THE POWER OF PRAYER:

RELIGIOUS DIALOGUE IN VERGIL'S *AENEID*

by

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ABSTRACT

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The Power of Prayer: Religious Dialogue in Vergil's *Aeneid*

Thesis directed by Professor Peter Knox

This dissertation closely examines direct-speech prayers in Vergil's *Aeneid* and how they reflect their source material, and argues that a careful look at their context, intertext and language shows that prayers are a highly allusive dialogue that point to Roman cultural identity. Moreover, the mobilization of this large body of religious language is linked to the ideological function of the *Aeneid* so that prayers illuminate the complicated nature of the poem's link to the Augustan regime. This dissertation counters the claim that the poem's prayers are simply Homeric in their phrasing and instead shows that, although it is clear that Vergil has intentionally entwined Homer's epic into his own and that the prayers of the *Aeneid* do, in fact, occasionally resemble Greek models, there is ubiquitous Roman material placed beside the Greek and several to draw from Roman religious precedent that connect specific authors, time periods, Roman rituals and cultural norms. Chapter 1 shows that through allusion to Ennius' *Annales*, Vergil self-consciously asserts authority over the material and reworks Ennian subject matter. The next chapter argues that use of Homeric motif and allusion to prayers in the Homeric epics elicit comparisons with corresponding Homeric characters and situations while the incorporation of Roman and Italic ritual in these same prayers brings out the underlying focus of the epic: Rome and Roman traditions. In Chapter 3, I have shown that the combination of language drawn from historical prayer formula and ritual action frame each of these speeches in Roman terms often germane to Augustan ideology. In prayers that are accompanied by ritual action speakers often prefigure Roman practice and therefore assume a position of power through their privileged access to technical religious language and action. Finally, in Chapter 4 I show that prayers to local and familial gods metaphorically put the struggle between the Trojans and the Latins in terms of a shift from one religious system to another, the Saturnian to Jovian, and a transformation from the prehistoric version of the native Italian gods to their later role in Roman civic cult.

DEDICATUM

memoriae avae mirae quae
moribus antiquis virisque studere me adduxit
et meis parentibus maritique qui
patientia immensa favit mihi succurritque
omnibus in aerumnis

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation closely examines prayers in Vergil's *Aeneid* and how they reflect their source material, and argues that a careful look at their context, intertext and language provides the key to understanding prayer in the poem. By presenting evidence for the extended use of allusion to literary precedent and language appropriated from Roman religious ritual, this thesis shows that the *Aeneid*'s prayers constitute a highly allusive dialogue. Moreover, the mobilization of this large body of religious language is linked to both the construction of character and the ideological function of the *Aeneid*, and illuminates the complicated nature of the poem's link to the Augustan regime.

For the ancient Romans, cult and ritual were central to both public and private life. The wording of prayers associated with daily observance was crucial; several sources underscore that the exact repetition of formulae was necessary for a legitimate transaction between men and gods.[1] For example, when Pliny in his *Natural History* poses the question of whether there is power inherent in ritual words and incantations, he concludes from the evidence of several examples that there is a genuine belief in the power of these formulaic words for Romans of every class, in both public and private

[1] Appel 1975: 205–6 notes the importance of verbal precision in reciting prayers and cites several passages in which this is emphasized: Cic. *Nat. D.* II.10; Cic. *Dom*. 139; Hor. *Epist*. II 1.26; Macrob. *Sat*. III 9.3; Val. Max. IV 1.10; Plin. *HN* XXVIII 11; Stat. *Silv*. IV 3.138; Suet. *Aug*. 97; Apul. *Met*. XI.17; Gell. *NA* XIII 23.1; Festus p. 171M.

arenas, at every period of Roman history.[2] In the *De Agri Cultura*, Cato too implicitly communicates the importance of precision in the private sphere when he supplies the exact wording for prayers conducted before harvests, pruning groves, digging and purifying the field (134–41).[3] In addition to what is found in these sources, the formats of several public and private prayers have been preserved for us in inscriptions and literary descriptions dating from the republican era into the empire.

Prayer language in literature of the Republican, Augustan and Imperial eras is often quite unlike examples of the lanugage of ritual from agricultural and antiquarian writers or inscriptions. While prayer for an official purpose may have had to be precisely

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[2] Plin. *HN* 28.10–11: *Ex homine remediorum primum maximae quaestionis et semper incerta est, polleantne aliquid verba et incantamenta carminum. quod si verum est, homini acceptum fieri oportere conveniat, sed viritim sapientissimi cuiusque respuit fides, in universum vero omnibus horis credit vita nec sentit. quippe victimas caedi sine precatione non videtur referre aut deos rite consuli.* [11] *praeterea alia sunt verba inpetris, alia depulsoriis, alia commendationis, videmusque certis precationibus obsecrasse summos magistratus et, ne quod verborum praetereatur aut praeposterum dicatur, de scripto praeire aliquem rursusque alium custodem dari qui adtendat, alium vero praeponi qui favere linguis iubeat, tibicinem canere, ne quid aliud exaudiatur, utraque inisigni, quotiens ipsae dirae obstrepentes nocuerint quotiensve precatio erraverit; sic repente extis adimi capita vel corda aut geminari victima stante*.

[3] For example, when Cato instructs on purifying fields, he furnishes a lengthy prayer that draws on archaic language and prayer formulae: 141: *Ianum Iovemque vino praefamino, sic dicito: "Mars pater, te precor quaesoque uti sies volens propitius mihi domo familiaeque nostrae, quoius rei ergo agrum terram fundumque meum suovitaurilia circumagi iussi, uti tu morbos visos invisosque, viduertatem vastitudinemque, calamitates intemperiasque prohibessis defendas averruncesque; utique tu fruges, frumenta, vineta virgultaque grandire beneque evenire siris, pastores pecuaque salva servassis duisque bonam salutem valetudinemque mihi domo familiaeque nostrae; harumce rerum ergo, fundi terrae agrique mei lustrandi lustrique faciendi ergo, sicuti dixi, macte hisce suovitaurilibus lactentibus inmolandis esto; Mars pater, eiusdem rei ergo macte hisce suovitaurilibus lactientibus esto.*" Cf. Courtney 1999: 62–7 for a discussion of the sylistic and formulaic aspects of the prayer.

worded, prayers within literature were not governed by such a strict set of rules. There are several reasons for this. In genres such as comedy, tragedy and history, prayers adapted for literature retain many of their formulaic elements in order to convey more fully each situation's respective humor, pathos and rhetorical power.[4] In other genres, however, authors borrow extensively from their Greek models and often avoid the technical language of Roman prayers, which practice, among other things, more closely evokes their sources.[5] This does not make a prayer from an inscription, for example, a 'more real' or 'truer' representation of Roman religion than one from a poem. The Romans were accustomed to various different discourses on the divine; Denis Feeney explains that "in Rome there are many literary modes and there are many religious discourses, each with its own distinctive associations and semiotic features."[6] So, Roman literature may not give us an accurate account of everyday ritual practice, but instead it interprets everyday ritual practice and uses its sources, both literary and religious, creatively to shape its own discourse on religion.[7]

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[4] Fraenkel 2007: 162–5 cites several examples in Plautus where characters express Roman prayers to parody the precise solemnities of Roman cult. Jocelyn 1972b and Hickson 1993 also cite several examples where tragedy and history borrows from formulaic prayer language.

[5] See, for example, Catullus 67.

[6] Feeney 1998: 1. Feeney draws upon Conte 1994: 108–10, who similarly argues against the idea that there is any source in which 'naked facts' concerning politics, love or friendship are not 'clothed.'

[7] See Feeney 1991: 178–80. Feeney takes as proof the Roman audience's acceptance of the poem's religious tableau as proof of its legitimacy: "the poem has to authenticate its own fictions by exploiting the capacity for assent which is present in the society's range of discourses about religion and the divine" (180).

In Vergil's *Aeneid*, religion and religious observance is central to the poem's motivation and characterizations: they are entwined into the action as completely as they were into Roman society. The manifestations of religion come from several strains of thought and cult within the Roman system, including magic and superstition, animism, Greco-Roman anthropomorphism and literature. Each of these strains is reflected in prayers and lends its influence to the picture of early Roman religion demonstrated within the poem. This method of integrating several forms of religious thought and practice is not unique to the *Aeneid*. In fact, Feeney in his book *Gods in Epic* analyzes how Vergil builds on the precedents of Homer, Apollonius, Ennius and Naevius in assimilating Greek anthropomorphic gods, Roman gods and prophecy to construct the religious elements of the poem. Feeney effectively argues that Vergil has not created a fixed account of the past and Roman religion, but a fluid, multi-faceted version: "the *Aeneid* is therefore the quintessential epic, in its sustained creation which comprehends the true and the false, the real and the unreal, history and myth."[8] Prayer language demonstrates the dynamic nature of Vergil's interpretation of Roman religion in the poem as they draw from literary precedents, Greco-Roman mythology, Roman cult and animism.

In Vergil's lifetime, religious reform that revived some of the ancient Roman priesthoods and practices was a major movement.[9] Even though Vergil's prayers exhibit

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[8] Feeney 1991: 187.

[9] See North 1986 for his reconsideration of the opinion, as expressed Fowler 1911, that Augustus' reform was "the most remarkable event in the history of Roman religion" and that there ever was a 'genuine' old Roman religion which Varro bemoaned as corrupted

an awareness of these reforms, as evidenced by the fact that there are several references to the cults being rehabilitated or established, they often avoid the use of official formulae and structures from Roman cult and instead draw on Greek models and Greek or Etruscan names for local deities and places.[10] For this reason, prayers offer an interesting avenue to consider not only how Vergil negotiates the religious material of Roman ritual, but also the current religious political movement.

The study of religion in the *Aeneid* has followed the trends in Vergilian scholarship in terms of questioning the relationship between the epic and Augustan ideology.[11] When Bailey examined the religious ideas and practices in Vergil's poems at the beginning of the twentieth century, he saw the same religious goals for Vergil and Augustus: "part of Virgil's aim was to give expression to the beliefs of this age, and in the *Aeneid* at least to forward that fusion of Greek and Roman elements in religion, which was the object of Augustus' reforms to fix and establish."[12] Recently, scholars have looked more closely at religion in this epic and have found problematic issues within the depictions of religious practice. For example, Julia Dyson, in her book *King of the Wood*,

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and to which Augustus attempted to hearken. Galinsky 1996: 288–31 examines the motivation behind Augustus' reforms and the real effect of his policies.

[10] Feeney 1991: 179 "the poem's representations of the divine have many powerful points of contact with the cults being fostered or established by Augustus." See also Wiseman 1984 and Paschalis 1986 for how Augustus' constructs of Apollo and Cybele are probably influential on the *Aeneid*'s audience.

[11] See Harrison 1990: 3–20 for a summary of this trend.

[12] Bailey 1935: 2.

examines the *Aeneid*'s sacrifices and demonstrates that they are not executed correctly.[13] While Vergil does not explicitly point to this fact, the action and religious practice nevertheless reflect the effects of the mismanaged sacrifices and lead to questions about the ideological bent of the poem. James J. O'Hara in *Death and Optimistic Prophecy in the Aeneid* analyzes inconsistencies between the prophecies within the poem and examines passages in which Vergil alludes to or follows mythological variants that are often established and traditional in the Roman religious system, but are contradictory to other passages in the poem. Overall, O'Hara finds that the various inconsistencies within the epic create a "plurality of voices and conflicting or ambiguous attitudes."[14] In this way, Vergil's picture of religion becomes much more complex than just a reflection of Augustan policy, but instead a subtle tool implemented to incorporate his epic characters into Italy's cultural milieu.

Current scholarship does not, however, fully address the issue of prayer and prayer's role in the epic. Georgius Appel provides the essential foundation for the study of Roman prayer in his *De Romanorum Precationibus*, which collects examples of prayers from inscriptions and literature arranged by type. It is a useful guide to the relationship of several Vergilian prayers to other literary and religious sources. Still, Appel does not differentiate between literary and epigraphic prayers and does not discuss the context or structure of the examples. Frances Hickson, in her recent book, builds upon scholarship that had identified ritual language in the literary record by carefully

[13] Dyson 2001.

[14] O'Hara 1986: 90.

isolating prayer formulae and recording where Vergil and Livy retain and deviate from the traditional Roman format.[15] After she has illustrated Vergil's infrequent use of traditional formulae, however, she only briefly analyzes the sources for his prayers and offers little toward interpretation of them. In her conclusion, she makes a superficial assessment of the function of prayers in the *Aeneid*, asserting that the prayers "elicit literary images of religious practices that extend beyond the narrow boundaries of space and time."[16] These prayers, however, connect specific time periods and access distinct rituals and cultural norms. Hickson speculates that the absence of formulae is a device Vergil used to employ a language appropriate to carry the story from Troy to Augustan Rome and beyond, one that is "removed from that of daily Latin speech and one which would recall the Greek epics he sought to rival."[17] Although it is clear that Vergil has intentionally entwined Homer's epic into his own and that the prayers of the *Aeneid* do, in fact, occasionally resemble Greek models, Hickson fails to consider the ubiquitous native Roman material placed beside the Greek or to look closely at the individual effect of the prayers, as they pertain to their speakers and situations. In many instances, prayers that lack or retain the language of historical prayer formula have further consequences for the reading of a passage and the characterization of its speaker. Using Hickson's assessment, other authors have made similar conclusions about the prayers in the *Aeneid*. For example, in his epilogue, Feeney generalizes that "the poem's prayers are

[15] Hickson 1993. Cf. Appel 1975; Dumézil 1970; Wissowa 1971.

[16] Hickson 1993: 141.

[17] Hickson 1993: 144.

homerically 'literary' in their phrasing … [Vergil] is interested in making the Homeric experience part of the Roman experience."[18] This does not, however, represent the whole picture of prayer in the *Aeneid*, which draws from several sources. Finally, Hickson does not analyze the prayers' connection to Augustus' contemporaneous religious reform, except to say they are 'appropriate' for Augustan Rome. Scholarship has shown, however, that the relationship between Vergil and Augustan Rome is never a simple one. In fact, prayer language in descriptions of practices that Augustus was attempting to restore and re-establish has been adjusted in such a way that it still evokes the traditional prayer format but sharply deviates from the Roman ritual that accompanied the prayer, and therefore underlines the inconsistency between the prayer in his poem and its source.

To approach Vergil's interpretation of religion in the poem, I not only use the current studies on religion and prayer in Vergil, but also studies of this kind on other authors such as Livy and Homer.[19] For example, current scholarship has recently reconsidered Livy's historical method and has seen much more purposeful organization for his religious material. There is compelling evidence that the work contains not merely a general statements of facts but information clearly governed by his own agenda.[20] For example, Gary B. Miles argues "Livy negotiates with the past and historical facts to

[18] Feeney 1998: 142.

[19] For Livy: Chaplin 2000; Davies 2004; Levene 1993; Liebeschuetz 1967; Linderski 1993; Miles 1995. For Homer: Depew 1997; Lang 1975; Lateiner 1997; Morrison 1991; Strittmacher 1924-5; Wheeler 2002; Wülfing 1981.

[20] Davies 2004; Levene 1993; Miles 1995.

produce a new Rome, an identity born of negotiated memory."[21] These scholars show that Livy created an account of religious phenomena and practice to show the nuanced set of choices that highlight identity and propriety. In contrast to Vergil, however, Livy utilizes far more formulaic prayer language so that it is very similar to that in inscriptions and earlier literary examples.[22] For these reasons, Livy is an important source for both prayer language and methods of interpreting this language for use in historical writing. I will attempt to illustrate that Vergil used this same raw material to inform his characterizations and thus to create a religious discourse that similarly points to cultural identity, even though the language is further removed from every-day Roman ritual.

In conjunction with using methods and ideas from the study of religion and prayer in the ancient world, my interpretation has benefited greatly from the scholarship of critics such William S. Anderson, R. D. Williams, R.O.A.M. Lyne and James Zetzel, who have looked at how the cultural identity of the Trojans and Latins is delineated in the text and what effect this has on our reading of the poem.[23]Anderson shows how Vergil used the model of the Trojan War to reassign the role of the Trojans so that they are identified with the Greeks and are transformed into victors; Williams analyzes the oral nature and antiquarian details of the Italian Catalogue in *Aeneid* 7 to show that Vergil assigns Greek origins for the Italian leaders so that Homer's narrative is brought full circle; Lyne emphasizes the ambiguous nature of the imperial aims and methods in the poem and

[21] Miles 1995: 25.

[22] Hickson 1993: 144–8.

[23] Anderson 1957; Lyne 1983; Williams 1961; Zetzel 1997.

points out the ramifications of violence for the foundation of a new nation; Zetzel maps how Vergil gradually abandons the Homeric framework for one that involves the complicated development of Italy and Rome. The present study brings together these different approaches while drawing on the current discussion about the reconciliation of Juno at the end of the *Aeneid*. Juno agrees to stop fighting against the Trojans provided that Jupiter adhere to the conditions she puts forth. Jupiter concedes the following terms: the native Latins will retain the name of their land and people rather than be called Troy, Trojans or Teucrians, keep their language and style of dress, and in addition adds that they will keep their religious practices (*morem ritusque sacrorum / adiciam,* "I will add [that they retain] their sacred practices and ceremony," *Aen*. 12.836–7). Feeney shows that Juno's reconciliation is a qualified agreement most likely based upon a similar council of the gods in Ennius that settles only the question of Aeneas' settlement in Latium and does not conflict with the goddess' role in later Roman history (e.g. the Punic Wars).[24] The specific terms of the concession are paramount, considering that they are integral parts of Roman cultural identity. For example, when Juno insists that Latin be the language of the new people, the idea that the language itself has power is inherent in her plea. As Joseph Farrell succinctly puts it, "throughout history this power has been linked to the role of Latin as a civilizing force: an instrument for ordering the disorderly, standardizing the multiform, correcting or silencing the inarticulate."[25] Farrell argues that the myth of Juno's concession to Jupiter exposes that the essence of Latin culture is in the

[24] Feeney 1984.

[25] Farrell 2001: 1.

ordinary aspects of everyday life.[26] My inquiry looks at how the language of prayer in the poem displays Roman cultural identity in certain characters and situations, the implications this has for the vision of Roman history the poem presents and the relationship it has with Juno's concession.

This thesis focuses specifically on the prayers themselves: from where they come, what language is used, and what effect they have on context and characterization. The first half of this dissertation is an investigation of Vergil's literary sources for prayers, starting with the *Aeneid*'s relationship with Ennius' religious language and proceeding to how and to what effect Vergil incorporates Homer and Homeric language into his prayers. In the first chapter, I will show that in allusion to Ennius in prayers, Vergil claims authority on religious and historical material that he borrows from the *Annales*. There is one line of direct borrowing from an extant prayer in the *Annales* (as far as we know) that illustrates Vergil's self-conscious appropriation of Ennian material, and several other prayers that adjust historical and religious subject matter found in Ennius.

The second chapter argues that pointed references to Homer in prayers shape the characters' cultural identities and lend to the picture of Roman-Italian culture depicted in the poem. Prayers often reflect Homeric motifs, but are adapted and combined with formulaic language drawn from Roman prayer to shift the epic into the context of Italian culture while aligning the Trojans with the Homeric Greeks and the Italians with Homeric Trojans. Consequently, prayers attract attention to the fragmented cultural identity of the epic's characters.

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[26] Farrell 2001: 1–3.

The third chapter will look at the language of Roman cult and ritual and in what form they enter the text, especially focused on whether Vergil has alluded to or retained formulaic language in these prayers and also in what way this affects the reading of the epic. Vergil's prayers, when they retain some words, constructions or phrases from Roman prayer language, serve as a subtle but dynamic tool for integrating his epic characters into Roman tradition. I question the effect of competitive perspectives and cultural identities within the narrative and how they influence plot and textual interpretation.

The final chapter examines the prayers to the native Italian gods and familial gods. Prayers to local and familial gods represent the power struggle between the Trojans and native Latins that culminates in the final concession of Juno and the treaty between the Latinus and Aeneas. I argue that the local gods are isolated in prayers until the final treaty, in which they are invoked in conjunction with Olympian gods and that at this juncture the prayers' invocations most resemble those used in official Roman treaty-prayers. Overall, this analysis will establish a picture of Vergil's own interpretation of religion in the Roman world and how it affects the reading of the poem. Vergil repurposes prayer language from multiple sources so that prayers are unique in that they drawn from tradition but also look ahead to the religion, politics and literature of the Augustan era.

CHAPTER 1

ENNIAN ALLUSION IN PRAYER

There are several prayers in the *Aeneid* that rework religious material also found in the extant fragments of Ennius' epic poem, the *Annales*. The one line of prayer that is nearly identical in the two works, a prayer to the Tiber River (*Ann*. 54 and *Aen*. 8.72), illustrates the way in which Vergil self-consciously asserts authority over the material. A few prayers in the *Aeneid* draw on the relationship between Aeneas and Romulus, the chronology of which had been adjusted since the publication of the *Annales*. In these instances, clever incorporation and subtle emendation of the earlier, canonical version of Aeneas's story draw attention to his ambiguous identity, which is an amalgam of his earlier epic incarnation as well as other generic Roman progenitors. In addition, there is a prayer formula for *devotio* that is used in both epics, which shows the authors' varied usage of technical language as well as Vergil's intentional reworking of Ennius' subject matter. In each of these prayers, Vergil makes use of his predecessor to highlight his innovative use of prayer formula.

To begin this inquiry, I will briefly examine the literary and historical relationship between Vergil and Ennius. In the *Aeneid*, Vergil self-consciously places his poem within Roman history and the literary precedent. For example, in Evander's tour of the future site of Rome (*Aen*. 8.306–69), Vergil anticipates Roman history by allowing his authorial

voice to break through and hint at the major structures and events that, to the reader, mark the landscape.

> hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit
> aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis.
> iam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestis
> dira loci, iam tum silvam saxumque tremebant. (*Aen*. 8.347–51)

> From here he lead the way to the Tarpeian temple and the Capitol, now all gold, but once rough with overgrown scrub. Even at that time a terrible divine presence of the place was causing the country people to be afraid, even at that time they were in awe of the wood and rock. [27]

The line *aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis*, in which Vergil compares the 'golden' Capitoline temple of the Augustan age to the shabby hill Evander might have shown Aeneas, can also be a metaphor for poetry on Roman history, i.e. Vergil's 'golden' poetry as opposed to Ennius' *Annales*, which are described similarly elsewhere as 'rough'.[28] If the metaphor is extended to the next lines, the passage speaks to the religious

[27] I have used the texts of Ennius and Vergil from Skutsch 1985 (including his numbering) and Mynors 1969 respectively. All translations are my own.

[28] For example, Propertius and Ovid describe the *Annales* as 'rough', although they use the adjective *hirustus* rather than *horrida*: Prop. 4.1.61 *Ennius hirsuta cingat sua dicta corona* and Ov. *Tr*. 2.259 *sumpserit Annales* (*nihil est hirsutius illis*). Rossi and Breed 2006: 415 cite this passage to stress the dual role of Ennius as the source of authority and

content of the two poems: a divine presence, *religio*, is palpable in both the early hills of Rome as well as her epics, as *locus* can mean either a physical place or a section of a composition.[29] In this reading, the religious content of the *Aeneid* outshines or supersedes that of the earlier epic, a transformation comparable to that of the Capitoline, Rome's center of religious celebration.[30] In this way, Vergil frames the critical analysis of these two poems for his readers: his epic surpasses his predecessor's both stylistically and in terms of content.

The current fragmentary state of the *Annales* belies its importance in Roman culture: Ennius' early 2nd c. B.C.E. epic was the first Latin work written in hexameters and quickly became a school text and the national epic—in fact it was the most famous Roman epic until the age of Augustus.[31] This has been obscured because the *Aeneid* succeeded the *Annales* as both the primary national epic and school text shortly after its publication. In fact, within 400 years there was perhaps no longer a complete text of the *Annales* extant.[32] The relationship between Vergil and his epic 'father' has been described

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paradigm of primitivity: "In Augustan Rome, the roughness of 'father Ennius,' the shaggy poet, can be mapped onto the way the new 'golden' city looked back on its own past as a humble village of thatch-roofed huts."

[29] OLD s.v. *locus* 23.

[30] See Casali 2007; Gildenhard 2007.

[31] There remain approximately 600 full or partial lines of the *Annales*, preserved mostly by grammarians, commentators or later authors such as Cicero; see Skutsch 1985 for a list of the extant fragments.

[32] Gellius 18.5.2 mentions public readings of the *Annales* in the theater, which, if true, dates a full text in circulation as late as the Antonine period. Jocelyn 1972a argues that

as parricide, not only because of the demise of the *Annales*, but also because Vergil, in his use of Ennius as illustrated by the above mentioned quote, has fashioned our understanding of his predecessor.[33] Vergil often used Ennius' *Annales* in his poem by borrowing and adapting words, phrases and whole lines.[34]

Tiber Tributes

The intriguing rapport between the two texts is illustrated by the only prayer in the *Aeneid* that Macrobius identifies as borrowed by Vergil from Ennius.[35] Aeneas' prayer to the Tiber is slightly changed from the Ennian version, of which only one line is preserved:

teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto (*Ann*. 26)

And you, father Tiber, with your sacred current

tuque, o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto (*Aen*. 8.72)

And you, progenitor Thybris, with your sacred current

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references to Ennius in later grammarians depend on earlier citations by their predecessors.

[33] Gildenhard 2007; Casali 2007; Rossi and Breed 2006: 414–5.

[34] Norden 1966 is the essential work on this topic.

[35] The two primary sources for this type of borrowing are Servius' commentary on Vergil passim, which several times refers to or quotes Ennius, and Macrobius' *Saturnalia* 6.1.12, which claims to cite the phrases and passages that Vergil copied or adapted from Ennius and others.

According to Norden's hypothesis, the prayer in Ennius preceded negotiations between Aeneas and the king of Alba and was probably put into the mouth of Aeneas.[36] In the *Aeneid*, Aeneas' prayer is made in response to the manifestation and prophecy of the Tiber River, which similarly preceded the meeting and negotiations of Aeneas and a king, although in this case king Evander of Pallanteum (the site of future Rome). Technically, these lines are remarkably similar, but Vergil replaces the term *pater*, traditional in prayers of this type, with the poetic synonym *genitor* and, while Ennius uses the traditional Roman epithet *Tiberinus*, Vergil replaces the Roman name with the Etruscan name *Thybris*.[37] Several different names of the river are found in the *Aeneid*, including *Tiberinus*, which makes the use of *Thybris* here all the more striking. Servius describes the usage for each of the variations:

> *bene 'Tiberinus', quia supra dixerat 'deus': nam in sacris Tiberinus, in coenolexia Tiberis, in poemate Thybris vocatur* (Serv. ad *Aen*. 8.31)
>
> '*Tiberinus*' is well said, because he had said 'god' above: for he is called in sacred rites *Tiberinus*, commonly *Tiberis* and in poetry *Thybris*.

Servius' assertion that the name *Tiberinus* is used for sacred rites is confirmed both in the *Aeneid* and in other sources. Vergil applies the name *Tiberinus* to the river elsewhere in the poem when he describes the divine personification of the river.[38] In other authors, the

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[36] Norden 1966: 161–2. Cf. Skutsch 1985: 184–5; Lehr 1934: 41–2.

[37] Livy 2.10.11 also uses the word *pater* in the invocation to the Tiber. On *genitor* as a poeticism see Cordier 1939: 159 and Lehr 1934: 34.

[38] *Aen.* 6.873, 7.30, 7.797, 8.31.

name *Tiberinus* is used in prayers; Cicero uses the name when he describes the augurs' invocation to the river and in Livy Cocles' invocation to the river is *Tiberine pater*.[39] The name *Tiberis* is used only once in the *Aeneid*, at 7.715, in a catalogue of Sabine allies, which supports Servius' explained convention to use the name in reference to its more common attributes, in this case as a source of drinking-water. The name *Thybris* is more problematic. It is used in every other instance in the *Aeneid*, even by the god himself at *Aen*. 8.64.[40] The form seems to reflect the Greek settlement of the area, since it is patently Greek-sounding, but Meister shows that this form is of Etruscan origin and is taken from oracular literature.[41] The name is not used before Vergil in Latin poetry, or within his work before the *Aeneid*.[42] For these reasons, the use of the name here is not merely a poeticism, as Servius claims, but a deliberate choice for the deity in prayer terminology.

