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Cato in the *de suis uirtutibus*: *ego iam a principio in paeninsula atque in diuisa atque in industria omnium adulescentium meam abstulim agro colendo saxis Sabinis silicibus repastinandis atque conuendis*, and proclaimed in the *Res Rusticae* (1). The Rutuli have clearly much in common with the stereotype picture of early Roman or honest countryman (2), as also with ethnographical notices of barbarian peoples. In the latter, the element of idealisation is minimal, for the ethnographers write in terms of conventionalised details, which accumulate in mass and fixity from Hecataeus and Herodotus to Ammianus and beyond (3). So in this speech, only one item (*uersaque inueniam*...) could possibly be regarded as an innovation. Virgil also has in mind ideal descriptions of the Cretan and Spartan states (4). The latter is of particular importance for the description of primitive Italians, for similarities in *mores* had long since suggested a Laconian origin for the Sabines (5). Finally, Virgil may have been influenced by speculations about the influence of environment on national character. *Rustis terram domat* perhaps implies the great effort involved in cultivating the rugged north of central Italy. Thus, as Cato suggests in the *de suis uirtutibus*, the native Italians are the hard offspring of the hard land (6).

The *duritia* of the Italians is a dominating theme: they are a *durum genus* from birth, and they are hardened in icy rivers. The repetition is prominent and deliberate. It is also peculiarly Roman, for there is no Greek word to convey a condition of laudable physical toughness. *Duritia* was the virtue of Cato (*nide supra*), of the Scipios, of the Gauls and Germans, and of the Spartans and Macedonians (7). Above all, it is the product of hard toil in farm or army (8). *Durus* and its cognates become almost stock epithets for both farmer and soldier (9). Anchises warns Aeneas that the people of Latium are a *gens dura atque aspera cultu* (*Aen.*, v, 730). Yet in the poem, the Italians share this virtue with the much-maligned Trojans (10).

(1) *ii. Praef.*, 4; cf. *Nep.*, *Cat.* 1, and *Plin.*, xviii, 11, 26.

(2) As, for instance, *Sall.*, *Cat.*, 10, 1; *Cic.*, *leg. agr.*, ii, 84.

(3) Cf. ANDERSON, *Tac., Germ.*, p. ix f., xxvii f...

(4) Crete: HERACL. PONT., *F.H.G.*, ii, 211. For Sparta, see e.g. *Pl.*, *Leg.*, vii, B22c; also W. DEN BOER, *Laconian Studies*, p. 233 f.

(5) HEINZE, *Vz. T.*, p. 233, n. 1; SCHWIEGLER, *Röm. Gesch.*, i, p. 299; FRACCCARO, *Studi*, p. 226; BÉNAUD, *Colonisation grecque*, p. 467; POSID. ap. *AMMIAN.*, vi, p. 273; CATO *ap. SERV. DAN.*, *ad Aen.* viii, 638; VARR., *L.L.*, v, 146.

(6) Cf. LUCR., ii, 430. For this type of geographical speculation, cf. HERODOT., *Asia*, *Waters*, *Places*, 12; HEROD., i, 143, 2; ix, 122, 3; *Cic.*, *leg. agr.*, ii, 95; *Tac.*, *Germ.*, 4; *Liv.*, ii, 13, 7; STRAB., iii, 3; J. O. THOMSON, *Hist. of Anc. Geogr.*, p. 106 f.

(7) Worked into creation stories: *G.*, i, 63; *Lucr.*, v, 926; *Ov.*, *M.*, i, 414; *Scipius*, *G.*, ii, 167 f.; Gauls and Germans, *CAES.*, *B.G.*, vi, 21, 3; 28.3; Spartans, *Cic.*, *T. D.*, i, 102; Macedonians, *Liv.*, xlii, 52, 10. Used by *Coll.* of the Sabines — x, 137.

(8) Farm: *Lucr.*, v, 1360; *SEN.*, *Ep.*, 95, 18; army: *Tac.*, *Ann.*, i, 20, 2.

(9) Farmer: *G.*, i, 160; *Coll.*, vii, 6, 4; x, 23; *Aen.*, vii, 504; *Hor.*, *S.*, i, 7, 29; *Coll.*, i, 8, 2; *Ov.*, *F.*, iv, 691 f., etc. Soldier: *Ov.*, *A.A.*, iii, 110; *Liv.*, vii, 29, 5; xxvii, 43, 10; *J.*, 40, 4, etc.

(10) Trojans: iii, 94; ix, 466; xii, 288; Italians — see too xi, 48, 657.

Numanus Remulus : Ethnography and Propaganda in *Aen.*, ix, 598 f.

Scholarly neglect of Virgil's battle-scenes can be dangerously undiscriminating; thus, for any study of *Aen.*, ix, 598-620, a speech of outstanding programmatic importance, we have had to wait for Schweitzer's 1967 dissertation (1). This paper's concern will be with analogies and antecedents, and its aims to clarify a few sources of Augustan propaganda, and to see how much may be said of a Roman's probable response to twenty lines of the *Aeneid*.

