MANUFACTURING DESCENT: VIRGIL'S GENEALOGICAL ENGINEERING*

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When Aeneas encounters his mother on the shores of Libya in *Aeneid* 1, she tells him that he has arrived at the city of Agenor, the progenitor of the Phoenician royal line and the founding father of the Punic race ("Punica regna uides, Tyrios et Agenoris urbem," "You behold Punic realms, Tyrians, and the city of Agenor," 338).[1] She goes on to relate how their queen Dido fled from Tyre with a band of exiles after the king, her brother Pygmalion, had murdered her husband (343–68). On the basis of this information, Dido's ancestry can safely be reconstructed as follows: as the sister of the present king of Phoenicia, she is the direct descendant of Agenor and ultimately—through Agenor's mother Libya, the daughter of Epaphus, himself the son of the Argive cow-maiden Io—of the Argive river god Inachus. In this paper, I explore two questions: 1) The significance of Argive (or Inachid) descent in the *Aeneid*; and 2) What a study of Inachid protagonists in the *Aeneid* reveals about the use and abuse of mythical genealogies in Virgil's poetry.

Let me begin with a brief review of the Argive stemmata. The Argive *Urvater* is the eponymous deity of the Inachus,[2] the principal river of

* This paper has benefited enormously from the criticisms of Christopher Mackie, Jay Reed, Danuta Shanzer, and, especially, Frederick Ahl.

1 The text is that of Mynors 1969. All translations are my own.

2 Inachus was typically held to be a son of Oceanus (*Prometheus Bound* 635–36, Ps.-Ap. *Bibl.* 2.1.1). The Inachid genealogies as we know them were finalized at least as early as

Arethusa 37 (2004) 141–164 © 2004 by The Johns Hopkins University Press

the Argolid. His daughter Io[3] is raped by Zeus,[4] turned into a cow by Hera,[5] supervised by the all-seeing Argus, and force-marched over immense tracts of the earth by a persistent gadfly[6] until she arrives on the banks of the Nile. Here she is promptly turned back into human form by Zeus and impregnated by the touch of his hand. Of this union, the fittingly named Epaphus is the result. Epaphus is the father of Libya, the eponymous heroine of the African continent, who, in her turn, bears the twins Belus and Agenor to Poseidon. While Agenor heads for the Levant to become the progenitor of the Phoenician branch of the Inachid clan, Belus stays put in Egypt and produces another pair of twins, Danaus and Aegyptus.[7] Danaus, reluctant to surrender his fifty daughters in marriage to their fifty cousins, takes his family and, with Aegyptus and sons in hot pursuit, migrates "back"[8] to the Argolid. After a hospitable reception by the natives, Danaus eventually capitulates and agrees to marry his daughters to the sons of Aegyptus. The wedding itself is an unhappy affair: forty-nine of Aegyptus's sons are butchered in the marriage chamber.[9] Fortunately, the amicable relations between Hypermestra and her husband Lynceus ensure the survival of the line and the (re)instatement of the Inachid royal family over the Argolid.[10] The product of their union is Abas, who fathers the progenitors of the two principal branches of the

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the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (frags. 122–59 MW), which West dates between 580 and 520 (West 1985.130–37). For a helpful summary of the Inachid myths, see esp. Ps.-Ap. *Bibl.* 2.1 with Frazer's notes in the Loeb edition; useful discussions can also be found in Gantz 1983.198–208, West 1985.144–54, J. M. Hall 1997.77–89.

3 Thus Bacchylides 19.18, *Prom.* 589–90, 663, Hdt. 1.1, Lucian *Dial. Deorum* 3, Hyg. *Fab.* 145. Ps.-Apollodorus, drawing primarily on the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, inserts four generations between Inachus and Io. His genealogy runs: Inachus, Phoroneus, Niobe, Argus, Iasus, Io. On the relationship between Ps.-Apollodorus's work and the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, see West 1985.35, 43–44.

4 Though in the *Prom.* it appears that she does not mate with Zeus until she reaches Egypt.

5 In the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, Io was turned into a cow by Zeus (frag. 124 MW); in the *Prom.*, he turns her into a horned maiden (673–74); at Aesch. *Suppl.* 299, it is Hera who turns her into a cow.

6 For the wanderings of Io, see *Prom.* 707–35, 790–815, 829–41.

7 Aesch. *Suppl.* 314–23, Ps.-Ap. *Bibl.* 2.1.3–4, *Prom.* 850–52, Pindar *Pyth.* 4.14.15, Moschus 2.38–40.

8 Cf. *Prom.* 854: πάλιν πρὸς Ἄργος, "*back* to Argos."

9 On the Danaids' wedding, see *Prom.* 853–68; Ps.-Ap. *Bibl.* 2.1.5; Hyg. *Fab.* 168; Servius ad *Aen.* 10.497; scholiasts on Eur. *Hecuba* 886, *Orestes* 872, and *Iliad* 4.171.

10 The famous punishment of the Danaids in the underworld, whereby they were condemned to fill a leaky *pithos*, is first attested in Ps.-Plato *Axiochus* 371c-d. The motif was popular in Roman poetry: Lucr. 3.1003–10, Prop. 4.11.27–28, Tib. 1.3.79–80, Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.18–19, 3.11.22–24, Ovid *Met.* 4.462–63, 10.43–44.

Argive Inachids: Proetus, whose descendants take part in the famous assaults on Thebes, and Acrisius, the father of Danaë.[11] Perseus, the son whom Danaë bears to Zeus, is the direct ancestor of Heracles, whose own descendants duly reclaim their inheritance in the Argolid, becoming thereby the ancestors of the Dorian kings and, rather more controversially, of the Argead house of Macedonia.[12] Meanwhile, back in the Levant, Belus's brother Agenor founds the Phoenician nation, named after his son Phoenix.[13] Agenor's daughter Europa[14] is abducted to Greece by Zeus, where she becomes the originator of the royal house of Crete; his son Cadmus, sent to Greece to search for his sister, founds Thebes. From these origins is born the unhappy Theban royal family and, through Cadmus's daughter Semele, the god Dionysus.[15]

The Inachid genealogies explained for the Greeks of the pre-classical period the peopling and/or civilizing of the Mediterranean seaboard in terms of cultural expansion from the Greek mainland, and, as such, they are recognizably the product of the age of colonization.[16] Their indiscriminate attribution of "Greek" heroic ancestry to Greeks and barbarians alike is characteristic of what J. M. Hall terms the "aggregative" ethnologies of pre-classical times, which he opposes to the "oppositional" schemes of the classical period, according to which Hellenes were increasingly defined in terms of their difference from the barbarian Other.[17] So from at least as early as the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, the "Argive" origins of the Egyptians, Africans, Phoenicians, Persians, and other eastern peoples were part and parcel of the Greek historical imagination.[18] By the same token, the peoples and rulers of Argos (Homer's Danaoi), Thebes, and Crete were understood to have owed their origin to the advent of (Inachid) Orientals

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11 For the quarrel between Proetus and Acrisius and the subsequent division of the Argolid between the two brothers, see Ps.-Ap. *Bibl.* 2.2.1.

