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Virgil's Actium-Nicopolis

After the terrifying prophecy of Celaeno the disheartened Trojans hastily abandon the Strophades — the first stop of their wanderings in Western Greece — and sail northwards (3, 266 ff.). After some time they sight the islands of Ulysses: Zacynthus, Dulichium, Same, "Neritos" and Ithaca (270 - 273):

*iam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa Zacynthos
Dulichiumque Sameque et Neritos ardua saxis.
effugimus scopulos Ithacae, Laertia regna,
et terram altricem saevi exsecramur Ulixi.*

As the Trojans approach the waters of the kingdom of Ulysses, Virgil is confronted with a double challenge: to emulate Homer "on his own ground" and to convey the feelings of Aeneas towards the home of Ulysses, who in the *Aeneid* is a particularly hateful character from the Trojan point of view and is portrayed as harsh and cruel, dreadful, impious, unscrupulous, a master of deceit and a deviser of crimes². The poet achieves both aims by transforming the description of Ithaca given to the Phaeacians by Odysseus himself (*Od.* 9,21 ff.) into the very image of the character of the odious king³.

1. On these islands in Homer see *A.J. B. Wace - F. H. Stubbings*, *A Companion to Homer*, London 1962, 398 ff. There is a question as to whether Dulichium was ruled by Odysseus (*ibid.* 403), but for Virgil the epithet *Dulichius* (*Ecl.* 6,76) means "Ithacan" or "Odyssean"; cf. also *Ov. Tr.* 1,5, 67.

2. On Virgil's Ulysses cf. *R. Villers*, "Durus Ulixes", *REL* 54 (1956) 214 - 221; *W.B. Stanford*, *The Ulysses Theme: A Study in the Adaptability of a Traditional Hero*, Oxford 1963², 128 ff; *Th. Haecker*, "Odysseus and Aeneas", *Virgil: A Collection of Critical Essays*, St. Commager ed., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1966, 68 - 77; cf. also *J.W. Jones*, "Trojan Legend. Who is Sinon?", *CJ* 61 (1965) 122 - 128; *G.K. Galinsky*, "Troiae qui primus ab oris ... (*Aen.* I 1)", transl. by G.B. Philipp, *Gymnasium* 81 (1974) 182 - 200. Sinon's characterization of Ulysses is hardly "false". It is indeed confirmed by Aeneas (*duri ... Ulixi*: 2, 7; *durus Ulixes*: 2, 261 and 762), by Laocoon (2, 43 - 44), by Deiphobus (*hortator scelerum Aeolides*: 6, 529) and even by Numanus Remulus (*fandi fictor Ulixes*: 9, 602). Of particular significance is the epithet *durus* — applied to Ulysses only by Aeneas — which the poet uses elsewhere of the gates of War (1, 293), of the Harpies (3, 211; 235; 262 etc.), of the shore of Circe (7,22), of the Furies (7, 324; 454; especially of *Allecto* 7, 520), of *Cacus* (8, 194) etc. (on *durus* see *W. Hübner*, *Dirae im römischen Epos*, *Spudasmata* 21, Hildesheim / New York 1970, 5 f. and *passim*).

3. On the Homeric lines imitated by Virgil in this passage see *G. Knauer*, *Die Aeneis und Homer*, *Hypomnemata* 7, Göttingen 1979², 383. Very probably Virgil had also in mind *Hom. Hymn* 3, 428 - 429, as I point out in a forthcoming article of mine on "Virgil and the Delphic Oracle". For a different approach to *Aen.* 3, 270 ff. see *R.B. Lloyd*, "On *Aeneid*, III, 270 - 280", *AJP* 75 (1954) 288 - 299; *F. Della Corte*, *La mappa dell' Eneide*,

A first indication of the feelings of the Trojans towards the islands of Ulysses is provided by the fact that in the *Aeneid* they do not stop at Zacynthus — contrary to the account of the wanderings of Aeneas found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1,50,3)⁴. But their hostility towards these islands is mainly conveyed through the visual disfigurement of the Ithacan landscape. The island of Neritos in Virgil is really the Homeric Neriton, a mountain on Ithaca⁵, which Odysseus describes with pride as *εινοσίφυλλον* ("with quivering foliage": *Od.* 9, 22) and Athena as *καταειμένον ὄλη* ("forest - clad": *Od.* 13, 351). Virgil transforms the mountain into an island with "steep crags" (*ardua saxis*: 271). In this way, he both robs Ithaca of its only vegetation and creates an additional danger for Aeneas' ships⁶.

Ithaca is "rugged but a kindly nurse of young heroes" (*τρηχεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος*: *Od.* 9, 27), says Odysseus to the Phaeacians, describing his land and his people. Aeneas speaks of the "cliffs of Ithaca" (*scopulos Ithacae*), which the Trojans wisely steer away from (*effugimus*) while at the same time they "curse" (*exsecramur*) the "land that nursed the fierce and cruel Ulysses" (*terram altricem saevi ... Ulixi*) (272 - 273). In Homer there is a contrast between the land and its people but in Virgil the *saevus Ulixes* and the *scopulos Ithacae* are matched to each

Firenze 1972, 63 ff. On *Aeneid* 3 and the *Odyssey* see *Knauer*, op. cit., 181 ff.; *R.D. Williams*, "Virgil and the *Odyssey*", *Phoenix* 17 (1963) 266 - 274; *P.V. Cova*, "Il tema del viaggio e dell' unità del libro terzo dell' *Eneide*", *Aevum* 39 (1965) 441 - 473, 465 ff.; *D.F. Bright*, "Aeneas' Other Nekyia", *Vergilius* 27 (1981) 40 - 47 (for discussion of particular Homeric echoes see the literature in ANRW II 31.1.217 ff. and in *E. Coleiro*, *Tematica e struttura dell' Eneide*, Amsterdam 1983, 133 ff.).

4. According to Dionysius the Trojans were hospitably received at Zacynthus by reason of ancient kinship: while there they built a temple to Aphrodite and instituted a traditional sacrifice and games. It is not certain that Virgil transferred the Zacythian games to Actium, as *R.B. Lloyd*, art. cit., 293 ff. suggests (also *id.*, "*Aeneid* III and the Aeneas Legend", *AJP* 78 (1957) 382 - 400, 391); Virgil may very well have been thinking of the *old* Actian games at 3, 280 (cf. also *J. Perret*, *Les origines de la légende Troyenne de Rome*, Paris 1942, 61, who suggests that Virgil sacrifices Zacynthus altogether. [The attitude of the Trojans towards Zacynthus should be properly characterized as ambivalent: on the one hand, they avoid a stop at one of the islands of their arch-enemy; but on the other hand, they do not project hostile feelings into the Zacynthian landscape, which retains its Homeric attractiveness (*nemorosa* = *ὄληεσσα*; it is to be kept in mind, however, that forest imagery in the *Aeneid* is ambiguous, positive or negative)].