During the Latins' attack on the Trojan camp, Numanus Remulus, Turnus' brother-in-law, shouts at the besieged boasts of Italian prowess, and taunts of Trojan weakness. This polarity of form is Homeric in origin; so Diomedes to Paris: *τόξοῖσιν, λαβήτινι, κέραϊ ἄγλαε παρθενοῖσιν... ἀσπίδων γὰρ βέλτος ἀνδρός; ἀνακίδος οὐρανόνοιο· ἢ τ' ἰλλίως ἐπ' ἐμείο... δὲν βέλτος πέλειται*. Another correspondence of form is possible: here the Trojans are fighting Italians; *non hic Atrides, nec fundi fictor Ulixes*. Easy opposition is over for the Trojans, as it would have been for Alexander had he invaded Italy (*non cum Dareo rem esse dixisset*; *Liv.*, ix, 17, 16) after his eastern conquests, with a softened and effeminate Macedonian army (*degenerantem iam in Persarum mores*; *ib.*, 18, 3). Virgil's debt to this *locus* cannot be proved (2), but the similarity of the threefold comparisons is tempting (3). Numanus Remulus' boasts of the national virtues are of a type reaching back to Homer, where, ironically, Alcinoos takes pride in the luxurious habits of the Phaeacians (*Od.*, viii, 248). For such patriotic self-characterisation, the Romans' capacity was boundless and old-established. Servius on vii, 600 sees Cato and Varro behind Virgil at this point (4). He is clearly right; Numanus Remulus' more laudable claims are arrogated by

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(1) *Virgil u. Italiens*, p. 14 f.; as for intellectual antecedents, REIM (*Das geogr. Bild*, p. 67 f.) has made a useful start; I am indebted to Prof. G. N. Knauer for a reference to FRACCCARO'S note in *Boll. Filol. Cl.*, xvii, 1910-1, p. 160 f.

(2) *Liv.*, ix, 17 f.; cf. too *PLUT.*, *Fort. Rom.*, 326 c; CALLINICUS (ap. POLEMO ed. HINDL., p. 43, 10 f.; *JUL.*, *Ep. ad Alex.*, 433 c; WARDMAN in *C. Q.* (N.S.), 5 (1955), p. 100.

(3) *Liv.*, ix, 19.10 reports Alexander of Epirus as saying of the Romans *cum fortis sibi bellum fuisse* (cf. GELL., xvii, 21, 33; *PLUT.*, *vit. Pyrrhi*, 19, *Rhet. ad Herenn.*, iv, 31); *here o uere Phrygiae neque enim Phryges*. But the insult is of too common a type for the coincidence to signify here.

(4) Cf. FRACCCARO, *Studi Varroniani*, p. 220; behind Varro there may also lie Posidonius (*Hist. ap. AMMIAN.*, iv, 153 c = fr. I Jac.).

There is a second heavily-stressed motif: that of *ferrum*. *Omne aevum ferro teritur* stands at the middle of the speech, and the idea of *omne aevum* is amplified through the sequence of *natos* (603)... *pueri* (605)... *iuventus* (607)... *senectus* (610); the character of *ferrum* is clearly both agricultural and military: *versaque iuvenum terga fatigans hasta* follows directly. *Cedite ferro* (618) is not easy; *T.L.L.* (iii, 725, 13) takes *cedite* as *desistite*. That is possible; but in the context, 'yield to the knife', with an allusion to orgiastic emasculation must be the primary sense. Schweizer (*op. cit.*, p. 16) suggests that the central reference to *ferrum* places Numanus Remulus and his ideals in the *ferrae saecula* (cf. *G.*, i, 145 f.), despite analogies with the ideal rustic life. But here, as in *G.*, ii., the relationship of Golden and Iron ages to the historical time-scale would be extremely confusing, and the allusion must remain uncertain⁽¹⁾. There is a further philosophical concept whose relevance to the interpretation of this speech is doubtful. The *parvo*... *adsueti iuventus* might seem to recall Cynic or Stoic ideas of frugality. But the ethnographers attributed coarse diet and clothing to innumerable primitive peoples (*vide infra*), and Virgil simply makes a virtue out of the necessity of their hard lives.

The details of the speech must now be considered in order:

Durum a stirpe genus natos ad flumina primum deferimus saevoque gelu duramus et iudis. The process of hardening begins in earliest infancy; like Thracians, Germans and Scythians⁽²⁾, but, as it happens, unlike the Spartans⁽³⁾, the Italians accustom their infants to cold, developing an endurance of climate admired and required in soldier and barbarian⁽⁴⁾. The habit of bathing in icy local rivers⁽⁵⁾ will have impressed in a city of bathhouses, where only the soldier in training ventured into the Tiber⁽⁶⁾.