12 On the controversy surrounding the Argive roots of the Argead house, see Hdt. 5.22.2, Thucydides 2.99, 5.80, Isocrates *Philippus* 32–34, 76–77; cf. J. M. Hall 2001.

13 For the descendants of Agenor, see Ps.-Ap. *Bibl.* 3.1.

14 Several authors make Europa a daughter of Phoenix (e.g., *Il.* 14.321–22, Bacchylides 16.29–30, Moschus 2.7).

15 Bacchylides 19 glorifies Io specifically as the ancestress of Dionysus.

16 See Gantz 1983.198–208, West 1985.144–54, E. Hall 1996.333–48, esp. 338–39.

17 J. M. Hall 1997.34–66. On the construction of the barbarian Other in fifth-century Attic tragedy, see E. Hall 1989.

18 Cf. Bernal's appeal to the Inachid myths to argue that parts of the Greek mainland had been colonized by the Egyptians and Phoenicians (Bernal 1987, esp. 88–98); on Bernal's use of Argive myth, see E. Hall 1996, with Bernal's reply (Bernal 2001).

from Egypt and Phoenicia, a paradox that will have seemed less problematic to the Greeks of the seventh and sixth centuries—whose art, of course, was self-consciously orientalizing—than it did to the contemporaries of Herodotus or Plato.[19] Whatever else Inachid heroes and heroines might get up to, then, their primary function within the superstructure of Greek myth is to found nations, to initiate royal genealogies, and to lend their names to continents and ethnic groups, whether they be Greek or oriental.[20] Thus Heracles, by his prodigious efforts as a pacifier, civic founder, and initiator of royal pedigrees, performs a function that had been the office of Inachids from time immemorial. To civilize and populate foreign parts, after all, is a peculiarly Inachid sort of thing to do.

It is of no small interest that the proem of the *Aeneid* (1.12–22) identifies a contest between the colonial ambitions of two sets of genealogical stemmata, personified in Virgil's poem by Dido and Aeneas respectively, that underlies the evolution of the historical process. Hence, when Venus alludes to the Tyrians' Agenorid heritage later in the same book, she reminds us that they belong to a clan whose business it is to colonize and people the world's continents. Worthy protagonists, in other words, in the struggle for global power identified in the opening lines of the poem. And since Dido effectively migrates ("back") to the continent named after Agenor's mother Libya, there is a sense in which her adventure can be regarded as a peculiarly *Inachid* sort of undertaking, the natural counterpart of the "reverse" migrations of the Egyptian Danaus, on the one hand, and the Phoenicians Europa and Cadmus on the other. It is not my concern here to propose that Dido's migration is to be read primarily as an Inachid colonial venture. Understood in the context of the family history to which Venus alludes, however, Dido's expedition furnishes a neat parallel to Aeneas's "reverse" migration to the ancient Italian seat of his ancestor Dardanus.[21]

Let us now take a closer look at what Virgil has to say about Dido's ancestry. When she and Aeneas come face to face in Carthage, Dido attempts to get things off on the right foot by telling her guest a brief story (1.619–26; cf. Mackie 1993). She recalls how Ajax's brother Teucer, having been expelled from his fatherland, once paid her family a visit in Sidon. Her

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19 The ironies engendered by the Argives' Afroasiatic origins are remarked upon at Hdt. 6.53, Plato *Menexenus* 245c–d.

20 Cf. West 1985.136, E. Hall 1989.35–37.

21 There is something of an asymmetry here, however, since the ultimate origin of Dido's line is Argos, not Libya.

father, whom she calls "Belus," was then reducing Cyprus to subjection; and it was on Cyprus that Belus furnishes Teucer with a new kingdom. Teucer was a Greek, of course, but he had the highest admiration for the Teucrians of the Troad, from whom he preferred to derive his lineage ("seque ortum antiqua Teucrorum a stripe uolebat," 1.626). Among the poem's three formal diplomatic overtures, Dido's speech stands out in one important respect: it fails to establish a genealogical relationship, however tenuous, between host and guest.[22] On the contrary, far from asserting even the slightest connection with her host, Dido claims only to have met someone who, whatever he might have said about his own ancestral ties to Aeneas's people, had no qualms about sacking his city. Dido's failure to establish any point of contact, genealogical or otherwise, between Phoenicia and Troy is thrown into sharper relief still by the words of Teucer himself, whose (alleged) insistence on the Trojan side of his ancestry signposts the helpful malleability of ancestral traditions. It is interesting, too, that at no point does Virgil draw an explicit distinction between this Teucer and the Teucer who is the ancestor of the Trojans (and to whose homeland Anchises and Aeneas disastrously choose to return in Book 3). Still, all this rather pales into insignificance beside Dido's revelation that her father was busy devastating an island sacred to Aeneas's mother[23] and, as if that were not enough, subjecting it to the rule of Ajax's brother. To recall the Graeco-Punic invasion of Cyprus is surely an odd way to begin a relationship with the Trojan son of Venus (though perhaps no less diplomatic than Evander's praise for Hercules, who was no friend of Troy; see esp. 8.290–91).

The curious name that Virgil gives Dido's father[24] turns up again later in the same book, just before Aeneas begins his narrative: as Dido's guests recline at the table, she calls for a *patera* heavy with precious stones and gold, a family heirloom belonging to Belus and to each of his descendants in turn (1.728–30):

> hic regina grauem gemmis auroque poposcit
> impleuitque mero pateram, quam Belus et omnes
> a Belo soliti.

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22 Cf. the exchange between Ilioneus and Latinus (7.195–273) and Aeneas's opening speech to Evander at Pallanteum (8.127–74).

23 Cf. 10.51: *est celsa mihi Paphus,* "I hold lofty Paphus," 10.86; see also Foster 1977. Cyprus was, of course, at the crossroads of Greek and Semitic civilizations.

24 According to Servius (ad 1.343), the name of Dido's father is Mettes or Methres; Justin (18.4.3) calls him Mutto. Only in Virgil is he called Belus.

> Here the queen called for a goblet heavy with gold and gems, and filled it with wine: this Belus and all of his descendants were wont to use.

In this case, it is clear that Virgil is speaking of an ancestral Belus, an early, or perhaps even the first, king of Phoenicia. Dido's father will then have acquired the name as a dynastic title. Yet the Belus with whom we are familiar was the *brother* of Agenor and the progenitor of the *Hellenic* branch of the Inachid stemmata. There was, it is true, a respectable minor tradition identifying Belus (the Greek mythological reflex of the Semitic Ba'al) with various Oriental monarchs,[25] but the reference to an ancestral Belus still seems to conflict with Venus's more traditional, Hesiodic picture of Phoenician history (1.338). If the dominant tradition made Agenor the founder of Tyre, why should Virgil have gone to the trouble of introducing a Levantine Belus?