5. *E. Buchholz*, *Die Homerischen Realien*, Ia, *Homerische Kosmographie und Geographie*, Leipzig 1871, 124.

6. The assumption that Virgil is here indicating Ithaca's mountain and not an island (*Heyne-Wagner*, ad loc.; *Cartault*, I, 283; and further literature in *Bömer* on *Ov. Met.* 13, 711 - 713) is highly unlikely, as it appears both from the feminine gender (*Lloyd*, "On *Aeneid* III...", art. cit., 282; *Williams*, Oxford edition, on 270 - 271) and from 8, 147, where Virgil employs the expression *fumantibus ardua saxis* to describe the wild landscape of a volcanic island. Equally unlikely is the prevailing opinion that Virgil, in making an island of Mt. Neriton, commits an error (*Conington-Nettleship*, ad loc.; *Williams*, ad loc.; *Fantham* on *Sen. Troad.* 856) allegedly because he is confused with the town Nerikos (*Lloyd*, "On *Aeneid* III...", art. cit., 291 f.). Neriton appears in *Od.* 9, 22 and 13, 351; and in *Il.* 2, 632. In the first two passages (and also in *Hom. Hymn.* 3, 428) it is specifically designated as a mountain (*ὄρος*); and in *Il.* 2, 632 (as well as in *Od.* 9, 22) it is described as *εινοσίφυλλον*, an epithet which Homer employs elsewhere only of Mt. Pelion (*Il.* 2, 757; *Od.* 11, 316; cf. *Strab.* 10, 2, 11). Several Roman authors after Virgil take Neritos as an island (*Lloyd*, "On *Aeneid* III...", art. cit., 289 f.), which underlines the power of the literary influence of the *Aeneid*.

other⁷. Also Ithaca, like Neritos before, is viewed through the eyes of the sea-faring Trojans, i.e. as a dangerous landmark⁸. In addition, some of the words used in this description have particularly somber overtones. *Effugio* is used twice more in the *Aeneid* in similar contexts: in Helenus' warning to Aeneas to steer away from the "evil Greeks" who inhabit Magna Graecia (3, 396 - 399); and in reference to Achaemenides' "escape" from the Cyclopes, the "accursed breed" (3, 653). *Exsecramur* sums up in a powerful way the painful recollection of the horrors of the war: it reappears only at *Aen.* 11, 215 ff., where bereaved mothers, wives, sisters and sons utter curses against the dire war (*dirum⁹ exsecrantur bellum*: 217) and Turnus' marriage. Finally, *saeva* is the epithet characteristic of Juno, the divine arch-enemy of the Trojans and of Aeneas in particular¹⁰.

The description of the earlier voyage of the Trojans from Delos to Crete through the Cyclades (3, 124 ff.) constitutes an eloquent contrast both with the Ithacan landscape and with the dreadful sight of Leucate discussed below (3, 274 - 275); and it also confirms the view that the portrayal of natural settings in Virgil reflects human feelings and emotions¹¹. The Cyclades were a notoriously dangerous spot for ancient navigation¹². Yet, as the Trojans thread their way through the Archipelago in eager and jubilant expectation of reaching Crete — their supposed *antiqua mater* — we observe no trace of danger; and the description of the islands, as they sail past each of them, reflects their joyous mood¹³.

The Trojans next spot the promontory Leucate (274 - 275):
mox et Leucatae nimbose cacumina montis
et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo.

7. The rocky nature of Ithaca is frequently mentioned in Homer and it becomes proverbial in later literature (*Buchholz*, op. cit., 121; *Cic. De or.* 1, 196; *Ov. Tr.* 1, 5, 67 f. and *Pont.* 4, 14, 35 f.); but it is at least mitigated by the scanty vegetation of the island, by the image of the land as a "kindly nurse of heroes" and by the love of Odysseus for his homeland. Virgil, however, deprives both Ithaca and its king of any positive element. Cf. *Sen. Troad.* 857 and *Fantham*, ad loc. cf. also *Servius*' suggestion that *Laertia regna*, in reference to the preceding *scopulos Ithacae*, conceals something of a taunt, and *Conington - Nettleship*, ad loc.; *A.G. Blonk*, *Vergilius en het landschap*, Diss. Leiden 1947 (Groningen 1947), 66.

8. Cf. *H.-D. Reeker*, *Die Landschaft in der Aeneis*, Spudasmata 27, Hildesheim / New York 1971, 40 ff.

9. See note 2 above on *dirus Ulixes*.

10. *N. Moseley*, *Characters and Epithets: A Study in Virgil's Aeneid*, New Haven 1926, 37.

11. See *R. Heinze*, *Virgils epische Technik*, Leipzig / Berlin 1915³, (Darmstadt 1965), 397; *Blonk*, op. cit., 36 ff.; *B. Otis*, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry*, Oxford 1963, ch. 3, passim; *V. Pöschl*, *Die Dichtkunst Virgils: Bild und Symbol in der Aeneis*, Darmstadt 1964², 245 ff.; *Reeker*, op. cit., 43 ff.

12. *Hor. Od.* 1, 14, 19 - 20 (and *Nisbet - Hubbard*, ad loc.); *Liv.* 36, 43, 1.

13. The "friendliness" of the Cyclades towards the Trojans reflects also the kindly attitude of the Delian Apollo towards them (see the discussion below on Leucate and Delos). On the voyage of the Trojans from Delos to Crete see *F. Mehmel*, *Virgil und Apollonius Rhodius*, Hamburg 1940, 33 f.; *Reeker*, op. cit., 90 f. At 1, 127 the correct reading is perhaps *consita* ("strewn with"), not *concita* ("made rough by"); the former reinforces *sparsas* and *crebris* and is thus in harmony with the Virgilian technique of accumulation (cf. *G.J.M. Bartelink*, *Etymologiseren bij Vergilius*, Amsterdam 1965, 56).

The description of this promontory — on the southern tip of the island of Leucas — is in harmony with the unattractive picture of the Odyssean islands¹⁴. The eyes of the Trojans dwell on the "stormy peaks" of Leucate¹⁵ and on the temple of Apollo¹⁶, a god "dreaded by sailors". Of particular significance is the epithet *nimbosus* applied to the promontory. This word occurs again only at *Aen.* 1, 535, where it is applied to Orion (*nimbosus Orion*) in the context of the storm which shatters the Trojan fleet and casts it on the African coast preventing Aeneas from reaching Italy. Thus, the *nimbosa cacumina* of Leucate and the god of the place are allusively associated with those powers which are hostile to the Trojans (like Juno and Aeolus who raise the storm of Book 1)¹⁷.