Venatu inigilant pueri situasque fatigant. Virgil makes both Trojans and Italians keen hunters⁽⁷⁾. This was far more than a characteristic of rural life⁽⁸⁾

and a conventional activity of barbarian peoples⁽¹⁾. To both Greeks and Romans, it had a definite moral value, requiring both hard work (*πρόνοια*; cf. *inigilant, fatigant* here) and courage⁽²⁾. Hunting therefore strengthened the body and was a valuable propaedeutic for war⁽³⁾. Moreover, it was a fit pursuit for a gentleman, whether an Athenian nobleman, a squire of Xenophon's Laconian shires, or any Roman from the elder Cato to Horace's Lollius⁽⁴⁾. Sallust's snecr in *Cat.*, 4, 1 is the perplexing expression of a minority opinion⁽⁵⁾.

Flectere iudis equos et spicula tendere comit. *Iudis* might be thought slightly ambiguous; however, between *jeu* and *entrainment* it is easy to decide⁽⁶⁾. For the Italians, riding and archery are far more than boyish games; like hunting, they were traditional features of the military upbringing in Sparta, Crete, and Athens⁽⁷⁾, as also among the Germans and Spaniards⁽⁸⁾. The elder Cato prescribed riding for his son, and it remained one of the sports of the Campus Martius⁽⁹⁾. Neglect of these exercises was a sure sign of decay⁽¹⁰⁾.

At patiens operum. This line is first used at *G.*, ii, 472 in the context of the ideal rural world. There the *opera* need be no more than the continuous work of the farm. Here, they are the twofold labours of war and agriculture, to be borne in addition to the hardships of climate and poverty. The Italians' *patientia* is altogether admirable; it is, after all, a product of their *imitatio*⁽¹¹⁾. It is not a virtue to be applied lightly or often to peoples other than Romans⁽¹²⁾. *Parvoque adsueti iuventus*. Frugality, a virtue imposed by circumstance, marks the life of the farmer and the soldier⁽¹³⁾, as well as of many barbarian

(1) STRAB., vii, 4, 8; AMM., xxiii, 6, 50; CAES., *B.G.*, iv, 1, 8; HEROD., iv, 22, 112, 116.
(2) AYMARD, *Les chasses romaines*, p. 89 f.; JAEGER, *Paidia* (Eng. tr.), iii, p. 177 f.

(3) CAES., *B.G.*, vi, 21, 3; 28, 3; MAX. TYR., *diis*, 18 (ed. HOWEN, p. 322, 14); VARRO, *R.R.*, ii, praef. 15 f.; SUCT., *Aug.*, 43, 4. At Sparta, PLUT., *Lyc.*, 22; *Pl.*, *Leg.*, i, 633 b; vii, 823 c.

(4) Athens: XEN., *Gym.*, 12 (particularly 13); Laconia: XEN., *Anab.*, v, 3, etc.; Cato: *Ce. de sen.*, 56; Lollius: HOR., *Eph.*, i, 18, 49 f. In general, see AYMARD, p. 485 f.

(5) AYMARD, p. 57 f.; Plato's praise is much-hedged (*Leg.*, vii, 821).

(6) MARROU, *Hist. de l'éduc.*, p. 351.

(7) Sparta: (XEN.). *resp. lac.*, 2, 2 f.; PLUT., *Apoph. lac.*, 227 d; Crete: *Pl.*, *Leg.*, i, 625 d; Athens: PÉLÉKIDIS, *Hist. de l'éphébie Attique*, p. 108.

(8) STRAB., iii, 3, 7; MELA, iii, 26.

(9) PLUT., *Cat. Mai.*, 20, 4f.; Dio, lii, 26, 1; STRAB., v, 3, 8; OV., *F.*, iii, 522; HOR., *Od.*, iii, 7, 25 f.; iii, 12, 8 f., iii, 24, 54; *Sat.*, ii, 2, 9 f.

(10) *Aen.*, iv, 86 f.; HOR., *Od.*, i, 8, 1 f.

(11) COL., vii, 6, 9; VEG., *R.M.*, i, 3; SALL., *Cat.*, 10, 2; to be praised in an enemy, even: *Cic.*, *Cat.*, i, 26.

(12) CAES., *B.G.*, vi, 24, 4; *Cic.*, *Verr.*, ii, 7; AMM., xvii, 13, 27; cf. POLYB., iii, 79, 5; the hardy Libyans and Iberians are contrasted with the Celts.

(13) HOR., *Od.*, iii, 21, 1; *Eph.*, ii, 1, 39; CATO CENS., *or. fr.*, 129.

(1) Cf. RICHTER on *G.*, ii, 500.