There may be a hint in the first book of Statius's *Thebaid*, where Dido's *patera* makes an interesting comeback (539–51). Upon hospitably receiving Polynices and Tydeus in the royal palace at Argos, the king, Adrastus, brings forth a *patera* with which Danaus was accustomed to pour libations to the gods (1.540–43):

> signis perfectam auroque nitentem
> Iasides pateram famulos ex more poposcit,
> qua Danaus libare deis seniorque Phoroneus
> adsueti.[26]
>
> The descendant of Iasus, in observance of custom, bade his servants bring a goblet decorated with engravings and

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25 Servius calls him *primus rex Assyriorum,* "the first king of the Assyrians." At Ovid *Met.* 4.212–13, Belus is named as the founder of the Persian royal house: "rexit Achaemenias urbes pater Orchamus isque / septimus a prisco numeratur origine Belo," "Her father Orchamus ruled the Achaemenian cities, himself seventh in descent from ancient Belus." Statius refers to incense and cinnamon that has come down from "ancient Belus": "incanaque glebis / tura et ab antiquo durantia cinnama Belo," "and lumps of greyish incense and cinnamon which dates back to ancient Belus" (*Theb.* 6.60–61): he appears to be referring simply to their oriental provenance. In Herodotus, Belus is the name of the grandfather of the first of the Heraclid kings of Lydia (1.7.2) and of the father of Cepheus, the father of Andromeda (7.61.3). On Ba'al in Phoenician religion, see Teixidor 1977.19–60.

26 The text is that of Klotz 1973.

> shining with gold, with which Danaus and elderly Phoroneus were wont to pour libations to the gods.

Statius has made some interesting changes to his Virgilian model. He has removed Dido's ancestral object to the Argolid and transferred its ownership from the Levantine Belus to Phoroneus and to Danaus, the son of the traditional Belus. In so doing, Statius appears to be "correcting" an antiquarian lapse on the part of his poetic predecessor: the dynastic heirs of Belus, as everyone knows, belong in the Peloponnese, not in the Levant. But at the same time, he gives us a clue as to what might be going on in his Virgilian model. The rightful inheritors of an ancestral object belonging to Belus, as Statius reminds us, ought to be Argives. So when Virgil mixes his traditions and labels Dido a Belid, he not only lends her an Argive colouring, but reminds us that all Belids, whether they be Levantine or Greek, are descended from Inachus and Io. This is something for the reader to keep in mind when Aeneas tells Dido how the Danai, the descendants of Belus's son Danaus, sacked his city.[27]

There remains in Dido's home one further object demanding our attention. Immediately after the account of Dido's meeting with Teucer, the action shifts to her palace, where we pause to admire a magnificent work of art (1.640–42):

> ingens argentum mensis, caelataque in auro
> fortia facta patrum, series longissima rerum
> per tot ducta uiros antiqua ab origine gentis.
>
> On the tables stands a huge silver object, and embossed in gold the noble deeds of her forefathers, a lengthy sequence of events traced through many heroes from the ancient beginnings of the race.

Dido's silverware, which the poet calls an *inGENS arGENTum*,[28] is adorned with the history of the *gens* of the Phoenician royal family. Dido's *ARGentum*

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27 In Aeneas's account of the fall of Troy, which follows immediately upon the appearance of Belus's *patera*, Sinon uses the patronymic "Belides" to refer to Palamedes (*Belidae nomen Palamedis,* "the name of Palamedes, the descendant of Belus") and claims that the two of them were united by blood ("me comitem et consanguinitate propinquum," "me, his companion and blood relative," 2.81–87).

28 On Virgil's etymological use of *in-gens*, see Ross 1987.161, Horsfall 2000 ad 791.

displays, in sequential order (*series*), the illustrious deeds of Dido's *ARGive* forefathers beginning with the ancient origins[29] (*antiqua ab origine*) of the Agenorid (or Belid) line. It is an ecphrasis, to be sure. But it is one that calls upon readers to supply the details from their own store of mythological knowledge. In so doing, they will see first the Argive Inachus, then his daughter Io, then the *series* of culture heroes from Epaphus through Agenor/Belus to Phoenix and, finally, the rank-and-file kings of Tyre. Like the three references to Dido's forebears, Virgil's ecphrasis suggests that we understand the foundation of Carthage within the context of the dynastic history of the Inachid *gens*. It tells us, too, that Dido herself understands her city's history in this way and wishes to impress it upon her guest. It is not clear that Aeneas ever grasps her point.

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Let us turn now from Dido, the potential ally and wife of Aeneas, to Turnus, whose similarities with Dido are often discussed. When Aeneas arrives in Latium, we learn that plans for Turnus's wedding have been complicated somewhat by the oracle of Faunus, which demands that Lavinia's groom be a foreigner (7.96–101). The oracle's objections are neatly countered by Amata, Turnus's potential mother-in-law, who claims that her beloved favourite, far from being a pure Italian, is in fact a scion of the Argive house of Inachus and Acrisius, the father of Danaë.[30] Thanks to his Hellenic ancestry, Amata can claim that Turnus is perfectly well qualified to fill the shoes of the *externus gener,* "foreign son-in-law," demanded by the oracle (7.371–72):

> et Turno, si prima domus repetatur origo,
> Inachus Acrisiusque patres mediaeque Mycenae.
>
> And should the origins of his line be traced back to its origins, Turnus's ancestors are Inachus, Acrisius, and midmost Mycenae.

29 See above notes 24 and 25.

30 On Turnus's ancestry in the *Aeneid*, see esp. Buchheit 1963.113–15, Mackie 1991.

Towards the end of the catalogue of Italian forces that concludes Book 7, we learn that Turnus himself is making a point of publicizing his Argive heritage: his shield is adorned with images of Io and her father Inachus (7.789–92). At first glance, however, it is far from clear how Turnus can possibly be the descendant of Acrisius, who, as we have seen, was regarded as the forebear of Perseus and Heracles. Happily, Virgil goes some way towards solving the puzzle in his digression on the origins of Turnus's home town Ardea, which he claims was founded by Danaë together with a band of Argive colonists ("quam dicitur urbem / Acrisioneis Danae fundasse colonis / praecipiti delata Noto," "The city which Danaë, borne by the headlong south wind, is said to have founded with her Acrisian colonists," 7.409–11). Servius adds that Danaë married the local king Pilumnus, referred to in the text of the *Aeneid* variously as the *parens,* "parent" (9.3), the *auus,* "ancestor" (10.76, by Juno), and the *quartus pater,* "great-great-grandfather" (10.619, by Juno again) of Turnus.[31] Since the winds and tides bore Danaë not to Seriphos, as we might have expected, but rather to Latium, there would appear to be some justification for Amata's claim that her beloved Turnus is scarcely more Italic than his rival.[32]

Yet Virgil's story, necessitating as it does the diversion of the Acrisius family line from the Argolid to the Italian peninsula, seems highly irregular. Although versions of Danaë's Italic adventures are recorded by the elder Pliny, Solinus, and Servius,[33] suspicions are aroused by the fact that the *Aeneid* itself is our earliest source for the myth.[34] There is every probability, therefore, that the Argive pedigree of Turnus is one of Virgil's more egregious breaks with the mythographic tradition.