Leucate was a dangerous landmark for sea-farers¹⁸. But Virgil, as seen above, deliberately suppresses the menace of such landmarks when he chooses to¹⁹. Of vital importance is the distinction which the poet makes between the formidable Leucadian Apollo and the Delian Apollo, whose island welcomes most peacefully (*placidissima*) the weary Trojans into a safe port (*tuto portu* : 3, 78 - 79)²⁰. It is, therefore, necessary to seek the reasons for this ominous depiction of Leucate not only in the danger which the promontory represented for navigators but also in the various gloomy traditions associated with it.

In legend and literary tradition Leucate was closely associated with death, especially in connection with a religious rite and a ritual which struck Ovid, Virgil's contemporary, as barbarous, inhumane and horrifying. The *Λευκάς πέτρη* is mentioned already in the *Odyssey* (24, 11) as a familiar landmark on the way to

14. According to a legend Leucate was named after Leukos, a companion of Odysseus. Leukos is also credited with founding the temple of the Leucadian Apollo (Ptol. Hephaist. *apud* Phot. *bibl.* 153 a 10); cf. also Strab. 10, 2, 9 on Leucadius, and 10.2.8 on the capture of Nerikos by Laertes.

15. On the promontory of Leucate see *W. Dörpfeld*, *Alt-Ithaka*, München 1927 (repr. 1965), I, 271, and II, Beilage 12 and 13; *A. Philippson - E. Kirsten*, *Die Griechischen Landschaften*, Band II, Teil II, Frankfurt am Main 1958, 462 f.

16. *Dörpfeld*, *op. cit.*, I, 271 ff.

17. In an epigram of Philip (*Anth. Pal.* 6, 251 = Philip VII Gow-Page) a sailor praying for a fair wind to Actium invokes the Leucadian Apollo with these words: "Phoebus, who dwellest on the sheer height of Leucas, visible from afar to sailors and washed by the Ionian sea ...". Philip's description — taking into account of course the purpose of the invocation and the different genre — offers an attractive alternative to Virgil's somber picture of Leucate and its god.

18. Cic. *Att.* 5,9,1 *Actio maluimus iter facere pedibus, qui commodissime navigassemus, sed Leucatam flectere molestum videbatur*; see *E. van Hille*, in *Dörpfeld*, *op. cit.*, I, 388.

19. Horace warns Virgil setting out for Greece of the *infames scopulos, Acroceraunia* (*Od.* 1, 3, 20); and Virgil himself in the *Georgics* (1, 331 - 333) has an etymological pun on the Ceraunia ("the place of thunder"; *Bartelink*, *op. cit.*, 46). But in the *Aeneid* (3, 506 ff.) the Trojans have an uneventful voyage past the Ceraunian mountains and make a brief landing at Acroceraunia, where they enjoy a peaceful sleep on the shore in joyful expectation of crossing to Italy.

20. Cf. the description of the "wind-swept" Delos in Call. *Hymn* 4, 11 ff.; cf. also *W. Jens*, "Der Eingang des dritten Buches der Aeneis", *Philologus* 97 (1948) 194 - 197, on the contrast between the Thracian and the Delian stop.

Hades²¹. Also, according to a legend preserved by Servius *auctus* (on *Aen.* 3, 279) Leucate was named after a boy called Leucates who died by leaping from the rock into the sea for fear of being raped by Apollo.

The cult of the Leucadian Apollo included a purificatory or apotropaic rite²², which Ovid and Servius regard as an actual human sacrifice. Strabo (10, 2, 9) — who preserves what may have been its civilized form — describes it as follows: "It was an ancestral custom among the Leucadians, every year at the sacrifice performed in honor of Apollo, for some criminal to be flung from this rocky look-out for the sake of averting evil". He then adds that all possible means were taken to make the man's fall easy and to save him (cf. Ampelius 8, 4). But Ovid, in discussing the origin of the Argei ceremony — during which effigies of men dressed in old-fashioned clothes were thrown into the Tiber²³ — interprets it as a *surrogate for human sacrifice* (cf. Dion. *Ant.* 1, 38, 2) and says that in the past it was a gloomy rite performed every year "in the Leucadian manner" (*Fast.* 5, 630)²⁴, until Hercules came to Italy and taught the people to throw men of straw into the water. Also Servius, commenting on *formidatus nautis Apollo* (*Aen.* 3, 275), reports a tradition that it was a custom to sacrifice a sailor to the Leucadian Apollo²⁵.

At some point Leucate became also associated with the lover's leap believed to "put an end to the longing of love" (Strab. 10, 2, 9; cf. also Serv. *auct.* on *Aen.* 3, 274 and on *Ecl.* 8, 59; Ptol. Hephaist. *apud* Phot. *bibl.* 153a 10). In the tradition surrounding the leap the lines between deliverance from passion and suicide are constantly blurred, since several of those who attempted the leap were killed²⁶. Servius *auctus* (on *Ecl.* 8, 59) preserves another, more ominous, version of the legend, according to which some took the leap "in their desire to find their

21. The identification of *Λευκάς πέτρη* with Leucate in Homer is a controversial question; see *Stanford*, ad loc.; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Sappho und Simonides*, Berlin / Zürich / Dublin 1966 (repr. of the 1913 ed.); *J. B. Bury*, "The End of the *Odyssey*", *JHS* 42 (1922) 1-15, 4 f.; *T. W. Allen*, *Homer: The Origins and Transmission*, Oxford 1924 (repr. 1969), 222-223; *H. Dörrie*, *P. Ovidius Naso: Der Brief der Sappho an Phaon*, *Zetemata* 58, München 1975, 33 ff.; *J. D. Morgan*, *Λευκάς πέτρη*, *CQ* 35 (1985) 229-231; cf. also *E. Kirsten - W. Kraiker*, *Griechenlandkunde*, Heidelberg 1967⁵, II, 715. By Virgil's time, however, Leucate had become the best known "white rock" and its identification, in the poet's mind, with the Homeric *Λευκάς πέτρη* must be considered as certain. At 8, 677 Virgil probably exploits the "ominous whiteness" of Leucate [cf. *Schol. Graec. in Hom. Od. (Dindorf)*, on 24, 11; *Stanford*, ad loc.] by means of an etymological word-play: *Leucaten ... auroque effulgere*; for the etymological use of *leukos* in Virgil cf. *C. Saunders*, "Sources of the Names of Trojans and Latins in Vergil's *Aeneid*", *TAPA* 71 (1940) 537-555, 552 f., on Leucaspis and the *parma alba* of Helenor.

22. On this rite see RE XII²2259 s.v. "Leukates"; *E. Oberhammer*, *Akarnanien, Ambrakia, Amphilochien, Leukas in Altertum*, München 1887, 223 ff.; *F. Schwenn*, *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern*, Giessen 1915, 41 f.; *J. Carcopino*, *De Pythagore aux apôtres*, Paris 1956, 37 f.; *Dörrie*, op. cit., 36 ff.