(2) GALEN, *de sanit. tuenda*, vi, 51 (KÜLIN); SORANUS, *Gymnec.*, ii, 12 (81). 1; SM. AP., *C.*, ii, 35 f.; ARIST., *Pol.*, vii, 17, 3. (with NEWMAN'S note). Cf. the Celtic practice of immersing babies in the Rhine; survival proved legitimacy: *A.P.*, ix, 125; Ps. THEOPH. SMOC., *Eph.*, x (HURCHER, *Epistolog.* *Gr.*, 766, 20); JEN., *Eph.*, 191; *Or.*, ii, p. 81 d.; CRAMER, *Anecd. Oxon.*, iii, p. 158, 20; TZETZ. in Hes. *Erga* Prolog., p. 12, 4 (GAISFORD); GREG. NAZ., *Carm.*, ii, 4, 142 f. (*P.G.*, XXXVII, 1516); NONN., *Dion.*, xxiii, 94 f., *Paroem. Gr.*, ii, p. 569; CLAUD., in *Ruf.*, ii, 112; *C.A.G.*, xviii, 1, p. 125, 30 f.; GEORG. PISID., *Ekstr. Herakl.*, i, 41; LIB., *Or in Iul.*, ii, p. 26, 10. (LMB.); *Narrat. de Rhen.*, viii, p. 56 F.; THEODORUS HYRTACENUS, *Eph.*, 25, 37, 52. This note attempts a full statement of the evidence, *exceptis gratia*.

(3) PLUT., *Lyc.*, 12.

(4) STRAB., iii, 3, 7; xv, 3, 18; CAES., *B.G.*, vi, 22, 3; LIV., v, 48, 3; VEG., *R.M.*, i, 10; CLAUD., 7, 39.

(5) Scythians: V. F., vi, 335; Lusitani: STRAB., iii, 3, 7; Spartans: SEN., *Suas.*, ii, 5; Germans: CAES., *B.G.*, vi, 21, 5.

(6) HOR., *Od.*, iii, 7, 25 f.; iii, 12, 8 f.; TIB., i, 4 11 f.; PLUT., *Cat. Mai.*, 20, 4 f.

(7) *Aen.*, i, 315, 336; iv, 158; ix, 771; xi, 777; vii, 651; ix, 245; etc.

(8) *G.*, i, 139, 307; iii, 409, etc.

peoples⁽¹⁾. Once more, the coincidence of detail is repeated: Rutulian, barbarian, and idealised peasant-soldier.

Aut rastrois terram domat. With this reference to the hard labour of agriculture, Virgil's praise of the Italians comes to an end. Incessant interminable war is the goal of all their physical preparations: *aut quatit oppida bello.* From Aeneas' first sight of the *arx Mineruae* (iii, 530 f.), there is a strong warlike element in the country's character⁽²⁾. This character the Romans admired and fostered⁽³⁾.

It was, equally, one applied to many of the barbarians⁽⁴⁾. The deliberate idealisation of the type of the Italian farmer-soldier begins apparently with Cicero, above all in his portrait of the elder Cato in the *de Senectute*⁽⁵⁾. Virgil's Rutuli resemble more closely still Horace's Sabines: *rusticorum nascula militum proles Sabellis docta ligonibus uersare glaebas...* (*Od.*, ii, 6, 37 f.)⁽⁶⁾ and the portrait he himself draws of the Aequi: *horrida... gens, adusaeque multo uentura nemorum... armati terram exerant...* (vii, 746 f.)⁽⁷⁾. Obviously tough farmers, with an interest in the land, made the best soldiers, physically and spiritually⁽⁸⁾. Four of Rome's greatest soldiers, Cincinnatus, M. Curius Dentatus, C. Fabricius Luscinus, and M. Atilius Regulus were renowned as being also farmers⁽⁹⁾. From the elder Cato to Vegetius, the textbooks laid down that the army's ranks were best filled from the Italian peasantry⁽¹⁰⁾; Marsi and Sabines were particularly renowned⁽¹¹⁾. Thus narratives of reform rarely mention Rome, and there is frequent abuse of the quality of urban troops⁽¹²⁾. To this complex of ideas we shall have to return.

Omne aetui ferro teritur. The Italians undertake willingly and with pride a life of endless toil and strife, though free men might complain that such burdens were imposed to keep them in subjection⁽¹³⁾. *Versaque iuueniam terga fatigamus hasta.* This is apparently the only detail in the speech that is not conventional;

(1) AMB., xxiii, 6, 61; CURT., vi, 5, 11; STRAB., xv, 1, 53; iii, 3, 7; CAES., *B.G.*, vi, 24, 4; viii, 4, 1; HEROD., i, 136; HEGCAT. *fr.*, 9 (J); PIVET. *fr.*, 13 (J).

(2) Similar foreshadowing: *Aen.*, i, 21, 263, 531; iv, 229.

(3) LIV., ix, 9, 11; vii, 6, 3; G., iii, 346; PROP., iii, 22, 19.