Why should Virgil invent, or at least emphasize so strongly, the Hellenic lineage of his Italic hero? One possibility suggests itself immediately: if Turnus is indeed a Belid, then he is also a distant cousin of Dido.[35] The series of verbal and thematic correspondences that link Dido and

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31 On the use of *auus* and *quartus pater*, see Harrison 1991 ad 76, 619. *Quartus pater* is poetic for *abauus,* "great-great-grandfather."

32 Turnus's mother is the local sea goddess Venilia (10.76; cf. 6.90), whom Servius (ad 6.90, 7.366, 12.29) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant.* 1.64.2) identify as the sister of Amata; his father is Daunus (10.616, 688; 12.22, 90, 723, 785, 934), elsewhere the eponymous ancestor of the Daunian race of Apulia.

33 Pliny *N.H.* 3.56, Solinus 2.5.

34 Turnus's name appears to be Etruscan; see Stoltenberg 1957.36–37.

35 We owe this important observation to Mackie 1993.

Turnus is thus cemented by a distant, yet very real, *genealogical* bond. Having survived the sack of his city by the Danai, Aeneas seems doomed to find his own colonial project jeopardized at every turn by Io's descendants. Making life difficult for Dardans, in other words, would appear to be something of an Inachid prerogative. A second possibility is less immediately evident, though no less significant. On the central panel of the shield of Aeneas (8.671–713), Aeneas's descendant Augustus is confronted by a pair of figures—Cleopatra and Mark Antony—whom we know to have made a good deal of their Heraclid ancestry: the founder of the Lagid dynasty, like Alexander himself, boasted Argive blood (e.g., Theocr. 17.26–27), while Antony made much of his descent from Anton, an (otherwise unknown) son of Heracles.[36] Hence the ancestor with whom Antony chose to identity himself was, like Turnus's Io, an Inachid. This adds a further dimension to the genealogical conflict that informs the *Aeneid*: the horizontal link between Turnus and Dido is neatly matched by a vertical connection between Turnus and the Heraclids whom Octavian defeated at Actium (cf. Reed 1998). If we choose to acknowledge Antony's much-publicized lineage when we read Book 8 of the *Aeneid*, it appears that Inachid opposition to the race of Dardanus may be said to span the entire course of (Virgil's take on) Roman history.

It is not immediately obvious why Turnus himself should choose to make so much of his descent from Io. Even if we accept that Danaë did bypass Seriphos and migrate to the west, the curiously selective nature of Turnus's ancestral self-image is puzzling. For even if he is the direct descendant of Danaë and Io—and if we assume that for the Italic Belids exogamy was the rule—he can scarcely be more than five per cent Greek.[37] He is about as Greek, in other words, as Aeneas is Italian. We need therefore to ask ourselves why Turnus, who, after all, is making a point of defending Italy and its hardy natives from a band of effete Orientals, should play down his Italic roots in favour of a tenuous connection with the Old World.

It is true, of course, that Turnus's highly selective approach to his ancestral identity merely reflects the standard practice of antiquity.[38] By

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36 Plutarch *Antonius* 4. On the manner in which Antony identified himself with his ancestor, see esp. Zanker 1988.44–46.

37 While *pater* (9.3) and *auus* (10.76) are often used indiscriminately for ancestral relations, *quartus pater* (10.619: "great-great-grandfather") is quite specific.

38 On the manipulation of mythic genealogies in antiquity, see esp. J. M. Hall 1997.34–66; on the role of mythic kingship in ancient diplomacy, see Jones 1999.

promoting his Greek pedigree at the expense of his Italic roots, Turnus anticipates similar gestures on the part Virgil's Roman contemporaries, for whom the cultivation of Greek tutelary divinities and heroes was more or less de rigueur. At Pharsalus, for example, the battle cries of the Caesarians and the Pompeians were *Venus Victrix,* "Venus Victorious," and *Hercules Inuictus,* "Hercules Unconquered," respectively.[39] When Mark Antony assumed the anti-Caesarian mantle in the 30s, he also adopted its patron deity; which was convenient, for, as we have seen, Antony was a descendant of Heracles. Like Turnus, then, Antony promoted an obscure family tradition to further his claim to political ascendancy. The case of Antony also reminds us that the opportunistic deployment of mythic symbols was a double-edged sword: Antony's allegedly slavish devotion to Cleopatra, for instance, was compared by his enemies to the enslavement of Hercules by Omphale, while his reputedly immoderate lifestyle in the east allowed his enemies to put a negative spin on his relationship with Dionysus.

If displaying Io as a heraldic device is no way to proclaim one's status as an indigenous Italian, Turnus nevertheless has at least two perfectly good motives for playing up his alleged connection with Argos. First, as Amata reminds us in her speech to Latinus, Turnus's Hellenic lineage allows him to present himself as the *externus gener* demanded by the oracle of Faunus. If Amata's appeal to Turnus's remote Argive ancestry seems farfetched, however, it is no more so than Aeneas's claim to be an indigenous Italian by virtue of his (rather more distant) descent from an Italic Dardanus (cf. Anchises' remark at 3.186–87: "sed quis ad Hesperiae uenturos litora Teucros / crederet?" "But who would have believed that the Teucrians would arrive at the shores of Hesperia?"). Turnus's apparent claim to Hellenic descent may also be explained by the paradigm of the Trojan War. After all, if Turnus is quite literally a Greek,[40] then surely he will have the better claim to fill Achilles' shoes in the replay of the Trojan War which, as the Cumaean Sibyl warns us (6.83–97), is about to get underway in Latium. Turnus's

39 Appian *BCiu.* 2.76; cf. Ahl 1976.286–93.

40 Argives are prominent in Turnus's retinue (*Argiuaque pubes,* "Argive company," 7.794) as described in the catalogue of Italian troops which concludes Book 7. Individually identified Greeks include the Argive twins Catillus and Coras (*Argiua iuuentus,* "Argive youth," 7.670–77); Halaesus, a comrade or son (Servius ad 7.723) of Agamemnon, who brings a thousand ferocious clans to fight for Turnus (724–25); and Virbius, the son of Hippolytus (7.761–82). See further Hill 1961, Cairns 1989.121–22.