23. *Fast.* 5, 621 ff., and *Bömer*, ad loc.

24. *tristia Leucadio sacra peracta modo* (and *Bömer*, ad loc.).

25. *aut, ut quidam volunt, quia moris erat aliquem ei de nautis immolari*.

26. The *testimonia* on the Leucadian leap have been collected by *Dörrie*, op. cit., 247 ff.; for the literature see 264 f.

parents"²⁷. The association of the lover's leap with the cult of the Leucadian Apollo results indirectly from the account of Ptolemaios Hephaistionos (*apud Phot. bibl.* 153a 10), according to which the leap was instituted by the god himself, who ordered Aphrodite to take it so that she could be delivered from her love for Adonis²⁸.

The rite and ritual of Leucate were alien to the civilized attitude of Augustan Rome²⁹. The reaction of Augustan writers to them can be grasped from Ovid's references to Leucate. His treatment of Sappho's leap in *Her.* 15, 173 ff. brings forth the terror and agony of the poetess who is facing sure death³⁰. In the *Fasti*, as seen above, he refers with horror to the gloomy rite of Leucate. Finally, in a *precatio* to Augustus in the *Tristia* he claims that nothing can be worse than his present suffering in exile, even to be swallowed by Charybdis and sent down to the Styx, even to burn in the flames of Aetna, even to be hurled into the deep waters of Leucate (5, 2, 45 ff.).

The ominous description of the promontory in the *Aeneid* may then echo such traditions, which are in obvious conflict with the religious and other practices of the *Aeneadae* during their wanderings³¹.

According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1, 50, 3) the Trojans first stop at Leucas before reaching Actium. But in the *Aeneid* they only spot the formidable promontory Leucate and then pull up at an unidentified "little town" (*parva urbs*: 276)³². This is commonly known as the Actium stop, but the exact place where the

27. *qui ... suos parentes invenire cupiebant*; cf. E. Janssens, "Leucade et le pays des morts", AC 30 (1961) 381 - 394.

28. Cf. also Dörrie, *op. cit.*, 44 (on Apollo invoked before the leap in Turpilius' *Leucadia*); *Ov. Her.* 15, 165 ff., 181 ff., and Dörrie, *ad loc.*

29. Suetonius (*Claud.* 25) reports that Augustus prohibited the rites of the Druids (which involved human sacrifice) to Roman citizens and Claudius abolished them. Human sacrifice had been officially prohibited in 97 B.C. (Plin. *N.H.* 30, 12). Livy's *minime romano sacro* (22, 57, 6), in reference to earlier Roman practice concerning human sacrifice, has been given conflicting interpretations; see Schwenn, *op. cit.*, 185 ff.; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, repr. München 1971, 420 f.; C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien*, Berlin 1922, 7 ff.; P. Fabre, "Minime Romano sacro", REA 42 (1940) 419 - 424; J. Gagé, *Apollon Romain*, Paris 1955, 243 ff.; K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, München 1960, 256 f.; Bömer on *Ov. Fast.* 5, 621 ff. For a pre-Augustan philosophical perspective of the Leucadian leap cf. *Tusc. Disp.* 4, 72 - 73, where Cicero argues ironically against it as a miraculous cure for the *insania libidinis* (cf. also 4, 41, and Dörrie, *op. cit.*, 42 ff.).

30. See Th. Zielinski, "Sappho und der leukadische Sprung", *Klio* 23 (1930) 1-19, 14.

31. See R.B. Lloyd, "Aeneid III: A New Approach", *AJP* 78 (1957) 132 - 151. Any comparison with the *Aeneid* concerning human sacrifice should be made on the basis of the explicit and formally recognized sacrifice. In this sense the only instance of human sacrifice in the epic is at Pallas' funeral (11, 81 - 82; cf. 10, 519 - 520), explicable in terms of, or at least not unrelated to, the *furor* that overwhelms Aeneas following the death of the boy [for human sacrifice in a broader sense cf. H. Lehr, *Religion und Kult in Vergils Aeneis*, Diss. Giessen 1934, 92 ff.; C. Bandera, "Sacrificial Levels in Virgil's *Aeneid*", *Arethusa* 14 (1981) 217 - 239].

32. Faithful to his impressionistic manner of writing: Virgil mentions Leucate, which is relevant to his narrative, and deliberately disregards the rest of the island of Leucas as well as the distance involved between Leucate and the *parva urbs*. Leucate presents itself to the Trojans at a distance (*aperitur*); they sail in that direction (*hunc petimus fessi*); they sail around the promontory and along the west coast of Leucas [P. Martin, "Dans le sillage d'Enée", *Athenaeum* 53 (1975) 212 - 244, 228 f.] and finally land at the *parva urbs* (*et parvae succedimus*

Trojans land remains a controversial question³³.

The name of the *parva urbs* is certainly Actium — indirectly derived from l. 280, where the poet speaks of the "Actian shore"³⁴ — and the temple where Aeneas dedicates the shield of Abas (286) is therefore the old temple of the Actian Apollo. But at Actium there has never been an *urbs*, either *parva* or *magna*³⁵. Virgil's *parva urbs* is vaguely situated on the future site of the Battle of Actium and of Nicopolis³⁶. It consists exclusively in an altar and a temple and has a purely ideological existence, which is defined by the *pietas erga deos* as the legendary foundation of the future victory of Rome over Greece and of Octavian over the forces of Antony and Cleopatra. It is also the ideological model of historical Nicopolis — built in commemoration of Octavian's victory at Actium — and on this point it resembles and foreshadows another *parva urbs* of the *Aeneid*, Evander's Pallanteum, situated on the future site of Rome.

Actium, like Delos before (3, 73 ff.), gives a peaceful and tranquil welcome³⁷ to the weary³⁸ Trojans. The *parva urbs* is safe from the perils of the sea (278) and the hostile Greeks (282 - 283)³⁹. Line 277, repeated at 6, 901, points to the final

urbi). The battle of Actium was the most important item in Augustan propaganda (*R. Syme*, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford 1952², 297) and Virgil must have had first-hand information about the geography of the area — probably from Agrippa or Augustus himself (cf. the discussion below on the description of the battle of Actium at *Aen.* 8,675 ff.). It is not, I think, true that Virgil did not realize the distance involved between Leucate and Actium (*Williams*, on 274 f.) or that he had a general foggy conception of the geography of the area (*Lloyd*, "On *Aeneid* III...", art. cit., 293). He simply was not writing in terms of conventional geography [cf. *B. Tilly*, rev. of *F. Della Corte*, op. cit., *Gnomon* 47 (1975) 362 - 368, 363].