(4) *Aen.*, i, 14; STRAB., xiv, 2, 27; iv, 4, 2; iv, 4, 5; T.L.L., 2 (1810), 27 f.

(5) Cf. first, apparently *leg. agr.* ii, 84.

(6) Cf. also *S.*, ii, 7, 23; *Ep.*, ii, 1, 139 f.; *Od.*, i, 12, 43 f.; i, 1, 11 f.; *Epod.*, 2, 3; *Od.*, iii, 16, 26 f.; LA PENNA, *Oratio*, p. 59 f.

(7) *G.*, ii, 513 f.; *Aen.*, xi, 318 f.

(8) The ideal had been criticised by PL., *Rep.*, ii, 374 c; ARIST., *Pol.*, vii, 9, 1 f. Close to the Roman attitude is MEN., *fr.*, 63, 408. We may also compare GENL. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER (quoted by Louis Heren, *Times* i. 4.69, p. 8): "the pioneers had to learn to plough a straight furrow with a rifle on their backs. They were not discouraged by constant dangers. They were a happy people."

(9) COL., i, *praef.*, 13 f.; 4, 2; CIC., *de sen.*, 56; I.IV., iii, 13, 26; D.H., XIX, 15.

(10) CAT., *agr.*, *praef.*, 4; VAER., *R.R.*, ii, *praef.*, 2; COL., i, *praef.*, 17; VEG., *R.M.*, i, 1.

(11) Sabines: HOR., *Epod.*, 2, 41; LIV., i, 18, 4; HOR., *Od.*, iii, 6, 37 etc.; MARSII, *G.*, ii, 167; HOR., *Od.*, ii, 20, 18, iii, 5, 9; CAES., *B.G.*, i, 15, 20, etc.

(12) COL., i, *praef.*, 17; BRUNT in *J.R.S.*, 52 (1962), p. 73 f., 85.

(13) HEROD., iii, 134, 2; LIV., vi, 27, 7; etc.

de la Cerda provides a remote parallel from Cassiodorus⁽¹⁾. The reverse process — that is, the use of rustic instruments in war, is much better attested⁽²⁾.

Nec tarda senectus debilitat vires animi mutataque nigrem: remittentibus praesentibus. It was precisely in formal discussions of *senectus* that the traditional partition of strength to the young and wisdom to the old⁽³⁾ was recognised as fallacious. In the *de sen.*, Cato, though no second Agestilaus, is full of the virtues of an active old age (32, cf. Plut., *an seni*, 788 A). Again, the benefits of agriculture are prominent: he speaks of men in Sabinum — soldier-farmers in their prime, of course — as still active in the fields when old (24; cf. 51). There is also a long and noble line of old men actively and successfully engaged in war — from Nestor to Masinissa⁽⁴⁾. Above all, Camillus; Livy stresses the glorious paradox of his victories⁽⁵⁾.

Semperque recentes comportare iuval praedas et vivere rapto. The old men may remain strong, but they are bandits. The obtaining of a livelihood from plunder⁽⁶⁾, like the combination of ability in war with a taste for rapine⁽⁷⁾ is a common attribute of barbarian peoples. In *omne aetui ferro teritur*, there may have been a similar implication: as from Thucydides, the continuous bearing of arms was regarded as the mark of a way of life dependent on banditry⁽⁸⁾. That the Rutuli lived from rapine would strike the Augustans as peculiarly vicious; bandits and pirates constitute an unending threat to peace and order⁽⁹⁾.

At this, Numanius Remulus turns upon the Trojans, to accuse them of luxurious degeneracy. *O uere Phrygiae neque enim Phryges* summarises his insults: they are not even men. But round the basic form of *Phrygones, abster*, *Phrygones*⁽¹⁰⁾ V. has added various more complex ideas. To Romans obsessed by the concept of moral decay and its causes, Trojan *luxuria* represents an obviously later and worse cultural level than Rutulian *duritia*⁽¹¹⁾, though the idea

(1) *Var.*, xii, 5.

(2) *Aen.*, vii, 505; etc.

(3) NEWMAN, *Arist. Pol.*, iii, p. 379; *Il.*, iii, 727 f.; *EVRS.*, *fr.*, 203, etc.

(4) In general, CIC., *de sen.*, 55 f.; *Il.*, xiv, 86; A. R., i, 44; CYRUS; CIC., *de sen.*, 30;

As., *Cyr.*, viii, 7, 6; Agestilaus; NIS., Agest., 11, 14 f. (*vires animi*); CIC., *de sen.*, 38;

Antigonus, Phocion, Masinissa, Cato; PLUT., *an seni*, 791 c.; Masinissa; CIC., *de sen.*, 34;

the Spartans; PLUT., *Apoph. Lat.*, 222 at RICHARDSON, *Old Age among the Greeks*, p. 33 f., 38 f.

(5) vi, 22, 7; 23, 4; 24, 7.