There are several explanations for the discrepancies in the invocation of these two prayers. Hickson concluded that "Vergil has lessened the official tone of the only prayer

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[39] Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3.52: *itaque et Fontis delubrum Masso ex Corsica dedicavit, et in augurum precatione Tiberinum, Spinonem, Anemonem, Nodinum, alia propinquorum fluminum nomina videmus*; Livy 2.10.11: *tum Cocles 'Tiberine pater' inquit 'te sancta precor, haec arma et hunc militem propitio flumine accipias'*

[40] *Aen.* 2.782, 3.500, 5.83, 5.797, 6.87, 7.151, 7.242, 7.303, 7.436, 8.64, 8.72, 8.86, 8.331, 8.540, 10.421, 11.393.

[41] Skutsch 1985: 185; Meister 1916: 53–60 argues that the name is derived from the Sibylline oracle. The name may also derive from Etruscan toponymy, cf. Fraenkel *RE* XVI.2 (1935) 1656, s.v. "Namenwesen."

[42] Meister 1916: 53–60; Reed 1998: 401–2. Reed 1998: 402 argues that the phonetic similarity between the rivers Thybris and Thymbris sets up an implicit connection between the Anatolian and Italian rivers.

in the *Aeneid* for which a Latin model has been found."[43] This is one result of Vergil's divergence from the ritual invocation of *pater Tiberine* to *Thybri genitor*, but does not elucidate the specific use of Ennius or the deliberate choice of the name *Thybris*. Skutsch asserts that Vergil intentionally corrects the name given in Ennius, since the personal appearance of the river god is almost certainly unknown in the *Annales* and Ennius "may have put into his [Aeneas'] mouth without any compunction" the epithet *Tiberinus*, because he is simply following the ancient formula invoking the Tiber.[44] The varied forms of the name in the poem point to an intentional correction since, as I mentioned above, Vergil doesn't replace *Tiberinus* with *Thybris* in the poem altogether, but uses the former in descriptions of the personification of the river and the latter in direct-speech prayers to the river and for the river's self-identification.[45] Vergil's name change also appears purposeful and in direct response to Ennius when we consider Aeneas' prayer as he first sails into the Tiber's mouth. In this prayer, Aeneas is uncertain of the name with which he should address the river:

> geniumque loci primamque deorum
> Tellurem nymphasque et adhuc ignota precatur
> flumina (*Aen*. 7.136–8)

[43] Hickson 1993: 28.

[44] Skutsch 1985: 185.

[45] The other prayer to the Tiber River in the poem, Pallas' prayer at 10.421, has an invocation to *Thybris*.

> He prays to the guardian spirit of the place and to Earth, the first of the gods, and to the nymphs and to the rivers, as of yet unknown to him.

Skutsch argues that this prayer points to Aeneas' later prayer, so that the last phrase, *adhuc ignota precatur flumina,* sounds like a correction of Ennius, whose Aeneas knew the name of the river without an official introduction.[46] When Vergil uses the name *Thybris* instead of the name used in Roman ritual, he underscores that this prayer ritual had not yet been established in the poem's time period. In this way, Vergil seems to assert that *Thybris* is the proper name used in prayer for the river. Finally, at *Aen*. 8.330–1 Evander derives the name of the river from a King Thybris, which subtlety gives Vergil's innovation an historical precedent and points to his authority over the historical material.[47]

The name-adjustment in the prayer is more intriguing when we consider the general treatment of religious material in each work. In Ennius, Aeneas and others are integrated into Roman ritual, formulae are put into their mouths that everyday Romans recognized not only as Roman, but ancient in origin.[48] In the *Aeneid*, Vergil does not always avoid anachronistic details of Roman cult, such as the opening of the gates of the

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[46] Skutsch 1985: 186.

[47] Reed 1998: 404 notes that this assertion contradicts Livy 1.3.8, which traces the name of the river to an Alban king Tiberinus.

[48] See Jocelyn 1972b: 1007–8; Hickson 1993: 27–8; Gildenhard 2007.

temple of Janus in times of war (*Aen*. 7.606–15), which according to Livy was established much later by Numa.[49] In addition, elsewhere he retains many Roman customs and even technical cult terminology, such as the names of the Pinarii and Saliarii priests.[50] Instead, Vergil avoids the direct correspondence between Roman cult and Aeneas' prayer to the Tiber and disassociates these Trojans from their descendants exactly when a connection is most prominent, because of the ritual action and allusion to Ennius. This rare direct reference to an Ennian prayer comprises both a correction of Vergil's predecessor's technical but anachronistic usage, as well as a self-conscious declaration of his authority over the material.

Romulus and Aeneas

The same way of dealing with Ennian material is evident in prayers in which, although they do not (as far as we know) correspond directly to an Ennian prayer, utilize language and subject-matter found in extant fragments of the *Annales*. There are several fragments that deal with Romulus, and Vergil evokes these passages in prayer. Vergil alludes to Ennius to call attention to their differing versions of Aeneas's relationship to Romulus, to redistribute the positive Roman attributes of Romulus to Aeneas and to champion his own version of events by connecting it to Augustan ideology.

[49] Livy 1.19.2.

[50] For further discussion see Chapter 3, p. 78–80.

A central difference between Ennius' and Vergil's accounts of early Roman history is the relationship between Aeneas and Romulus. Romulus' ancestry in the *Annales*, which followed the accounts of Eratosthenes of Cyrene and Naevius in the *Bellum Poenicum*, made him the grandson of Aeneas and son of Aeneas' Italian daughter Ilia.[51] Soon after Ennius' epic, however, the Alban kings were inserted into Romulus' ancestry to account for the number of years between the traditional dates for the destruction of Troy (1184/3 B.C.E.) and the founding of Rome (from 1100 B.C.E. to circa 753 B.C.E.), and Ilia's father instead becomes Numitor.[52] This altered version is found in the *Aeneid* and other 1st c. BCE accounts of early Roman history, such as Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*.[53] One prayer that draws on these divergent versions of Romulus and Aeneas' relationship occurs in Book Seven, at the meeting of Latinus and Ilioneus, Aeneas' envoy to the settlement. In this prayer, Vergil alludes to the Ennian version of Romulus' genealogy but subtly gives preferentiality to his own.

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[51] Wiseman 2006: 526 shows that although Ennius and Eratosthenes both date the foundation of Rome to about 1100 BCE, their accounts differ since in Eratosthenes Romulus is the son of Ascanius, whereas in Ennius he is the son of Aeneas' younger daughter, who was born in Italy.

[52] Skutsch 1968: 12 "without a doubt, both Eratosthenes and Ennius assumed that Rome was founded about 1100 BC." The genealogy in Eratosthenes and Ennius are slightly different: in Erathothenes Aeneas and his Trojan wife have a son Ascanius, who in turn is the father of Romulus, but in Ennius Aeneas has a daughter, Ilia, with the Latin Lavinia, and Ilia is the mother of Romulus. See Skutsch 1985: 213; Barchiesi 1962: 524; Wiseman 2006: 527 for discussion on the change of chronology and further bibliography.

[53] In the parade of heroes in the Underworld, however, Ennius' version of the genealogy peeks through when Romulus' grandfather is not specified and his mother is Ilia (6.777–9). For further discussion see Serv. ad *Aen.* 6.777 and Casali 2007.

Earlier in Book Seven, Latinus heard a prophecy from Faunus that he should marry his daughter to a foreigner so that his descendants would rule the world (*Aen*. 7.96–101). When the Trojans come to Latium, Latinus recognizes them as the foreigners foretold in the prophecy and is eager to accept Ilioneus' offer of gifts and a joining of their communities. Before Latinus makes his prayer, Vergil draws attention to the previous prophecy through a description of Latinus' thoughts:

> et ueteris Fauni uoluit sub pectore sortem:
> hunc illum fatis externa ab sede profectum
> portendi generum paribusque in regna uocari
> auspiciis, huic progeniem uirtute futuram
> egregiam et totum quae uiribus occupet orbem.
> tandem laetus ait: "di nostra incepta secundent
> auguriumque suum!" (*Aen*. 7.254–60)

> Latinus considers in his heart the prophecy of old Faunus: is this that fated son-in-law, who would come from a foreign land and would be called to rule with equal authority? Whose offspring would be outstanding in courage and would take hold of the whole world with their might? At last he joyfully says: "May the gods favor our undertaking and their own omen."

Latinus' musings are directed toward two ideas: the portents he received earlier about a son-in-law and the powerful progeny that would arise from the match. The petitionary prayer highlights his desire for the prophecy to come to fruition. In Vergil's version, Latinus' daughter Lavinia marries Aeneas, but the future founder of Alba Longa and descendant of Romulus, Ascanius, has already been borne by Aeneas' Trojan wife and so is not a descendant of Latinus. In Ennius' chronology, however, Latinus' daughter Lavinia and Aeneas have a child, Ilia, who is the mother of Romulus. In this prayer, Vergil points to the Ennian version of the chronology in which Latinus by his daughter's marriage to Aeneas is related to the famous progeny. The format of the prayer points to marriage-ceremony. In his commentary, Servius mentions that this type of prayer customarily would precede negotiations about peace or marriage-offers, for which he gives Cato's speeches as a reference:[54]

> *antiquo more locuturus de publicis rebus, id est de pace et nuptiis filiae, facit ante deorum commemorationem, sicut etiam in omnibus Catonis orationibus legimus.*
>
> Speaking in the ancient custom concerning public affairs, that is, concerning peace and marriage ceremonies for a daughter, he makes a tribute to the gods in advance, as we also read in all the speeches of Cato.

[54] Ser. ad *Aen.* 7.259.

The use of prayer language based on the type that would precede a marriage ceremony emphasizes the conflation of the alliance with the Trojans and the future marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia.

The particular wording of Latinus' prayer also points to the alternate genealogy for Romulus because it is reminiscent of the passage in the *Annales* that describes the succession contest between Romulus and Remus. In this passage, Romulus and Remus settle their contest over who would be founder of the city by augury (*augurium*), in which the winner will see a bird flying from the right, or favorable, side (*secundam avem*):

> curantes magna cum cura tum cupientes
> regni dant operam simul auspicio augurioque.
> in ‡monte Remus auspicio sedet atque secundam
> solus avem servat. at Romulus pulcher in alto
> quaerit Aventino, servat genus altivolantum.
> certabant urbem Romam Remoramne vocarent.
> omnibus cura viris uter esset induperator. (*Ann*. 72–8)

> Taking great care, each at that time desirous to rule, they are intent on watching and interpreting signs of birds. On a hill Remus sits and alone watches out for a favorable bird. Handsome Romulus, however, makes his search on the high Aventine and watched for the flying race. There were in contest over whether they would call the city Rome or Remora.

Latinus' prayer draws on similar augural language to ask for the prophecy to turn out favorably (*"di nostra incepta secundent / auguriumque suum!"* "May the gods favor our undertaking and their own omen.", *Aen*. 7.260). Because Vergil combines the verb *secundare* with the noun *augurium* in reference to a divine omen, the prayer recalls the technical usage of the related adjective *secundus* in augural language to modify *aves*."[55] The use of this vocabulary points not only to augury, but the specific passage in Ennius for several reasons. First, the prayer immediately follows a passage that evokes the Ennian version of history in which Aeneas' daughter with Lavinia, Ilia, is the mother of Romulus. Next, in the passage Vergil uses different words to refer to Faunus' prophecy (*fatis*, *portendi*, *auspiciis*), which was called previously *portenta* (*Aen*. 7.58), but only in the prayer is it called an *augurium*. Ennius' depiction of Romulus' augurate is widely known; Cicero even introduces the fragment with *Romuli auguratus*.[56] Finally, the verb *secundare* reinforces the connection to Romulus in the prayer since in Ennius the brothers wait for an *avem secundam*.[57]

The prophecy of Faunus in itself has interesting implications for the relationship between Ennius and Vergil, considering *Ann*. 206–7 where Ennius disparages the writing

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[55] Hickson 1993: 79 notes that this verb is first attested in Vergil and the reminiscence to the technical language of augury.

[56] Cic. *div*. 1.105. See Skutsch 1985: 221–38. The use of augury in this type of civil dispute is anachronistic, but Ennius throughout the epic emphasizes continuity for Roman institutions that concern social behavior (cf. above n. 48).

[57] *Ann.* 74–5.

of his predecessor Naevius as out-dated and uncivilized since it uses Saturnian meter, just like *Fauni*: [58]

scripsere alii rem

vorsibus quos olim Faunei vatesque canebant. (*Ann*. 206–7)

> Others have written history in verses that once upon a time Fauns and prophet-seers used to chant.

In examples like the one above, Ennius positions his poetry against his predecessor by using Greek meter and Greek words.[59] Ennius' appropriation of Greek terms frames our understanding of the relationship between the poets and points to continuous progress, if you accept the premise that Latin literature becomes more sophisticated by its growing affinity with Greek models.[60] In the *Aeneid*, Latinus embraces the prophecy/verses of Faunus, which ironically suggests the Ennian version of early Roman history instead of the Naevian. In this way, Vergil draws on Ennius, but reassigns himself as the innovator

[58] See Goldberg 1995: 44–9; Wiseman 2006: 513–22 for a discussion of this fragment and the way in which Ennius positions himself against his predecessor Naevius.

[59] Skutsch 1985: 144 for Ennius' hellenization of the epic genre in the opening of the *Annales*.

[60] Sciarrino 2006 effectively puts the idea of adapting Greek epic into a Roman format for each of these authors into the socio-cultural framework of the 2nd c. B.C.E. See Hinds 1998: 52–63 and Goldberg 1995: 64 for a discussion of the terms *Musae* and *Camenae*, and how Ennius and his epic predecessors self-consciously staked out their claims of poetic authorship.

by reappropriating the words of Faunus, thus overshadowing his predecessor's achievement.

In Book Twelve during the final treaty between the Trojans and the Latins, Vergil emphasizes his version of early Roman history in the genealogy of Aeneas and Romulus and equates Aeneas with Romulus in so far as his role as the founder and father of the Roman race. Before Turnus and Aeneas meet in hand-to-hand combat to decide the outcome of the war, the four leaders, Latinus, Turnus, Aeneas and Ascanius, come together for a sacrifice (*Aen*. 12.161–74). There is a distinction made between the Italian and Trojan leaders. Vergil calls Latinus and Turnus kings, *reges* (*Aen*. 12.162), which is a loaded term in Roman history that recalls the regal period initiated by Romulus. Latinus arrives in a four-horse chariot, which is called proof of his descent from the Sun (*Solis avi specimen,* "the mark of his grandfather the Sun," *Aen*. 12.164). This passage references the Greek version of his lineage where he is the son of Circe, the daughter of the Sun, and deviates from the lineage previously given for Latinus in Book Seven.[61] Aeneas and Ascanius ride up to meet them from a different direction, which draws attention to the two sides of the conflict and the competing cultures. Aeneas is called "father", "founder of the Roman race" and he appears with signs of his divine parentage, the shield forged by Vulcan (*hinc pater Aeneas, Romanae stirpis origo, / sidereo flagrans*

[61] In 7.45–51 Latinus is the king of the Aborigines, the son of the Italian god Faunus and the local Italian goddess Marcia. Circe also plays a role in this lineage as the wife of Picus, father of Faunus. See Williams 1996: 170–1, 448–9 for discussion of these alternative lineages.

clipeo et caelestibus armis, "From here father Aeneas, founder of the Roman race, shining with his heavenly shield and divine arms," *Aen*. 12.166–7). Ascanius rides up behind him and Vergil underlines his role in Rome's foundation as part of the bloodline that leads to the Roman race, according the version of Roman genealogy that Vergil follows (*et iuxta Ascanius, magnae spes altera Romae,* "and next to him Ascanius, the second hope of great Rome," *Aen*. 12.168). Ennius described Romulus similarly to Aeneas in a prayer by the Romans following Romulus' death and deification:

> 'O Romule, Romule die,
> qualem te patriae custodem di genuerunt!
> O pater, o genitor, o sanguen dis oriundum!
> Tu produxisti nos intra luminis oras' (*Ann*. 105–9)

> "O Romulus, godly Romulus, what a guardian of the country did the gods make in you! O father, begetter, blood sprung from the gods! You have brought us forth into the world of light."

In this prayer, Romulus is called the guardian, father and begetter of Rome. His descent from gods on both sides, like Aeneas, figures prominently in his role as a Roman leader. The differentiation made between the two pairs of leaders, the disassociation of Latinus from his Italian lineage and the emphasis on the role of Aeneas and Ascanius in the

foundation of Rome set the tone for Aeneas' oath so that Aeneas assumes the role of Rome's 'founder.'

In his oath, Aeneas lays out the terms of the combat with Turnus:

> Tum pius Aeneas stricto sic ense precatur:
> "esto nunc Sol testis et haec mihi terra uocanti,
> quam propter tantos potui perferre labores,
> et pater omnipotens et tu Saturnia coniunx
> (iam melior, iam, diua, precor), tuque inclute Mauors,
> cuncta tuo qui bella, pater, sub numine torques;
> fontisque fluuiosque uoco, quaeque aetheris alti
> religio et quae caeruleo sunt numina ponto:
> cesserit Ausonio si fors uictoria Turno,
> conuenit Euandri uictos discedere ad urbem,
> cedet Iulus agris, nec post arma ulla rebelles
> Aeneadae referent ferroue haec regna lacessent.
> sin nostrum adnuerit nobis uictoria Martem
> (ut potius reor et potius di numine firment)
> non ego nec Teucris Italos parere iubebo
> nec mihi regna peto: paribus se legibus ambae
> inuictae gentes aeterna in foedera mittant.
> sacra deosque dabo; socer arma Latinus habeto,

imperium sollemne socer; mihi moenia Teucri

constituent urbique dabit Lauinia nomen." (*Aen*. 12.175–94)

Then devout Aeneas drew his sword and prayed: "I now call to witness the Sun and this land, because of which I have been able to endure such hardship, and the all-powerful father and you Saturnian Juno, (I pray even now you are kinder, goddess), and you glorious father Mars, who control all wars with your divine power. I call upon the springs and rivers; I call upon the holiness of high heavens and the divinities in the blue sea. If by chance victory falls to Ausonian Turnus, it is agreed that the conquered will depart for Evander's city, Iulus will withdraw from the fields and the people of Aeneas will not ever after this rebel and bear arms, or trouble this kingdom with the sword. If, however, victory grants us that Mars is favorable (as I rather think and may the gods make it so) I will not order the Italians to obey Trojans, nor do I seek kingship for myself: let both nations commit to an everlasting treaty with legal equality. I will provide sacred rites and gods; my father-in-law Latinus is to keep his arms and his traditional authority; for me the Trojans will build walls and Lavinia will give her name to the city."

The prayer reiterates Latinus' familial connection to the Sun when he invokes the god first as witness in his prayer.[62] In the invocation Aeneas calls Mars his father, *pater*, and

[62] This prayer is similar to Medea's prayer in Ennius' *Medea Exul*, in which the Sun and Jupiter are called upon to witness the murder of her children (Jocelyn cx: *Jupiter tuque*

references Mars' role in the lineage of Aeneas' ancestor, Romulus. In addition, while Mars is Romulus' father in each version, the use of the archaic adjective, *Marvortius*, ties this passage to Ennius, since in the *Annales* Romulus uses the noun *Mavors* to address the god in prayer.[63] This type of reference to Ennius' alternate version of the relationship between Romulus and Aeneas is characteristic of the way in which Vergil plays with his early Latin sources. Aeneas claims the roll of establishing religion in Italy (*Aen*. 12.192), which in Ennius is established by Numa.[64] Aeneas, however, rejects the kingship (*Aen*. 12.190), but instead leaves it to Latinus (*Aen*. 12.192–3). This attitude looks forward to the Augustan age, when Augustus had rejected the role of king and instituted religious policies that drew attention to early Roman religion and revived some of the ancient Roman priesthoods and practices. Vergil reassigns the qualities of semi-divine leader of the Romans and establisher of religious institutions, those of early Roman leaders, to Aeneas and Ascanius, and, by putting emphasis on the rejection of kingship, makes him a precursor to the newest leader of the Romans, Augustus. In this oath, the version of Roman history that stems from Aeneas and Ascanius is emphasized as well as their ideological connection to future Roman leaders, including Augustus.

Two Devotions

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adeo summe Sol qui res omnis inspicis / quique tuo lumine mare terram caelum contines / inspice hoc facinus prius quam fit. prohibessis scelus.).

[63] *Ann.* 99: *te Mavors, te Nerienem Mavortis et Heriem.*

[64] *Ann.* 114–9.

A prayer spoken by Turnus in Book Twelve further elucidates the way that Vergil reworks religious material found in Ennius. Turnus' *devotio* in the *Aeneid* draws on the prayer elements that Ennius used for a devotion in the *Annales*, but the speaker's motivation and the components of his pledge are changed. Vergil alters the way the act of devotion is depicted in epic poetry by undercutting the heroic connotations for the act and adding tragic elements.

The characterization of Turnus in the *Aeneid* is a complex issue caught up in the text's ambiguous depiction of Aeneas' conquest of Italy as it parallels Augustus' contemporary political actions. Toward the end of the epic, Turnus is depicted as a pathetic, tragic character, who, in a conversation with his sister, realizes that she has deceived him and he will lose the war. A series of deliberative questions, similar to examples in tragedy and oratory that evoke pathos for the speaker,[65] highlight his hopelessness (*sed quis Olympo / demissam tantos uoluit te ferre labores? / an fratris miseri letum ut crudele uideres? / nam quid ago? aut quae iam spondet Fortuna salutem?, Aen*. 12.633–7). Turnus is transformed from the angry and irrational enemy (e.g. *Aen*. 7.458–66) into a victim of his situation.

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[65] Ennius uses short rhetorical questions to reflect the emotional state of his female protagonists in the *Andromache* (xxxvii: *quid petam praesidi aut exsequar, quove nunc / auxilio exili aut fuga freta sim? arce et urbe orba sum: quo accedam? quo applicam?*) and in the *Medea* (civ: *quo nunc me vortam? quod iter incipiam ingredi? / domum paternamne? anne ad Peliae filias?*). This format is taken up for rhetorical effect by Gaius Grachus, as quoted by Cicero at *de or.* 3.214: *quo me miser conferam? quo vortam? in Capitoliumne? at fratris sanguine redundat. an domum? matremne ut miseram lamentantem videam et abiectam?* Cicero imitates Gracchus in *Pro Murena* 88.

After these questions, Turnus prays to the '*di manes*'. His prayer resembles a formula spoken as a part of the act of *devotio*, in which a Roman general sacrifices his life in battle to ensure the victory of his men. Vergil evokes the Ennian prayer of Decius Mus, a Roman consul who devotes himself to the '*di manes*' before battle, through referencing specific elements of the Ennian prayer. I will begin by looking at the prayer in Ennius and then the Vergilian version.

The exact date for the Ennian *devotio* is debatable, since there are three Decii who performed this prayer before battle: father (340 BCE), son (395 BCE) and grandson (279 BCE).[66] Nonius assigns this prayer to Book Six, which placement makes it the only unsuccessful *devotio* spoken by the youngest Decius Mus at the Battle of Ausculum in 279 BCE.[67] The prayer runs:

"divi hoc audite parumper
ut pro Romano populo prognariter armis
certando prudens animam de corpore mitto." (*Ann*. 191–4)

"Gods, hear this prayer a little while as I breathe my last breath from my body for the Roman people, with foreknowledge and awareness, while fighting with arms."

[66] See Livy 8.9–10 (father); 10.28.15–18 (son); Cicero *fin.* 2.61; *de nat. deor.* 3.6.15; cf. *Tusc*. 1.89.

[67] Nonius 150.5. For the difference between the Ennian passage and Livy as well as the debate about the date of the Ennian prayer see Skutsch 1985: 353–5; Oakley 1998: 477–80; and Fantham 2006: 553–5.

This *devotio* in Ennius uses many of the technical elements found in Livy's account of the first Decius' *devotio*.[68] Ennius' Decius invokes the *divi*, mentions that he sacrifices his life on behalf of the Roman people (*pro Romano populo*; in Livy: *pro re publica [populi Romani] Quiritium, exercitu, legionibus, auxiliis populi Romani Quiritium* on behalf of the republic of the Roman people, the army, the legions and the auxiliary troops of the Roman people) and offers his life in battle (*armis / certando prudens animam de corpore mitto*; in Livy: *legiones auxiliaque hostium mecum Dis Manibus Tellurique deuoueo* I make a devotion to the *Di Manes* and *Tellus* for the legions and the auxiliary troops of the enemy with myself). In his *devotio*, Turnus also uses a technical invocation:

> "uos o mihi, Manes,
> este boni, quoniam superis auersa uoluntas.
> sancta ad uos anima atque istius inscia culpae
> descendam magnorum haud umquam indignus auorum." (*Aen*. 12.646–9)

[68] Formula of *devotio* in Livy, 8.9.6: *'Iane, Iuppiter, Mars pater, Quirine, Bellona, Lares, Diui Nouensiles, Di Indigetes, Diui, quorum est potestas nostrorum hostiumque, Dique Manes, uos precor ueneror, ueniam peto feroque, uti populo Romano Quiritium uim uictoriam prosperetis hostesque populi Romani Quiritium terrore formidine morteque adficiatis. sicut uerbis nuncupaui, ita pro re publica [populi Romani] Quiritium, exercitu, legionibus, auxiliis populi Romani Quiritium, legiones auxiliaque hostium mecum Dis Manibus Tellurique deuoueo.' haec ita precatus lictores ire ad T. Manlium iubet matureque collegae se deuotum pro exercitu nuntiare.*

> "Be gracious to me, o Manes, since the gods above have averted their favor, I will come to you as a guiltless soul, unknowing of any such dishonor, never unworthy of my great ancestors."

Turnus invokes the *Manes* and offers his life in battle (*ad uos … descendam*), each of which mark the prayer as part of a *devotio*. This prayer, however, makes use of the Ennian prayer to undermine the regular heroic associations connected to this act.[69]

First, Ennius emphasized that Decius' self-sacrifice was on behalf of the Roman people. The object for which Turnus is sacrificing himself is not explicit, although the honor of his ancestors is the implied motivation (*descendam magnorum haud umquam indignus auorum, Aen*. 12.649). This deviates from the nature of the sacrifice, which the general made to ensure the safety of his country and the men in his army. In addition, the prayer emphasizes the pathos of Turnus' situation by underlining his piety and innocence: he is blameless, the prayer claims, for the unfolding events (*sancta anima, inscia culpae, Aen*. 12.648)—even if these details are contestable. Vergil strips Turnus of the active role the Roman general takes in a *devotio*, as Decius did when he claimed in his prayer that he will die while fighting (*armis / certando prudens animam de corpore mitto, Ann*. 193–4). The tone of Turnus' prayer becomes pathetic rather than heroic. Finally, the prayer reverses the individual conditions set forth in the Ennian example; Decius Mus is described as having foreknowledge and awareness (*prognariter, prudens, Ann*. 193–4)

[69] Develin 1978: 8 argues that the *devotio* is a dramatic action for a general even though Cicero says this was a device used by generals to make their men follow.

before he enters battle, while Turnus is guiltless and unknowing (*sancta anima, inscia*). Turnus' prayer is antithetical: while it uses the technical invocation, it reverses the circumstances connected to the act of *devotio* in Ennius wherein the general makes a cognizant, purposeful sacrifice. In this way, Vergil uses Ennius to emphasize the inconsistent nature of Turnus' *devotio* as well as rewrites this type of action in epic poetry.

Conclusion

The prayers discussed in this chapter show that when Ennian subject matter is adapted in the *Aeneid*, Vergil artfully combines traditions and constructs religious practices that provoke comparisons. Vergil draws on Ennian prayers and motifs to undermine the material of his predecessor and expose inconsistencies in Roman religious tradition. Finally, Vergil underscores his own novel use of prayer language: he creates a new standard for historical prayer formula by replacing the name *Thybris* for *Tiberinus* in prayer to the Tiber River; he reassigns the role of Aeneas in Roman religious history; and he changes the way that the act of devotion is written in epic poetry. This type of reassignment and reappropriation of prayer language is similar to the way in which Vergil uses his Greek epic predecessor, Homer.

