as Propertius and Ovid, whose temperament and background were different from Vergil's, refused to take the Augustan symbols seriously. Their adaptation of the Herakles theme was no exception.

To make his aims clear enough, Propertius intended an outright comparison with Vergil in his treatment of the story of Herakles and Cacus (4. 9). The subject, to be sure, was more appropriate to epic than to elegy, but Propertius went beyond the simple exigencies of the genre in adapting Herakles for his purpose. The most significant change he made was to accord the episode only twenty lines and to make it into a mere prelude to a story which he invented for the occasion and described in far greater detail, nearly fifty lines: Herakles' adventure at the shrine of the Bona Dea. Besides minimizing Herakles' conquest of Cacus, 'Propertius suppresses certain elements of the story which might tend to enlarge its Roman and Augustan significance.'[1] In Propertius' elegy, Cacus is a clumsy chiseller rather than an infernal creature, and his monstrosity—'through his three mouths, share and