(6) STRAB., iv, 3, 3; vii, 5, 12; iii, 4, 4; iii, 4, 8; PIER., 38 (*F.H.G.*).

(7) NEWMAN, *Arist. Pol.*, iii, p. 523; MELA, iii, 3, 27 f.; STRAB., iii, 3, 5; HEROD., iv, 103, 3.

(8) THUC., i, 5 f.; POLYB., iv, 3, 1 f.; TAG., *Germ.*, 13, 1; 22, 1.

(9) MACMILLAN, *Enemies of the Roman Order*, p. 192 f., 255 f.; ORMANON, *Poetry in the*

Latin World, p. 190 f.

(10) *Il.*, vii, 96 f.; PLAST on *Aen.*, iv, 215; HEROD., viii, 88; i, 155, I.IV., vii, 13, 6; iv, 2,

3; D.H., ix, 7, 2; HERTER, 641.

(11) EARL, *Political Thought of Sallust*, p. 41 f.; WATSON, *Livy*, p. 65 f.; SYMO., *Sallust*,

p. 248 f.; LA PENNA, *op. cit.*, p. 59 f.

of decline could hardly be made explicit in the speech (1). Nothing but contempt for the Trojans is uttered, and yet it is precisely such *ταπεινή* as their that could lead to the decay and collapse of Italian virtue (2). Such was the danger awaiting Aeneas from Carthaginian *luxuria*. There the temptation was not resisted (iv, 215 f., 262).

The disgust felt at the historical Phrygian custom of orgiastic emasculation is here, as often (3), inflicted upon the Trojans (4). No detail in xi, 614-20 is foreign to the type of the *effeminatus*. After Herter's thorough article in *R.A.* is foreign to the type of V.'s details will suffice:

Vobis pīcia croco et fulgenti murice uestis. At iv, 262 Aeneas clad in purple at Carthage could be calculated to arouse Roman indignation: he had adopted an unbecoming foreign garb, which — quite apart from suggestions of rule and wealth — implied luxury and effeminacy (5). In the debate on the sump-tuary Lex Oppia, Livy makes Cato the Censor associate gold and purple with the cult of the Magna Mater (6). Here the addition of yellow makes the charge all the more pointed — it was the colour of the women (7) and the effeminates (8).

Desidia cordi. This is the antithesis of the continuous activity of the Italians. The Trojans are charged not with an honourable *σφόδρῃ* or *otium*, but with an indolence that was strongly deplored at Rome (9). *Luxu atque desidia civitas corrupta est*, claimed Sallust; to Varro, it was the vice which *maiores nostri* attributed to town-dwellers, while Caeser records the German boast that they practised banditry *inuentitis exercendae ac desidiae minuendae causa* (10).

Inuit indulgere choreis. That the Trojans should dance is not, in itself, wholly worthy of censure, for not even in early Rome had dancing been altogether deplored (11), while by the time of Augustus, there were signs of widespread interest and enthusiasm. However, attitudes to dancing had long

(1) SALL., *Cat.*, 7 f.; VARR., *R.R.*, ii, *praef.*, 17; COLUM., i, *praef.*, 13 f.

(2) PASSERINI in *S.I.F.C.*, xi (1934), p. 35 f.; TONDRIAU in *R.E.L.*, 1 (1948), p. 49 f. EGERMANN, *Die Proömien z.d. Werken des Sallust*, p. 34 f.

(3) GRALLOT, *Culte de Cybèle*, p. 21 f.

(4) PEASE on *Aen.*, iv, 215; HERTER, 630.

(5) PERS., i, 32; LUCIAN, *bis accus.*, 17, etc.

(6) LIV., xxxiv, 3, 9; 4, 7.

(7) ATHEN., iv, 155 c.; xii, 519 c; PLUT., *an seni...*, 735c.

(8) OV., *A.A.*, iii, 179; PETRON., 68; JUV., vi, 365; APUL., *Met.*, vi, 8; CIC., *Her. Resp.*, 44.

(9) HERTER, 632; ANDRÉ, *Recherches sur l'otium romain*, p. 61 f.; RAMBAUD in *R.E.L.*, xxiv (1946), p. 124 f., and especially PÖSCHL, *Grundzüge Röm. Staatsgeschichte*, p. 27 f. For the Greek attitude, EURENBERG in *J.H.S.*, 67 (1947), p. 46 f.; BOWRA in *C.Q.*, 1941, p. 124; GOMME, *Hist. Comm. Thuc.*, i, p. 167 f., 232.

(10) SALL., *Cat.*, 53, 5 (cf. FRONT., *Strat.*, iv, 1, 13; SUET., *Tib.*, 33); VARR., *R.R.*, ii, *praef.*, 1; CAES., *B.G.*, vi, 23, 6.