CHAPTER 2

BORROWED LANGUAGE: HOMER IN PRAYER

While Vergil has explicitly adapted only one prayer from Ennius that we are able to identify, the Homeric epics serve as a model for several. In fact, there are hundreds of parallels in the *Aeneid* to the Homeric epics, some which are merely short verbal echoes or translations and others that are given added significance in their new context.[70] There are several prayers that are modeled closely on Homeric prayers and, in each of these cases, Vergil's use of Homer is multifaceted.[71] In this chapter, I will analyze how and to what effect Vergil incorporates Homeric language into his prayers. I will focus on prayers in the *Aeneid* that draw on Homeric prayers or prayer formulae and also that direct attention to their model in some significant way.

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[70] Knauer 1964 has a catalogue of Vergilian imitations of Homer. For discussions of the practice of imitation in Vergil see, for example, Anderson 1957; Barchiesi 1984; Clausen 1964a; Hardie 1993: Chapter 1; Williams 1987: 12–19; Zetzel 1997. The close relationship between Vergil and Homer was also appreciated in the ancient world: Horace pointed out that in epic Homer is the fountainhead for the tradition: *res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella / quo scribi possent numero monstravit Homerus* (*Ars Poet*. 73–4). Since meter was the main distinction for genre in the ancient world, this quote can easily be broadened to include other characteristics of Homer's poetry.

[71] Hickson 1993: 28–31 cites *Aen*. 11.477–9 and *Il*. 6.297, 305–7; *Aen*. 1.326–34 and *Od*. 13.288–35, 16.183–5; and *Aen*. 11.785–90, 792–3 and *Il*. 16.233–41, 246–8.

Many prayers borrow words, formulae and structure from the Homeric models, but in several of them Vergil has transformed the prayers to fit their different context in an act of interpretive adaptation. When he borrows prayers from Homer, Vergil draws upon their context and textual implications to affect the reading of the action and his characters. Simultaneously, he shifts the entire epic into the cultural milieu of Italy. When Vergil puts the words of Homer into the mouths of this Trojan and Italian characters, he transforms them into the victors and losers of the Trojan War. The outcome of the war in Italy, however, is not the same as it was in the Homeric epics with a clear victor and loser. So, while Aeneas and the Trojans seem to have a second chance to win the war, it is not presented thus. R.O.A.M Lyne notes that Aeneas has sympathy for the Italians and is hesitant to engage them in battle.[72] Instead of being vanquished, the native Italians are incorporated into the history of the Romans. The uneasy marriage of the religious language of the Italian natives and Homeric Greek mirrors the uneasy future (i.e. 12th c. – 1st c. BCE) for the settlements that these characters represent.

Prayers perform a literary function within epic narrative but also, in order to be effective, must "reflect the habits of libation, invocation, and propitiation of invisible powers at all levels that a contemporary audience would have recognized."[73] In Homeric epic, prayers are essentially a narrative device embedded within the action and are used to direct the plot: they foreshadow events later in the epic or focus audience attention and

[72] Lyne 1983: 191–2.

[73] Lateiner 1997: 248.

expectation.[74] Several scholars have looked at prayer in the Homeric epics, but there has been yet to be a comprehensive look at allusion to these prayers in the *Aeneid*.[75] In the *Aeneid*, prayers similarly affect the plot, but there is additional layer of meaning when prayers are modeled on Homeric prayers: Vergil draws on the function and context of the Homeric prayer to color events and characters in his epic. In essence, prayers showcase how the authorial voice plays a role in shaping the action of the poem and characterization. Pointed references to Homer shape the characters' cultural identities within the *Aeneid* and, as William S. Anderson argues, "gradually alters the role of the Trojans from that of the defeated, as Homer portrayed them, to that of victors, and thus brings them parallel to the Homeric Greeks."[76] Vergil carefully chooses language, backgrounds and characterizations so that each side has Greek origins, but Aeneas and the Trojans correspond more closely to the Homeric Greeks, and the native Italians to the Trojans of the Homeric epics. This transition also works to assimilate native Italian culture to the format of Homeric epic poetry. As James Zetzel has shown, by examining Vergil's manipulation of the mythology and divine ancestry of the *Aeneid*'s players, the

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[74] See Morrison 1991: 147–9, 156 and Lateiner 1997: 265–70.

[75] For example, Beckmann 1932 categorizes the content of Homer's prayers, Mikalson 1989 looks at the response to prayers in tragedy, Morrison 1991 shows through statistics that Homer uses prayers primarily as a device to foreshadow events soon occurring in the action of the poem and Lateiner 1997 categorizes Homeric prayers and assesses how they compare to Hellenic prayer. In non-literary contexts, Lateiner 1997: 241–55 analyzes prayer activities in Hellenic and other cultures as a foil to Homeric prayers, Versnel 1981 analyzes the mentalities for all ancient prayers and Pulleyn 1997 studies Greek prayer as a part of Greek life.

[76] Anderson 1957: 19.

central books of the *Aeneid* "gradually abandon the framework of the Homeric world (if not of Homer as a literary model) in favor of Italy and Rome."[77] Still, Zetzel illustrates that "by making the Trojans Italians and the Italians Greek, Virgil constructs a multiple and overlapping history of the two peoples: they have a shared origin, and neither one is precisely what it seems on first appearance."[78] This two-fold progression, where Trojans are aligned with Italians and Homeric Greeks, and Italians with Homeric Trojans, can also be demonstrated in Vergil's allusion to Homeric prayers. The epic is also constantly looking forward to the culture of Vergil's own lifetime; Vergil uses allusion to craft characterization and themes in his epic to serve as the tradition for the Romans of the Augustan age.[79] This is not to say that Vergil creates a tidy picture of a combined Greco-Roman prayer tradition: it is fraught with gaps and ambiguity. Instead, prayers expose the complicated cultural background of the Romans.

To discuss Homeric prayers, I use the basic division of prayers and their Latin names by Carl Ausfeld, but also take into account Walter Arend and James Morrison, who number the prayer sections and lay out the format slightly differently to include the action and narrative immediately preceding and following the direct speech, which is also formulaic in nature.[80] Morrison's analysis is particularly useful since he isolates the verbs

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[77] Zetzel 1997: 189.

[78] Zetzel 1997: 193.

[79] Farrell 1997 gives remarkable insight into Vergil's rich intertext and the way references continually look forward to the Augustan age.

[80] Ausfeld 1903; Arend 1933: 64–78 and Morrison 1991: 147–8. See Versnel 1981 for an analysis of how Ausfeld's prayer format compares to prayer format used in ritual.

and gestures most commonly used for direct-speech prayers in Homer. The first part of the prayer is the invocation, or *invocatio*, which includes the addressee's name(s), epithets, descriptive predicates and often an imperative verb. The invocation is followed by the pledge, or *pars epica*, which can include an explication of the suppliant's reasons for addressing the god or goddess, his relationship to the god and/or why he should be able to count upon the deity's assistance. The prayer then ends with the *preces*, or the content of the prayer's request. The length and order of each of these parts vary, and sometimes there are multiples of one or more sections. The format for prayers in the *Aeneid* is similar in that they have the same three elements, the invocation, pledge and request. Homeric prayers, however, far more consistently use certain formulas in specific situations.

Spear-prayers

Vergil draws on a prayer formula found in Homer for requests of divine assistance in successfully throwing a spear in battle. There are several prayers in the *Aeneid* that use this formula in battle, but each prayer varies slightly in form and effect. Spear-prayers draw on the Homeric motif and connect the Trojans and their allies to the world of the Homeric hero, while pointed divergence from it underscores the deviant nature of Turnus' Italian allies. The adherence to the Homeric formula by Pallas, Nisus

and Ascanius as well as the distortion of it by Mezentius and Metabus reinforce the concept of the divine sanction that drives Aeneas' settlement in Italy.

Gods are often said to direct the spears of men in the Homeric epics, and there are also a few prayers that request this type of divine intervention.[81] One example of a prayer that asks for a god to direct a spear is when Menelaus prays to Zeus in the *Iliad*:

> "Ζεῦ ἄνα δὸς τείσασθαι ὅ με πρότερος κάκ᾽ ἔοργε,
> δίον Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ἐμῇς ὑπὸ χερσὶ δάμασσον,
> ὄφρα τις ἐρρίγῃσι καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἀνθρώπων
> ξεινοδόκον κακὰ ῥέξαι, ὅ κεν φιλότητα παράσχῃ."
> ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἀμπεπαλὼν προΐει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος,
> καὶ βάλε Πριαμίδαο κατ᾽ ἀσπίδα πάντοσ᾽ εἴσην: (*Il*. 3.351–6)

"King Zeus, grant that I may make godlike Alexander pay, who first wronged me, and subdue him beneath my hands; so that any man in the future might shudder to commit a crime against a host that offers him friendship." He spoke, poised his far-reaching spear and hurled it; and he struck the son of Priam's well-balanced shield.

[81] E.g. *Il*. 3.351–6 (Menelaus); *Il.* 4.119–21 (Pandarus); *Od*. 24.516–22 (Laertes). *Il.* 5.290, 17.632 are passages that refer to gods directing men's spears. Cf. Hardie 1994: 145 for a discussion of the similarities between these prayers in the *Aeneid* and the Homeric epics.

Menelaus' prayer draws on elements formulaic to Homeric spear-prayers. In Homeric spear-prayers the action of raising the spear, throwing it and striking the enemy is immediately following the direct speech (cf. *αἶψα μάλ᾽ ἀμπεπαλὼν προΐει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος, καὶ βάλε, Od.* 24.521–22). Often these prayers mention the intended target and a reason for the success of the attack, in Menelaus' case Paris and his violation of Menelaus' hospitality. Also, the prayer can include a mention of past or future sacrificial offerings as a pledge.[82]

There are several prayers that resemble this Homeric prayer in the *Aeneid*. I will first look at three that draw on formulaic elements from the Homeric trope so that the language of the prayer is homerized and the Trojan and Italian allies step into the Homeric experience. The link to the Homeric prayers is for the most part superficial; Vergil is mimicking certain elements of Homeric prayers to reproduce epic style. In Book Ten, Pallas prays to the Tiber River during battle to attain victory over his opponent Halaesus:

> "da nunc, Thybri pater, ferro, quod missile libro,
> fortunam atque uiam duri per pectus Halaesi.
> haec arma exuuiasque uiri tua quercus habebit."
> audiit illa deus; dum texit Imaona Halaesus,
> Arcadio infelix telo dat pectus inermum. (*Aen.* 10.421–5)

[82] E.g. *Il.* 420–1.

> "Father Thybris, grant luck and a path through the chest of strong Halaesus to my weapon, the spear that I brandish. Your oak tree will have these arms and the spoils of that man." The god heard the prayer; unfortunate Halaesus, while he protected Imaon, submitted his chest unprotected to the Arcadian weapon.

The narrative immediately preceding Pallas's prayer signals that it is drawn from Homeric material. The prayer is introduced by a formula that indicates that he is about to pray, (*quem sic Pallas petit ante precatus,* "Pallas aimed at him and prayed thus first," *Aen*. 10.420), which is an adaptation of a Homeric formula for closing a prayer (*ὥς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος,* "thus he said in prayer").[83] Nisus' prayer closely resembles Menelaus' in that each has the suppliant raise his spear, pray to a god and throw it at his enemy. In Pallas' prayer, the Homeric formula of brandishing the spear that was in the narrative is incorporated into the request of the prayer (*quod missile libro*, *Aen*. 10.421). In each case, the spear hits the target and in the *Aeneid*, divine intervention is explicit in the narrative (*audiit illa deus*, *Aen*. 10.424). Pallas' prayer does not use technical Roman prayer language; instead of a verb meaning 'to vow' in the pledge section of the prayer, Pallas uses the future tense for the verb of offering (*habebit*, *Aen*. 10.423).[84] By using the

[83] E.g. *Il.* 1.43. See Harrison 1991: 180 for a discussion of why *sic* modifies *precatus* rather than *petit*.

[84] See Hickson 1993: 97–8, 137. For verbs meaning 'to vow' in pledges, s.v. *devovere* *TLL* 5.881.50–882.10; *vovere* in the *Fratres Arvales* (Henzen 1967: 100) and Liv. 1.12.6, 5.21.2, 10.19.18, 22.10.2. For Roman elements in this prayer, see Chapter 3, p. 86–8.

Homeric motif and pointing to specific elements of the Homeric prayer, Pallas acts in the manner of a Homeric hero, like Menelaus.

Similar prayers of Nisus to Diana and of Ascanius to Jupiter in Book Nine put to use the same motif. In his prayer to Diana, Nisus' use of the spear-formula aligns him with a Homeric hero:

> "tu, dea, tu praesens nostro succurre labori,
> astrorum decus et nemorum Latonia custos.
> si qua tuis umquam pro me pater Hyrtacus aris
> dona tulit, si qua ipse meis uenatibus auxi
> suspendiue tholo aut sacra ad fastigia fixi,
> hunc sine me turbare globum et rege tela per auras." (*Aen*. 9.404–9)

> "O goddess, come and help me in my effort, o glory of the stars and guardian of groves, Latona's child! If ever my father Hyrtacus made offerings on burning altars on my behalf, if ever I myself, successful in the hunt, increased the gifts, hung them beneath your dome or fixed them to your sacred walls, grant that I scatter this troop and guide my spear through the air."

Nisus ironically invokes Diana as the moon; he is unaware that the moonlight's presence has caused his discovery and imminent disaster. In this prayer, the spear is not as prominent but is still included within the request of the prayer. The prayer draws upon

common prayer practice of mentioning past offerings, when Nisus offers his own and his father's piety as a pledge.[85] The mention of his father increases the scene's pathos: Hyrtacus sacrificed on Nisus' behalf, but Nisus will die in battle, and Hyrtacus' offerings were in vain. Nisus' references to these past offerings also connect him more closely to the Homeric motif since spear-prayers often use this in the pledge section. In the same book, Ascanius prays to Jupiter and draws on the Homeric spear formula:

> contendit telum diuersaque bracchia ducens
> constitit, ante Iouem supplex per uota precatus:
> "Iuppiter omnipotens, audacibus adnue coeptis.
> ipse tibi ad tua templa feram sollemnia dona,
> et statuam ante aras aurata fronte iuuencum
> candentem pariterque caput cum matre ferentem,
> iam cornu petat et pedibus qui spargat harenam." (*Aen*. 9.625–9)

He lifted his spear, stopped while holding his arms apart and as a suppliant prayed first to Jupiter: "All-powerful Jupiter, bless my bold undertaking. I myself will carry ceremonial gifts for you to your temple, and I will place in front of your altar a bullock with gilded horn shining white and holding its head as high as its mother; he already butts his horn and kicks up sand with his feet."

[85] E.g. *Il*. 1.39–41 where Chryses reminded Apollo of his past offerings.

Ascanius' request for Jupiter to bless his undertaking refers to the spear he is about to cast, which is mentioned in the preceding narrative. The prayer also echoes one of Diomedes to Athena in the *Iliad* for aid on his night expedition in which he vows a year-old bull with gilded horns.[86] This allusion underscores the connection to Homeric epic. Overall, the prayers of Pallas, Nisus and Ascanius depict the action of the Trojan and Italian heroes in a way that suggests Homeric associations. Thus Vergil creates a Homeric background for the actions of heroes in Roman epic.

Another prayer in Book Ten that draws upon the Homeric spear-formula characterizes the speaker differently. Mezentius prays to his spear by using the Greek formulation, but instead of invoking a god, he calls upon his own hand and spear as god:

> "dextra mihi deus et telum, quod missile libro,
> nunc adsint! uoueo praedonis corpore raptis
> indutum spoliis ipsum te, Lause, tropaeum
> Aeneae." (*Aen*. 10.773–6)

> "May my right hand and spear, the weapon that I brandish, god to me, now be with me! I dedicate you as my trophy, Lausus, clothed in the spoils captured from the body of the thief Aeneas."

[86] *Il*. 10.292–4: *σοὶ δ' αὖ ἐγὼ ῥέξω βοῦν ἦνιν εὐρυμέτωπον, / ἀδμήτην, ἣν οὔ πω ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν ἀνήρ: / τήν τοι ἐγὼ ῥέξω χρυσὸν κέρασιν περιχεύας.* Cf. Hardie 1994: 200.

Mezentius perverts the prayer formula by making his own right hand and spear—that is, his own unaided strength—a god, which is a traditional form of irreverence in Greek literature and often leads to death.[87] This impious side of Mezentius is a key part of his characterization and helps to provide motivation and justification for his eventual defeat. Turnus similarly addresses his spear when he meets Aeneas in battle, which foreshadows his defeat.[88] Mezentius's prayer alters the epic formula and removes the role of divine intervention. Instead, the prayer expresses a religious violation. In this way, Mezentius falls short of the Homeric standard. While the heroes that are allies of Aeneas, i.e. Pallas, Nisus and Ascanius, use the spear-formula with success, Mezentius, the enemy Latin, does not. After initially addressing his hand and spear, Mezentius adds a vow to strip Aeneas and give his armor to his son Lausus. Vergil puts to use language from historical prayer formula, the verb *vovere*, which is technical language for a vow, but in this prayer the verb instead means 'to dedicate'. As Servius noted, the technical formulation in this type of dedication would have been *consecro et dico*.[89] While the verb suggests a technical formula its misuse underscores the aberrant nature of the prayer. Also, as in Pallas' prayer, the Homeric formula for brandishing the spear, *ἀμπεπαλὼν δολιχόσκιον*

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[87] Harrison 1991: 258 cites Parthenopaeus of Aeschylus' *Septem* and Idas of Apollonius' *Argonautica*.

[88] Cf. 12.95–101: *nunc, o tamquam frustrata vocatus / hasta meos, nunc adest: te maximus Actor, / te Turni nunc dextra gerit.*

[89] Servius ad 10.774. For *vovere* in prayers see Henzen 1967: 100 and Liv. 1.12.6, 5.21.2, 10.19.18, 22.10.2. Cf. Hickson 1993: 97–8. For *vovere* used in this context see Liv. 5.21.2 with Ogilvie 1965: 675.

ἔγχος (e.g. *Il*. 3.355), is included in the request of the prayer (*quod missile libro*, *Aen*. 10.773). The blasphemous invocation is juxtaposed to his use of the Homeric epic motif and Roman prayer language so that the use of language derived from historical prayer formula combined with a religious violation underlines the initial perversion. His prayer is ultimately unsuccessful and underscores the characterization of Mezentius as *contemptor divum* (*Aen*. 7.648).

A prayer on the spear of Metabus to Diana also draws on a few elements of the Homeric motif, but presents different issues for the text. This petition is not made in battle; at the river Amasenus Metabus dedicates to Diana his infant daughter Camilla, who is tied to a spear, in return for a safe journey across the river. The pledge, or *pars epica*, instead of promising sacrifices to the goddess, pledges the daughter herself:

> "alma, tibi hanc, nemorum cultrix, Latonia uirgo,
> ipse pater famulam uoueo; tua prima per auras
> tela tenens supplex hostem fugit. accipe, testor,
> diua tuam, quae nunc dubiis committitur auris." (*Aen*. 11.557–60)

> "To you, kind maiden, cultivator of woods, and daughter of Latona, I, her father, dedicate my daughter as your handmaiden; she, yours from the very first, flees the enemy through the airs holding your weapons and as your suppliant. Goddess, I pray, receive her as your own, whom I now commit to uncertain breezes."

The spear-formula has been adjusted for the change in circumstance; Metabus casts the spear and his daughter across the river, and requests their safety. The larger context of this passage evokes the Homeric storyline of Zeus in the *Iliad* lamenting that he could not save his son Sarpedon, since the story of Camilla's dedication is embedded within a scene in which Diana mourns her handmaiden/attendant because she will die in battle.[90] This contextual allusion to the Homeric parallel serves to create pathos for Diana, since it emphasizes Camilla's early dedication and devotion to the goddess. In addition, as it identifies Camilla with Sarpedon, the Latin warrior is assimilated to a defeated Trojan hero of the Homeric epic.

While Metabus's prayer evokes the Homeric formula of the prayer on the spear, he changes the context by asserting himself as a Roman father. With *ipse pater* in the second line of his prayer, Metabus stresses that his role as father is what gives him the authority to dedicate his daughter in this way. The use of the intensifying demonstrative *ipse* underlines his assertion.[91] He evokes the Roman law of *pater familias*, wherein the father has authority over the life or death of his entire household, as Servius noted.[92] In addition, he uses the verb *vovere* in his prayer, but, as Mezentius, perverts the religious formula for use in a dedication. When Vergil draws on Roman characteristics and prayer language to describe the relationship between Metabus and Camilla, he both increases the poignancy of the dedication and at the same time accentuates the cultural gap between

[90] Cf. *Il.* 16.431–61, 667–75.

[91] Horsfall 2003: 326.

[92] Servius *ad. loc.*: *quia auctoramenti potestatem nisi patres non habent.*

these characters and the Romans by underlining ritual perversion. While this prayer is successful in that Camilla crosses the river and is devoted to Diana's service, the irregularity of the prayer points the way towards Camilla's role in the epic as a female warrior for which she is labeled a *dira pestis*.[93]

Spear-prayers as a Homeric motif serve to both cast Aeneas' Trojan and Italian allies into the role of Homeric heroes so that the Homeric experience becomes the Roman experience. The prayers also work as a foil to highlight the ritual perversion in the prayers of Mezentius and Metabus. The use of Homeric motif draws on meaningful parallels in the Homeric epics to affect characterization. Allusion to specific prayers in the Homeric epics in addition bring Homeric context in the reading of the *Aeneid*.

Gods and Men

The Homerizing prayers of Aeneas' allies too can expose the complicated nature of characterization and cultural background. The narrative preceding Pallas' prayer as he is about be defeated by Turnus in battle draws on several sources. Use of Homeric subject matter, Hellenistic vocabulary and Roman prayer language increase the pathos of the episode. He prays to Hercules for protection and success in battle:

> 'per patris hospitium et mensas, quas aduena adisti,
> te precor, Alcide, coeptis ingentibus adsis.

[93] According to Arruns at *Aen.* 11.792.

cernat semineci sibi me rapere arma cruenta

uictoremque ferant morientia lumina Turni." (*Aen*. 10.460–63)

"By my father's hospitality and tables, to which you came as a stranger, I pray to you, Hercules. Stand now by this great undertaking. May Turnus as he dies see me stripping off his bloody armor and may his dying eyes look upon me as his conqueror."

Pallas' unsuccessful prayer contrasts with his earlier successful prayer to the Tiber River in killing Halaesus (*Aen*. 10.421–3).[94] This prayer to Hercules has elements from several Homeric passages. The invocation of the prayer, a *captatio benevolentiae*, alludes to the invocation of an oath spoken by Odysseus in the *Odyssey*:

"ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα θεῶν, ξενίη τε τράπεζα

ἱστίη τ᾽ Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος, ἣν ἀφικάνω·" (*Od*. 14.158–9)

"By Zeus first of all gods, by this hospitable table and by the hearth of noble Odysseus to which I have come."

In this prayer, Odysseus in disguise swears to the swineherd that Odysseus will return to Ithaca and take his revenge. The form of the prayer is slightly different from Pallas' since

[94] C.f. Harrison 1991: 190.

Odysseus' prayer is an oath and the other a simple petition. Still, the invocation echoes Odysseus' prayer so that the prayer is tied to the epic Homeric world and mimics this type of *captatio benevolentia*; Hercules was a guest of Evander (*mensas, quas aduena adisti*, *Aen*. 10.460) and Odysseus in disguise is a guest at his own table (*ξενίη τε τραπεζα … ἣν ἀφικάνω·, Od*. 14.158–9). Vergil inserts an epithet for Hercules, Alcides, that is Hellenistic in origin.[95] Pallas alters the Homeric invocation so that the hero calls upon the particular closeness of gods and men in the epic world; Evander is privileged with special access to Hercules since the god was a guest in his home. This reference is underlined in the following section (*Aen*. 10.464–73), since it is modeled on *Il*. 16.431–61 where Sarpedon also invokes his special relationship to Zeus.[96] The story itself, however, parallels the battle between Patroclus and Hector, so that Pallas' death has been foreshadowed at the hands of Turnus. This use of foreshadowing increases the pathos for Pallas as he enters his encounter. In addition, the prayer uses language derived from historical Roman prayer formula, *coeptis ingentibus adsis*.[97] The use of this language looks ahead to Roman tradition so that Pallas prefigures Roman practice. This lends to the pathos for the character since the prayer alludes to Pallas' death while Pallas piety is put in Roman terms. The varied influences create a prayer that reflects the fragmented characterization of Pallas whose words recall Greek and Trojan Homeric heroes as well

[95] Austin on 6.123.

[96] Cf. Harrison 1990: 191.

[97] Olgivie 1965: 375 refers to *adesse* as a "very ancient form of invoking the help of gods ... or men." Hickson 1993: 67–9 cites verb *adesse* in several authors and in ritual. Harrison 1991: 190 cites examples of *adesse* used with the substantive *coeptum*.

as Roman tradition. As Pallas enters into his final battle, his words are inconsistent, which adds to the poignancy of the episode and helps to foreshadow his demise.

Aeneas and Odysseus

A prayer in Book One of the *Aeneid* modeled directly on a prayer in the *Odyssey* closely follows the Homeric prayer's original context; each protagonist (Odysseus and Aeneas) encounters a goddess disguised as a mortal woman after landing in a place they do not recognize (Ithaca and Carthage) and inquires as to its identity from apparent strangers (Athena and Venus). Vergil draws on the prayer in the *Odyssey* by closely reproducing the circumstance, invocation and request of the prayer. These similarities suggest that Aeneas has arrived at his intended destination, Italy, but instead he is in Carthage. Thus, the allusion to this Homeric prayer gives the impression that he has arrived some place safe while at the same time creates a sense of incongruity in light of the historical relationship between Carthage and Rome.

Each hero prays to the stranger as a divinity and asks her to be propitious:

> "ὦ φίλ', ἐπεί σε πρῶτα κιχάνω τῶδ' ἐνὶ χώρῳ,
> χαῖρέ τε καὶ μή τι κακῷ νόῳ ἀντιβολήσαις,
> ἀλλὰ σάω μὲν ταῦτα, σάω δ' ἐμέ· σοὶ γὰρ ἐγώ γε
> εὔχομαι ὥς τε θεῷ καί σευ φίλα γούναθ' ἱκάνω.
> καί μοι τοῦτ' ἀγόρευσον ἐτήτυμον, ὄφρ' εὖ εἰδῶ·

τίς γῆ, τίς δῆμος, τίνες ἀνέρες ἐγγεγάασιν;
ἦ πού τις νήσων εὐδείελος, ἦέ τις ἀκτη
κεῖθ' ἁλὶ κεκλιμένη ἐριβώλακος ἠπείροιο" (*Od*. 13.228–35)

"Friend, since you are the first I have met in this land, hello and may you not approach me with evil intention, instead save these treasures and save me; for I pray to you as to a god, and I reach out to your dear knees. Tell me this also truly, so that I may know full well. What land, what people is this? What men dwell here? Is it some clear-seen island, or a shore of the deep-soiled mainland that lies resting on the sea?"

"nulla tuarum audita mihi neque visa sororum,
o quam te memorem, virgo? Namque haud tibi voltus
mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat: o, dea certe
(an Phoebi soror? an Nympharum sanguinis una?),
sis felix, nostrumque leves, quaecumque, laborem,
et, quo sub caelo tandem, quibus orbis in oris
iactemur, doceas: ignari hominumque locorumque
erramus, vento huc vastis et fluctibus acti:
multa tibi ante aras nostra cadet hostia dextra." (*Aen*. 1.326–34)

> ‘I have neither seen nor heard of your sisters, young lady, but how should I address you? You certainly don’t have the face of a mortal, and your voice does not sound like that of a human being: you are surely a goddess (are you the sister of Apollo or one of the Nymphs?). May you be favorable to us, whoever you are, and alleviate our burden, and tell us under what sky we are now, what shore we have been cast upon. We are unsure of the men and places as we wander, tossed here and there by the wind and waves: I promise many victims will fall before your altars slain by my right hand.”