adoption of specifically Argive, rather than merely Greek lineage, grows more interesting still if we recall how Aeneas presents the Trojan War in Book 2. In the *Iliad*, of course, Agamemnon's Ἀχαιοί are routinely identified metonymically as Argives: as Ἀργεῖοι and Δαναοί. Which makes sense, for Danaus was revered no less as the founding father of the Greek nation than as a local hero of the Argolid.[41] In Aeneas's account of the fall of Troy in Book 2, however, Argos is the epichoric part that overwhelmingly stands for the pan-Hellenic whole: Aeneas calls the Greeks Danai thirty-three times,[42] refers three times to the city of Argos, and uses the adjectives *Argiuus* and *Argolicus* twice and four times respectively. On a mere four occasions does he label them Achiui. Thanks to Aeneas's selective adoption of the Homeric conventions of nomenclature, therefore, the Greeks' triumph in the Trojan war takes on the aspect of a specifically *Danaan* victory:[43] so far as Aeneas is concerned, to be Greek is to be Danaan. Turnus appears to think so too, and it is possible to read Turnus's ancestral claims as a bid to insert himself into a history of ongoing enmity between Dardans and Inachids that began in the Troad and whose theatre has now shifted to the Italian peninsula.[44]

Turnus displays his ancestral pride by bearing into battle a shield emblazoned with images of his forebears.[45] The poet describes it in a brief ecphrasis towards the end of the catalogue of Italian allies (7.789–92):

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41 On Danaus as the founder of Argos, see [Hesiod] frag. 128 MW (from the *Catalogue*), Hyg. *Fab.* 273, Pausanias 2.19.3–5, 2.37.2. See also the discussion of Bonner 1902.137–41. Argos, of course, was thought in primeval times to have been coterminous with the boundaries of Hellas: Htd. 1.2; cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 254–59.

42 The word Danai appears forty-six times in the poem overall. See further O'Hara 1996.131, Paschalis 1997.99–100.

43 The perception of the Trojan war as a peculiarly Inachid venture is perhaps most vividly brought out by the words of Diomedes, reported secondhand by the Latin embassy that had been sent to the "Argive camp" of Diomedes in Apulia (11.252–93). We are told that Diomedes had proclaimed that had Ilium produced two men such as Aeneas, Dardanus would have arrived victorious at the cities of Inachus: "ultro Inachias uenisset ad urbes / Dardanus" (11.286–87). Cf. Mackie 1991.265.

44 Of course, the enmity between Greece and Troy was not extinguished until the conquest of Greece in the second century B.C., an event which Anchises, in Book 6, represents as an act of revenge for the sack of Troy (6.836–40). It is well to remember that both Perseus, whose defeat at Pydna is prophesied by Anchises (638–40), and Pyrrhus of Epirus made a point of fighting Aeneas's descendants in the name of their own (Greek) Homeric ancestors: cf. Plut. *Pyrrhus* 6, Silius 14.94–95. For Perseus, cf. Prop. 4.11.30, Silius 15.292.

45 On the shield of Turnus, see esp. Small 1959, Gale 1997.

> at leuem clipeum sublatis cornibus Io
> auro insignibat, iam saetis obsita, iam bos,
> argumentum ingens, et custos uirginis Argus,
> caelataque amnem fundens pater Inachus urna.
>
> But Io, with horns raised, adorned with gold his smooth shield; already she is covered with bristles, already a cow—a weighty symbol—and Argus, the virgin's guardian, and father Inachus pouring forth his stream from an embossed urn.

The scene is a snapshot from the familiar story of Jupiter's seduction of Io and her subsequent metamorphosis: fashioned in gold and already in bovine form, Io appears under the gaze of her guardian, the all-seeing Argus, while her father Inachus is represented in the standard fashion of a river god, pouring his stream from an urn. Lest we dismiss all this as a pleasant diversion, the poet editorially calls the image of Io an *argumentum ingens*: not so much a "big picture" as a symbolic representation of great moment[46]—in legal parlance, a "proof." It matters, that is to say, that Turnus belongs to the *gens* of Io. And not least because he belongs to precisely the same *gens* as Dido: the *arGumENTum inGENS*[47] on his shield matches up very neatly indeed with the *inGENS arGENTum* that adorns the royal palace at Carthage.[48] The careful parallel which the poet establishes between Dido's silverware and the shield of Turnus reminds us that the Argive

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46 In its fundamental sense, *argumentum* is a technical term for a work of art or its theme (cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.124, Ovid *Met.* 6.69, 13.683–84), but it can also mean "a symbolic representation, a symbol" (*OLD* s.v. *argumentum*, 4).

47 Cf. Horsfall 2000 ad 791 (on *argumentum ingens*): "Paronomasia with Argus and possibly, if we are (?too) alert, with Argos (cf. 789) also . . . *In–gens* is often used etymologically . . . the theme, after all (cf. 789), is to be understood in some sense genealogically and that also renders more likely the double paronomasia." The same may be said of Dido's *ingens argentum.*

48 I am unaware of any commentator who has noticed the correspondence between Dido's silverware and Turnus's shield. 1.640 and 7.791 are rhythmically identical. Compare also *ingens ARGentum* with *ARGumentum . . . ARGus*. Note as well the repetition of *caelataque* (albeit in different cases) at 1.640 (*caelataque in auro,* "engraved in gold") and 7.792 ("caelataque amnem fundens pater Inachus urna," "and father Inachus pouring forth his stream from an embossed urn"). Cf. the baldric of Pallas ("quae Clonus Eurytides multo caelauerat auro," "which Clonus, the son of Eurytus, engraved with much gold," 10.499).

ancestry of Dido and Turnus, and the fact of their consanguinity, is no trivial matter. On the contrary, their destiny in the poem is intimately bound up with their relationship to Io.

As to the precise nature of that relationship, we are fortunate in being furnished with an unusually helpful intertext: the basket of Europa in Moschus 2. The lexical parallels are emphatic (44–45):

> ἐν μὲν ἔην χρυσοῖο τετυγμένη Ἰναχὶς Ἰώ,
> εἰσέτι πόρτις ἐοῦσα, φυὴν δ᾽ οὐκ εἶχε γυναίην.
>
> Thereon Io, the daughter of Inachus, was wrought in gold,
> still a cow, nor did she have the shape of a woman.

Virgil's unobtrusive local allusion to Moschus's ecphrasis opens up a broader dialogue between the *Aeneid* and the *Europa* that has a good deal to tell us about the nature of dynastic history in Virgil. It will thus be necessary to consider the relationship between the two texts in some detail.