(11) MACR., iii, 14, 4; SALL., *Cat.*, 25; HOR., *S.*, i, 9, 23; OV., *A.A.*, i, 595; HOR.,

depended on the type of dance (1), and the Trojans could be expected to perform the wholly deplorable orgiastic dances of Cybele, to which reference is made in the following lines (2). A subordinate charge may be their *indignitas*, an excessive partiality for what may sometimes be a decent activity.

Et tunicae manicas et habitus redimitula mitrae. Romans scorned the sleeve: after all, the toga made for a winter with bare arms. To do otherwise was a sure mark of effeminacy, and a mode of dress which associated the wearer with Persians and barbarians at large (3). The next insult is more thoroughly barbed. It is bad enough that the Trojans should wear any headgear at all, and particularly obnoxious that it should be secured by ribbons (4). The *mitra* is most appropriate here; its home is in Asia Minor, as well as further east, and it is often attributed to the Trojans (5). Furthermore, it was worn by Attis, by the votaries of Cybele, and by the archigallus himself (6). So it was an integral part of the effeminate's attire from Aristophanes to Juvenal (7).

Ille per alta Dindyma... Numanus Remulus uses a formula of contemptuous dismissal (8). The Trojans' place is in Dindyma and Berecyntus, home of the cult of Cybele (9). There the rites were held to the wild music of drum and boxwood flute, an association which contributed largely to the moral censure against the flute (10). In contrast, war is for true men only (11): the Trojans are fit only for emasculation.

Numanus Remulus, after the briefest interval, is shot by Ascanius with Jupiter's approval and Apollo's congratulations (ix, 621-637). Confidence in a marriage-alliance with Turnus is shown to be baseless. Trojan youth is vindicated, and divine censure of Rutulian ideology displayed. In *agna atque indigna relatu* (595) Virgil had either proclaimed his own disapproval of what is reported in advance, or suggested that what is not reported was even more wild and deplorable. Aeneas and the Trojans are clearly living down the fall of Troy (12), and their increasing success in battle is a standing condemnation of the old association of Trojan with effeminate and cowardly Phrygian.

(1) PL., *Leg.*, ii, 656 b.; *Rep.*, iii, 398 d ff.

(2) HERTER, 638.

(3) SUET., *Gal.*, 52; L. M. WILSON, *Clothing of the Ancient Romans*, p. 67; *Enc.L.A.*, s.v. *Barbi* p. 976.

(4) CIC., *Verr.*, v, 76; JUV., ii, 81; CALP., vi, 38. It is the *mitra* that strictly has the ribbons, not the *mitra* (BRANDENBURG, *Studien zu Mitra*, p. 64f.).

(5) PEASE on *Aen.*, iv, 216; ROEBUCK, *Ionian Trade and Colonisation*, p. 3.

(6) MARQUARDT, *Stadtverwallung*, iii, p. 369; PEASE on *Aen.*, iv, 216; PROP., iv, 7, 61.

(7) BRANDENBURG, p. 58 f.; AR., *Thesm.*, 257, 941; JUV., iii, 115.

(8) *T.L.L.*, v, 2, 632, 67 f.

(9) ROSCHER, s.v. *KYBELÉ* 1613, 5 f.; *T.L.L.*, *Onom.*, C.-Don., 151, 65 f.; GRUPEL, p. 150, n. 2; BÖMER, *Op. F.*, ii, p. 221 f.

(10) HERTER, 627; *Op. F.*, iv, 181 (with Bö.); GRUPEL, p. 1530; GRANFOT, p. 124; *Zeit.*, Aug., 68; NIEMANN, *Arist. Pol.*, iii, p. 572; *T.L.L.*, s.v. *huanis*, iii, b.

(11) HOR., *Epod.*, 15, 12 *et seqq.*

(12) Cf. W. S. ANDERSON in *T.A.P.A.*, 38 (1957), p. 17 f.

However, Virgil seems to retain a trace of hesitation and hostility towards the Trojans, for Jupiter promises (xii, 834) *sermonem Aeneidii moresque tenebunt*. In practice, the Trojans lack none of the Italians' virtues, but some trace of traditional Greco-Roman contempt for the East seems ineradicable.

Schweizer (p. 18) has suggested that Aeneas (or Augustus) is to replace the world of Numanus Remulus by a new Golden Age. But the old world is also in part desirable as analogies with *G.*, ii, 471-2, 531 strongly imply. But the lack of warmth and charm in the picture in this speech make it seem a most unattractive world, far from the happy and simple peasantry of *G.*, ii. Indeed as propaganda for a united Italy of free peasant cultivators, this speech would be extraordinarily inept. There is in Augustan writing about the return to the soil a scarcely resolved inconsistency between the claims of peace and war (1).