In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus prays as if he were talking to a goddess and clasps her knees (*Od*. 13.230–1), but he actually is ignorant of the woman’s true identity. In his invocation, Odysseus makes this distinction explicit in the text that he is assuming she is a goddess as a measure of safety: *σοὶ γὰϱ ἐγώ γε / εὔχομαι* ***ὥς*** *τε θεῷ*, *Od*. 13.230–1. The effect is tongue in cheek, and the audience is complicit in the joke. In the *Aeneid*, Vergil removes one aspect of his hero’s ignorance: Aeneas sees through the disguise and knows it is a goddess, although not her identity. Vergil underlines this when Aeneas notices her non-mortal voice and appearance (*namque haud tibi voltus … mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat, Aen*. 1.327–8), exclaims she is a goddess (*dea certe, Aen*. 1.328) and guesses, even if incorrectly, which goddess she is (*an Phoebi soror? an Nympharum sanguinis una?, Aen*. 1.329). Aeneas’ prayer uses this epic procedure of assuming that a strange women is a goddess but draws out the situation by putting Aeneas’ observations and guesses in direct speech. The questions that Aeneas asks in the prayer’s request

suggest the similar prayer in the *Odyssey*, since in each case the suppliant inquires about the land in which he has arrived and the people that inhabit it (*Od*. 13.232–5; *Aen*. 1.331–3). At the end of the prayer, Aeneas offers to make sacrifices to the goddess, which is the standard final element of a Roman petitionary prayer, and legitimizes his intention.[98] In addition, Vergil sprinkles the prayer with variants for formulaic language, such as *sis felix* for the technical but unmetrical *volens ac propitius sis* and *quaecumque* for *vel quo alio nomine te appellari volueris* or *sive quo alio nomine fas est nominare*.[99] With this Roman prayer language and the inclusion of a sacrifice, Vergil transforms his Greek model into a Roman prayer. Still, Odysseus' prayer signals his arrival to Ithaca and the end of his journey, while Aeneas is at Carthage. Vergil's move amounts to a bait and switch tactic: the allusion to the Homeric prayer creates the impression that Aeneas has arrived somewhere safe or even his home, which is paradoxical because it is Carthage. The Homeric features of the prayer thus introduce a sense of imbalance for the reader.

The prayer that immediately follows Athena's declaration that Odysseus has arrived in Ithaca is also put to use in the *Aeneid*. Allusion to this comparable Homeric prayer in the *Aeneid* underscores the similarity each heroes' situation, homecoming, and points to the eventual upshot of Aeneas' journey: the founding of Rome. When Odysseus discovers that the identity of the land is Ithaca, he prays:

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[98] Hickson 1993: 10–11.

[99] Vergil does, however, use *volens* as a variant for *volens ac propitius sis*. Cf. Hickson 1993: 39–40, 58.

γήθησέν τ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔπειτα πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς
χαίρων ᾗ γαίῃ, κύσε δὲ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν.
αὐτίκα δὲ νύμφῃς ἠρήσατο, χεῖρας ἀνασχών:
“νύμφαι νηϊάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς, οὔ ποτ᾽ ἐγώ γε
ὄψεσθ᾽ ὔμμ᾽ ἐφάμην· νῦν δ᾽ εὐχωλῇς ἀγανῇσι
χαίρετ᾽· ἀτὰρ καὶ δῶρα διδώσομεν, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ,
αἴ κεν ἐᾷ πρόφρων με Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἀγελείη
αὐτόν τε ζώειν καί μοι φίλον υἱὸν ἀέξῃ.” (*Od*. 13.352–60)

Then much-enduring, god-like Odysseus was happily rejoiced in his own land and he kissed the grain-giving earth. He immediately prayed to the nymphs with upstretched hands: “O Naiad Nymphs, daughters of Zeus, I did not think that I would see you ever again, but now rejoice in my loving prayers. I will give you gifts, as before, if the daughter of Zeus, the bringer of spoils, will graciously grant me to live, and will bring to manhood my dear son.”

Odysseus’ two prayers after his arrival in Ithaca are in close proximity and work together to build tension in the plot: Odysseus’ anxiety and apprehension are verbalized in the first prayer and relieved in the second. Aeneas likewise prays to Nymphs after he has arrived in Italy immediately preceding the epiphany of the River Tiber in Book Eight:

surgit et aetherii spectans orientia solis

lumina rite cauis undam de flumine palmis
sustinet ac talis effundit ad aethera uoces:
"Nymphae, Laurentes Nymphae, genus amnibus unde est,
tuque, o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto,
accipite Aenean et tandem arcete periclis.
quo te cumque lacus miserantem incommoda nostra
fonte tenent, quocumque solo pulcherrimus exis,
semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis
corniger Hesperidum fluuius regnator aquarum.
adsis o tantum et propius tua numina firmes." (*Aen*. 8.68–78)

He rose and while he looked at the light of the sun rising in the sky, he held water from the river in his cupped hands according to ritual and poured out this prayer to the heavens: "You nymphs, Laurentine nymphs from whom rivers are born, and you father Thybris with your blessed stream, receive Aeneas and at last keep him safe from dangers. Wherever the spring is where your waters embrace you as you pity our distress, wherever the ground from which you pour forth in beauty, you will always enjoy my honor and offerings, o horned river, ruler of all Western waters. Only be with me and with your favor confirm your divine power."

Aeneas' prayer at the Tiber River closely recreates the initial invocation to the Nymphs of the Odyssean prayer (*Od*. 13.356), the pledge to offer gifts (*Od*. 13.358) and the

concluding one-line request with double verb (*Od*. 13.360). In addition, each prayer is preceded by an analogous gesture; Aeneas cups water and raises his hands (*Aen*. 8.69–70) while Odysseus kisses the land before raising his hands (*Od*. 13.352–3). Traditional Roman prayer language is employed in this prayer: *Aen*. 8.71 is adapted from a prayer to the Tiber in Ennius, which in turn is derived from a Roman prayer language.[100] The phrase *propitio flumine* is the formulaic version of *flumine sancto* (*Aen*. 8.72) as attested in a prayer to the Tiber River by Horatius Cocles.[101] The prayer ends with the verb *adesse*, which verb is often used in historical prayer formula to request confirmation in a god's prophecy.[102] This prayer employs the Homeric prayer that signals Odysseus' homecoming, but transforms it into a Roman prayer. Aeneas' prayer evokes the Homeric precedent to suggest that Aeneas' arrival at the Tiber is a homecoming akin to Odysseus returning to Ithaca. Unlike Aeneas' prayer after his arrival in Carthage, in this situation allusion to the analogous Homeric prayer is not deceptive since Aeneas is in Italy.

Yet, when we compare the two scenes, the allusion to Odysseus' prayer calls attention to a difference between the two passages. Aeneas' prayer to the Tiber River is prompted by a revelation similar to Athena's. The Tiber, however, appears to Aeneas some time after his arrival in Italy, his meeting with the Latins and the beginning of the war. Instead, Aeneas is about to sail up the Tiber to Pallanteum, the site of future Rome.

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[100] See Chapter 1, p. 16–21 above for a discussion of the Ennian line. *Ann.* 26: *teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto*.

[101] Liv. 2.10.11. Cf. Hickson 1993: 60.

[102] Hickson 1993: 67–9 for the verb *adesse* in prayers.

As Aeneas' words and actions parallel Odysseus', the arrival at the Tiber is assimilated to a long-awaited homecoming. The reference to the Homeric prayer signals that the Roman reader has at last reached the section in which Vergil will visit the readers' and epic's home. The use of traditional Roman prayer language showcases Aeneas' dual identity as both Greek and Roman hero. Allusion to Odysseus' prayer at this point combined with language drawn from Roman prayer formula brings out the underlying focus of the epic: Rome and Roman traditions.

Arruns and Apollo

Arruns' prayer in Book Eleven is remarkable because, while it has a Homeric precedent, it also incorporates the practices of a native Italic cult.[103] Arruns is a part of the Etruscan forces allied with Aeneas and is stalking Camilla.[104] At his point in the epic, Camilla's death has been foreshadowed and Camilla's fate in the *Aeneid* has been depicted as analogous to that of Patroclus and Sarpedon in the *Iliad*.[105] Ironically, Arruns' prayer to Apollo requesting that he may kill Camilla closely follows Achilles' prayer to

[103] Chapter 3 discusses further the use of ancient cult in prayers and Arrun's prayer in particular at p. 98–100.

[104] Miller 1994: 172 n. 5 nicely sums up the controversy over which side Arruns belongs and affirms the dominant interpretation that Arruns is a member of the Etruscan forces led by Aeneas' ally Tarchon.

[105] Horsfall 2003: 140 cites 11.664 and 11.806 for references to Patroclus in the portrayal of Camilla. See also Knauer 1964: 308–14 and Gransden 1991: 19–20 for a description of how Camilla's death is based on that of Patroclus.

Zeus for the safety of Patroclus in his *aristeia*. These prayers have important points of contact but are overtly fairly dissimilar, so that Achilles' prayer is an important point of reference for the interpretation of Arrun's. The two prayers run:

> "summe deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo,
> quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor aceruo
> pascitur, et medium freti pietate per ignem
> cultores multa premimus uestigia pruna,
> da, pater, hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis,
> omnipotens. non exuuias pulsaeue tropaeum
> uirginis aut spolia ulla peto, mihi cetera laudem
> facta ferent; haec dira meo dum uulnere pestis
> pulsa cadat, patrias remeabo inglorius urbes." (*Aen*. 11.785–93)

"Highest of the gods, Apollo the guardian of blessed Soracte, whom we are the first to worship and in whose honor a pinewood fire is fuelled by its heaped-up pile. We as your worshippers, relying on our faith, plant our footsteps on the deep ashes of the fire. Grant, all-powerful father, that this disgrace be destroyed by our weapons. I don't seek spoils, a trophy for a despoiled girl or any booty. My other accomplishments will bring me fame. But let this terrible scourge be defeated and fall by my spear, I will go back to my native cities with no credit."

"Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ, τηλόθι ναίων,
Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου· ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ
σοὶ ναίουσ᾽ ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι.
ἠμὲν δή ποτ᾽ ἐμὸν ἔπος ἔκλυες εὐξαμένοιο,
τίμησας μὲν ἐμέ, μέγα δ᾽ ἴψαο λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν,
ἠδ᾽ ἔτι καὶ νῦν μοι τόδ᾽ ἐπικρήηνον ἐέλδωρ·
αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ μενέω νηῶν ἐν ἀγῶνι,
ἀλλ᾽ ἕταρον πέμπω πολέσιν μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεσσι
μάρνασθαι· …
αὐτὰρ ἐπεί κ᾽ ἀπὸ ναῦφι μάχην ἐνοπήν τε δίηται,
ἀσκηθής μοι ἔπειτα θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας ἵκοιτο
τεύχεσί τε ξὺν πᾶσι καὶ ἀγχεμάχοις ἑτάροισιν." (*Il*. 16.233–41, 246–8)

"Zeus on high, Dodonaean, Pelasgian, you who dwell far off, ruling over wintry Dodona—and the two Selli, who live around you, are your interpreters, and sleep on the ground with unwashed feet—you then surely heard my words when I prayed and honored me by destroying the great host of the Achaeans. Now again fulfill for me my prayer. For I myself will remain in the line of ships, but I send my companion to fight with the many Myrmidons: ... But when he has driven the noisy battle away from the ships, may he come back unharmed to me and the swift ships with all his arms and comrades-in-arms."

The Homeric prayer is unique in the following respects: Achilles "commences the epic's last movement when he delivers the *Iliad's* most articulated prayer, the weirdest invocation, and lengthiest aretalogy."[106] In fact, both prayers invoke particular aspects of gods involving a time-honored cult that, as Georg Knauer pointed out, are distinguished by practices involving feet.[107] Arruns' invocation to Apollo at Mount Soracte indicates that he is a member of the Hirpri Sorani, the Faliscan priestly families in charge of the fire ritual.[108] Arruns' invocation is also odd in that it uses the epithets *summe deum* and *pater … omnipotens* for Apollo, which most naturally would be applied to Jupiter.[109] The use of these epithets for Apollo bridges the gap between two prayers that reference such a strangely similar ritual in that it parallels Achilles' invocation to Zeus (*Ζεῦ ἄνα*, *Il.* 16.233), the Greek equivalent of Jupiter. Hickson simplifies Vergil's reference to Achilles' prayer by arguing that it is general context rather than specific detail that affects the contact between the two prayers.[110] Arruns' prayer, however, exploits the Homeric prayer to emphasize key differences between the two situations.

While both Arruns and Achilles seek to stop the demoralizing success of an enemy warrior and pray that the one accomplishing that enemy's demise escape harm,

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[106] Lateiner 1997: 266.

[107] Knauer 1964: 310–14. The custom of fire walking in religious ceremony is also mentioned in Pliny *Nat. Hist*. 7.19.

[108] See Servius ad 11.785; Horsfall 2003: 421 and Miller 1994: 172.

[109] Miller 1994: 174–5 proposes that the close correspondence between Apollo and Jupiter in the epic is at issue here.

[110] Hickson 1993: 30.

Arruns is praying for his own success and Achilles for that of his emissary Patroclus. As I mentioned above, Camilla's death is a re-enactment of some aspects of the deaths of the Trojan Sarpedon and Greek Patroclus. Arruns, accordingly, takes on the role of the Trojans Euphorbus and Hector in the action of the poem but is also associated with Achilles because of his prayer. Vergil thus utilizes the words and actions of both a Homeric Trojan and a Greek in his description of Arruns, just like Camilla, and switches the object of the prayer from saving Patroclus to killing an incarnation of Patroclus in the *Aeneid*. As John F. Miller notes, this prayer "displays Vergil's penchant for inverting Homeric *loci*."[111] Achilles' prayer is a *da quia dedisti* or 'give because you gave' prayer: Zeus had already granted Achaean defeat and so he should also grant this request.[112] Arruns proffers instead his devotion as a participant in the Italian-Etruscan cult of Soractean Apollo. Achilles mentions a Zeus-cult in his invocation, but does not claim active participation. Horsfall remarks that the phrase *freti pietate* in Arruns' prayer serves as a "tribute to the ancient piety of Italy."[113] Arruns' claim of a special piety based on his membership in the Hirpri Sorani stands as equivalent to the privileged status Achilles has received because he is the son of a goddess. In addition, while Achilles prays for glory and the return of his armor, Arruns disavows any desire for glory or his enemy's armor. Vergil recreates the killing of Patroclus, but alters the role and motivation of the suppliant. He inserts Italic elements to change the context, and emphasizes the speaker's

[111] Miller 1994: 173.

[112] I use the terminology of Lang 1975: 310–11 and Lateiner 1997: 267.

[113] Horsfall 2003: 422.

piety and moral fiber. In essence, the Homeric motif is re-imagined to include native Italian religious tradition, but the combination creates further ambiguity for Arruns.

There is an immediate response to each prayer (*Aen*. 11.794–5; *Il*. 16.250–2). Hickson points out that the divine responses to the prayers are striking since, uniquely in each epic, the god answers one part of the prayer, but denies another.[114] The reasons for the response are similar in each epic. Achilles had obtained the Achaeans' defeat but now he prays for two favors conflicting with that one. He wants Patroclus to get victory, and to return safe after the Trojans retreat. These are contradictory wishes because he had earlier requested Trojan victory and dead Achaeans but now asks for Achaean victory and dead Trojans.[115] Apollo's response to Arruns mirrors this situation: Apollo cannot grant the entire prayer because Diana had already vowed that Camilla's killer would not survive the encounter. Arruns' piety and priesthood do not change the response to the prayer, but they do prove to be comparable to the privileged status afforded Achilles.

The Trojan Women

The prayer of queen Amata and women of Latium to Athena (*Aen*. 11.477–85) is based on a prayer from the Homeric epics, when the Trojan women pray to Athena (*Il*. 6.297, 305–10). The prayer draws on Roman prayer language and also follows closely the

[114] Hickson 1993: 31.

[115] Lateiner 1997: 267.

Homeric model so that these women are assimilated to the Trojans of the Homeric poems.

During the Latin war-council (*Aen*. 11.225–444), there are two minds about the future of the war: Latinus and Drances argue in favor of making peace with Aeneas and the Trojans, but Turnus disagrees. The assembly is disrupted, however, when a messenger announces of the imminent Trojan attack on the city (*Aen*. 11.445–50) and the Latins prepare to fight (*Aen*. 11.451–68). The next section explicates the two sides of the debate. While Latinus still regrets that he did not accept Aeneas initially as a son-in-law and ally (*Aen*. 11.469–72), the entire city prepares for war. The Latin women go to Athena's temple and pray for protection against Aeneas:

> nec non ad templum summasque ad Palladis arces
> subuehitur magna matrum regina caterua
> dona ferens, iuxtaque comes Lauinia uirgo,
> causa mali tanti, oculos deiecta decoros.
> succedunt matres et templum ture uaporant
> et maestas alto fundunt de limine uoces:
> "armipotens, praeses belli, Tritonia uirgo,
> frange manu telum Phrygii praedonis, et ipsum
> pronum sterne solo portisque effunde sub altis." (*Aen*. 11.477–85)

> The queen with a great retinue of mothers comes bearing gifts to the temple and highest citadels of Pallas Athena. With her is the maiden Lavinia, the cause of all the evil, her pretty eyes downcast. The mothers follow and fill the temple with incense. They pour out their sorrowful voices from the high threshold: "Mighty in arms, preeminent in war, Tritonian maiden, break the spear of the Phrygian thief with your hand, throw him prone onto the ground and spread him out under your high gates."

This prayer is modeled on the prayer in *Iliad* 6, in which Hecabe and the Trojan women plead their case to Athena:

> αἱ δ᾽ ὅτε νηὸν ἵκανον Ἀθήνης ἐν πόλει ἄκρῃ,
> …
> αἱ δ᾽ ὀλολυγῇ πᾶσαι Ἀθήνῃ χεῖρας ἀνέσχον:
> ἡ δ᾽ ἄρα πέπλον ἑλοῦσα Θεανὼ καλλιπάρῃος
> θῆκεν Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἠϋκόμοιο,
> εὐχομένη δ᾽ ἠρᾶτο Διὸς κούρῃ μεγάλοιο:
> "πότνι᾽ Ἀθηναίη, ῥυσίπτολι δῖα θεάων,
> ἆξον δὴ ἔγχος Διομήδεος, ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτὸν
> πρηνέα δὸς πεσέειν Σκαιῶν προπάροιθε πυλάων,
> ὄφρά τοι αὐτίκα νῦν δυοκαίδεκα βοῦς ἐνὶ νηῷ
> ἤνις ἠκέστας ἱερεύσομεν, αἴ κ᾽ ἐλεήσῃς

ἄστύ τε καὶ Τρώων ἀλόχους καὶ νήπια τέκνα." (*Il*. 6.297, 301–10)

> Now when they came to the temple of Athena in the citadel of the city … with sacred cries they all lifted up their hands to Athena. Fair-cheeked Theano took the robe and laid it upon the knees of fair-haired Athena, and with vows made prayer to the daughter of great Zeus: "Queen Athena, guardian of the city, goddess among goddesses, break the spear of Diomedes, and grant also that he may fall prone before the Scaean gates; we will now immediately sacrifice twelve sleek heifers that have not felt the goad to you in your temple, if you will take pity on Troy, the Trojans' wives and their little children."

There are several elements of these prayers that are remarkably similar. Before the prayer, the Latin women approach the temple and highest citadels of Pallas Athena (*ad templum summasque ad Palladis arces, Aen*. 11.477) as the Trojan women had approached the temple of Athena in the citadel of the city (*αἳ δ᾽ ὅτε νηὸν ἵκανον Ἀθήνης ἐν πόλει ἄκρῃ, Il*. 6.297). The Homeric prayer calls upon Athena with the triple epithet of queen, city protector and goddess among goddesses (*πότνι᾽ Ἀθηναίη ἐρυσίπτολι δῖα θεάων, Il*. 6.305), which is similar to the Latins' invocation, although instead of the city it gives her dominion over war (*armipotens, praeses belli, Tritonia uirgo, Aen*. 11.483). The alternate aretalogy of Athena in the *Aeneid*, in so far as it justifies the choice of the god to whom the prayer is dedicated, creates a slightly harsher

tone for the prayer since the women's motivation is violence and not protection.[116] Each prayer asks her to break the enemy's weapon (*frange manu telum Phrygii praedonis, Aen.* 11.484 and *ἆξον δὴ ἔγχος Διομήδεος, Il.* 6.306) and request that their enemy be laid prone before the gates (*et ipsum / pronum sterne solo portisque effunde sub altis, Aen.* 11.484–5 and *ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτὸν / πρηνέα δὸς πεσέειν Σκαιῶν προπάροιθε πυλάων, Il.* 6.306–7).

The narrative function for the prayers, however, is not the same. In the *Iliad*, the outcome of the prayer is immediately stated: Athena refuses their request and Diomedes will not die (*ὣς ἔφατ᾽ εὐχομένη, ἀνένευε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη, Il.* 6.311). This is strange for a Homeric prayer; it is in fact the only outright rejection of a prayer request in either epic.[117] The anticipatory function of the prayer is disrupted to preserve narrative consistency: the request is made so that Hector can return to Troy instead of entering into conflict with Diomedes but the request goes beyond the limits of what is possible for Athena to grant, since she is Diomedes' ally.[118] In the *Aeneid*, there is no answer to the request given, but because of the allusion to the Homeric prayer, there is an implicit refusal. Nicholas Horsfall notes the similar outcome of the two prayers: "the reminiscences of … *Il.* 6 should probably be taken as suggesting that the local Minerva

[116] See Lateiner 1997: 254 for the variations or absence of aretalogies in Homeric prayers.

[117] Morrison 1991: 153. Lateiner 1997: 260–1, however, names three other instances where the positive responses are immediately qualified (*Il.* 2.419, 3.302, 16.249 –52) and seven where a god is restrained by another god or fate (*Il.* 1.503–21; 8.208–11, 350–72; 16.433–6; 19.87, 410; 24.209.

[118] See Morrison 1991: 153–6.

will be no kinder than the Trojan Athena."[119] The prayer casts the suppliants in the role of the Trojans of the Homeric epic, the losers of the war, and the objects of Athena's wrath.

The alliteration of *prasens … praedonis … pronum* and the opening tricolon in the invocation (*armipotens, praeses belli, Tritonia uirgo, Aen*. 11.483) suggest the structure of a Roman prayer, but the prayer lacks a *verbum precandi* or a pledge section. The absence of language that resembles Roman prayer formula in the prayer of the Latin women, who are part of Rome's ancestry and in whom the audience could envision the origin of their own ancient prayer language, alienates these women from a central aspect of Roman identity. There is, however, an alternate element to the ritual performed before the prayer. In the Homeric version, the women cry and lift their hands, and the priestess dresses the statue of the goddess (*Il* 6.305–8). In the *Aeneid*, however, the women perform a Roman ritual before their prayer: they burn incense (*templum ture uaporant, Aen*. 11.481).[120] There is a juxtaposition between the actions and the words of the women: they perform a ritual used in Roman funerary and public ritual but speak the words of an unsuccessful Homeric prayer. This inconsistency highlights the fractured identity of the enemy Latins. The Vergilian version of the prayer reveals the impotence of Aeneas' opposition, and shifts the stigma acquired from losing the Trojan War onto the Latins.

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[119] Horsfall 2003: 286. Horsfall also notes that the line *nec non ad templum summasque ad Palladis arces* is similar to *Aen*. 1.47, where the ritual action is also not successful.

[120] Horsfall 2003: 288 notes that incense is widely used in Roman funerary and public ritual. Cf. Ryberg 1955: index s.v. and Seibert 1999: 95 for examples of incense in ritual depicted in ancient art.

Conclusion

In prayers that draw on Homeric prayer motifs and subject matter, Vergil creates a picture of the complex religious background for Rome that is shown from many perspectives and which is constantly shifting. When the characters verbalize both Homeric and Roman prayer language, their fractured identities are brought into focus. In several cases Vergil draws on the Homeric precedent to give the Trojan heroes and their Italian allies the Homeric experience, such as Pallas, Nisus and Ascanius, but also to expose the deviant nature of Italian enemies in religious terms, like Mezentius and Metabus/Camilla. Prayers also align characters with specific Homeric Greek heroes, like Arruns and Achilles or Aeneas and Odysseus. In these instances, the complicated nature of Italian religion is also at issue, since these characters are the precursors for Rome and Roman traditions. In the case of the Latin women, Vergil alludes to Homer in their prayer to equate them with the Trojan women in the *Iliad* but also as a proxy for more direct, explicit divine intervention.

In the next chapter I will look at how Vergil adapts Roman religious practice and incorporates native Roman gods into the epic. I will show that when prayer is used in depictions of ritual in the *Aeneid*, it rarely matches up with our record of actual ritualized prayers. In a similar fashion, prayers accompanied by ritual observance in the *Aeneid* use allusion variously to shape cultural identity as well as underscore the gap between Roman cult practice and the action described in the epic.

CHAPTER 3

ROMAN RITUAL AND CULT

In Roman religious practice prayer and ritual go hand-in-hand, but there are only a few instances in the *Aeneid* when a prayer in direct speech and ritual action are represented together in the text.[121] When prayer is used in depictions of ritual the description of it rarely matches up with what we know of prayer in the historical record. Still, ritual action in Vergil's hands acts as a device to articulate a central component of Roman identity. This chapter looks at prayers in the *Aeneid* that are accompanied by ritual and examines in what form each enters the text. I especially focus on whether Vergil has alluded to or retained the language of historical prayer formula in the prayers or referred to precise ritual action, insofar as this makes a meaningful connection to Roman practice or Augustan religious reform.

As I demonstrated in the previous chapters, there are several instances in the *Aeneid* where Vergil retains some words, constructions or phrases from Roman prayer language. Often formulaic language, ritual action and allusion to literary precedent inserted into Vergil's prayers create inconsistency between the speaker's assertion and the actual events of the poem or the character's cultural background. Inquiries into the

[121] For the close relationship between ritual and prayer see, for example, Scheid 2003: 97–105.

inconsistencies that arise in sacrifices and prophecies of the epic have revealed a sense of competitive perspectives within the narrative and beyond, and have shown that even implicit inconsistency within language or ritual performance influence plot and textual interpretation.[122] In prayers that are accompanied by ritual action speakers often prefigure Roman practice and therefore assume a position of power through their privileged access to technical religious language and action.[123]

There are several prayers accompanied by ritual observance in the *Aeneid* that use allusion variously to shape cultural identity. The Salian hymn (*Aen*. 8.293–302) situates the citizens of Pallanteum in a Roman religious context by linking them to the cult of Hercules celebrated at the Ara Maxima. This prayer works in conjunction with Evander's prayer to Jupiter (*Aen*. 8.572–82) as well as two prayers of Pallas (*Aen*. 10.421–3 and *Aen*. 10.460–3) in which the characters prefigure Roman religious, legal and political traditions. These connections frame their speeches in a Roman context and link them to Augustan ideology as well as heighten the pathos of Pallas' death. The request of prayers spoken by Ascanius (*Aen*. 9.625–9), Cloanthus (*Aen*. 5.234–8) and Arruns (*Aen*. 11.785–8) are legitimized in part by their use of language familiar from Roman or Italic religious tradition. The characters assert special relationships to the gods by their privileged access to religious practice. Anchises' prayers that draw from historical prayer formula (*Aen*. 3.261–6 and *Aen*. 3.525–9) compliment his role in the epic and underscore his role as the

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[122] Dyson 2001; O'Hara 1986.

[123] See Laird 1999: 153–208 for a discussion of Vergil's use of direct speech as an expression of power in the *Aeneid*.

progenitor of future Romans. Dido in prayers sometimes draws on (*Aen*. 1.731–7) and in other instances distorts (*Aen*. 4.607–29) Roman customs, and these verbal markers magnify the tragic elements of her story and also present Dido as something foreign. Finally, I look at borrowings from a Roman public prayer, the *devotio*, to show that Turnus' prayer (*Aen*. 12.646–9) exposes his incompatibility with the burgeoning Roman culture. The combination of language drawn from historical prayer formula and ritual action in conjunction with the prayers' responses or accompanying prayers frame each of these speeches in Roman terms. I will look separately at the internal features of the prayers spoken by each of these characters that suggest aspirations to Roman piety and therefore alter the tone of the prayers in different ways.

Salian Hymn, Evander & Pallas

To begin this investigation, I will look at a unique episode in the poem. In Book Eight the Salian priests sing a hymn to Hercules in Pallanteum at the celebration of Hercules' annual rites. This prayer draws on language and ritual from several different sources to evoke both traditional religious ritual and the Augustan ideology current during the composition of the poem. In addition, it serves to set up the subsequent religious dialogue of Evander and Pallas. As each character draws upon his connection to Hercules established in the Salian hymn and Roman religious tradition, there is an active discourse that links these characters internally to the Salian hymn and externally to the audience's religious experience. The prayers serve to evoke pathos for the characters that

speak them, while simultaneously aligning their words and deeds with the larger context of Augustan ideology.