Let us consider first the narrative context of Moschus's ecphrasis. As Europa frolics with her girlfriends on the seashore, the poet tells us (38–42) that her basket has a history: it was originally the wedding gift of Hephaestus to Libya, who presented it in turn to Europa's mother Telephaasa who, according to our poet, was a blood relation of Libya (ἤτε οἱ αἵματος ἔσκεν, 41).[49] While he does not make it explicit, Moschus reminds us that Europa is a descendant of Io,[50] who, according to most accounts, is Libya's grandmother. As well as foregrounding the genealogical link between Europa and her ancestress, the poet also establishes a careful correspondence between ecphrasis and narrative frame. The basket of Europa itself is decorated with not one but two images of Io. In the first, quoted above, the golden figure of Io, already in bovine form, appears half way across the sea on her journey from the Argolid to Egypt (44–49). The image of Io's migration corresponds to a second scene set on the banks of the Nile, in which a golden Zeus changes her back into a woman and impregnates her by the touch of his hand (50–54).[51] The narrative proper tells a similar tale. It begins at night, at

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49 The blood relationship between Libya and Telephaasa is not attested elsewhere; see Bühler 1960 ad 41.

50 Cf. Campbell 1990 ad 37–62.

51 Also depicted are Hermes, the slain Argos, and the peacock born from his blood (55–59).

the time when the tribe[52] (ἔθνος) of true dreams visits (5). Europa, the daughter of Phoenix, dreams that two continents (ἠπείρους δοιάς), in the form of a pair of women, are fighting over her: Asia and the mainland opposite, which (for now) remains unnamed (᾽Ασίδα τ᾽ ἀντιπέρην τε, 6–9). While the former landmass boasts of having raised and nourished her, the latter claims that Europa is owed her by fate (ἐπεὶ φάτο μόρσιμον εἶο, 14–15). In the second half of the poem, after the description of the wondrous basket, Europa finds herself borne over the sea from the Levant to Crete by Zeus, who assumes the form of a bull for the occasion. Upon their arrival, Zeus promptly calms the fears of his abductee by foretelling the great line of kings, destined to rule among mortals, that will spring from their impending union:[53] ἐξ ἐμέθεν δὲ κλυτοὺς φιτύσεαι υἷας / οἳ σκηπτοῦχοι ἅπαντες ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἔσονται, "And from me you shall produce renowned sons, all of whom shall be scepter-bearers among mortal men," 160–61.

The carefully established parallels between ecphrasis and narrative frame are not hard to spot.[54] Once upon a time, Io made her way from the Greek mainland to the Orient; her descendant Europa is obliged now to undertake the reverse journey "back" to Greece. Upon her arrival in Egypt, Io had been impregnated with royal seed by Zeus; on Crete, Europa is now destined to bear him a race of kings. Europa's misadventure is not something that might befall incautious Levantine maidens at random: she is doomed to suffer Io-like misfortunes precisely because she is Io's descendant. The relevance of this circular history of genealogically determined repetitions, of course, is not confined to the domestic affairs of Inachid family members. The migration of Io and the counter-migration of Europa are, as the rationalizing account of the myths which opens the history of Herodotus reminds us, nodal events in the political and ethnographic history of the world's three continents; in the *Europa* of Moschus, that history is focalized through the preordained ascendancy of a single genealogical strain. The thematic parallels between the *Europa* and the *Aeneid* will by

52 Cf. Campbell 1991 ad 5: "There may be a suggestion of 'class', 'category' or of 'nation', 'tribe.'"

53 Cf. Poseidon's prophecy in the *Iliad* on the future ascendancy of the house of Aeneas: νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει / καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται, "And mighty Aeneas shall rule among the Trojans, and his children's children, who shall be born in days to come," 20.308–09.

54 On the correspondences between ecphrasis and narrative, see esp. Bühler 1960 ad 37–62, Campbell 1991 ad 37–62.

now be obvious. Virgil's poem relates a single episode in the history of the genealogical line destined to subject the earth to its domination, a history that is worked out through the theme of migration and counter-migration. The point at issue in the narrative of the *Aeneid* is precisely *which* genealogical strain—that of Inachus or that of Dardanus—is destined to prevail on the Italian peninsula.

When he identifies the shield of Turnus with the basket of Europa, Virgil encourages us to understand the relationship between his ecphrasis and its narrative frame in terms of the dynastic model afforded by the *Europa*. Like Moschus's heroine, Turnus's fate has long been subordinated to an unfolding dynastic history. What is more, his genealogical relationship to Io is the single most important determinant of his destiny: what happened to her will happen to him, and it will happen precisely because he is her offspring. Virgil's glance at Moschus also allows us to make some further observations on Turnus's motivation in selecting this particular shield device. He reminds us that, according to the ethnographic scheme of Greek myth, the Inachid stemmata were responsible for the populating and civilizing of the known world. If, as the principal model for Turnus's shield suggests, the nations and royal houses of Greece, Africa, and Asia owe their origins to Inachid culture heroes, then the arrival of the Inachid clan on the virgin shores of Hesperia must be an event of some moment. The literary ancestry of Turnus's shield thus presents us with a third possible motivation for its owner's public embrace of his Inachid lineage: by displaying images of his Argive forebears, Turnus is staking a claim to supremacy in Latium on the grounds of superior ancestry. In the face of the ongoing ktistic project of Turnus and his Inachid kin, the genealogical basis of Aeneas's claim to Latium surely looks rather lame.

Unhappily for Turnus—and for his Punic cousin—the image of Io lends itself no less readily to alternative readings. As her very name implies,[55] Io is a figure of woe and lamentation, an archetypal victim of the casual brutality with which the gods are wont to deal with mortals.[56] If the

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55 Io's name, whatever its genuine etymology, is routinely associated with the cry ἰώ, an exclamation of woe: e.g., *Prom.* 694–95: ἰὼ ἰὼ μοῖρα μοῖρα, / πέφρικ' εἰσιδοῦσα πράξιν Ἰοῦς, "O, O, fate, fate, I shudder as I look upon the affair of Io." Cf. Soph. *Ajax* 430–32, where Ajax reflects how fitting it is that his name resembles the cry αἰαῖ.

56 In his epyllion *Io*, Calvus appears to have adopted a sympathetic tone with regard to Io and her trials: "a uirgo infelix, herbis pasceris amaris," "O, unhappy maiden, you shall feed on bitter grass" (Servius ad *Ecl.* 6.47 = Calvus frag. 9 Morel). It goes without saying that Calvus's epyllion will have decisively influenced Augustan treatments of the Io myth. Cf.

representation of Io is indeed an *argumentum ingens*, and if her plight stands in a one-to-one relationship with that of her descendant, then the news for Turnus cannot be good.[57] We have seen how the image of the bovine Io is balanced on Europa's basket by her deliverance on the banks of the Nile, a happy dénouement that anticipates Europa's eventual deliverance on the isle of Crete. Turnus's Io, represented just once on his shield, is eternally the miserable victim of the gods.[58] If the continuity of the Inachid line is assured for Europa and her descendants, it dies with Turnus.