Within the *pax Augusta* some aptitude for war was necessary, but its application was somewhat limited (cf. ix, 642). Anchises had warned Aeneas *gens dura atque aspera cultu debellanda tibi Latium est* (v. 730); only the *duritia* is laudable. The taming of Latium falls precisely within the terms of *debellare superbos*, and of *pacis... imponere morem*. The strength which had been developed by simple life, frequent exercise and hard farm labour was properly employed in the defeat of foreign enemies — Carthage, Pyrrhus, and Antiochus. The Augustans required it for the defeat of Parthia, or for wars in Spain, Germany, North Africa, the Alps, and the Balkans (2). However, if the farmer fights, who farms? The army might attract countrymen who had failed to make a living, but the effect of a levy was well known (and would of course be the same in the case of *evocati*): *squallent abdudictis arua colonis* (3). The rehabilitation of the *duri agricolae* conflicts with wider economic tendencies in Italian agriculture and with romanticised policies of recruitment. The Rutuli, as over-trained warriors and part-time farmers emphasize the inconsistency.

There is in this picture very little of the joys of country life, and nothing of rural piety (contrast *G.*, ii, 473, *Aen.*, xii, 835-9). Nor are any elements in it distinctively Augustan or Italian. The developed type of the peasant-soldier, here seen in his most harsh and primitive aspects, derives ultimately from the Greek ethnographers. Of his traditional material, Virgil has made a stark and original portrait of primitive Italy. There are too many complex and discordant strains for it to constitute adequate propaganda for the type of Italian peasant-soldier that was to be revived.

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- (1) Not really touched on in the main discussions: KLINGNER in *Hermes*, 16 (1931), p. 159 f.; SYME, *R.R.*, 253 f.; 450 f.; SAINT-DENIS, *G.* (Budé ed.), viii f.
 (2) *H.*, *Od.*, iii, 6, 33 f.; iii, 2, 1 f.; iv, 4, 17 f.; iv, 5, 25 f.
 (3) *G.*, i, 508; cf. *Aen.*, vii, 635 f.; *OV.*, *F.*, i, 697 f.; *MEN.*, *fr.* 556; BRUNT in *J.R.S.*, 52 (1962), p. 75, n. 64.

Julians, Claudians and the Accession of Tiberius

The period of Tiberius' accession has over recent years been subject to a great deal of investigation, which has hinged primarily on the nature of the deaths of Augustus (1), Agrippa Postumus (2), and more recently of the Elder Julia (3) and her paramour, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (4). Were the versions that held members of the Claudian family responsible for the deaths of these persons simply malicious fabrications by the adherents of the Julian party? Were they part of the idle, but inevitable, tittle-tattle that envelops the demise of prominent personalities? Or did all or any of them die a natural death? A note of caution should be sounded; it is dangerous to hope that, if we have found an acceptable solution in one case, that same solution need apply to the others. A further question too has been raised; has Tacitus, our chief source for the period, been misled by what a modern historian would think of as highly suspect source material — namely rumour or Julian propaganda (5)? Rivalry between Julians and Claudians as such dated back to the death of Vipsanius Agrippa in 12 B.C., surpassing and augmenting the previous rivalry between Caesarians (or Julians) and Republicans. Unlike others of the old Republican *nobilitas*, the Claudii Nerones supported the new regime; Livius' marriage to Augustus, Tiberius' to the daughter of Agrippa, and Nero Drusus' to Antonia bound Julians and Claudians firmly together, all accepting Augustus as leader and Agrippa as his deputy. This branch of the Claudian family clearly did not share the nobiles' loathing of the *novus homo* (6).

Predictably the death of Agrippa precipitated a crisis in the family; it is likely that Livia confidently expected her sons to be next in line in the princeps' favour; Tiberius' marriage to Julia, and the commands given to him and

(1) M. P. CHARLESWORTH, *Tiberius and the Death of Augustus* in *A.J.P.*, 41, 1923, p. 145 f.; R. H. MARTIN, *Tacitus and the Death of Augustus* in *C.Q.*, 48, 1955, p. 123 f.; D. C. A. SHOTTER, *Tiberius and the Senate* in *Mn.*, 18, 1965, p. 359 f.

(2) In addition to those cited in note 1, we may add W. ALLEN, JR., *The Death of Agrippa Postumus* in *T.A.P.A.*, 78, 1947, p. 131 f.

(3) F. B. MARSH, *The Reign of Tiberius*, Oxford, 1931, p. 51; I. S. RYMER, *Tacitus' Art of Insuendo* in *T.A.P.A.*, 73, 1942, p. 385; R. SYME, *Tacitus*, Oxford, 1938, I, p. 207, 388, 423.

(4) On Julia and Gracchus, see R. S. ROGERS, *The Deaths of Julia and Gracchus* in *T.A.P.A.*, 98, 1967, p. 383 f.

(5) Cf. F. B. MARSH, *Tacitus and Aristocratic Tradition* in *C. Ph.*, 21, 1926, p. 389 f.

(6) See Dio, LIV, 29, 6 (R. SYME), *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford, 1949, p. 314.