For the Salian hymn Vergil draws upon a version of Roman religious tradition; according to Livy, the Ara Maxima and its priesthood, which are both introduced in the *Aeneid* immediately preceding the Salian hymn as a part of the celebration for Hercules, were brought to Italy by Evander.[124] Vergil mentions two additional traditional details of Hercules' cult associated with the Ara Maxima: the two families that were supposed to have been in charge of the rites until 312 BCE, the Pinarii and Potitii; and the priestly garb of animal skins and wreaths, both of which are consistent with rites that were celebrated *in ritu Graeco*.[125] The cult of Hercules, however, does not include the Salian priests. In Rome, the Salian priests played a central role in two sets of festivals in March and October, which mark the preparation for and end of the war season.[126] In the *Aeneid*, the Salii wear poplar wreaths and break into two choruses, one of old men and the other of young warriors, which probably represents the two groups of Salii, which were of Mars and Quirinus.[127] There seems to be little historical connection between this cult and

[124] Livy 9.29.9–11. Livy 1.7.11, Ov. *Fast.* 1.587, Prop. 4.9.67–70 have Hercules himself establish the Ara Maxima and its rites. In Dion. Hal. 1.39–40, Hercules set up the Ara Maxima for the worship of Jupiter Inventor but later Evander used it to sacrifice to Hercules, and then worship of Hercules at the Ara Maxima became traditional.

[125] Livy 1.7; Ogilvie 1965: 60–1. Servius ad loc. says Hercules gave the command to set up the altar and his cult directly to these families (*quibus, qualiter se coli vellet, ostendit*).

[126] Dion. Hal. 2.70.1–5. Cf. Beard, North & Price 1998: 43, 126–7.

[127] Livy (1.19.6–20.7) claimed that Numa chose twelve patricians to serve Mars Gravidus and that they wear embroidered tunics with a bronze breastplate and carry shields,

the Salian priests beyond the fact that each were said to have originated at the city Tibur.[128] Still, each are associated with Augustus in some way. Beyond the association between Hercules and Augustus as living sons of gods, the cult of Hercules and the annual celebration of Hercules' victory over Cacus in the *Aeneid* is set up as a parallel to Augustus' victory over Antony as they are both defenders of civilization.[129] D. L. Drew has proposed that Vergil's intention throughout Book Eight is to allude to ceremonies and rituals that took place in August of 29 B.C.E., the month of Augustus' triple triumph, which was also the month in the Roman calendar that Hercules' victory over Cacus was annually celebrated.[130] There is historical evidence to connect the hymn of the Salian priests to Augustus since, after the Battle of Actium, a senatorial decree inserted his name into the *carmen saliare*.[131] So, while the appearance of the Salii is strange in the middle of the rites for Hercules, it is not entirely inappropriate because it reflects the later historical

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ancilia, while they process through the city chanting hymns and dancing. See also Beard, North & Price 1998: 43.

[128] Macrob. *Sat.* 3.7 in his comments on this passage, offers evidence for Salii at Tibur, which is confirmed by inscriptions cited by Wissowa 1971: 272 and Bailey 1935: 57.

[129] Gransden 1976: 107–9 argues that Vergil emphasizes typological parallels between Cacus and Antony as enemies of civilization and Hercules and Augustus as defenders of it in the descriptions of each in Book Eight (Hercules and Cacus: 8.190–268 and Augustus and Antony: 8.671–728). For example, he suggests that Vergil's description of the 'triple death of Geryon' (*tergemini nece Geryonae*, 8.201) emphasizes Hercules as a *triumphator* and makes a connection to the triple triumph of Augustus described on Aeneas' shield (*triplici invectus … triumpho*, 8.714).

[130] Drew 1927: 17–19 who cites *CIL* I.399 and Dio. Cass. 20–1, 51; Gransden 1976: 106, 117–8.

[131] *Res Gestae* 10.1; Dio 51.20. Cf. Gransden 1976: 119–20.

practice since the participants in the narrative are about to enter a war and because each of the cults have ties to Augustus.

The Salian hymn petitions for Hercules' presence at their celebration:

> "tu nubigenas, inuicte, bimembris
> Hylaeumque Pholumque manu, tu Cresia mactas
> prodigia et uastum Nemeae sub rupe leonem.
> te Stygii tremuere lacus, te ianitor Orci
> ossa super recubans antro semesa cruento;
> nec te ullae facies, non terruit ipse Typhoeus
> arduus arma tenens; non te rationis egentem
> Lernaeus turba capitum circumstetit anguis.
> salue, uera Iouis proles, decus addite diuis,
> et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo." (*Aen*. 8.293–302)

"Unconquered Hercules, you slay the cloud-born half-men Hylaeus and Pholus, the Cretan bull and the huge lion in the Nemean cave. The Stygian lakes and the watchdog of Orcus, who lies above half-eaten bones in his bloody cave, tremble at you. But no visage has ever made you afraid, not Typhoeus himself holding arms high. You did not lose your reasoning when the Lernaean Hydra stood around you with her crowd of heads. Hail, true son of Jupiter, glory newly added to the gods, favorably approach us and your rites with an approving presence."

Within this prayer, there are a few constructions familiar from the language of historical prayer formula, such as the repetition of the second person pronoun (*tu…tu… te…te*) and a double adjective in asyndeton (*arduus arma tenens, Aen*. 8.299), but Vergil also draws upon Greek models[132] and uses unusual words, such as *dexter* (*Aen*. 8.302) to mean "favorable" as opposed to a petitionary formula *volens propitius* or the adjective *bonus*, which was probably used in the Salian hymn.[133] It is notable that in this instance Vergil avoids using a formulaic term of address, such as *volens*, even where it would fit the meter. The format of the prayer is consistent with a Roman hymn, which generally included a long-winded invocation.[134] This combination of traditional and non-traditional language brings the prayer noticeably out of the religious sphere and into the literary, while still retaining a sense of proper ritual observance. The final two lines of the prayer (*Aen*. 8.301–2), which repeat the ceremonial invocation to request Hercules' presence at a feast in his honor, hint at another layer of meaning, since they point to similar lines in the

[132] See Gransden 1976: 119–23. He cites hymn to Apollo at Apollonius 2.700–19 as a comparison for a mixture of direct and indirect speech.

[133] Hickson 1993: 57 explains that while *dexter* is used to explain propitious auspices according to *TLL* 5.924.12–18, 61–84, Vergil is the first to use this meaning with connection to a deity. Later authors follow Vergil's example, such as Ovid *Fasti* 1.6, 67, 69. In his commentary, Servius attempts to explain this use by glossing it with *bonus ac per hoc propitius*. For the adjective *bonus* in the Salian hymn, see Varro *ling. Lat*. 7.26. The text is corrupt or unintelligible, but Buechner 1982: 2 gives Maurenbrecher's conjecture *es bonus Sancus Ianius, es bonus Ceres, (es) Janus*. In addition, Paulus and Festus propose that in the Salian hymn *manus* stands for *bonus*.

[134] Newlands 2004: 366.

fourth *Eclogue*. In Vergil's earlier poem, there is an exclamation that describes a child whose birth signals the return of the Golden Age:

> adgredere o magnos (aderit iam tempus) honores,
> cara deum suboles, magnum Iovis incrementum! (*Ecl*. 4.48–9)

> Take up your great honors (the time is now approaching), dear offspring of the gods, great son of Jupiter!

This passage refers to a child who will be added to the ranks of Jupiter's sons, like Hercules or Bacchus. In the *Aeneid*, Hercules is invoked as an offspring of Jupiter (*uera Iouis proles*, *Aen*. 8.301) and as having added glory to the gods (*decus addite diuis*, *Aen*. 8.301), which parallels the invocation to the child in the *Eclogues* as an offspring of Jupiter (*E*. 4.49) and as a potential contributor of honors (*E*. 4.48). As the prayer of the Salian priests alludes to this passage, it looks ahead to Vergil's own time when there was a renewal of religious customs. The inconsistency created by simultaneously using allusion and non-formulaic language alongside formulaic prayer language subtly indicates a program larger than a request for Hercules' presence at their feast. By merging the two time periods within the prayer, Vergil conflates the prayer spoken on behalf of Aeneas and his companions with one for Vergil's audience and the Augustan age, and the identities of the native priests with their future Roman counterparts. Vergil employs allusion and ritual language to lend credibility to the claim of Aeneas and his

allies at Pallanteum to establish the Roman race and its customs, as well as endow these men with fundamental characteristics of Roman identity that are also germane to Augustan ideology.

The Salian hymn firmly places the citizens and leaders of Pallanteum within a Roman religious context. The subsequent prayers of both Evander and Pallas consolidate and extend this privileged access to Roman practice. These prayers are not accompanied by ritual action in the poem, but the earlier prayer to Hercules by the Salian priests in Pallanteum has established their familial connection to Hercules and heralds the Italian alliance and future Roman state.

At the end of their feast and the departure of Aeneas, Evander prays to the gods for the return of Pallas:

> "at uos, o superi, et diuum tu maxime rector
> Iuppiter, Arcadii, quaeso, miserescite regis
> et patrias audite preces. si numina uestra
> incolumem Pallanta mihi, si fata reseruant,
> si uisurus eum uiuo et uenturus in unum,
> uitam oro, patior quemuis durare laborem.
> sin aliquem infandum casum, Fortuna, minaris,
> nunc, nunc o liceat crudelem abrumpere uitam,
> dum curae ambiguae, dum spes incerta futuri,

dum te, care puer, mea sola et sera uoluptas,
complexu teneo, grauior neu nuntius auris
uulneret." (*Aen*. 8.572–82)

"But you, o gods above, and you, greatest Jupiter, ruler of the gods, I ask that you take pity on an Arcadian king and grant a father's prayers. If your divine will and the fates keep Pallas safe for me, if I will live to see him and be together with him again, I beg for life and I steel myself to endure any hardship. But, Fortune, if you threaten some unspeakable disaster, let me here and now end this cruel life, while my concerns are unfulfilled, while my anticipated future is possible, while I hold you in my arms, dear son, my only and late-born joy. May no more painful news wound my ears."

The heart of this prayer is an emotional appeal. The tragic nature of the words, in that Evander begs for life if Pallas will survive and death if he dies, heightens the emotion and foreshadows the death of Pallas. In addition, the prayer breaks off in the 1st foot of line 582, which draws attention to the intensity of his emotional state.[135] The entire prayer evokes formulaic prayer language in that it uses a double invocation, is alliterative with the repetition of the sounds *us* and *ps*, and contains two tricolons with anaphora

[135] Gransden 1976: 156 notes that the breaking-off of the speech after the first foot is highly effective.

(*si…si…si; dum…dum…dum*).[136] The initial verb of request, *quaeso*, is an abbreviation of the formula *precor quaesoque*, which is the "preferred technical formula for use in State cult from the first century."[137] Vergil draws on enough formulae to give an outline of a proper Roman prayer but uses literary language to deepen the pathetic, emotive nature of the prayer.

The language and format of this prayer does not explicitly link it to the Salian hymn. There are a few aspects, however, that suggest the earlier prayer's circumstances and subject matter. Evander calls on Jupiter under the pretense of his relationship as father to Pallas (*patrias audite preces*, *Aen*. 8.574),[138] which is the same relationship that is invoked in the Salian hymn for Jupiter and Hercules. The setting for the two prayers is also similar: each is accompanied by a sacrifice and at an altar to Hercules (*Aen*. 8.541–45).[139] Most importantly, it is striking that Evander refers to himself in the prayer as the *Arcadius rex*, which recalls the myth wherein Evander brought Greek religious and legal traditions, like the cult of Hercules, to Italy from his native Arcadia. This particular role not only links Evander to the previous religious ritual but looks forward to the ritual as it had been recently celebrated during Augustus' triple triumph *in ritu Graeco*. Evander

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[136] Gransden 1976: 156 mentions some of these features.

[137] Hickson 1993: 49. Hickson also notes that Vergil prefers the synonym *precor* in his prayers overall, and this is the only time he uses *quaeso* as a verb of request.

[138] Dido uses a similar formula in her prayer at 4.612: *et nostras audite preces* (Hickson 1993: 117).

[139] Granden 1976: 153 proposes that this altar to Hercules is not the Ara Maxima because the latter was by a river, but there is no clear distinction in the text.

makes reference to both his contributions to Roman and Italic religious tradition, which, as the cult of Hercules, were practiced even in Vergil's day, and his role of father. His legacy, however, will only be his cultural enrichments, since his son does not return from the battlefield. In sum, the earlier ritual deepens the poignancy of the petitionary prayer.

Pallas' first interaction with Aeneas in the poem is at *Aen*. 10.160 on their voyage back to Latium. Pallas closely accompanies Aeneas (*sinistro adfixus lateri, Aen*. 10.160–1) and is under his tutelage (*Aen*. 10.161–2). Vergil calls attention to the connection between the two characters and transfers the explicitly emotional bond of the paternal relationship to the teacher-pupil relationship between Aeneas and Pallas.[140] This culminates when after Pallas' death Aeneas rages with grief and takes revenge on Turnus. In addition, the tie between the Aeneas and Pallas gives the latter character a primary place in the epic. Pallas steps into the role of a member of the legacy of Aeneas, a proto-Roman, who is dramatically killed before his potential is fulfilled. Pallas' prayers help to build his connection to Roman religious traditions.

Pallas' first prayer in Book Ten underlines his Roman credentials:

> iniecere manum Parcae telisque sacrarunt
> Evandri. quem sic Pallas petit ante precatus:
> "da nunc, Thybri pater, ferro, quod missile libro,

[140] On the teacher-pupil relationship between Aeneas and Pallas, see Harrison 1991: 105–6.

fortunam atque uiam duri per pectus Halaesi.

haec arma exuuiasque uiri tua quercus habebit." (*Aen*. 10.419–23)

> The Fates laid their hands upon him (Halaesus) and consecrated him for the weapons of Evander. Pallas aimed for him and made this prayer in advance of his attack: "Father Thybris, grant luck and a path through the chest of strong Halaesus to my weapon, the spear that I brandish. Your oak tree will have these arms and the spoils of that men."

In the last chapter, my discussion of this prayer examined the Homeric precedent from which Vergil draws.[141] There are, in addition, several Roman elements that connect Pallas to Roman religious, legal and political traditions. Before the prayer Vergil notes that Halaesus has lost the supernatural protection of his father Messapus at the latter's death. Vergil uses the technical term for claiming one's property in court in Roman law (*iniecere manum, Aen*. 10.419) to describe Fates' claim on Halaesus' life.[142] The invocation of the prayer is to Thybris, rather than Tiberinus or Tiberis, which invocation Aeneas also uses when he lands on the banks of the Tiber.[143] Harrison notes that this

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[141] See Chapter 2, p. 44–5 above.

[142] Cf. Servius ad 10.419; *Lex* XII; Gaius *Inst*. 4.21; Ulpian, *Dig*. 11.7.4; Harrison 1991: 180.

[143] Vergil uses all of these forms of the name of the river in the *Aeneid* and Servius ad 3.500 has an interesting explanation for the Greek origin of variant Thybris from a Syracusan ditch. See Chapter 1, p. 16–21 above for discussion of Aeneas' invocation and the prayer's origins in Ennius.

prayer balances and contrasts the earlier prayer to the divine Tiber.[144] It is a particularly apt god to invoke since the battle is taking place at the river's mouth and Pallas hails from Pallanteum, which is on the Tiber. The river is also an important deity for Rome, which was founded at the site of Pallanteum, and the city had a shrine and festival to the god.[145] Finally, in the prayer Pallas promises on the condition of his victory to dedicate the arms and spoils of Halaesus to the river god on its oak tree. This evokes the myth that Romulus dedicated the first *spolia opima* on an oak tree to Jupiter.[146] Even though Pallas predates the tradition of *spolia opima* and the dedication is to Tiber instead of Jupiter, Pallas's actions are framed within a Roman context of a vowed dedication at an oak tree for a successful engagement with his enemy.

Pallas' second prayer, which he says on the advent of his battle with Turnus, draws on the Salian hymn:

> "per patris hospitium et mensas, quas aduena adisti,
> te precor, Alcide, coeptis ingentibus adsis.
> cernat semineci sibi me rapere arma cruenta
> uictoremque ferant morientia lumina Turni." (*Aen*. 10.460–63)

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[144] Harrison 1991: 180–1.

[145] See Wissowa 1971: 225; Latte 1960: 132 for details of the cult.

[146] Livy 1.10.5; Harrison 1991: 181.

> "By my father's hospitality and tables, to which you came as a stranger, I pray to you, Hercules. Stand now by this great undertaking. May Turnus as he dies see me stripping off his bloody armor and may his dying eyes look upon me as his conqueror."

As I mentioned above, this language is an amalgam of Homeric, Roman and Hellenistic prayer tradition.[147] When Vergil uses the Hellenistic patronymic for Hercules, Alcides, he has Pallas alter the Homeric invocation so that the hero calls upon the particular closeness of gods and men in the epic world; his father Evander is privileged with special access to Hercules since the god was a guest in his home. When Pallas calls upon Hercules as his father's guest, a relationship that connected Evander and Pallas so closely with Roman religious tradition in the Salian prayer, the pathos is intensified.

The story itself, however, parallels the battle between Patroclus and Hector, so that Pallas' death at the hands of Turnus has been foreshadowed. The prayer uses Roman formulaic prayer language in the invocation *coeptis ingentibus adsis*, since the verb *adesse* is found in several literary and actual prayers together with the substantive *coeptum*.[148] Hercules' response to the prayer confirms the special connection between Pallas and the god:

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[147] See Chapter 2, p. 52–55 above.

[148] Ogilvie 1965: 375 refers to *adesse* as a "very ancient form of invoking the help of gods ... or men." Hickson 1993: 67–9 cites verb *adesse* in several authors and in ritual. Harrison 1991: 190 cites examples of *adesse* used with the substantive *coeptum*.

audiit Alcides iuuenem magnumque sub imo
corde permit gemitum lacrimasque effundit inanis. (*Aen*. 10.464–5)

Hercules heard the young man and checked the huge groan deep within his chest while crying useless tears.

In fact, the entire following section (*Aen*. 10.464–73) is modeled on *Il*. 16.431–61 where Sarpedon also invokes his special relationship to Zeus but the god is nevertheless unable to save him in battle. The fact that the prayer is ultimately unsuccessful is not surprising in the epic context. It is remarkable, however, that Pallas' piety at this point has been put into Roman terms and, when unfulfilled, the prayer adds to the poignancy of this character's death. The prayer throws into sharp relief that Pallas speaks with authority on Roman religious tradition just as he loses his place within it.

Vowed Ritual: Ascanius, Cloanthus & Arruns

In the previous examples, performance of Roman ritual put speakers in positions of power and privilege, but the words were contrasted to the characters' cultural background and/or ability to influence the future events of the poem. Ascanius, Cloanthus and Arruns include vows for ritual practice within their petitionary prayers. In each case, references to Roman/Italic ritual in the direct speech of the suppliant give them a

fundamental piece of Roman identity, which is confirmed by their cultural background and success of their requests.

Ascanius' prayer in Book Nine prefigures Roman ritual practice when he vows future sacrifice to Jupiter:

> "Iuppiter omnipotens, audacibus adnue coeptis.
> ipse tibi ad tua templa feram sollemnia dona,
> et statuam ante aras aurata fronte iuuencum
> candentem pariterque caput cum matre ferentem,
> iam cornu petat et pedibus qui spargat harenam." (*Aen*. 9.625–9)

> All-powerful Jupiter, bless my bold undertaking. I myself will carry ceremonial gifts for you to your temple, and I will place in front of your altar a bullock with gilded horns shining white and holding its head as high as its mother; he already butts his horn and kicks up sand with his feet.

Vergil contrasts Homeric references to spear-formula and a prayer of Diomedes to Athena in the *Iliad* for aid on his night expedition with allusions to Roman practice.[149] First, the vow prefigures the sacrifices to Jupiter of the Roman *triumphator* on the Capitol, a ritual that ends with a sacrifice of two white bulls at the temple (cf. *ad tua*

[149] See Chapter 2, p. 47–8 for a discussion of the Homeric references.

templa, *Aen*. 9.626) of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.[150] In addition, *audacibus adnue coeptis* (*Aen*. 9.625) is identical to a line in *Georgics* 1.20 that introduces Vergil's prayer to Octavian for favor on his poetic undertaking (*da facilem cursum atque audacibus adnue coeptis, G*. 1.40). Vergil here varies the formulaic *coeptis adsis* and instead uses the imperative of *adnuere* so that while the phrase is similar to formulaic language, there is a distinctive change that underlines the allusion to the *Georgics*.[151] Also, Ascanius' words imitate the language used of Vergil's poetic triumph in Book Three of the *Georgics*: [152]

> ipse caput tonsae foliis ornatus oliuae
> dona feram. iam nunc sollemnis ducere pompas
> ad delubra iuuat caesosque uidere iuuencos, (*G*. 3.21–3)

> I myself, crowned with the leaves of cut olive branches, will bring gifts. Right now it is a pleasure to lead the solemn processions to the altars and to see the sacrifice of bullocks.

In this passage, Vergil describes the sacrifice of a bull at his triumphal procession with similar imagery (*sollemnis, ad delubra, iuuencos*) to that of Ascanius' prayer. The

[150] Beard, North & Price 1998: 272–5; Rüpke 2007b: 106; Hardie 1994: 201.

[151] Ogilvie 1965: 375 refers to *adesse* as a "very ancient form of invoking the help of gods ... or men." Hickson 1993: 67–9 cites verb *adesse* in several authors and in ritual. Harrison 1991: 190 cites examples of *adesse* used with the substantive *coeptum*.

[152] Hardie 1994: 201 notes this similarity.

similarity between these two prayers more firmly places Ascanius' prayer in the realm of a military triumph. Finally, the last line of the prayer is identical to *Eclogue* 3.87, in which Vergil mentions a bull reared as a prize for Pollio's *nova carmina*. The only technical term in the prayer is the adjective *aurata*, which appears in the vows of the Fratres Arvales to describe the sacrificial victim, but there the phrase is *bove aurato* rather than *aurata fronte*.[153] The closeness in the meaning of these two phrases in the context of sacrifice, however, is probably enough to remind Vergil's audience of an actual Roman sacrifice.

This prayer thus draws on the Homeric precedent, but it also evokes a Roman context by alluding to the offering sacrificed for Roman military (or dreamed poetic) triumph. Vergil aligns Ascanius' successful initial encounter with the accomplishments of famous Roman generals and poets but places it within an epic and religious context.

One main difference between this prayer and the prayers of Evander and Pallas is that there is an immediate, positive response from Jupiter:

> audiit et caeli genitor de parte serena
> intonuit laevum, sonat una fatifer arcus. (*Aen*. 9.631–2)

> Father Jupiter heard his prayer and thundered on the left from a clear section of the sky, and the death-bringing bow resounded at the same time.

[153] Hickson 1993: 137; Henzen 1967: 110.

This response refers to Roman augury in which flight from the left is a favorable sign. It also draws on literary precedents, especially Ennius and Lucretius, where an omen of thunder and lightening appear in a clear sky.[154] The combination of the ritual of the sacrificial bull and a favorable response that draws on literature and ritual practice brings this prayer into a Roman religious context. In addition, Vergil casts Ascanius as the bearer of a divine weapon, as the bow thunders. While references to Roman ritual and allusion evoked irony or pathos in the prayers of Evander and Pallas, for Ascanius they lead to attainment of divine favor for his request and affirmation of his place within Roman history.

The prayers of Cloanthus and Arruns similarly vow sacrifice in recognizably Roman form as the pledge of their petitions. There are also immediate, positive (at least in part) responses from the gods. Each character draws on Roman or Italic religious tradition to secure his request, which is legitimized by a positive response.

Trojan Cloanthus, who is previously mentioned only in passing in Book One, emerges as one of the four commanders of the ships in the boat race that is a part of Anchises' funeral games in Book Five. Vergil notes at the start of the race that Cloanthus is the founder of the Roman family Cluenti, which was a prominent family in the late

[154] Hardie 1994: 202: Vergil combines the wording of Ennius *Ann.* 541: *tum tonuit laevom bene tempestate serena* and Lucretius 6.99: *nec fit enim sonitus caeli de parte serena*. Also, cf. Horace 1.34; *Aen*. 8.524–5. Wigodsky 1972: 138 n. 704 argues that in the response Vergil 'corrects' Lucretius' rejection of traditional religious belief.

Republic.[155] In a prayer during the boat race, Cloanthus vows to make sacrifices to sea gods if he wins: [156]

> "di, quibus imperium est pelagi, quorum aequora curro,
> uobis laetus ego hoc candentem in litore taurum
> constituam ante aras uoti reus, extaque salsos
> proiciam in fluctus et uina liquentia fundam." (*Aen*. 5.234–8)

> Gods who rule the sea, over whose waters I now race, bear witness to this vow: I will happily give to you a shining white bull on this shore in front of your altars in discharge of my vow, and will throw their entrails onto the salty waves and will pour out liquid wine.

The vow is similar to Ascanius' vow; although the sacrifice takes place on the shore (*in litore*) rather than at the gods' temple (*ad tua templa*), it is in front of the altars (*ante aras*) and the sacrifice is of a white bull (*iuuencum cadentem* vs. *cadentem taurum*). In this way Cloanthus' prayer too evokes a Roman triumphal sacrifice. The verb *proiciam* is

[155] Evans 1992: 29 n. 58 notes that conjecturing fictional Trojan descent for families was a popular practice during the time.

[156] This prayer is similar to Odysseus' prayer to Athena for victory at the foot race at Patroclus' funeral games (*Il*. 23.770).

a technical term for sacrificing entrails in Roman religious ritual.[157] The term *voti reus* adds a legal connotation to the prayer, indicating that the suppliant is under an obligation to pay as he has promised, in the same way as a defendant is liable.[158] The religious and legal technical language of the prayer draws attention to Cloanthus' Roman credentials, as the founder of a prominent family. Immediately following his prayer, Vergil says that Cloanthus is aided by the god Portunus, who, in addition to several other sea gods, hears the prayer and pushes his boat ahead of the competition (*Aen*. 5.239–42).[159] The victory confirms that language drawn from Roman religious ritual and legal tradition lends authority to Cloanthus' request.

Cloanthus' pledge is fulfilled in the narrative, a rarity in the *Aeneid*, during the nine days of religious ceremony in honor of a new city (*Aen*. 5.762–78) which followed the nine days and games in honor of Anchises. It is fulfilled not by Cloanthus, however, but by Aeneas. The text mirrors the vowed sacrifice:

> tris Eryci vitulos et Tempestatibus agnam
> caedere deinde iubet solvique ex ordine funem.
> ipse caput tonsae foliis evinctus olivae

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[157] Servius ad loc.; Naevius *fr.* 36 (Mamorale); Livy 29.27.5; Macrob. *Sat.* 3.2.2. Williams 1960: 92 argues the use of *porriciam* instead of the verb *proiciam* based on Macrobius' discussion of the subject and Quintilian citing the former verb as one of Vergil's archaisms, despite the MS. support of the latter verb.

[158] Macrob. *Sat*. 3.2.6 discusses the term.

[159] 5.241 is almost identical to Ennius *Ann*. 569.

stans procul in prora pateram tenet, extaque salsos
proicit in fluctus ac vina liquentia fundit. (*Aen*. 5.762–78)

He orders them to slaughter three calves to Eryx and a lamb for the Storms and then for the ships to be cast off in due order. He himself, crowned with the leaves of cut olive branches, standing far off on the prow holds the sacrificial bowl and tosses the entrails into the salty waves and pours out the wine.

Vergil here takes pains to describe a proper religious ceremony. He uses a technical verb for sacrificing entrails (*proicit*), the word for a ceremonial libation vessel (*pateram*) and notes that the ritual is conducted according to proper procedure (*ex ordine, Aen*. 5.773).[160] The last lines even repeat Cloanthus' vow with only a change in person and tense (*extaque salsos / proiciam in fluctus et uina liquentia fundam, Aen*. 5.237–8). Beside the type of animal and the gods invoked, the fundamental difference between this sacrifice and the one promised by Cloanthus is that Aeneas is the sacrificer. The other addition to the ceremony is that Vergil describes Aeneas' appearance in nearly the same words as he described himself in his imagined poetic triumph in Book Three of the *Georgics* (*ipse caput tonsae foliis ornatus oliuae, G*. 3.21). In this way, the sacrifice intimates that Aeneas is taking the place of the victor and performing the prescribed ritual. I suggest

[160] Serv. ad loc: *rite peragi sacrificium, et sic solvi funem.*

that the substitution of Aeneas for Cloanthus, while inserting a reference to a quasi-triumphal ceremony, is part of the general trend of mismanaged sacrifice in the *Aeneid*.[161]

Arruns' prayer for victory in his battle with Camilla in Book Eleven also refers to a native Italic cult practice, but rather than promising an animal sacrifice he submits his devotion as a participant in the Italian-Etruscan cult of Soractean Apollo, which includes a form of self-sacrifice, as the pledge for the prayer.