33. The suggestions made include Ambracia, Leucas, Anactorion, Actium, the future site of Nicopolis, or a combination of the above. It is also generally assumed that Virgil combines or confounds Leucate with Actium and the Leucadian with the Actian Apollo: see *Servius* on 276; *Heyne - Wagner*, ad loc.; *Conington - Nettleship*, ad loc.; *Heinze*, op. cit., 102; *Mackail*, ad loc.; *Palmer*, on *Ov. Her.* 15, 166; *J. Gagé*, "Actiaca", *MEFR* 53 (1936) 37 - 100, 47 f.; *id.*, op. cit., 517; *Mehmel*, op. cit., 33, n.3; *Lloyd*, "On *Aeneid* III...", art. cit., 292 ff.; *Williams*, ad loc. and p. 10, n. 1; *Dörrie*, op. cit., 157 (see also the discussion below on the role of the Actian Apollo in the battle of Actium). As suggested in the previous note there is no confusion whatever between Leucate and Actium in Virgil's description. It should also be made clear that it is pointless to speak of confusion or combination between them without specifying the role of Leucate in the Actium episode. If we assume that the temple of l. 287 is the one mentioned at l. 275, then we must conclude that Virgil wanted the reader to imagine the scene of the dedication as taking place on the *nimbosa cacumina* of Leucate.

34. Cf. *Aen.* 3, 209 - 210.

35. *Heinze*, op. cit., 102, n. 2; *RE* I¹ 1215, 31 ff., s. v. "Aktion"; *Gagé*, art. cit., 47, n. 3; *Th. Chr. Saricacis*, "Nicopole d'Épire était-elle une colonie romaine ou une ville grecque?", *Balkan Studies* 11 (1970) 91 - 96, 93.

36. On the aetiological significance of the Actium episode see *Lloyd*, "On *Aeneid* III...", art. cit., 292 ff.

37. See *Mehmel*, op. cit., 89.

38. On the significance of *fessus* in the *Aeneid*, especially in the account of Aeneas' wanderings, see *R. Mandra*, *The Time Element in the Aeneid of Virgil*, Williamsport 1934, 23 and Appendix I; *Mehmel*, op. cit., 95 f.; *A. W. Allen*, "The Dullest Book of the *Aeneid*", *CJ* 47 (1951) 119 - 123; *R. B. Loyd*, "Approach", art. cit., 138; *J. R. Dunkle*, "Some Historical Symbolism in Book Three of the *Aeneid*", *CW* 62 (1969) 165 - 166; *M. Bonjour*, *Terre Natale: Études sur une composante affective du patriotisme romain*, Paris 1975, 488.

39. On the hostile background of the wanderings see *F. J. Worstbrock*, *Elemente einer Poetik der Aeneis*, Münster 1963, 73 ff.

anchorage of the Trojans in Italian waters⁴⁰. The cold and stormy weather that rages outside (285) does not affect the Trojans. Their feelings are relief (278) and joy (282). The hospitable land of the Actian Apollo sharply contrasts with the bleak and dismal rock of the Leucadian Apollo and with the hostility of the islands of Ulysses. The peace that reigns in the *parva urbs* and in the hearts of the Trojans foreshadows the *pax Augusta* and also symbolically functions as the ideological environment in which the Trojans display their *pietas*⁴¹.

At Actium the Trojans perform a lustration to Jupiter, celebrate games and Aeneas dedicates the shield of Abas to the temple of the Actian Apollo. The lustral sacrifice (279) provides the Trojan "reply" to the purificatory human sacrifices of Leucate⁴². The sacred games (evidently the old Actian games; see below) and the dedication of the shield to the temple of Apollo are intended as thanksgiving celebrations of the *Aeneadae* for their *escape* from the victorious Greeks (282-283; 288). These celebrations, which are performed not after victory but after *defeat*, constitute an extreme gesture of Trojan piety towards the gods and prefigure the victory of their descendants over the Greeks. The foundation of the future conquest of Greece by the Romans is laid in this legendary period with the *moral triumph* of the *pietas Troiana* over the impious Greeks — represented in the immediate context by the king of neighboring Ithaca — who, during the fall of Troy, polluted, burnt and sacked the temples and virtually sacrificed the aged Priam at the altar⁴³.

Of particular importance to our discussion is the culminating scene of the

40. Allen, art. cit., 122; *Bonjour*, op. cit., 581; cf. W. Moskalew, *Formular Language and Poetic Design in the Aeneid*, Leiden 1982, 93 f.

41. Cf. J.K. Newman, *Augustus and the New Poetry*, Collection Latomus 88, Bruxelles 1967, 118, in connection with the repetition of l. 277; Dunkle, art. cit., in connection with *fessus*; cf. also L. Herrmann, "Le quatrième livre des Géorgiques et les abeilles d' Actium", REA 33 (1931) 219 - 224, in connection with *Anth. Pal.* 6, 236 = Philip II Gow - Page. *Gagé*, op. cit., 520 ff., suggests, in connection with l. 284 (*interea magnum sol circumvolvitur annum*), that Virgil "a voulu évoquer le sens de la récente bataille l' Actium comme le début d' une nouvelle ère du monde". It is strange, however, that Virgil should have associated the completion of the *Magnus annus* and the beginning of the new era with icy cold, rough seas, and nothern blasts (285). The metaphorical language of *Aen.* 1, 291, in reference to the advent of the *pax Augusta*, indicates the opposite: *aspera* (cf. *asperat* at 3, 285) *tum positis mitescent saecula bellis*.

42. On the reasons for the lustration see Conington - Nettleship, on *lustramur*; Lloyd, "On *Aeneid* III ..." art. cit., 296 ff.

43. On the Greeks of Troy see E. Adelaide Hahn, "Pietas versus violentia in the *Aeneid*", CW 24 (1931) 9 - 13 and 17 - 21, 18. The disasters that befall the Greek heroes on their return from Troy are in the *Aeneid* directly linked to their *impietas erga deos* (cf. 1, 39 ff.; 3, 603 ff.; 11, 275 ff.). Also, at 6,840 the conquest of Greece by the Romans is portrayed as revenge for the "polluted temple of Minerva", and thus the wars of Rome on Greece are presented as a clash between the champions of the gods and a sacrilegious race [cf. A. J. Gossage, "Two Implications of the Trojan Legend", G & R 2 (1955) 23 - 29 and 72 - 81]. On the eventual "reconciliation" between Greece and Rome within the *Aeneid* there are conflicting views: see V. Buchheit, *Virgil über die Sendung Roms*, Heidelberg 1963, 166 ff.; N. Petrochilos, *Roman Attitudes to the Greeks*, Athens 1974, 138 ff.; id., "Ανθελληνικό κλίμα στην Αινειάδα", *Λογοτεχνία και Πολιτική στα χρόνια του Αυγούστου: Πρακτικά του Α' Πανελληνίου Συμποσίου Λατινικών Σπουδών*, Γιάννενα 1984, 41 - 50.