The *Europa* of Moschus is typical of our poetic sources for the Io myth in establishing a direct correspondence between the adventures of Io herself and those of her descendants.[59] It is therefore perfectly in keeping with the poetic tradition of Argive myth that the *Aeneid* should present a series of straightforward analogies between Io and Turnus. We have already noted that the identification of Turnus with his miserable forebear types him as a victim of divine caprice. Commentators have also identified a set of more specific analogies between what happens to Turnus in the *Aeneid* and the traditional woes of Io—correspondences that betray obvious affinities with those between Io and her descendants in the Greek poetic tradition.[60] What goads the hitherto placid Turnus to martial *furor*, to take but one oft-cited example, is the flaming torch fired into his breast by Juno's agent

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Thomas 1979, Ross 1987.162: "(Calvus's epyllion) must have been a poem of a more serious character than our sensibilities can allow, clouded over with animal passion, with divinity, vengeance, madness, and final release and revelation."

57 Cf. Small 1959.250: "The golden emblem of Io which symbolizes Turnus' claim to superiority and victory ironically reveals his inferiority and foreshadows his defeat."

58 Putnam 1998.18–22 makes a similar point, though he does not discuss the structural parallels between the two poems, emphasizing rather the generic gap between Moschus's poem and the *Aeneid*: "Moschus' idyll, his 'little picture,' is a circumscribed entertainment, as charming in its narrative as it is emotionally unharrowing. Virgil tells another story. Epic . . . has few joyous completions."

59 In the *Supplices* of Aeschylus, the Danaids read their current plight both as a repetition and as the direct result of the travails undergone by their forebear (see further, Murray 1958). Ovid adheres to a similar pattern in *Her.* 14, where Hypermestra understands her own misfortunes symbolically as a reiteration of those of Io and, at the same time, as the result of the hatred she inspired in Juno: "scilicet ex illo Iunonia permanet ira / cum bos ex homine est, ex boue facta dea," "The wrath of Juno evidently persists from the time when a human was transformed into a cow, from cow into god" (85–86); cf. Jacobsen 1974.134–36. In the *Prometheus* trilogy, Heracles is doomed to endure a series of wanderings that are the mirror image of those of his forebear: see Galinsky 1972.42–45. The assimilation of Heracles to Io may also be observed in Euripides' *Heracles* 20–21, 840, 869.

60 On the similarity between Turnus's trials in the *Aeneid* and those of Io in the myth, see esp. Small 1959, Gale 1997.

Allecto, whose function corresponds to Hera's gadfly in the Io myth. It also locates Turnus at the wrong end of the gender axis, suggesting that his treatment at the hands of the gods amounts figuratively to an act of sexual violation.[61] It ought to come as no surprise, therefore, that in addition to the canonical list of five Inachid rape victims—Io, Danaë, Alcmene, Europa, and Semele—Virgil invents a sixth: Turnus's sister Juturna. In Book 12, we learn that Juturna has been deified,[62] but only at a terrible price: like her forebears Io and Danaë, she has been violated by Jupiter (12.138–41).[63] It would appear that, for Virgil's Jupiter, raping Inachids is something of a habit.[64] If Turnus thinks his descent from Io will ensure him the good will of the gods, then he would appear to be mistaken.

There is one instance of the systematic assimilation of Turnus to the Io paradigm that commentators appear to have overlooked. As the narrative nears its conclusion, Jupiter sends forth a Dira in order to remove Juturna from her brother's side (12.843–68). Turning itself into a bird, it proceeds repeatedly to fly about before Turnus's face, whipping his shield with its wings (12.865–66):

> hanc uersa in faciem Turni se pestis ob ora
> fertque refertque sonans clipeumque euerberat alis.
>
> Having metamorphosed into this form, the monster flies screaming again and again before the face of Turnus and whips his shield with its wings.

And when it strikes his shield, the Fury also strikes its iconography: the golden image of Io. As it beats its wings against the shield's *argumentum*

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61 Gale 1997 relates the Io myth to the issues of metamorphosis, sexuality, and bestialization in the *Aeneid*.

62 The fact that she is a river nymph also approximates her to Io ("stagnis quae fluminibusque sonoris / praesidet," "who presides over pools and sounding streams," 12.139–40). Turnus's younger sister has been married off to Numanus Remulus, whose cocky speech in Book 9 brings about his death at the hand of Ascanius ("Turnique minorem / germanam nuper thalamo sociatus habebat," "And he had but recently been joined in marriage to the younger sister of Turnus," 593–94). It is interesting that Turnus's sister is widowed only days after her wedding.

63 On Juturna, see Mitchell 1991, esp. 235–37.

64 When Amata identifies (the rather colourless) Inachus and Acrisius as Turnus's *patres*, she evokes the fate of their famous daughters (7.371–72).

ingens, Jupiter's agent gives the impression of having entered the frame of the shield's artistic scheme in the *persona* of the gadfly that had tormented Io. This, in turn, suggests a further parallel between Io and her descendant, who, like his forebear, is made to endure the assault of a winged creature sent from heaven. For a brief moment, Io and Turnus are collapsed into a single paradigm that, with marvelous economy, signifies once and for all the eternally fixed nature of the relationship between the gods and the progeny of Inachus.

That Ovid picks up on the Io-like quality that Virgil attributes to Turnus is clear from his own treatment of the Io myth in *Metamorphoses* 1 (583–750), where the Fury that disturbs the boundary between narrative proper and ecphrasis in our Virgilian passage makes an intriguing return. By way of an outstandingly neat reversal of Virgilian motifs, Ovid's Io is assaulted not by the traditional gadfly but by an Erinys ("horriferamque oculis animoque obiecit Erinyn / paelicis Argolicae," "And she (sc. Juno) cast a horrendous Fury before the eyes and mind of her Argolic rival," 1.725–26). In accordance with the logic of Turnus's assimilation to Io in the *Aeneid*, Virgil's Fury figuratively takes on the qualities of Io's gadfly; in the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid feels obliged to turns things around and to adopt Turnus as a model for Io by replacing the traditional gadfly with a Fury. There exists, too, a striking correspondence between the reaction of passive onlookers to the woes of Turnus and of Io respectively. When Virgil's Juturna comprehends the significance of Jove's *omen*, she laments the immortality that will condemn her to mourn her brother for eternity (12.879–83):

> quo uitam dedit aeternam? cur mortis adempta est
> condicio? possem *tantos finire dolores*
> nunc certe, et misero fratri comes ire per umbras!
> immortalis ego? aut quicquam mihi dulce meorum
> te sine, frater, erit?
>
> For what did he grant me eternal life? Why was my mortal condition taken away? Would that I could now at least put an end to my great sorrow and pass through the shades as a companion to my wretched brother! I immortal? Will anything of mine be sweet to me, my brother, without you?