> "summe deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo,
> quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor aceruo
> pascitur, et medium freti pietate per ignem
> cultores multa premimus uestigia pruna" (*Aen*. 11.785–8)

> Highest of the gods, Apollo the guardian of blessed Soracte, whom we are the first to worship and in whose honor a pinewood fire is fuelled by its heaped-up pile. We as your worshippers, relying on our faith, plant our footsteps on the deep ashes of the fire.

The ritual mentioned in this prayer is specific worship of Apollo at Mount Soracte, and his involvement in fire walking indicates that he is a member of the Hirpri Sorani, the

[161] Dyson 2001: 74–94 argues that *piacula*, or mistakes, in sacrifice lead to the death of Palinurus at the end of Book Five, but does not mention this sacrifice in particular.

Faliscan priestly families in charge of the fire ritual.[162] The reference to this unique ritual and the phrase *freti pietate* in Arruns' prayer not only emphasizes the piety of Arruns but also connects the Etruscan troops with the Italic religious ritual still practiced in Vergil's day.[163] Vergil builds on the theme of ascetic self-sacrifice when Arruns disavows any desire for glory or his enemy's armor (*non exuuias pulsaeue tropaeum / uirginis aut spolia ulla peto, Aen*. 11.790–1). Arruns's prayer appeals to the continuity between the religion observed before the founding of Rome and in Vergil's day.

In the previous chapter, I mentioned that this prayer draws from a Homeric prayer to Apollo, which affects the characterization of Arruns so that his pious status stands as equivalent to the privileged status Achilles has received because he is the son of a goddess. In essence, the Homeric motif is re-imagined to include native religious tradition that emphasize the speaker's piety so that Arruns's words draw from two sources to secure his status and relationship to Apollo. In response to the prayer the god answers one part of the prayer, the death of Camilla:

> audiit et voti Phoebus succedere partem
>
> mente dedit, partem volucris dispersit in auras. (*Aen*. 11.794–5)

[162] See Servius ad 11.785 with Horsfall 2003: 421 and Miller 1994: 172 for more information on the cult of Apollo at Mt. Soracte.

[163] Horsfall 2003: 422 calls this phrase a "tribute to the ancient piety of Italy."

> Phoebus Apollo listened and willed for part of the prayer to succeed and part he scattered into the swift breezes.

The part of the prayer that Apollo does not grant is allowing him to survive the battle. His survival is impossible because Diana had already vowed that Camilla's killer would not survive the encounter. Arruns' piety and priesthood help to secure the attention of Apollo while underscoring the character's Roman religious qualifications. The character takes on the role of a proto-Roman as he enters the encounter with Camilla and his actions are colored by the association.

Anchises

Vergil repurposes technical language from historical prayers in a few prayers spoken by Anchises, and in each case he evokes the religious and leadership connotations associated with his character in previous literary incarnations. In Ennius and Naevius, Anchises' religiosity is emphasized and the character is instrumental in the departure from Troy.[164] Anchises' prayers in Book Three and their immediate success in the narrative confirm both his religious credentials and his role as the father of the Roman people.

[164] Naevius fr. 12, 13 (M); Enn. *Ann*. 17–18, 28. Cf. *EV* 1.159.

Vergil mines the language of prayer formula in Anchises' prayer, when on the journey from Troy the Trojans see a swarm of harpies. Since this appears to be a bad omen, Anchises prays for protection:

> sed votis precibusque iubent exposcere pacem,
> sive deae seu sint dirae obscenaeque volucres,
> et pater Anchises passis de litore palmis
> numina magna uocat meritosque indicit honores:
> "di, prohibete minas; di, talem auertite casum
> et placidi seruate pios." (*Aen*. 3.261–6)

> The men order me to ask them for peace through petitions and prayers, whether they were goddesses or terrible, filthy birds. Father Anchises with his palms raised away from the shore called on the great gods and promised deserved honors: "O gods, do not let these threats be fulfilled; o gods, avert such disaster and peacefully preserve your devoted people."

This prayer combines reported and direct speech that includes a description of Anchises' ritual action. Anchises uses a traditional prayer gesture, antithesis prayer-arms, that divert the bad omen from the shore (*passis de litore palmis*).[165] In addition, Anchises uses a

[165] See Horsfall 2006: 211; Cicero *Sest*. 59; Livy 2.40.2; Ovid *Fast*. 3.198.

traditional verb of supplication, *indicit*, even if the full ritual expression is abbreviated.[166] In the direct speech, Anchises also uses formulaic verbs, *prohibere* and *avertere*, that are used in literary and non-literary contexts generally to ward off divine threats or augury.[167] Out of reverence for the power of the city's divinity, the invocation of a Roman prayer often suppresses the name of the deity and instead includes a summary of its power. For example, Scipio Aemilianus invokes Juno as the deity of Carthage thus: *si deus si dea est cui populus civitasque Carthaginiensis est in tutela* ("Whether it is a god or goddess under whose protection are the people and citizenry of Carthage").[168] In the reported speech before the prayer, a variation of this formula is used to describe Anchises' address to the harpies, *sive deae seu sint dirae obscenaeque volucres* (*Aen*. 3.262). Hickson notes that the formula is semantically altered so that the alternative is between goddesses and ill-omened birds instead of gods and goddesses, but argues that the sense of the original is maintained with the choice and placement of *dirae*.[169] Anchises' use of the language of Roman prayer to ward off the birds lends power to the force of his prayer and marks him with authority of a Roman type. This authority is confirmed when immediately after the prayer, Anchises steps into the role of helmsman by directing the activities of the ship

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[166] Servius ad loc. *id est iussit fieri supplicationes. sacrorum verbo usus est.* Horsfall 2006: 211: "the verb is very frequently used of *supplicationes* in Livy and of *sacra, sacrificia* in epigraphy texts."

[167] See Hickson 1993: 85, 87; Appel 1975: 170–2; Horsfall 2006: 211–2.

[168] Macrob. *Sat*. 3.9.7–8.

[169] Hickson 1993: 43 compares M. Valerius' prayer in response to an omen (*si divus si diva esset qui sibi praepetem misisset*, Livy 7.26.4). See also Appel 1975: 80.

(*Aen*. 3.266–7) and then the wind fills the sails and the fleet finds a place to land (*Aen*. 3.268–77).

Later in Book Three, after the Trojans spot Italy from their ships, Anchises utters another prayer in conjunction with ritual:

> tum pater Anchises magnum cratera corona
> induit impleuitque mero, diuosque uocauit
> stans celsa in puppi:
> "di maris et terrae tempestatumque potentes,
> ferte uiam uento facilem et spirate secundi." (*Aen*. 3.525–9)

> Then father Anchises puts a crown on the large bowl and fills it with wine, and while standing on the high stern he called upon the gods: "gods of the sea and land, and those who have power over the weather, bring us an easy path before the wind and breath favorably behind us."

Initially, Anchises offers a ritual libation at the stern of the ship, which is where the tutelary image was kept on a Roman war ship.[170] The prayer itself draws on both literary and historical/ritual language. The request is reminiscent of ritual formula as it has a triple pattern of initial alliteration (f, v, s).[171] The invocation is similar to a prayer in Livy;

[170] Horsfall 2006: 372 cites Casson 1971: 347 ff.

[171] Williams 1990: 166 notes that this alliteration is appropriate in ritual formula.

Scipio Africanus setting out from Lilybaeum to invade Africa in Book 29 prays in anticipation of a military encounter with Hannibal in Carthage. He gives a lengthy, formulaic prayer, which contains an *evocatio*. An *evocatio* or *carmen evocationis* is a type of official public vow performed by a military general preceding an assault on a foreign city. An *evocatio* seeks to convince a deity to abandon the enemy city in exchange for a temple and cult worship in Rome.[172] Vergil here uses a variant of the Livian Scipio's invocation: *"diui diuaeque" inquit "qui maria terrasque colitis"* (gods and goddesses who direct the lands and seas).[173] Ritual action and a prayer that sounds like the invocation of Scipio's *evocatio* map Anchises onto the tradition of Roman generals who seek to placate gods upon their arrival. These reminiscences connect Anchises to traditional Roman prayer tradition. His prayer is immediately answered in the narrative, since the breeze he requested (*optatae aurae*, *Aen*. 3.530) picks up and there is a path to the shore (*Aen*. 3.530–1). In each case, when Anchises draws from the language of historical prayer formula the character speaks with authority by tying his

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[172] E.g. Livy 5.21.1–7; Macrob. *Sat*. 3.9.7–8.

[173] Livy 29.27.1: *"diui diuaeque" inquit "qui maria terrasque colitis, uos precor quaesoque uti quae in meo imperio gesta sunt geruntur postque gerentur, ea mihi populo plebique Romanae sociis nominique Latino qui populi Romani quique meam sectam imperium auspiciumque terra mari amnibusque sequuntur bene uerruncent, eaque uos omnia bene iuuetis, bonis auctibus auxitis; saluos incolumesque uictis perduellibus uictores spoliis decoratos praeda onustos triumphantesque mecum domos reduces sistatis; inimicorum hostiumque ulciscendorum copiam faxitis; quaeque populus Carthaginiensis in ciuitatem nostram facere molitus est, ea ut mihi populoque Romano in ciuitatem Carthaginiensium exempla edendi facultatem detis."*

request to the military-political Roman tradition, and his request is confirmed by an immediate answer to his prayers.

Dido

This section focuses on the prayers and ritual of Dido. Vergil has inserted verbal markers of Roman religious tradition in his representations of her actions and words, which amplifies the tragic elements of her story by making her in some instances conform to, and in others deviate from, Roman customs. Dido's initial prayer uses Roman formulaic language and is accompanied by Roman ritual action, but her later prayers highlight Dido's use of perverted sacrificial and prayer ritual, which have the effect of presenting her as something foreign.

The meeting of Dido and Aeneas in Carthage is rife with allusions to religious ritual. At the start of banquet with the Tyrians and Trojans, Dido performs several tasks for the ritual of *hospitium*, including a libation offering from her ornate ancestral bowl (*gravem gemmis auroque … pateram*, *Aen*. 1.728–9).[174] Before the libation she speaks a prayer to Jupiter *hospitalis*:

> "Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur,
> hunc laetum Tyriisque diem Troiaque profectis
> esse uelis, nostrosque huius meminisse minores.

[174] Cf. Panoussi 2009: 92–100 for how the *hospitium* ceremony in Book One mirrors elements of a marriage ceremony.

adsit laetitiae Bacchus dator, et bona Iuno;
et uos o coetum, Tyrii, celebrate fauentes."
dixit et in mensam laticum libavit honorem
primaque, libato, summo tenus attigit ore; (*Aen*. 1.731–7)

"Jupiter, for they say that you give the laws for guests, grant that this day be happy for the Tyrians and those who have come from Troy, and that our children remember it. May Bacchus the giver of happiness be present and kindly Juno; and you, Tyrians, celebrate with favor this gathering." She spoke, poured a wine offering in libation onto the table and after the libation was made, she touched it just with her lips.

Prayers to this aspect of Jupiter have precedents in Homer and Dido speaks as if she were following a reported tradition with which she was not directly familiar (*hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur*, *Aen*. 1.731).[175] The prayer itself draws upon formulaic Roman prayer language since she uses the verb *adesse* to invoke the gods, which is found in several literary and actual prayers.[176] The ritual action after the prayer, in which Dido makes a libation from her ornate ancestral bowl (*Aen*. 1.728–9), nods to Roman tradition by not drinking from the cup but only touching it with her lips, as Servius notes:

[175] *Od.* 7.181, 13.51 with Austin 1971: 219.

[176] Hickson 1993: 67–9.

> verecundiam reginae ostendit et morem Romanum; nam apud maiores nostros feminae non utebantur vino nisi sacrorum causa certis diebus (Servius ad 1.737)
>
> This shows respect for the queen and a Roman custom; for among our ancestors women did not drink wine unless for sacred rites on special days.

In addition, the word used for the bowl, *patera*, is the type used in Roman libation but here Vergil refers to it as an Assyrian heirloom (*Aen*. 1.729).[177] Vergil uses a specifically Roman word to describe a pointedly foreign context so that in the narrative these appear to be equivalent objects. The description of the object that Dido holds as a *patera* is designed to win sympathy for her from a Roman audience. The combination of Homeric and Roman traditions represents the fleeting possibility of shared culture norms that in the text assure Aeneas' welcome and safe passage in Carthage. In the prayer, Dido even describes their descendants as *nostros*, as if the two races were already blended.[178] Juxtaposed to the sense of hospitality is the powerful tragic irony infused into the prayer. Dido's words bring to mind that the outcome of this meeting; the day will be remembered by their progeny, but, instead of it being happy (*laetum diem*, *nostros meminisse minores, Aen*. 1.732–3), it will be remembered as an historical precursor to the Punic Wars. In addition, the epithet *bona* (*Aen*. 1.734) for Juno is ironic, both because the goddess's wrath has been the cause of the Trojans' problems and because her intervention leads to

[177] Cf. *Georgics* 2.192; Austin 1971: 218.

[178] Austin 1971: 219.

Dido's demise.[179] The fact that Dido's language frames her prayer within both Homeric and Roman tradition and that her actions are framed in terms of Roman piety although she Phoenician and is holding her ancestral bowl is ironic. There is additional irony in the narrative, since in the preceding text she is described as '*infelix*' and '*misera*', but when she speaks for herself in prayer, she takes on a position of power set in Roman terms. The dissonance created by her prayer being formulated in Roman religious terms adds to the pathetic nature of the prayer and its falsely positive view of future events.

Aeneas' prayer at his initial meeting with Dido, which immediately precedes this banquet, sets up a frame of reference for Dido's religious behavior. His words specifically call upon the just rewards gained from piety:

> "di tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid
> usquam iustitiae est et mens sibi conscia recti,
> praemia digna ferant." (*Aen*. 1.603–5)

> May the gods bring you worthy rewards, if any of the heavenly powers have a care for the pious, if there is any justice anywhere and minds with any sense of what is right.

This prayer is ironic considering Dido's actual fate, and it looks ahead to Dido's actions at the feast. From Aeneas' perspective Dido is pious and from the audience's perspective

[179] Austin 1971: 219; Williams 1996: 213.

her piety is recognizably Roman when she prays at the banquet. These two prayers in conjunction set the stage for a dramatic change as Dido, after her union with Aeneas, turns to another religious outlet: taboo magic and self-sacrifice.

In Book Four, after Dido has learned that Aeneas is leaving Carthage for Italy, the entire preparation for her suicide is framed as a perverted ritual sacrifice, which culminates in her curse on Aeneas and his Roman ancestors. Her curse draws on unofficial, condemned magic rather than Roman religious practice.[180] Dido's actions after she has discovered Aeneas will leave Carthage echoes her earlier words and actions, but in each case there is a more sinister connotation. Dido performs a libation that parallels the one that preceded the banquet of the Tyrians and Trojans, but the ritual action produces black wine and blood that signal her eventual demise. Dido's curse also draws on elements of the initial libation but perverts them by distorting the ritual with taboo magic to point to the later conflicts between the Carthaginians and Romans.

In the narrative, Dido turns to ritual and prayer as soon as she is confronted with the inescapability of Aeneas' departure from Carthage. Dido stands against divine sanction, i.e. Aeneas' destiny to go to Italy, and a libation confirms that her interests are at odds with the gods. First she prays for death (*tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido mortem orat*, *Aen*. 4.450–1) and then she executes a ritual similar to the libation she performed at the banquet with the Tyrians and Trojans:

quo magis inceptum peragat lucemque relinquat

[180] For magic in the Roman world, see Graf 1997, Faraone 1991, Luck 2006.

vidit, turicremis cum dona imponeret aris,
(horrendum dictu) latices nigrescere sacros,
fusaque in obscenum se vertere vina cruorem (*Aen*. 4.453–5)

So that all the more she might complete her undertaking and leave behind her life, she saw, when she placed the gifts on the incense-burning altars, the sacred libation turn black (horrible to speak of) and the wine that was poured turn into polluting blood.

The terminology used for this libation is reminiscent of the earlier one before the banquet of the Tyrians and Trojans since each uses the same poeticism for wine (*latices sacros, Aen*. 4.454 and *laticum honorem, Aen*. 1.736). The settings for the libations are also comparable: each precede an event in honor of the Trojans, the former a banquet and the latter a curse. The ill-omened product of this libation, that is black wine and blood that confirm her death, is in contrast to the hopeful future envisioned in Dido's earlier prayer and libation.[181] The outcome of this ritual adds to her resolve to commit suicide, just as the earlier libation had contributed to Dido's resolution to accept the Trojans into her burgeoning community and eventually to commit to a marriage alliance with Aeneas. In addition, the perverted outcome of this ritual marks Dido's shift away from proper Roman ritual action into taboo activity.

[181] Panoussi 2009: 46–51 also compares this ritual libation to the marriage ritual at the beginning of Book 4.

In the remaining part of Book Four Dido prepares for her suicide by combining elements of a *defixio* and a ritual sacrifice. Initially, she deceives her sister Anna by confessing to preparing a *defixio* for Aeneas instead of a funeral pyre for herself. Dido claims she has acquired a witch whom she claims can bring Aeneas back to her or set her free from her love for him (*Aen*. 4.478–9). Dido acknowledges that she is turning to taboo ritual with this magic when she asks Anna for forgiveness and stresses her hesitation:

> "testor, cara, deos et te, germana, tuumque
> dulce caput, magicas inuitam accingier artis." (*Aen*. 4.492–3)

> I bear witness to the gods, you, dear sister, and your sweet person that I unwillingly turn to the dark arts.

The use of magic alone marks a transition into a distorted version of Roman religious custom and law. Magic, while common, was generally taboo and often condemned in Roman law.[182] There is literary precedent for the use of *defixio* against a lover, such as Theocritus *Idyll 2* or Vergil *Eclogue* 8. In this ritual, Dido also draws upon the rites of sacrifice and funerals, so that perversion is heaped upon distortion.

The rituals that Dido performs leading up to her sacrifice are a combination of funeral rites and the magic rites of *defixio*. Initially, she asks Anna to build a pyre,

[182] Livy 4.30, 25.1, 39.16; Dio Cassius 49.43, 52.36. For discussion of the types of practices condemned see Faraone 260–71 and Graf 1997: 46–60.

stipulating that Aeneas' armor (*arma, Aen*. 4.495), his clothes (*exuviae, Aen*. 4.496) and their marriage bed (*lectum iugalem, Aen*. 4.496) be laid upon it. In addition, Dido adds an effigy of Aeneas to the pyre on the bed (*effigiem, Aen*. 4.508). In *Eclogue* 8, Amaryllis also uses clothes and an effigy (*effigies, E*. 8.75; *exuvias, E*. 8.92) to coerce Daphnis and make him return to her. The pyre, however, is an unusual element for this rite. Vergil indicates the reality of the situation, that Dido is preparing to kill herself, when, in addition to the elements necessary for the preparation of a *defixio*, Dido places wreaths and branches on the pyre that are part of funeral rites (*intenditque locum sertis et fronde coronat / funerea, Aen*. 4.506–7). This creates a different more sinister tone than the passage in *Eclogue* 8, since it shifts attention to the more serious implications for Dido's *defixio*: her death and future wars. Austin correctly argues that this combination of magic and funeral rites, rather than a sloppy combination of magic and the traditional account of Dido's death, deepens the tragedy and increases the pity for Dido and terror at her actions.[183] This is because Vergil is in complete control of his depiction, as evidenced by his careful use of *Eclogue* 8 and the recurring reminders of Dido's dramatic ultimate goal.[184] Vergil also includes elements of a ritual sacrifice, such as Dido sprinkling *mola salsa* (*Aen*. 4.517) on the altar, which points to a transformation of the *defixio* into a symbolic sacrifice and funeral of Aeneas on the pyre.[185] The combination serves to show

[183] Austin 1955: 149–50.

[184] Cf. Austin 1955: 150.

[185] Panoussi 2009: 51–2 and Austin 1955: 155–6 note the connection between *mola* and sacrifice.

the extent of Dido's anger and her intention to be the cause of Aeneas' ruin. In addition, the mixture of magic and ritual stands in contrast to the due rites described in technical Roman language and turns the ritual into a perversion of Roman custom. This distorted ritual is continued when Dido prays.

The curse that Dido utters on the funeral pyre lends to the tragic, chilling scene. The tone of the narrative shifts as the internal dialogue of pathetic questions, which is reminiscent of a tragic heroine, immediately gives way to a bold curse.[186]

> "Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras,
> tuque harum interpres curarum et conscia Iuno,
> nocturnisque Hecate triuiis ululata per urbes
> et Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae,
> accipite haec, meritumque malis aduertite numen
> et nostras audite preces. ..
> haec precor, hanc uocem extremam cum sanguine fundo.
> tum uos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum
> exercete odiis, …
> litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
> imprecor, arma armis: pugnent ipsique nepotesque." (*Aen* 4.607–29)

[186] Stabryla 1970: 88–9 argues that there are similarities in the fragments of Ennius' *Medea Exul* and *Andromaca Aechmalotis*.

> "O Sun, who with your flames watch over all of earth's activities, and you, Juno, who are a knowing witness of these torments, and Hecate, to whom there is a howling cry at the night-time crossroads throughout cities, and the avenging Furies and the gods of dying Elissa, hear my words, turn your divine will to my misfortunes and listen to my prayers. … You, Tyrians, pursue the entire future line of his descendants with hatred … I pray that we may stand opposed, shore against shore, wave against wave and arms against arms: let them and their sons fight forever."

The gods that she invokes in the prayer represent the different aspects of Dido's characterization and the different elements of her saga. The first deity she invokes, the Sun, recalls Greek tragedy.[187] The second god, *harum interpres curarum et conscia Juno*, calls upon Juno specifically in her role as the intermediary in Dido's marriage to Aeneas. Next, she prays to Hecate who is worshiped at the crossroads, or Trivia, to signal her recent reliance on magic. The invocation to Hecate at the crossroads in conjunction with the adverb *nocturnis* indicates magic or taboo religious practice associated with the night-time rituals to the goddess. She also invokes the Furies, which represent the avengers of Juno within the poem.[188] These agents tie this prayer to the underlying anger of Juno that has driven Aeneas and his companions on their journey. The end of the invocation is an ascending tricolon with alliterative verbs (*accipite*, *advertite*, *audite, Aen*. 4.611–12). The

[187] Austin 1955: 177 who cites Soph. *Ajax* 845 ff.

[188] Panoussi 2009: 103.

final alliteration in the invocation points to the format of one that draws on historical language, so that its tone is contrasted to the distorted ritual that precedes it as well as the patent anger in the prayer's request that follows it. The due order of the invocation also makes the prayer more threatening since, in light of the prayer's historical implications, the invocation signals the request's lasting effectiveness.

Part of Dido's curse is directed at Aeneas and his demise (*Aen*. 4.612–20). In addition to securing Aeneas' struggles in Italy and early death, Dido ensures that her people always will fight with Aeneas' descendants. This request is reminiscent of Dido's first prayer at the banquet with the Tyrians and Trojans; Dido had asked that they and their progeny all remember the day of their meeting as a happy day (*hunc laetum Tyriisque diem Troiaque profectis / esse uelis, nostrosque huius meminisse minores, Aen*. 1.732–3) but now she changes her outlook on the future by encouraging the Tyrians to always hate the Romans (*tum uos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum / exercete odiis, Aen*. 4.622–3). These two prayers act as bookends to the relationship between Aeneas and Dido's future peoples, which begins as intended friendship but causes devastating wars. The result is a powerful ending and chilling implications for Aeneas and his descendants.

After the curse, Dido finally admits to Anna her underlying motive was not to perform a *defixio*, but to give an offering to Stygian Jupiter (*Aen*. 4.634–40). Her suicide is the final perversion of this ritual. Dido seems to make the preparations for an animal sacrifice in the traditional Roman way with the purification by sprinkling river water, the ritual offerings and the animals veiled with the sacred ribbon (*Aen*. 4.635–7). When Dido

uses Aeneas's sword, which had been an offering and is now the sacrificial instrument, Aeneas symbolically turns from sacrifice to sacrificer.[189] At this point Dido's religious identity has been reversed completely from pious to sacrilegious by clever use of ritual actions and prayer language.

In Dido's prayers, language derived from official and taboo prayer formula exposes the aberrant nature of her character in terms of Roman practice. The same type of language that lent legitimacy to the prayers of Evander, Pallas, Ascanius, Cloanthus, Arruns and Anchises, underscores Dido's potential for causing problems for the establishment of Rome and her foreignness. The use of public prayer by Turnus in Book Twelve has a similarly disjunctive effect on the reading of the text as the use of language derived from historical prayer language had on Dido's prayers.

Public Prayer: *Devotio*

In the previous chapter, I discussed Turnus' *devotio* and its relationship to a devotion in Ennius.[190] I argued that Vergil reverses many of the elements of the traditional *devotio* that are included in Turnus's prayer to rewrite the Ennian version.[191]

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[189] Panoussi 2009: 52 notes similar symbolism in Sophocles' *Ajax* and that the roles outlined in the magic rite are now reversed.

[190] See Chapter 1, pp. 32–37.

[191] There are several examples in literature, P. Decius Mus: Livy 8.6.9–16, 8.9.1–13, 8.10.11–14; Decius' son: Livy 10.28.12–17; Ennius *Ann.* 191–3; Cicero *Sest.* 48; Macrob. *Sat.* 3.9.9–13. Highet 1972: 63 and Hardie 1993: 28–9 see a parallel in Turnus' devotion to Livy 8.9.

This reversal colors the events in the poem and Turnus' actions. Here I will examine the effect the military-political connotations of *devotio* for the tone of the passage, especially when so many of the prayer's elements are different. I argue that the use of this public prayer at the end of the poem shows Turnus' distorted sense of his role as well as the pathetic nature of his situation.

There is much discussion of this prayer and its effect on the end of the poem.[192] I will look at the language of the prayer and how that affects the reading and characterization of Turnus per se. Turnus uses several technical elements of a Roman *devotio*; he invokes the *di Manes* (*Aen*. 12.646), offers his life in battle (*ad uos … descendam, Aen*. 12.648–9) and implicitly names the object for which he is sacrificing himself as the honor of his ancestors (*descendam magnorum haud umquam indignus auorum, Aen*. 12.648–9). Still, the tone of Turnus' prayer is ultimately pathetic rather than heroic since it underlines his piety, blamelessness and innocence (*sancta anima, inscia culpae, Aen*. 12.648) instead of his patriotism and heroism. There is, however, an important connection to Roman military tradition as Turnus prefigures a Roman general; in fact, he almost becomes a proto-Roman general on the field of battle. While Vergil adapts the *devotio* and changes key elements, he retains some of the patriotic resonance. This can be interpreted in several ways. Pascal calls the rhetoric of devotion employed by

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[192] For example, Burkert 1979: 63–4 sees this *devotio* as part of the transformation of the pattern of the scapegoat. Panoussi 2009: 56–77 argues that Turnus is a sacrificial victim in the treaty agreement and that the *devotio* is part of the perversion of this ritual.

Turnus in Books Eleven and Twelve "self-serving."[193] I think, however, that the prayer retains a sense of the republican military heroism of the *devotio* while showing the pathetic nature of Turnus's aspirations. In Book Eleven, Turnus states his intention to make a devotion of this life, and uses the technical verb *devovere* for this ritual:

> vobis animam hanc soceroque Latino
> Turnus ego, haud ulli veterum virtute secundus,
> devovi. (*Aen*. 11.440–2)

> I, Turnus, second in bravery to none of the men of old, have devoted this life to you and to my father-in-law Latinus.