Actium episode, i.e. the dedication by Aeneas of the shield of Abas in the temple of Apollo⁴⁴. As an expression of *pietas erga deos* in broader terms the *dedication* of the shield — the only dedication made by Aeneas in Virgil's version of his wanderings⁴⁵ — contrasts with the *removal* by the impious Greeks of sacred objects from Trojan temples, chief of which was the theft of the Palladium by Diomedes and Odysseus, the king of the neighboring islands⁴⁶. The capture and dedication by the Trojans of the shield of Abas is of multiple significance. Ancient sources credit the Argive⁴⁷ king Abas or his sons Acrisius and Proetus with the *invention* of the Greek shield⁴⁸. The *magni gestamen Abantis* (286) symbolically represents, therefore, the chief defensive weapon carried by Greek warriors. The shield of Abas was also a dreaded weapon, the very sight of which in the hands of a young man put on one occasion the enemy troops to flight (Servius *auct.* on 286). Finally, the shield of Abas was associated with athletic games held at Argos in honor of Hera, in whose temple it had once been dedicated (Hyg. *fab.* 170 and 273); but in our passage both events, games and dedication, are associated not with Juno (= Hera), the defender of the Greeks, but with Apollo, the protector of the Trojans. Thus, the dedication of the shield of Abas foreshadows the eventual defeat of the "victorious Greeks" (288), who are here symbolically robbed of their defensive weapons, of their force, and of their divine champion⁴⁹.

44. An event transferred to Actium from Samothrace (Serv. *auct.* on 3, 287; and Lloyd, "Aeneas Legend", art. cit., 390; Williams, on 286).

45. Heinze, op.cit., 102 f.

46. *Aen.* 2, 163 ff. [some commentators intend the reference to the "polluted temple of Minerva" at 6, 840 as applying not only to the rape of Cassandra by Ajax but also to the theft of the Palladium (Conington - Nettleship, Fletcher, and Paratore, ad loc.)]. See also 5, 359 ff., about a shield removed from the temple of Neptune by the Greeks.

47. Cf. Virgil's reference to the Greek cities as *Argolicas urbes* at 282 - 283.

48. Serv. *auct.* on 286; Apollod. 2,2, 1; Paus. 2,25, 7.

49. On the dedication by Aeneas of the shield of Abas cf. also Heyne - Wagner, II, Excursus IX; M.C.J. Putnam, "The Third Book of the *Aeneid*: From Homer to Rome", *Ramus* 9 (1980) 1-21,6; J. Gagé, "Les superstitions de l' écorce et le rôle rituel de fûts ou de troncs d' arbres dans l' Italie primitive", *MEFR* 91 (1979) 547 - 570, 565 f. The fact that Abas was not a hero of the Trojan war is hardly relevant, since the dedication is a purely symbolic act. I wonder, however, if Virgil, in picking Abas as the *exemplum* of the Greek warrior, did not also have in mind the Abantes, the terrible warriors of Il. 2, 536 ff. Significant is also the fact that within the *Aeneid* the opening of 1. 3,286 (*aere cavo clipeum*) points forward to the shield of Mezentius (10, 783 - 84: *per orbem / aere cavum triplici*; at 3,240 *aere cavo* refers not to a shield but to the trumpet of Misenus); and it is known that the theme of *pietas* in connection with the dedication of spoils receives its most ample treatment in the single combat between Aeneas and Mezentius (10, 769 - 832) and in the opening of Book 11. The first encounter of Aeneas with Mezentius is represented as a victory of *pietas* over *impietas* [Mezentius makes a blasphemous vow to "dedicate" the spoils of Aeneas to his son Lausus (774 - 776); his spear glances off the shield of Aeneas but the spear of *pius* Aeneas pierces the *septemplex clipeus* of Mezentius and wounds him (776 - 786)]. In the final encounter with Aeneas Mezentius is killed (873 - 908) and in the opening of Book 11 (5-11) Aeneas dedicates to Mars a *tropaenum* decked with the arms of Mezentius including his shield. From the point of view of Aeneas' *pietas* the significance of the dedication lies in the fact that the hero gives absolute priority to the fulfilment of his vow to the gods over the burial of the dead and Pallas' funeral (1-4); and from the point of view of Mezentius' *impietas* the dedication

Leucate and Actium reappear in the *Aeneid* only in the description of the Battle of Actium on Aeneas' shield (8, 675 ff.). Thus, Virgil draws an implicit parallelism between the defeat of the Greeks, which is symbolically accomplished at mythical Actium, and the defeat of the forces of Antony and Cleopatra, which occurs at historical Actium⁵⁰. The arrangement of the two fleets and the naval engagement are extremely stylized; and the battle is portrayed as an ideological conflict between the Italian forces and the "East", between civilization and barbarity⁵¹. Leucate is expressly named as the scene of the battle (677). Virgil's reference to Leucate, regardless of its historicity⁵², is thoroughly consonant with his earlier description of the promontory and with the imagery employed in the portrayal of the actual conflict (689 - 695). In the phrase *fervere Leucaten* (677), *fervere* refers to the "seething" state of nature and man⁵³. It points forward to the fire and sea imagery of 11. 689 - 695 and is also in harmony with the "stormy"

represents due retribution for his earlier blasphemous vow. On the whole subject cf. also G. Thome, *Gestalt und Funktion des Mezentius bei Vergil - mit einem Ausblick auf die Schlusszene der Aeneis*, Frankfurt am Main/Bern/Las Vegas 1979, 93 ff., 181 ff.; K.P. Nielson, "The Tropaion in the *Aeneid*", *Vergilius* 29 (1983) 27 - 33.

50. Cleopatra was after all the queen of the last Greek kingdom in the Mediterranean.

51. See A. Wlosok, *Die Göttin Venus in Vergils Aeneis*, Heidelberg 1967, 132 ff.; G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry*, Oxford 1968, 56; G. Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus. Interpretationen zum 8. Buch der Aeneis*, Meisenheim am Glan 1971, 214 ff.; cf. also I. Becher, "Oktavians Kampf gegen Antonius und seine Stellung zu den ägyptischen Göttern", *Das Altertum* 11 (1965) 40 - 47. The anti-eastern spirit of the Battle description is directed against the historical East of Antony and Cleopatra and should be kept distinct, within the *Aeneid*, from Virgil's attitude towards the home of Aeneas.