Ovid's Inachus strikes a similar note in lamenting the woes of his daughter in the *Metamorphoses* (1.661–63):

> nec *finire* licet *tantos* mihi morte *dolores*,
> sed nocet esse deum, praeclusaque ianua leti
> aeternum nostros luctus extendit in aeuum.[65]
>
> Nor may I put an end to my great sorrow; to be a god is harmful, and the closed door of death draws out my mourning through all eternity.

Ovid will have drawn upon a variety of models in his representation of Io in the *Metamorphoses*; it is interesting, though no accident, that Virgil's Turnus should have been one of them.

So much for Io and the shield of Turnus. In Book 10, Turnus stumbles upon a second piece of armour decorated with an episode from the Inachid saga. Having slain the young Pallas, Turnus appropriates his baldric,[66] described by the poet in the briefest of ecphrases (10.495–500):

> et laeuo pressit pede talia fatus
> exanimem rapiens immania pondera baltei
> impressumque nefas: una sub nocte iugali
> caesa manus iuuenum foede thalamique cruenti,
> quae Clonus Eurytides multo caelauerat auro;
> quo nunc Turnus ouat spolio gaudetque potitus.
>
> And with these words he trod on the lifeless form with his left foot and seized the great weight of its baldric together with the abomination imprinted thereon: on a single wedding night, a company of young men foully slain, and wedding chambers bathed in blood, which Clonus the son of Eurytus embossed with much gold.

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65 The text is that of Anderson 1993.

66 The only baldric to be described in epic prior to Virgil is that which Heracles wears in the underworld in *Od.* 11.609–12. It is decorated with wild animals and scenes of martial violence; see Harrison 1991 ad 497–99. Given Virgil's model, it is appropriate that Turnus occupies the place in the lineage of Acrisius normally reserved for Heracles.

Virgil doesn't say so explicitly, but the bloody bedchambers belong to the sons of Aegyptus, butchered by their Danaid brides on a single wedding night.[67] Having slain his opponent, Turnus promptly takes the baldric to his own person and delights in it (*gaudetque potitus*). As many commentators have noted, Turnus's new baldric accessorizes nicely with his shield: the murder of the Aegyptids, like the story of their forebear Io, is a famous chapter in the history of Turnus's family.[68] Shield and baldric, by virtue of the genealogical connection between Io, the Danaids, and Turnus, demand to be read together as representing complementary episodes in the history of a single family. The history of this particular family, however, is no ordinary one. The Danaids' crime was a nodal, if unpleasant, episode in the birth of the Hellenic race: from the shedding of impious blood, a new people will be born. That the baldric should then reappear at the conclusion of an epic whose subject is the *ktisis* of a great city should come as no surprise. So far as Turnus himself is concerned, it is only natural that he should bear Inachid iconography on his shield and baldric as testimony to his superior lineage and, by implication, his superior claim to father a race on Latinus's daughter.

Yet as we have seen, the problem with manipulating mythical symbols for propagandistic ends is that they are always open to alternative readings. However positively Turnus himself reads the Danaid iconography on his new baldric, he finds himself unable to control its interpretation. The narrator, through whom we focalize the baldric's imagery, tells us that the Danaids' crime—of which only the bloody remains are described—was a *nefas*, a fact which suggests that the alacrity with which Turnus appropriates the baldric is misplaced. We may even be justified in hearing a reinterpretation of Turnus's armour in the words with which the poem concludes: once the sight of the baldric has induced Aeneas to put aside his milder feelings, he claims that Pallas will now exact vicarious revenge from Turnus's "accursed blood/lineage" (*scelerato ex sanguine*, 12.949). Whether or not we hear an assertion of Turnus's flawed heredity in Aeneas's final words, one thing is certain: how the Danaid myth is read will now be up to Aeneas and his descendants.

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67 The mythological subject on Pallas's baldric was identified by Servius (*insculptum Danaidum nefas,* "engraved is the abomination of the Danaids," ad 10.497); his interpretation remains unchallenged. On the baldric of Pallas and its relationship with the Danaid portico on the Palatine, see esp. Conte 1970, Spence 1991, Putnam 1994, Harrison 1998.

68 On the relevance of the baldric of Pallas to Turnus's heroic pedigree, see esp. Putnam 1995.114–15, Heuzé 1985.106–09, Kellum 1985.169–76.

CONCLUSION

I have explored two possible approaches to the interpretation of Turnus's ancestry in the *Aeneid*. The first, in sum, shows that within the historical framework of the *Aeneid*, the Inachid stemmata furnish a crucial *genealogical* connection between the principal historical enemies of the Dardan race. If Rome and the family of Augustus trace their origin to an Italic Dardanus, their opponents—Agamemnon's Danaoi, Dido, Turnus, the Punic race, the Macedonian rulers of Hellenistic Greece, Antony and Cleopatra—are united by a common descent from the Argive Inachus. Not only does Virgil signpost the relevance of Inachid ancestry, he also implies that it is a decisive factor in the unhappy fortunes of Aeneas's main antagonist in Latium. Hence the narrative shows Turnus gradually *discovering* an awful truth: Jupiter will deal with him much as he had dealt with his forebear Io. He finds out what the emblem on his shield "really" means: far from securing his right to lord it over Latium, it is precisely Turnus's heroic pedigree that has long condemned him to fall beneath Aeneas's spear.

The second approach shows that, while the narrator presents this reading of Turnus's ancestry as definitive, he also portrays the appropriation and interpretation of mythic symbols as acts that cannot be isolated from their rhetorical, political, context. Whatever Virgil implies about the determinative role of Inachid ancestry for Turnus and his kin, the adoption of Io as a symbol appears less a passive acknowledgement of an external biological reality than a rhetorically motivated act of political propaganda. And whatever Turnus or Aeneas might want you to think about that symbol, its "real" meaning remains, until the poem's concluding moments, thoroughly negotiable.

The baldric of Pallas represents a similar paradox. The narrative, effectively, presents two interpretations of the baldric's Danaid iconography. On the one hand, Turnus and (probably) Pallas, read the myth as a defining moment in the origins of the Greek race: a people is born, like the future Romans, from an act of internecine violence. Aeneas and, apparently, the narrator himself, read the myth differently, reinterpreting it as a proof of Turnus's (perhaps genetically determined) bad character. Yet by exposing the myth to alternative readings, the narrative implies that, in the final analysis, it is only the victory of Aeneas over Turnus (and, in the poet's own day, of Octavian over Antony) that ensures that his reading of the myth is presented as definitive. The *Aeneid* suggests that the "correct" reading of the Inachid myths, far from having been there all along, has been imposed

retrospectively by history's winners, whose privilege it is to write their own narrative of (mythic) history. So even if the ostensive rhetorical goal of the *Aeneid* is to legitimize the Julian dynasty through the presentation of its principal validating myth, it remains, like the baldric of Pallas, an artifact exposed to a variety of interpretations. How you read it depends on where you stand and what you want to see.

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