In this case Hardie argues that this pledge indicates Turnus' "skewed view of reality" and Thomas, using Fowler's term, calls it a "deviant focalization" where the *veteres* that Turnus claims to be equal to can be the republican *veteres*, the Decii, from the perspective of Vergil's audience.[194] This too is the effect of the prayer that evokes a public, patriotic prayer but inverts the personal conditions necessary to perform as the representative of the Roman military in battle.

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[193] Pascal 1990: 267.

[194] Hardie 1993: 28; Thomas 1998: 284–5.

Conclusion

Vergil doesn't often use ritual in conjunction with prayers, but the inclusion of ritual action, whether performed or promised, adds an element that is almost always recognizably Roman in the details of the action. In each case that I have discussed above, Vergil uses formulaic and traditional words in the prayers to further underline the circumstances of the religious ritual. This language sets a variety of tones for the text, depending on the context in which it occurs and character who utters the formulae. This is possible because ritual action connects to the audience's frame of reference and the religious climate in the Augustan era. Still, on a narrative level it undermines plot resolution as much as it satisfies it. Instead, the poet is able to articulate the mood of the religious action, whether tragic, pathetic or powerful, by making use of a language his audience could identify with and decipher. Each prayer is a complex speech that plays with the context, characterization and political climate of the Augustan era.

CHAPTER 4

THE GODS OF ITALY

This chapter focuses on the prayers to gods that are either native to Italy, like the Tiber River or Saturnian Tellus, or are private, familial deities, like the Lares and Penates. Not surprisingly, these gods predominantly appear in the second half (or the 'Italian' books) of the *Aeneid*, after Aeneas sees and lands in Italy. Vergil differentiates between the native and Olympian gods in prayers for the majority of the poem by only having characters invoke one type of these gods at a time. This distinction serves two purposes. First, by drawing attention to the local gods of Italy, Vergil stresses the religious aspects of Aeneas' resettlement in Italy. Prayers demonstrate that the need for Aeneas and the Trojans to establish the favor of and worship for the Lares and Penates, both the familial and state aspects, is paramount. Also, the initial separation between the native and Olympian gods metaphorically puts the struggle between the Trojans and the Latins in terms of a shift from one religious system to another and a transformation from the purely animistic function of native Italian gods to their later role in Roman civic cult. To this end, I will show that Vergil simultaneously establishes a close connection to the local, animistic gods of Italy for Aeneas and Turnus. Because Aeneas is the son of an Olympian goddess and directed to Italy by the divine imperative of Jupiter, however, the

Jovian system is ultimately the primary divine force and trumps the will of the local gods and their allegiance to Turnus. Then, in Book Twelve the invocations of the treaty-oaths spoken by Aeneas and Latinus combine both native and Olympian gods so that the prayers resemble those reported to be official, public Roman prayers.

The native Italian gods, or the gods of place (*di agrestes*), are pervasive in the everyday religion of the Romans. Lucretius in the *De Rerum Natura* sarcastically describes rural peoples in Italy who interpreted every sound in the country as musical spirits:[195]

> haec loca capripedes Satyros Nymphasque tenere
> finitimi fingunt et Faunos esse loquuntur,
> quorum noctivago strepitu ludoque iocanti
> adfirmant volgo taciturna silentia rumpi
> chordarumque sonos fieri dulcisque querellas,
> tibia quas fundit digitis pulsata canentum,
> et genus agricolum late sentiscere, quom Pan
> pinea semiferi capitis velamina quassans
> unco saepe labro calamos percurrit hiantis,
> fistula silvestrem ne cesset fundere musam.

[195] Lucr. 4.580–9. This passage demonstrates that the *di agrestes* were a genuine part of Roman religion, even if only among the rural peoples. For other ancient references to these types of gods, cf. Cic. *div*. 1.101, *ND* 2.6; Varr. *LL* 7.36; Dion. Hal. 5.16.3; Livy 2.7.2.

> The neighboring folk imagine that the goat-footed Satyrs and Nymphs inhabit these places and say that there are Fauns. They insist that the nightly silences are interrupted by their night-time noise and laughing sport, that sounds of strings and sweet complaints are made, which a flute struck by the fingers of singers pours forth and that the farmer-types begin to listen far and wide when Pan shakes the piney garments on his half-beast head runs his puckered lips across the open reeds so that the flute might not cease to pour out woodland music.

Walter Burkert well sums up the ancient phenomenon of local, animistic gods: "the idea that rivers are gods and springs divine nymphs is deeply rooted not only in poetry, but also in belief and ritual; the worship of these deities is limited by the fact that they are inseparably identified with a specific locality."[196] Burkert's remarks here refer to Greek religion, but this type of animism is also an integral part of Rome's traditional religion and is reflected in poetry. Vergil plays against this background in his description of the arrival of Aeneas in Italy. Homer incorporates local, animistic gods into his epic: for example, in the *Iliad* the river-god Scamander is both a character and a natural feature of Troy.[197] And so it is not the case that Vergil breaks with Greek epic tradition by incorporating Italic deities into his narrative; rather he reconfigures this animistic religion for the setting of the second half of his epic, Italy. In the second half of the epic, there are prayers to the local gods of Italy as well as to the Olympian gods. By Olympian gods, I

[196] Burkert 1985: 174.

[197] E.g. *Il.* 11.499, 20.74, 21.305.

mean deities like Jupiter and Juno that are not connected to a certain place or specified as worshipped in a unique way, like Idaean Jupiter (*Aen*. 7.137) or Soractean Apollo (*Aen*. 11.785).[198] As Bailey notes, within the epic there is a "mingling of nature-cult, Greco-Roman deities, and old animistic gods."[199] All three of these aspects of ancient religion are present within the poem, and the nature-cult or animistic gods are for the most part located in and tied to Italy.

When analyzing Roman religion, it is dangerous to attempt strong distinctions between authentic Roman religion and practices that stem from Greek or Etruscan influence in everyday life, since it is impossible to find them distinguished in the ancient record.[200] For example, in a late account that probably derives from Varro, it is reported that Romulus worshiped a mix of seven Olympian and native gods: Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Picus, Tiberinus, Faunus and Hercules.[201] We may therefore infer that in the *Aeneid*, the more rigid distinction between native Italic gods and Olympian pantheon is Vergil's conception. This differentiation could correlate to the religious atmosphere of Vergil's day. Texts of the Augustan era testify that finding the pure, original forms of Roman

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[198] See Chapter 2, p. 62–7 and Chapter 3, p. 98–100 for discussions of Arrun's prayer to Soractean Apollo.

[199] Bailey 1935: 31.

[200] As Feeney 1998: 2–6 shows, we should not make assumptions that there is a pure or original Roman religion.

[201] August. *De Civitate Dei* 4.23. The material that Augustine provides is probably based on Varro's non-extant work, the *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum*, that is represented as recording ancient religious practices since Augustine purports to be using Varro's claim to provide the correct names of the gods that should be worshipped by the Romans as a foil for his own argument supporting monotheism.

religion related to the native deities (among others) and the restoration of the cults, rites and temples of these gods was felt to be an essential part of religious reform. In the *Res Gestae,* Augustus boasts about his participation in priesthoods: for example, the priesthood of the fifteen commissioners for performing sacred rites (*quindecimvir sacris faciundis*), that of the seven for sacred feasts (*septemvir epulonum*), the Arval Brothers and the Fetial Priests. The *Res Gestae* also mentions the restoration of several local cults and temples to state and local gods, like the temple of the Lupercal, Quirinus, Lares and *Di Penates*.[202] The fact that Augustus advertises his accomplishments in restoring these types of cults and practices reflects the importance they had for the Roman people during that era. Ovid too in his *Fasti* and Varro in his *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum* describe religious ceremony.[203] These works depict religious customs that they represent as accounts of rituals practiced during the year, even if the origins and meaning of the ritual were unclear. The *Aeneid* offers an opportunity to explore this obscured period in history during which these practices were initiated and ties between the people and local deities were established.

Lares and Penates

[202] *Res Gestae* 7, 19.

[203] Starting in the 1st c. BCE there is expanding interest in antiquarianism in Rome. See Rawson 1985: 233–48 for types of antiquarianism in the Roman Republic and the stimulation of it after Varro.

Prayers to the Lares and Penates in the poem emphasize the need for Aeneas and his family to establish, or reestablish, a relationship between these domestic gods and the new land in which he is about to settle. In addition, Aeneas relocates his state gods, the Trojan Penates, to Italy. Prayers point to the conflation of these Trojan gods and the Roman Penates so that the settlement of the Trojans in Italy looks forward to the Augustan era.

Di agrestes share a common trait with familial gods like the Lares and Penates in that they have a limited sphere of influence. The Lares and Penates are gods tied to the home, hearth and family of individuals, and are worshipped in the domestic sphere as well as at the state level.[204] In Roman religion, the Lares and Penates are difficult to separate decisively from each other in terms of domestic worship or to distinguish clearly from public forms of worship. Literary and archaeological evidence suggests that the Penates are domesticated versions of deities from public cult, like Jupiter, Vesta and Janus, while the Lares are agricultural guardian-spirits who are worshipped by the entire household, including slaves, and who were at some point connected to the spirits of dead ancestors.[205] In the *Aeneid*, an important part of Aeneas' resettlement in Italy is transferring his household gods and those of Troy to a new city, the mission that Hector's ghost entrusted to Aeneas during the city's fall (*sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia*

[204] See Bakker 1994: 179–80; Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 60 and Feeney: 1998: 5–6 on the location of cult objects within the home and the implication this has for public and private forms of religious practice.

[205] Bailey 1932: 48–52; Feeney 1998: 5–6; Fowler 1920: 57–64, Wissowa 1971: 149.

penatis, Aen. 2.293). At the start of his journey, these two types of Penates are essential members of the escapees from Troy:

feror exsul in altum

cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis (*Aen*. 3.11–12)

> As an exile I am carried onto the sea with my allies, son, domestic gods and the Trojan Penates.

Di magni is another name for the Roman Penates, according to Servius, and so, by using this Roman term for the foreign equivalent, Vergil implies that this list includes Aeneas' personal domestic deities and the Penates of Troy.[206] Using the term *di magni* for the Penates also makes a semantic connection between the state deities for Troy and Rome. In Book Three the Trojan Penates appear to Aeneas in a dream to convey a message to him from Apollo that he should leave Crete and continue his journey to Italy (*Aen*. 3.148–71). The Penates call Italy their true home, since Aeneas' ancestors originally came from there (*Aen*. 3.167–71). In these passages Vergil reconfigures Aeneas' relocation of the Trojan *penates* in Italy by effectively making them Roman through the use of analogous terminology and the implication that the gods originated in Italy.

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[206] Servius ad 3.12: *Varro quidem unum esse dicit penates et magnos deos; nam et in basi scribebatur Magnis Diis. potest tamen hoc pro honore dici; nam dii magni sunt Iuppiter Iuno Minerva Mercurius. qui Romae colebantur*. Cf. Hardie 1994: 121.

Prayers to the Penates reinforce both the need for Aeneas to introduce the gods to their new home and the conflation of the Trojan Penates with those of Rome. The first prayer to the Penates coincides with Aeneas' realization that they have finally arrived in Italy. Aeneas says a prayer of thanksgiving immediately after Iulus' joke about eating their tables leads him to understand they are in Italy:

> continuo "salue fatis mihi debita tellus
> uosque" ait "o fidi Troiae saluete Penates:
> hic domus, haec patria est." (*Aen*. 7.120–2)

> Immediately he says, "Hail land owed to me by fate and you faithful Penates of Troy: this is my home, this my country."

This prayer underlines the connection between the personification of Italy and the familial gods that Aeneas is relocating to it. The immediacy of the introduction between these two entities (*continuo*) underlines the need for them to be familiarized as soon as possible and work together in the future. In this prayer, Aeneas calls the Penates faithful (*fidi*) because they have followed him to Italy from Troy and have encouraged him to find Italy when he was about to settle in Crete (*Aen*. 3.148–71). The invocation repeats the same verb in the vocative to address each god but with the second in the plural. This

pattern of repetition represents formulaic prayer language.[207] This format gives the tone of an official prayer. In this way, the occasion becomes formalized and the arrival is sanctioned by proper ceremony.

There is one more prayer that invokes the Penates: Ascanius makes an emotionally poignant prayer to beg Nisus to return his father to him, and in the course of the prayer he makes an oath to give him wide range of rewards. As a pledge for the oath, Ascanius invokes the Lares, Penates and Vesta as witnesses:

> "immo ego uos, cui sola salus genitore reducto,"
> excipit Ascanius "per magnos, Nise, Penatis
> Assaracique Larem et canae penetralia Vestae
> obtestor, quaecumque mihi fortuna fidesque est,
> in uestris pono gremiis. reuocate parentem." (*Aen*. 9.257–61)

> Ascanius continues "Indeed I, whose only salvation is entirely dependent on his father's return, implore you, Nisus, by the great Penates, the Lar of Assaracus and the sanctuary of hoary Vesta, and I place in your lap whatever fortune and faith I have. Bring back my father."

[207] Wills 1996: 291 n. 1; Liv. 1.32.6, 8.5.8 have prayers that use the same pattern but with the verb *audire*.

There are several elements in the prayer that highlight the youth's emotional state. The compound verb, *obtestor*, emphasizes the desperation of the young warrior since it is "primarily a verb of intensive supplication."[208] The intensity of Ascanius' desire for his father' retrieval is also underlined by the repetition of the prefix *re-* (*revocate … reddite … recepto*).[209] In the prayer, he calls the return of his father his only hope of salvation (*sola salus*), and this draws attention to Ascanius' youth and inability to establish himself independently of his father. These elements stress the emotional connection between father and son. The use of the Lares and Penates in the invocation revisits the importance of their mission to establish their domestic gods in Italy. In addition, the specific way he invokes the three gods in prayer extends the reach of the plea from the Trojan past to the Roman future. First, by addressing the *magni Penates*, Ascanius brings to the forefront the *di magni,* or Trojan Penates, that Aeneas had brought with him from Troy to establish in a new city (*Aen*. 3.12). By using the adjective *magni* for the Penates here, Vergil could be alluding to the identification of the Penates with the *di magni* of Rome. For the second god, Ascanius identifies a specific Lar, that of Assaracus, the grandfather of Anchises; emphasizing that their eminent ancestors' line is at stake.[210] The final goddess invoked, Vesta, looks forward to Rome, since it is in Vesta's sanctuary that the Roman Penates are kept in Rome.[211] Vergil's inclusion of Vesta in the invocation strengthens the relationship

[208] Hickson 1993: 120.

[209] Hardie 1994: 121.

[210] Hardie 1994: 121; Enn. *Ann*. 28.

[211] Hardie 1994: 121.

between the *penates* of Troy and Rome in the poem. In this prayer the two types of Lares and Penates, of Aeneas' family and of Troy/Rome, are conflated so that the future of Rome by extension is at stake.

Phlegethon River

In the *Aeneid*, Vergil's treatment of Italy immediately conjures the connection between the land and gods. This invocation is only a brief nod to the types of native gods to whom he will pray in the second half of the book and is a good example of how native deities are used to orient the reader to the setting of prayers and draw attention to the power of nature in the epic surroundings. When Aeneas is in Cumae but not yet at the place for his new settlement, he enters the underworld through the entrance at lake Avernus. Then the narrator prays to the gods of the underworld for permission to reproduce Aeneas' journey there:

> di, quibus imperium est animarum, umbraeque silentes
> et Chaos et Phlegethon, loca nocte tacentia late,
> sit mihi fas audita loqui, sit numine uestro
> pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas. (*Aen*. 6.264–67)

> Gods who rule the realm of spirits, you silent shades, Chaos and Phlegethon, the dark and silent far-off places, may it be allowed that I speak of the things I have heard, let it be with your blessing that I reveal the things hidden in the mist under the earth.

This invocation is thus addressed to Chaos and the river Phlegethon personified. The presence of this river at the opening of the underworld is Vergil's invention.[212] This invention ties the prayer and the following narrative to a natural feature of the underworld, the river. When Vergil invokes this specific river in his prayer, he draws attention to the Italian provenance to this entrance to the Underworld. Natural features such as the river Phlegethon are associated with gods and nymphs in Italy throughout the epic. Prayers to these deities direct attention to the setting of the epic and the important relationship between the natural forces of Italy and its inhabitants.

Aeneas, Turnus and Italian gods

As soon as Aeneas arrives in Italy in the poem, the native gods are not only distinct from the Olympian gods, but they are closely connected to the peoples that the hero encounters there. Vergil takes pains to secure Aeneas' connection to Italy and its gods. Denis Feeney in his epilogue reflects upon the power that religious knowledge can offer and observes that "much of Roman political history may be read as a struggle over

[212] Norden 1957: 208–10; Williams 1972: 475.

who is going to be allowed access to the knowledge necessary to mediate between gods and men."[213] He shows that this can be possible even if that knowledge is merely a performance without learning meaning or origins of practice.[214] This is exemplified in the *Aeneid* when Aeneas first arrives in Italy and throughout the transition of Books Seven and Eight. Aeneas is inundated with several types of divine entities: sacred groves, people descended from gods, personified rivers, rituals and hymns. He performs the proper prayers and rituals, participates in the festival of Hercules but only partially understands the religiosity he encounters at every turn. Turnus too has a close relationship with the local gods in the poem: his sister is a nymph and his prayers are directed at animistic and Italic deities. Turnus' link to these gods is parallel to the type that Aeneas is attempting to establish, but ultimately Turnus' insufficient religious knowledge, or wrong-headed perception, emerges as a symptom of his inability to defeat Aeneas.

Even before Aeneas lands in Italy, the need to establish a relationship and curry the favor of the Italian gods is apparent. When he is in Thrace, he prays to local gods using an epithet that implies the Italian associations of those gods. When Aeneas describes his journey after the fall of Troy, he mentions his initial intention to establish a city not far from Troy in Thracian territory. As part of this process, he sets up an altar to make a sacrifice and had asked the gods to bless the foundation of a new city. However,

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[213] Feeney 1998: 137.

[214] Feeney 1998: 138; Scheid 1990: 673–6.

as he was collecting branches to adorn the altar, the roots of the tree bled. He immediately prayed to attempt to make the omen a favorable one:

> multa mouens animo Nymphas uenerabar agrestis
> Gradiuumque patrem, Geticis qui praesidet aruis,
> rite secundarent uisus omenque leuarent. (*Aen*. 3.34–6)

> Turning many things around in my mind I was venerating the native Nymphs and the father Gradivus, who presides over the Getican fields, so they might make the things we saw favorable according to ritual and might relieve the omen.

This prayer is in reported speech, but a couple of elements refer to Roman prayer language. Aeneas uses a relative clause to specify that he is invoking the gods native to the place. The relative clause *qui praesidet* is the technical term used in Livy and Cicero to invoke tutelary deities of Rome and Sicily.[215] Also, the verb *secundare*, while not used in Roman prayer language, is related to the adjective *secundus*, which is a technical term used in augural language for interpreting omens.[216] Aeneas invokes the native nymphs and *Gradivus*, who have control over the Getic, that is Thracian, fields in which he is praying.[217] The origin of *Gradivus* is unclear, though Servius suggests that it is a name for

[215] Hickson 1993: 38–9; cf. Cic. *Verr*. 5.188; *Man*. 70; *Sull*. 86; *Dom*. 144; *Phil*. 13.20.

[216] Hickson 1993: 79.

[217] For example, in *G.* 4.463 the Getic fields mourn for Eurydice.

Mars, which suits the earlier description that the land belongs to Mars (*terra Mavortia, Aen*. 3.13).[218] If it is an incarnation of Mars, there are distinct Italian connections: in the Salian ritual, *Mars Gradivus* presides over the beginning of war at Rome, and *Grabovius* occurs in the Iguvine Tables as a cognomen of Mars and Jupiter.[219] Vergil is pointing to the Italic associations for the local incarnation of Mars by using the name *Gradivus*. These two nods to Roman prayer language in conjunction to the use of the epithet *Gradivus* create a picture of Aeneas performing the proper procedure for appeasing local gods and interpreting omens in such a way that looks to the Italic aspects of these animistic gods.

This prayer shows the significance of currying favor from the local deities for the settlement of the city. The omen turns out not to be connected to these native gods, but instead occurs because Trojan Polydorus was buried improperly under the tree. Aeneas interprets the omen as sign that they should move their settlement and rebury Polydorus. In the second half of the *Aeneid*, the native gods make their presence known and interact directly with the characters.

Throughout the poem Vergil emphasizes the necessity for Aeneas to ingratiate himself with Italy and its gods. First of all, throughout the first half of the epic, it is constantly reiterated that Aeneas is destined to settle in Italy: Creusa calls Italy and the

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[218] Servius ad 1.292 *Mars enim cum saevit 'Gradivus' dicitur.* For a summary of conjectures on the name's origin see Horsfall 2006: 68.

[219] Ogilvie on Livy 1.20.4 with Varr. *LL* 5.85; Dio. Hal. 476; Livy 5.52.7.

Tiber his home (*Aen*. 2.781–4); the Trojan Penates encourage Aeneas to continue to Ausonia (*Aen*. 3.169–71); Helenus' prophecy confirms Italy as his divinely sanctioned destination (*Aen*. 3.377–83); Mercury commands him to continue to Rome and Italy from Carthage (*Aen*. 4.265–76); and the Sibyl foresees his future progeny settled at Lavinium (*Aen*. 6.87–94).[220] Vergil also reconfigures the terms of Aeneas' arrival from an invasion to a homecoming to secure Italy as the rightful place for Aeneas to settle. The Trojan Penates in a dream and Ilioneus in a speech during his first introduction to the Latins each explain that Dardanus, Aeneas' grandfather, originally came from Italy (*Aen*. 3.167–8; *Aen*. 7.240). These elements serve to establish an intimate, divinely approved relationship between Aeneas and the land.

After Aeneas' arrival in Italy, three central scenes introduce Aeneas to native gods and local religious practices: the introduction of Latinus and his family, his journey to Pallanteum and Aeneas' prayer to the Tiber River. When Aeneas comes to Italy and arrives at the Tiber River the land is teeming with sacred spaces and groves. The Tiber itself is surrounded by an *ingens lucus*, which indicates the sacred quality of the river.[221] Subsequently described in the text, in Books Seven and Eight, is a period of transition in Italy between Aeneas' travelling and war, in which Aeneas discovers Italy, its gods and its peoples. Vergil pays a lot of attention to the sacred places in Italy and the gods associated with them.

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[220] Fantham 2009: 45.

[221] The word *lucus* has religious associations. Cf. Scheid 2003; Serv. ad *Aen.* 1.310: *lucus est enim arborum multitudo cum religione, nemus vero composita multitudo arborum, silva diffusa et inculta*.

Aeneas realizes that he has arrived in Italy when Iulus makes a joke about eating their tables. As I mentioned above, as soon as Aeneas interprets the joke as the fruition of the earlier prophecy, he prays to Italy and his Penates and introduces them to each other (*Aen*. 7.120–2). Immediately after this episode, Aeneas offers a formal prayer with ritual to the nymphs and local deities:

> Sic deinde effatus frondenti tempora ramo
> implicat et geniumque loci primamque deorum
> Tellurem Nymphasque et adhuc ignota precatur
> flumina, tum Noctem Noctisque orientia signa
> Idaeumque Iouem Phrygiamque ex ordine matrem
> inuocat, et duplicis caeloque Ereboque parentis. (*Aen*. 7.135–40)

> Then he spoke thus and tied a green branch around his forehead and prayed to the guardian god of the place, and the Earth first of the gods and the Nymphs and the rivers still unknown to him, then to the Night and to the rising stars of the Night and to Idaean Jupiter and to Cybele in due order and to his mother in heaven and his father in Erebus.

This prayer is a corollary to the earlier prayer that introduced the Penates to their new home (*Aen*. 7.120–2) in that here Aeneas brings together gods of the new land with those of his former home. This prayer is formally very similar to Aeneas' prayer to *Gradivus*

and the nymphs in Thrace when he was intending to settle there (*Aen*. 3.34–6). He first invokes the immanent spirit of the place (*genius loci, Aen*. 7.136) and the *di agrestes* of the land: Tellus, water-nymphs and rivers.[222] He adds to these gods of the Trojans, Idaean Jupiter and Phrygian Cybele, who were worshipped at Mt. Ida and Dindyma in the Troad.[223] Finally, he invokes his parents, Venus and Anchises. Venus is an Olympian, but in this prayer Aeneas invokes her both in terms of her relationship to him as a parent (*parentis, Aen*. 7.140) and as a god (*caelo, Aen*. 7.140). The invocation thus combines the gods of the land in which he is settling and the gods of his homeland to give thanks for their support and confirm their future approval in Italy. This scene reiterates the idea that Aeneas' initial concern for a successful resettlement is the favor of the local gods from both Troy and Italy.

The way that the setting and genealogy of the people in Latium are described in the narrative draws attention to the particular religious quality of the place and its *di agrestes*. In Vergil's version of Italian history the native gods are closely linked to the peoples that Aeneas encounters in Latium. In Book Seven, the Latins are described as a people recently descended from deities that are local or animistic. Latinus is presented as the great grandson of Saturn and the son of Faunus and the Laurentine nymph Marcia (*Aen*. 7.45–9). Faunus is prophetic and gives to Latinus an oracle in a sacred grove that foretells the arrival of Aeneas in Italy (*Aen*. 7.81–101). In addition, Latinus' palace,

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[222] Night and the stars are more accurately scene-setting than an object of invocation since it is after dinner and nighttime. See Horsfall 2000: 128.

[223] Fordyce 1977: 90. See also 10.252.

which is sacred and surrounded by divine groves, has carved images of his Latin ancestors that have become gods by Vergil's day, such as Italus, Sabinus, Saturn, Janus, Quirinus and Picus (*Aen*. 7.170–191).[224] This religious atmosphere is continued in the next book. When Aeneas sails up the Tiber River to the site of Pallanteum in Book Eight, Vergil makes an effort to create a sense of the religious future for the city and induct Aeneas into it.

Initially, Aeneas comes upon Evander performing sacrifices to Hercules and the gods in a grove outside of their city (*Aen*. 8.102–6). Pallas observes proper Roman ceremony since in refusing to interrupt the sacrifice when he notices the arrival of the Trojans so as not to ruin the ritual (*Aen*. 8.110–12).[225] The proto-Roman practices of the people and the divine nature of the place are constants throughout the episode of Aeneas in Pallanteum as well. When Evander shows the Trojans around his city, he says that initially the site of Rome was a grove inhabited by native fauns and nymphs (*Aen*. 8.314) but that later it was civilized by the god Saturn, who is among many gods to have left a mark upon the land (*Aen*. 8.319–20). These gods include, according to Evander, the nymph Carmentis, Lycean Pan and Janus (*Aen*. 8.336–58). Evander also mentions an unknown divine presence on the Capitoline Hill, where the temple of Jupiter was in Vergil's day (*Aen*. 8.349–50). Evander's tour leaves the impression that the site of Rome has powerful spirits attached to it that stem from both the local spirits and the Olympian

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[224] See Fantham 2009: 46–7 for a discussion of the rearrangement of lineage and lands of origin in Book Seven to eliminate strictly tribal or local apartheid.

[225] Cf. Serv. ad 8.111: *ne interruptione sacrficii piaculum committeretur.*

gods. In Pallanteum, Evander and his people celebrate rites to Hercules, including the hymn of the Salian priests, that resemble the rites observed in Vergil's day.[226] In addition, Evander refers to himself as the *Arcadius rex* (*Aen*. 8.573), which recalls the myth wherein Evander brought Greek religious and legal traditions to Italy. The bombardment of religious practices, sacred spaces and new local deities in both Latium and Pallanteum illustrates Aeneas' induction into Roman tradition and culture.

After Aeneas leaves Pallanteum but before he returns to his men, he visits a sacred grove outside of the town in Caere (*ingens gelidum lucus, Aen*. 8.597). Vergil explains that this place was dedicated to the god Silvanus, a local god of the fields and herds, by the earliest inhabitants of Italy who also gave the god a festival day (*Aen*. 8.600–2).[227] In this place Aeneas receives his divine armor from his mother, Venus, engraved with the future of Rome.[228] This scene ends the transition between Aeneas' travels and the burgeoning war and combines the Olympian sanction of Aeneas' settlement with the animistic gods of Italy. At the end of Book Eight, Vergil emphasizes Aeneas' ignorance of the depictions on the shield (*rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet*, *Aen*. 8.730). Aeneas is allowed access to the Olympian and animistic gods, Roman religious practices and Roman history but he does not fully comprehend the meaning.

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[226] See above Chapter 3, p. 78–83.