52. The battle itself took place "before the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf" (Strab. 7.7.6). But the operations that preceded the battle involved the whole west coast of Epirus and Acarnania, even Patras and Corinth. In particular the capture of Leucas by Agrippa must have been a turning point in the Actian war, because it ensured control of the sea-routes to the south and completed the blockade of Antony's fleet: Vell. Paterc. 2.84.2; Flor. 2.21.4 (he expressly names Leucate); Dio 50, 13, 5 and 50, 30, 1; J. Kromayer, "Kleine Forschungen zur Geschichte des zweiten Triumvirats: VII, Der Feldzug von Actium und der sogenannte Verrath von Cleopatra", *Hermes* 34 (1899) 1-54, 9 ff.; cf. Lloyd, "On *Aeneid* III...", art. cit., 294 f.; [on the Battle of Actium see now J.M. Carter, *Die Schlacht bei Actium: Aufstieg und Triumph des Kaisers Augustus*, Wiesbaden 1972 (with literature on p. 295); for a map of the Battle see Gagé "Actiaca", art. cit., 43; Carter, 241]. From a historical point of view then Virgil may have incorporated the preliminaries of the war into his description of the Battle of Actium (cf. 675: *Actia bella*); and he may have intended the phrase *totumque ... Leucaten* to be a reference to the sea off the west coast of Acarnania, since he had earlier indicated this promontory as the most significant landmark in the area.

53. Commentators generally understand *fervere* exclusively in the sense of "bustle", "be busily active" (Forbiger 1852³, Page, Conington - Nettleship, Fordyce, ad loc); but they are misled by non-exact parallels, like *Georg.* 4, 169; *Aen.* 4, 407; and especially *Lucr.* 2.44 (47): *fervere cum videas classem lateque vagari*. The poet, however, says *fervere Leucaten*, which is different from *fervere ... classem* and *fervet opus* (*Georg.* 4, 169). In addition, the intentional assonance and alliteration (*fervere ... effulgere fluctus*) distinguishes this phrase from *opere omnis semita fervet* (*Aen.* 4, 407), because it underlines a different meaning of *ferveo*, i.e. "to boil", "to be turbulent" "to seeth". Also *fervere* is here construed with the ablative *Marte* (war). All this leads me to believe that *fervere* combines here the image of the agitated movement of waters, of the turmoil of war and of the busy bustle of troops; cf. *Aen.* 4, 566-67: *saevaeque videbis / concludere faces, iam fervere litora flammis*; *Sil.* 1.456: *fervere partem diversam Marte infausto*. Finally, Virgil may also be exploiting the derivation of Leucate from *leukos* (=shining) in an etymological word-play with *auro* and *effulgere*.

nature of the promontory. In combination with *instructo Marte (totumque instructo Marte videres / fervere Leucaten: 676-677)* Leucate becomes the symbol of the *furor* of violence — we are reminded, in this regard, of the violent deaths associated with the promontory — to be eventually subdued with the triumph of Octavian over the enemies of Rome.

Contrary to what is assumed, Virgil does not combine or confuse the Leucadian with the Actian Apollo prior to or during the battle⁵⁴. The god who intervenes on the side of Octavian and puts the forces of the East to flight is the *Apollo Actius* (704-705). Virgil keeps him quite distinct from the savage and uncivilized god of Leucate, as he also did at mythical Actium. The victory of the Actian Apollo implicitly indicates the defeat of the Leucadian Apollo; and the thanksgiving ceremonies after the battle, including the dedication by Octavian of the *dona populorum* on the portals of the temple of *Apollo Palatinus*⁵⁵ — the

54. I have already discussed Virgil's reasons for the introduction of Leucate into the scene of the battle. With regard to the intervention of Apollo during the battle the main question is the meaning of *desuper* at 705 (*Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo / desuper*), which some apply to the temple of the god at Actium — following Strab. 7,7,6, who speaks of the temple as built on a *λόφος* — and others apply it to the temple of the god on the high rock of Leucate, suggesting a confusion or a combination of Leucate with Actium (see *Heyne - Wagner*, ad loc.; Conington - Nettleship, ad loc.; *Gagé*, "Actiaca", art. cit., 46 f.; *Carcopino*, op. cit., 36): But the promontory of Actium is flat (*Gagé*, *ibid.*); and *desuper* means here "from the sky", as it appears from 9, 638-640: *Aetheria tum forte plaga crinitus Apollo / desuper Ausonias acies urbemque videbat / nube sedens ...* (cf. also Prop. 4,6,29). At Propertius 3, 11, 69 (*Leucadius versas acies memorabit Apollo*) the Leucadian Apollo is properly mentioned as overlooking the *flight* from Actium (see *Butler - Barber, Camps*, and *Richardson*, ad loc.; *W.R. Nethercut*, "Propertius 3, 11", TAPA 102 (1971) 411 - 443, 435) and there is no confusion with the Actian Apollo. At *Ov. Her.* 15, 165 - 166 the identification of the Leucadian with the Actian Apollo is explicit. But it is questionable if this identification reflects the official view (cf. also *Tr.* 3, 1, 42), because of the love context and of the "un - Augustan" designation of the area as *Ambracia* (164; cf. Ovid's treatment of Actium in the *Metamorphoses*: *Sven Lundström*, *Ovids Metamorphosen und die Politik des Kaisers*, Uppsala 1980, 64 ff.). If it is not openly anti - Augustan it may simply reflect Ovid's rhetorical or witty manipulation of literary tradition (Virgil, Propertius). The identification of the image of Apollo — Actian or Leucadian? — on coins and reliefs has been a controversial point among specialists, and the above - mentioned passages of Virgil, Propertius and Ovid have been frequently adduced as evidence that in the literary sources from a very early date the Actian Apollo had been combined or identified with the Leucadian and that these texts reflect somehow Augustus' propaganda on this matter; see *Gagé*, "Actiaca", art. cit., 46 ff.; *id.*, op. cit., 505 ff.; *id.*, "Apollon impérial, Garant des Fata Romana", ANRW II.17.2, 561 - 630, 568 f.; *Carcopino*, op. cit., 36 f.; *K. Kraft*, *Zur Münzprägung des Augustus*, Frankfurt am Main 1968, 214 ff.; *M. Καραμεισίνη - Οικονομίδου*, "Η νομισματοκοπία της Νικοπόλεως, Ἀθήναι 1975, 47; *P.R. Franke*, "Apollo Leucadius und Octavianus?", *Chiron* 6 (1976) 159 - 163; *C.H.V. Sutherland*, "Octavian's Gold and Silver Coinage from c. 32 to 27 B.C.", *Quaderni Ticinesi* 5 (1976) 129 - 157; *H. Prückner*, "Das Budapest Aktium-Relief", *Forschungen und Funde, Festschrift Bernhard Neutsch*, Innsbruck 1980, 357 - 366.

55. At 8, 714 ff. Octavian - Augustus is represented as entering the walls of Rome in triple triumph and as making (or fulfilling) a vow (*votum immortale*) of 300 temples to the Italian gods (cf. 3, 279: *votisque incendimus aras*). L. 717 describes the rejoicing of the Romans in the streets (cf. 3, 282: *iuvat evasisse...*). The following two lines refer to a *supplicatio* (a ceremony proclaimed on occasions of national thanksgiving: *Fordyce*, ad loc.) and at 720 - 722 Octavian - Augustus is represented as hanging the gifts (=spoils) of the conquered nations on the portals of the temple of Apollo (*aptatque superbis / postibus*; cf. 3, 287 *postibus adversis figo ...*; the dedications of *Aeneid* 3 and 8 — the only ones to a temple of Apollo in the whole epic — are linked by the repetition of *postibus* at the beginning of 3, 287 and 8, 722.

counterpart of the *Actius* in Rome — conclude and complete the parallelism between mythical and historical Actium.