[227] See Dorcey 1992 for the cult of Silvanus in both literary descriptions and epigraphic evidence.

[228] Fantham 2009: 59–60 argues that this grove corresponds in function to the prophetic shrine of Faunus in Book Seven. Each shrine is similarly described: Faunus' shrine is called *hinc Italae gentes omnisque Oenotria tellus / in dubiis responsa petunt* (*Aen.* 7.85–6) and Silvanus' *religione patrum late sacer* (*Aen.* 8.598).

Still, it is the exposure to the religious knowledge that signals Aeneas' potential for success in Italy.

In Book Eight, Aeneas interacts directly with a native deity; during his first night in Italy Aeneas is visited by a local, animistic god, the Tiber River. This manifestation shows the intimate relationship with Italian nature gods that Vergil is attempting to forge for Aeneas. The earlier sanction of Aeneas' settlement in Italy by Jupiter (*Aen*. 7.141–3) is reprised by the Tiber when he confirms that Aeneas is destined to make a home in the Laurentian land and Italian fields as well as relocate his Penates there (*Aen*. 8.38–9). After the Tiber leaves, Aeneas expresses his gratitude and promises future worship in prayer:

> "Nymphae, Laurentes Nymphae, genus amnibus unde est,
> tuque, o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto,
> accipite Aenean et tandem arcete periclis.
> quo te cumque lacus miserantem incommoda nostra
> fonte tenent, quocumque solo pulcherrimus exis,
> semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis
> corniger Hesperidum fluuius regnator aquarum.
> adsis o tantum et propius tua numina firmes." (*Aen*. 8.71–78)

"You nymphs, Laurentine nymphs from whom rivers are born, and you father Thybris with your blessed stream, receive Aeneas and at last keep him safe from

> dangers. Wherever the spring is where your waters embrace you as you pity our distress, wherever the ground from which you pour forth in beauty, you will always enjoy my honor and offerings, o horned river, ruler of all Western waters. Only be with me and with your favor confirm your divine power."

Aeneas uses the name *Thybris* in his invocation, which is what the river too calls himself when he appears, rather than the formulaic invocation of the river in Roman practice, *Tiberinus*.[229] The name *Thybris* conjures an early incarnation of the river since it is Etruscan in origin. This gives the impression that this prayer precedes the period when the Tiber is formally worshipped by the Italians and that Aeneas is initiating future religious practice for Rome. The invocation is only slightly changed from an Ennian version of a prayer to the Tiber (*teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto, Ann*. 26), which gives the prayer an archaic tone.[230] Fantham concisely sums up the reason for including the water nymphs in the invocation: "Nymphs control the origin of rivers because they preside over their source, and the source of the river is its most truly sacred part."[231] An attribute of these nymphs in the prayer is that they are native (*indigenae,* 8.314), which reminds the reader that they are the mothers of the older generation of the

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[229] See above Chapter 1, p. 16–21 for a discussion of these names.

[230] See above Chapter 1, p. 20–1.

[231] Fantham 2009: 53. Wills 1996 suggests that in this invocation, the doubling of the nymphs (*Nymphae, Laurentes Nymphae*) alludes to passages in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* that have similar doubling (*Ecl.* 55-6 *Nymphae, / Dictaeae Nymphae*; *Geo.* 4.321 *mater, Cyrene mater*).

Italian peoples Aeneas encounters: the nymph Marcia is the mother of Latinus, Venilia of Turnus and Carmentis of Evander.[232] The prayer makes an intimate link between the Tiber River and its nymphs as a group that should be invoked together and at the correct spot, the source. The solemn prayer is joined with the corresponding ritual purification with its water (*Aen*. 8.68–70), which is a ceremonial action used in literary and actual prayers.[233] Thus, the prayer stresses the importance of the river and its nymphs for the Italian people and by extension for the future settlement of Aeneas and the Trojans. In the poem, the prayer garners the favor of the Tiber and the river gives them a smooth journey to the site of Rome.

Turnus often turns to animistic and local gods in his struggle against Aeneas, such as his prayers to the winds (*Aen*. 10.676–9) and to Faunus and Terra (*Aen*. 12.776–9). Turnus' repeated addresses to them point to an intimate relationship between Turnus and these gods. Ultimately, these gods fail Turnus. His continued addresses to them under these circumstances highlight the poignancy of his situation.

Turnus' close connection to nature and Italian deities is underlined in the narrative. At the opening of Book Nine, Turnus is worshiping in a grove that is sacred to his father Pilumnus. Turnus prays to the gods and ritually purifies himself with water (*ad undam / processit summoque hausit de gurgite lymphas / multa deos orans, oneravitque*

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[232] Fantham 2009: 53.

[233] Fordyce 1977: 212; *Aen*. 9.22; Ovid *F.* 6.777–8; Soph *O.C.* 477 (this prayer is also to local deities).

aethera, Aen. 9.22–4). This is a corollary to Aeneas in Book Eight, when he prays to the Tiber with a corresponding ritual purification.[234] Turnus has ties to a local deity since his sister, Juturna, is a nymph whose lake is near Alba Longa and is worshipped in Augustan Rome.[235] Throughout the poem, Turnus is engaged in the worship of local Italian spirits. For example, after Turnus is alone fighting within the Trojan camp, he escapes by jumping into the Tiber. In the narrative, the river actively receives Turnus, delivers him on its waves to his comrades and washes away the evidence of the battle-slaughter (*Aen*. 9.816–8). The language used to describe the treatment of the Rutulian (*ille suo cum gurgite flavo* / *accepit, Aen*. 9.816–7) is very similar to the words Aeneas used in this prayer to the Tiber to describe the benevolence he desired (*tuo genitor cum flumine sancto* / *accipite Aenean, Aen*. 8.73).[236] This analogous phrasing shows that the river's treatment of both Aeneas and Turnus is equivalent. Turnus' relationship to the local gods at this point is very similar to Aeneas'.[237]

Prayers reflect Turnus' reciprocal relationship with the Italian gods. For example, after he has been plucked from the battle by Juno, Turnus prays to the winds:

uos o potius miserescite, uenti;

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[234] Fantham 2009: 60. Cf. *Aen*. 8.68–70.

[235] Williams 1996: 447. Ovid mentions Juturna's temple in Rome and festival at *F*. 1.463–70. Her first appearance in the *Aeneid* is 12.138.

[236] Hardie 1994: 249–50.

[237] Fantham 2009: 61 sees here also a reference to Turnus' *aristeia* at the beginning of the book.

in rupes, in saxa (uolens uos Turnus adoro)
ferte ratem saeuisque uadis immittite syrtis,
quo nec me Rutuli nec conscia fama sequatur." (*Aen*. 10.676–9)

> Instead you, winds, take pity on me. I, Turnus, willingly beg you: drive my ship onto the crags and rocks, and run it aground into the deadly shallows of quicksand, where not Rutulian or report of my guilt may follow me.

This prayer highlights Turnus' desperation at the realization that he is no longer on the battlefield and his feelings of disgrace that he has been extracted from his encounter with Aeneas. The language of the prayer reflects his anxiety; the anaphora of the preposition *in* and asyndeton of *Aen*. 10.676 convey a breathless quality.[238] Prayers to the winds are an epic motif, but they also appear in representations of Roman cult.[239] In the prayer, Turnus uses the term *volens*, which is drawn from the formula *volens propitius* that in authentic prayers is used of a deity to request favor.[240] The elements that are reminiscent of Roman cult and formula in conjunction with the emotionally charged language illustrate the strong connection between Turnus and the animistic forces. This relationship, however, is not sufficient to aid Turnus in his final conflict with Aeneas.

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[238] See Harrison 1991: 233.

[239] *Il*. 23.194–7; Cic. *Nat.* 3.51. Cf. Harrison 1991: 233.

[240] Hickson 1993: 61–2, 142.

Olympian Triumph

In the epic, Aeneas and Turnus each foster their respective relationships with the Italic deities through prayers and ritual. In Book Twelve, the Jovian system proves to be the more powerful divine force by overriding the actions of Faunus on behalf of Turnus. After his weapon breaks and he is vulnerable, Turnus prays to Faunus and Terra to ask them to hold onto Aeneas's spear. He refers to Aeneas' recent desecration of the stump of a sacred olive tree (*sacer oleaster*) in order to curry their favor:

> non poterat. tum uero amens formidine Turnus
> "Faune, precor, miserere" inquit "tuque optima ferrum
> Terra tene, colui uestros si semper honores,
> quos contra Aeneadae bello fecere profanos." (*Aen*. 12.776–9)

> Then, wild with fear Turnus says: "I beg you, Faunus, take pity on me and you, great mother Earth, hold onto that spear, if I have always paid attention to your honors, which Aeneas and his men have profaned in war."

This prayer sets Aeneas' religious violation against Turnus' continued reverence to these local gods.[241] Faunus is able to answer his prayer temporarily (*opemque dei non cassa in vota vocavit*, *Aen*. 12.780) and the spear is stuck. Before Aeneas is in any danger, however, Venus intercedes on his behalf (*accessit telumque alta ab radice revellit*, *Aen*. 12.787). Richard Thomas describes the implication for Venus' ability to loosen the spear: "as the Italian Turnus is soon to fail before the civilizer Aeneas, so the Italic woodland deity no longer has power even over his own realm."[242] In the poem, the Latins are associated with Saturn (*Aen*. 7.45–9, 202–4) and Trojans, especially Aeneas, with Jupiter (*Aen*. 7.219–20), and so Venus' act symbolically represents the replacing of the Saturnian order by the Jovian .[243] Thomas likens this episode to the actions of Aeneas on the Thracian shore in Book Three, as they are both violations in a foreign land. The two passages are linguistically similar: [244]

> accessi viridemque ab humo convellere silvam
>
> conatus (*Aen*. 3.24–5)

[241] Thomas 1988: 270 and Servius ad 12.779 note that the use of *profanos* in reference to the desecration of the tree draws on the religious overtones of the word. Servius ad 12.779: *"profanum" proprie dicitur quod ex religiosa re in hominum usum convertitur, ut hic plenissime ostenditur: dicens enim Turnus "colui…profanos" <ostendit> et sibi religiosam fuisse arborem, et a Troianis in usum communem fuisse praesumptam.*

[242] Thomas 1988: 270.

[243] Thomas 1982b: 100–3, 1988: 270 n. 30; Fantham 2009: 62.

[244] Thomas 1988: 270.

I approached and tried to remove the green shoots from the ground

accessit telumque alta ab radice revellit (*Aen*. 12.787)

She approached and removed the spear from deep in the root

In Book Three, Aeneas discovers the bloody roots that signal the religious violation by removing the green shoots. In Book Twelve, Venus' removal of the spear that caused the religious violation is described using the same verbs (*accedere, vellere*) and almost identical word order. The linguistic similarity in Aeneas' and Venus' actions connects the two passages and contrasts the circumstances of two similar tree-violations. At the end of the book, the supremacy of the Trojan/Jovian system is confirmed as Venus overrides the action of the native power. It is also symbolic of Aeneas' impending victory over Turnus.

Treaty-oaths

When Latinus and Aeneas confirm their treaty with a prayer, they combine the native and Olympian gods in their invocations so that they are very similar to attested prayers in the Roman political sphere. In these treaty-oaths, Aeneas' political power is consolidated in a way that looks forward to the Roman cult of the Augustan era. These two prayers work in concert: Aeneas' prayer states the terms of the treaty and Latinus' the terms of the oaths. They both set the stage for the reconciliation between the Latins

and Trojans, the terms of which are further laid out in Juno's speech at *Aen*. 12.808–28.[245] When considered together, these prayers mark an important shift in the *Aeneid*'s prayer language. They retain a solemn, legal tone by drawing from the technical language of oaths, such as verbs of swearing (*etse testes*, *testor* and *iuro*) that are found in Livy.[246] Each of these prayers has a lengthy invocation which combine Olympian and local gods. These two invocations, Aeneas' to the Sun, Juno, Mars, Jupiter, and animistic gods of the rivers, springs, sky and sea, and Latinus' to Apollo, Diana, Janus, Dis, nod to official Roman prayers. Several representations of Roman prayers from other sources demonstrate the regularity of invoking a combination of Olympian, animistic and local Italic gods in prayers. For example, in Livy the *devotio* of Decius Mus invokes Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, Lares, foreign gods and native gods in addition to the *Di Manes*.[247] When the Fetial priest says a prayer for invoking war, he also uses a combination of the Olympian gods, Jupiter, and local gods Janus, *dii caelestes*, *terrestes* and *inferni*, and his request uses the verb *audire* in the same way as does Latinus.[248] Also, in Macrobius when a general devotes a city to destruction, he invokes Dis, the *di inferni*, Tellus and Jupiter.[249] According to Servius, Janus is also invoked for the treaty between

[245] See Zeitlin 1965: 337–40; Fontenrose 1968: 29; Galinsky 1969: 453 for the debate about the relationship between the two speeches.

[246] Hickson 1993: 133–6.

[247] Livy 8.9.6–8.

[248] Livy 1.32.10.

[249] Macrob. *Sat.* 3.9.10–11.

the Romans and Sabines after the capture of the latter's women, and this suggests that Latinus' inclusion of this god in his oath's invocation points to prayer convention.[250]

The first prayer is Aeneas' oath to Latinus upon victory over Turnus:

> "esto nunc Sol testis et haec mihi terra uocanti,
> quam propter tantos potui perferre labores,
> et pater omnipotens et tu Saturnia coniunx
> (iam melior, iam, diua, precor), tuque inclute Mauors,
> cuncta tuo qui bella, pater, sub numine torques;
> fontisque fluuiosque uoco, quaeque aetheris alti
> religio et quae caeruleo sunt numina ponto:
> cesserit Ausonio si fors uictoria Turno,
> conuenit Euandri uictos discedere ad urbem,
> cedet Iulus agris, nec post arma ulla rebelles
> Aeneadae referent ferroue haec regna lacessent.
> sin nostrum adnuerit nobis uictoria Martem
> (ut potius reor et potius di numine firment)
> non ego nec Teucris Italos parere iubebo
> nec mihi regna peto: paribus se legibus ambae
> inuictae gentes aeterna in foedera mittant.
> sacra deosque dabo; socer arma Latinus habeto,

[250] Serv. ad *Aen.* 12.198.

imperium sollemne socer; mihi moenia Teucri

constituent urbique dabit Lauinia nomen." (*Aen*. 12.175–94)

"I now call to witness the Sun and this land, because of which I have been able to endure such hardship, and the all-powerful father and you Saturnian Juno, (I pray even now you are kinder, goddess), and you glorious Mars, who control all wars with your divine power, father. I call upon the springs and rivers; I call upon the holiness of high heavens and the divinities in the blue sea. If by chance victory falls to Ausonian Turnus, it is agreed that the conquered will depart for Evander's city, Iulus will withdraw from the fields and the people of Aeneas will not ever after this rebel and bear arms, or trouble this kingdom with the sword. If, however, victory grants us that Mars is favorable (as I rather think and may the gods make it so) I will not order the Italians to obey Trojans, nor do I seek kingship for myself: let both nations commit to an everlasting treaty with legal equality. I will provide sacred rites and gods; my father-in-law Latinus is to keep his arms and his traditional authority; for me the Trojans will build walls and Lavinia will give her name to the city."

The gods of the invocation, the Sun, Juno, Mars, Jupiter, and animistic gods of the rivers, springs, sky and sea, are well chosen to serve several purposes. There is a Homeric

parallel in *Iliad* 3.267–301 where Agamemnon and Priam swear to a truce.[251] In this case Agamemnon has a similar list for his invocation, including Zeus, the Sun, the rivers, earth and underworld gods. Vergil also adds Juno in an aside requesting that her anger may now subside (*iam melior, iam, diua, precor*, *Aen*. 12.177), which, as I mentioned above, looks forward to her final reconciliation but also looks back toward her initial anger. The initial position of the Sun in the prayer is a nod to the fact that Latinus is the grandson of the Sun and, as Galinsky convincingly argues, the inclusion of the Sun in the invocation is a *captatio benevolentiae* directed at Latinus.[252] Several themes of the poem relating to the Trojan resettlement in Italy are tied into this prayer. It makes reference to the importance of Aeneas' task to bring the Penates of Troy to Italy (*sacra deosque dabo, Aen*. 12.192).[253] Also, the language of the oath, while it does not closely resemble

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[251] *Il*. 3.275–301: *τοῖσιν δ' Ἀτρεΐδης μεγάλ' εὔχετο χεῖρας ἀνασχών· / Ζεῦ πάτερ Ἴδηθεν μεδέων κύδιστε μέγιστε, / Ἠέλιός θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις, / καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ γαῖα, καὶ οἳ ὑπένερθε καμόντας / ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον, ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ, / ὑμεῖς μάρτυροι ἔστε, φυλάσσετε δ' ὅρκια πιστά· / εἰ μέν κεν Μενέλαον Ἀλέξανδρος καταπέφνῃ / αὐτὸς ἔπειθ' Ἑλένην ἐχέτω καὶ κτήματα πάντα, / ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν νήεσσι νεώμεθα ποντοπόροισιν· / εἰ δέ κ' Ἀλέξανδρον κτείνῃ ξανθὸς Μενέλαος, / Τρῶας ἔπειθ' Ἑλένην καὶ κτήματα πάντ' ἀποδοῦναι, / τιμὴν δ' Ἀργείοις ἀποτινέμεν ἥν τιν' ἔοικεν, / ἥ τε καὶ ἐσσομένοισι μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέληται. / εἰ δ' ἂν ἐμοὶ τιμὴν Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες / τίνειν οὐκ ἐθέλωσιν Ἀλεξάνδροιο πεσόντος, / αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ἔπειτα μαχήσομαι εἵνεκα ποινῆς / αὖθι μένων, ἦός κε τέλος πολέμοιο κιχείω." / ἦ, καὶ ἀπὸ στομάχους ἀρνῶν τάμε νηλέϊ χαλκῷ· / καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ χθονὸς ἀσπαίροντας / θυμοῦ δευομένους· ἀπὸ γὰρ μένος εἵλετο χαλκός. / οἶνον δ' ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφυσσόμενοι δεπάεσσιν / ἔκχεον, ἠδ' εὔχοντο θεοῖς αἰειγενέτῃσιν· / ὧδε δέ τις εἶπεσκεν Ἀχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε· / Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι, / ὁππότεροι πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὅρκια πημήνειαν / ὧδέ σφ' ἐγκέφαλος χαμάδις ῥέοι ὡς ὅδε οἶνος / αὐτῶν καὶ τεκέων, ἄλοχοι δ' ἄλλοισι δαμεῖεν*. Galinsky 1969: 457; Fontenrose 1968: 25. Cf. *Il*. 19.258–65.

[252] Galinsky 1969: 454–8.

[253] Williams 1996: 450.

language drawn from historical prayer formula, still points to a Roman future by foreshadowing the concept of *imperium* wherein different peoples are joined together under treaties (*paribus se legibus ambae / inuictae gentes aeterna in foedera Aen*. 12.190–1).

Latinus responds to Aeneas's oath and swears to Apollo, Diana, Janus and Dis to uphold the treaty:

> "haec eadem, Aenea, terram, mare, sidera, iuro
> Latonaeque genus duplex Ianumque bifrontem,
> uimque deum infernam et duri sacraria Ditis;
> audiat haec genitor qui foedera fulmine sancit.
> tango aras, medios ignis et numina testor:
> nulla dies pacem hanc Italis nec foedera rumpet,
> quo res cumque cadent; nec me uis ulla uolentem
> auertet, non, si tellurem effundat in undas
> diluuio miscens caelumque in Tartara soluat,
> ut sceptrum hoc' (dextra sceptrum nam forte gerebat)
> "numquam fronde leui fundet uirgulta nec umbras,
> cum semel in siluis imo de stirpe recisum
> matre caret posuitque comas et bracchia ferro,
> olim arbos, nunc artificis manus aere decoro
> inclusit patribusque dedit gestare Latinis." (*Aen*. 12.197–211)

> "I swear by these same things: by the earth, sea and stars; by the two children of Latona and the two-faced Janus; by the power of the gods under the earth and the shrines of unyielding Dis. May the father who sanctions treaties with his lightening hear these words. I touch his altars, and I call to witness the gods and fires that are in the middle. At no time will the men of Italy break this peace and these treaties, no matter what will happen, and no force will overturn my will, not even if it should cast the earth into the waves and confound it in flood, and detach the sky into Tartarus. Just as this scepter"—for he was by chance holding a scepter in his right hand—"will never sprout branches or cast a shadow with gentle foliage since it at one time was cut from the base of its truck in the forest, lost its mother tree and put aside its foliage and branches for iron. Once a tree, now a skilled hand has dressed in bronze decoration and given it to the Latin leaders to bear."

This very extensively prayer draws on language that resembles historical prayer formula for oaths. Latinus uses three *verba testandi* in his prayer: *iurare, audire* and *testari*. The verbs, *iuro* and *testor*, are common verbs for swearing oaths in both literature and in legal inscriptions.[254] In Livy, the verb *audire* is used in treaty oaths and even with Jupiter in an

[254] *TLL* 7.2.1.677.12–22; s.v. *obtestor* 280.77–84, 281.4, 282.29. Hickson 1993: 117–19, 123–4.

oath for the solemnization of a peace treaty.[255] Often in formal oaths, there is a formulaic phrase regarding perjury wherein the speaker expresses his full knowledge of his obligations and his good intentions, e.g. *sciens dolo malo*.[256] This element of an oath is included in Latinus' prayer when he promises that nothing will change his mind (*nec me uis ulla uolentem / auertet, Aen*. 12.203–4). As Hickson well sums up: "the idea that Latinus will not 'willingly' violate the terms of the agreement may be intended to parallel the technical promise not to deceive 'knowingly.'"[257] By drawing on Roman prayer language, Vergil makes a connection between Latinus's oath and its Roman equivalent so that the conditions appear official and have more authority.

As Latinus and Aeneas form their new, joint society, they use the Olympian and Italian gods in their invocations and so the prayers closely resemble official treaty oaths used in Roman religious practice. The oaths further confirm the legitimacy of their treaty, and therefore the Trojan settlement in Italy, by pointing to the divine reconciliation of Juno and future Rome.

Conclusion

[255] Hickson 1993: 115. Cf. Livy 8.5.8.

[256] Hickson 1993: 124–5.

[257] Hickson 1993: 125.

In this chapter, I have examined prayers to gods that are either native to Italy or are private, familial deities. The Lares and Penates are similar to the *di agrestes* in that they have a limited sphere of influence. Prayers to the Lares and Penates reinforce both the need for Aeneas to relocate his familial gods to Italy by introducing the gods to their new home. Use of Roman terminology to describe the Trojan state gods and the implication that these gods originated in Italy in prayers point to the conflation of two sets of Lares and Penates, Trojan and Roman, so that the settlement of the Trojans in Italy looks forward to the Augustan era. In the poem, Vergil distinguishes between the native and Olympian gods in prayers by only invoking one type of these gods at a time. Aeneas and the Trojans ingratiate themselves with the native gods to secure their successful settlement in Italy, and then, at the end of the poem, these gods are incorporated into the Olympian pantheon in a way that resembles how they appear in Roman cult. Thus the Italian gods in the last book are both defeated metaphorically and are subsumed into the Jovian system.

CONCLUSION

To conclude this thesis, I will consider what Macrobius says about Vergil's treatment of religion and religious ritual:

> Mac. *Sat*. 3.2.1: *Verborum autem proprietas tam poetae huic familiaris est, ut talis observatio in Virgilio laus esse iam desinat: nullis tamen magis proprie usus est quam sacris vel sacrificalibus verbis*.
>
> The use of the proper words, however, is so commonplace to this poet that such faithful observance of ritual stops to be a source of praise for Vergil: but nevertheless he has used no words more according to propriety than in his use of words that relate to religious rites or sacrifice.

On the surface this statement is patently untrue. Few prayers in the *Aeneid* use more than a few words of prayer language from Roman religious formula or reproduce accurately Roman ritual practice. So, why does Macrobius say this? Vergil uses raw material derived from Roman cult and literary prayer formula from authors such as Homer and Ennius to inform his characterizations and thus to create a religious discourse that points to Roman cultural identity. There is native Roman material placed beside Greek, which

affects the individual prayers, as they pertain to their speakers and situations. These prayers, in connecting to specific time periods and accessing distinct rituals and cultural norms, appear as if they are faithfully observing ritual and using formulaic language. Instead, the *Aeneid*'s prayers draw on many sources and constitute a highly allusive dialogue.

In this dissertation I have looked at the literary, ritual and thematic elements that inform Vergil's prayers in the *Aeneid*. Through allusion to Ennius' *Annales*, Vergil self-consciously asserts authority over the material. Incorporation and subtle emendation of the earlier, canonical epic shows the authors' varied usage of technical language as well as Vergil's intentional reworking of Ennian subject matter. Vergil makes use of his predecessor to highlight his innovative use of prayer formula as well as rewrite religious practices, such as prayers to the Tiber River (*Aen*. 8.72) and the act of devotion (*Aen*. 12.646–9), in epic poetry.

When he borrows prayers from Homer, Vergil draws upon their context and textual implications to affect the reading of the action and his characters. Spear-prayers draw on the Homeric motif and connect the Trojans and their allies to the world of the Homeric hero, while pointed divergence from it underscores the deviant nature of Turnus' Italian allies. These prayers reinforce the concept of the divine sanction that drives Aeneas' settlement in Italy. Allusion to specific prayers in the Homeric epics aligns characters with Homeric counterparts and situations. Incorporation of Roman and Italic ritual in these same prayers brings out the underlying focus of the epic: Rome and Roman traditions. In this way Vergil draws on Homer to create a Roman version of epic

poetry. Also, when prayers draw closely on Homeric models Aeneas and the Trojans correspond more closely to the Homeric Greeks, and the native Italians to the Trojans of the Homeric epics so that the Trojans are transformed into the victors of the war, such as Aeneas's prayers (*Aen*. 1.326–34; *Aen*. 8.68–78) that allude to Odysseus' prayers when he arrives in Ithaca (*Od*. 13.228–35; *Od*. 13.352–60), Arruns' prayer to Apollo (*Aen*. 11.785–93) that re-imagines Achilles' prayer to Zeus (*Il*. 16.233–48) and the prayer of the Latin Women (*Aen*. 11.477–85) that follows closely the prayer of the Trojan women in the *Iliad* (*Il*. 6.297–310).

In Chapter 3, I have shown that the combination of language drawn from historical prayer formula and ritual action in conjunction with the prayers' responses or accompanying prayers frame each of these speeches in Roman terms. In the Salian hymn (*Aen*. 8.293–302), Vergil alludes to or retains formula in the prayers and refers to precise ritual action insofar as this makes a meaningful connection to Roman practice and Augustan religious reform. In prayers that are accompanied by ritual action, such as Ascanius (*Aen*. 9.625–9), Cloanthus (*Aen*. 5.234–8), Arruns (*Aen*. 11.785–8) and Anchises (*Aen*. 3.261–6 and *Aen*. 3.525–9), speakers often prefigure Roman practice and therefore assume a position of power through their privileged access to technical religious language and action. Vergil employs allusion and ritual language that reflects historical Roman religious practice to endow the suppliants with fundamental characteristics of Roman identity that are also germane to Augustan ideology. Vergil has inserted verbal markers of Roman religious tradition in his representations of Dido (*Aen*. 1.731–7; *Aen*. 4.607–29) and Turnus (*Aen*. 12.646–9), which amplifies the tragic elements of their

stories by making these characters in some instances conform to, and in others deviate from, Roman customs.

Finally in Chapter 4, prayers to the Lares and Penates in the poem emphasize the need for Aeneas and his family to establish a relationship between both the domestic and state aspects of these gods and Italy. Aeneas relocates his state gods, the Trojan Penates, to Italy and in prayers these Trojan deities are conflated with the Roman Penates so that the settlement of the Trojans in Italy points to Rome and Roman religious practice. Vergil initially distinguishes the native and Olympian gods by separately invoking them in prayers. This metaphorically puts the struggle between the Trojans and the Latins in terms of a shift from one religious system to another, the Saturnian to Jovian, and a transformation from the prehistoric version of the native Italian gods to their later role in Roman civic cult.

Prayer language in the *Aeneid* draws on literary and religious sources so that it becomes an allusive dialogue. Vergil creates his own version of proto-Roman religion and prayer language that is recognizable but at the same time unique and literary.

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