The phraseology employed in the *parva urbs* of *Aeneid* 3 refers the reader to another *parva urbs* in the epic, Evander's Pallanteum⁵⁶. Pallanteum is situated on *one* of the seven hills which future Rome will encompass. The life of its people is characterized by simplicity of life and habit and also by the *pietas erga deos*⁵⁷. The latter is expressed through thanksgiving ceremonies to Hercules in commemoration of his victory over the forces of barbaric and archaic violence personified in Cacus. In this respect Pallanteum is the ideological model of Augustan Rome as the product of the battle of Actium⁵⁸.

In parallel terms the *parva urbs* of *Aeneid* 3 constitutes the ideological model of another *magna urbs*, i.e. of the synoecism of historical Nicopolis. Augustus founded Nicopolis *apud Actium* "in order to extend the fame of his victory at Actium and to perpetuate its memory" (Suet. *Aug.* 18, 2). In a well-known epigram of the *Greek Anthology* its very foundation is interpreted as an act of *pietas erga Apollinem*, as a thanksgiving offering to the god ἀντὶ ... νίκης ... Ἀκτιάδος (*Anth. Pal.* 9, 553 = *Adespota* IV Gow - Page).

This last point is also true of Virgil's *parva urbs* at Actium, the existence of which is defined by the *pietas erga deos*, and in particular by thanksgiving celebrations in honor of, and offerings to, Apollo. The foundation of Nicopolis from an ideological point of view is accomplished at mythical Actium⁵⁹. The temple, the games and the dedication in the *parva urbs* correspond to larger constructions, ceremonies and dedications in the *magna urbs*. The old temple of the Actian Apollo will be later *enlarged* (*ampliatio ... templo*: Suet. *Aug.* 18, 2; *ναὸν μείζω ὑποδόμησεν*: Dio 51, 1, 2) into the new temple. The *Iliaci ludi* celebrated at mythical Actium will be replaced by the new Actian games, celebrated in Nicopolis in honor of Apollo every four years and raised to the status of Ἰσολύμπια⁶⁰. Finally,

56. Pallanteum is indicated as *parva urbs* at 8, 554; cf. also the *parvos penates* of 8, 543. Compare 8, 188-189 (*saevius, hospes Troiane, periculis / servati facimus*) with 3, 282-283 (*iuvat evasisse tot urbes / Argolicas mediosque fugam tenuisse per hostis*); *incensa altaria* (8, 285) with *incendimus aras* (3, 279).

57. See P. McGushin, "Aeneas' lasting city", *Latomus* 24 (1965) 411-420, 418 f.; Otis, op. cit., 337 f.; Binder, op. cit., 42 ff., passim.

58. Cf. D.L. Drew, *The Allegory of the Aeneid*, Oxford 1927 (repr. New York/London 1978), 13 ff.; H. Schnepf, "Das Herculesabenteuer in Virgils Aeneis (VIII, 184 ff.)", *Gymnasium* 66 (1959) 250-269; H. Bellen, "Adventus Dei. Der Gegenwartsbezug in Vergils Darstellung der Geschichte von Cacus und Hercules (Aen. 8, 184-275)", *RhM* 106 (1963) 23-30; Buchheit, op. cit., 116 ff.; G.K. Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus Episode in *Aeneid* VIII", *AJP* 87 (1966) 18-51; Binder, op. cit., 141 ff. and 215 with note 317.

59. Cf. however 3,500 ff. and Buchheit, op. cit., 156 ff.

60. Strab. 7, 7, 6: ἤγετο δὲ καὶ πρότερον τὰ Ἀκτία τῶ θεῷ ... νυνὶ δ' ἐντιμότερον ἐποίησεν ὁ Καίσαρ. On the aetiological significance of the event in Virgil see Servius on 274, 280; Lloyd, "On *Aeneid* III...", art. cit., 296 ff.; Cartault, I, 244 and 283; Gagé, op. cit., 517. In an obvious attempt to "romanize" the old Actian games Virgil refers to them as *Iliaci ludi*, i.e. he indicates that they were established by the Trojan ancestors of the

in place of the shield of Abas Octavian will dedicate to the temple of the Actian Apollo the *δεκαναῖα* (Strab. 7, 7, 6) and to the gods Neptunus and Mars the beaks of Antony's ships (Suet. *Aug.* 18, 2)⁶¹. Thus, Virgil establishes a complete parallelism between the victory of Rome over Greece and the victory of Octavian over Antony and Cleopatra.

The difference, therefore, between Virgil's "little town" and Nicopolis lies only in the *size* of the cities and of the thanksgiving celebrations and offerings. Both are Greek⁶² only in appearance — like Evander's Pallanteum — since from an ideological point of view they are "Augustan". They exemplify the *pietas erga deos*, which is expressed through thanksgiving celebrations and offerings for escape from, or victory over, the powers of barbarity or archaic violence, i.e. against the Greeks of the Trojan war, against the "East" and - in the case of Pallanteum - against Cacus. We are reminded, in this respect, that within the design of the *Aeneid* the mission of Augustan Rome is to subdue precisely these forces, which in Jupiter's prophecy are symbolically represented by *Furor impius* (1, 294 - 296)⁶³.

Romans. Also, the phraseology of 11. 281 - 282 recalls the rustic simplicity of Sabine athletics (*Georg.* 2, 531: *corporeaque agresti nudant praedura palaestrae*). On the old and the new Actian games see *B.M. Tidman*, "On the Foundation of the Actian Games", *CQ* 44 (1950) 123 - 125; *Θ.Χ. Σαδικάκης*, "Ἄκτια τὰ ἐν Νικοπόλει", *ΑΕ* (1965) 145 - 162; *R. Rieks*, "Sebasta und Aktia", *Hermes* 98 (1970) 96 - 116; cf. also *W.W. Briggs*, "Augustan Athletics and the Games of Aeneid V", *Stadion* 1 (1975) 267 - 283, 275.

61. See *Gagé*, "Actiaca", art. cit., 41 ff.; for the inscription on the monument erected at the site of his camp see now *J.M. Carter*, "A New Fragment of Octavian's Inscription at Nicopolis", *ZPE* 24 (1977) 227 - 230.

62. On Nicopolis see *Saricacis*, "Nicopole...", art., cit.; *id.*, "Προσωπογραφία τῆς Ἄκτιας Νικοπόλεως", *ΑΕ* (1970) 66 - 85.

63. Cf. *Thome*, op. cit., 244 ff.