

'Dido building Carthage'
J. M. W. Turner, 1815



Trojans in Transition in the *Aeneid*
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Livy (59BCE-17CE), *History of Rome*

My concern is that each reader should note carefully **the kind of life and morality**, the kind of individuals and qualities which delivered us an **empire** at home and abroad and then expanded it...

Livy 1.9 trans. A. J. Woodman

ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae uita, qui mores fuerint, per quos uiros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit...

Further exploration: assign the whole of Livy's preface to his *History of Rome*.

Q: What is the difference between legend and history?

Q: What is the point of writing about the past, for Livy?

Lecture plan

1. The three cities: Troy, Carthage, Rome
2. Trojan behaviours / stereotypes in relation to these cities
3. Investigating these dynamics in the classroom

Ideas for teaching activities are marked in red

'Ancient' cities in the *Aeneid*

Once, **an old city existed**, and Tyrian settlers controlled it:
Carthage...

Virg. *Aen.* 1.12-13, trans. Ahl (here and elsewhere)

urbs antiqua fuit (Tyrii tenuere coloni)

Karthago...

Who could translate into words that night's disaster and killings?

Who could shed tears that express those oceans of pain that engulfed us?

That day **an old city died** after so many years of dominion...

Virg. *Aen.* 2.361-3

quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando

explicet aut possit lacrimis aequare labores?

urbs antiqua ruit multos dominata per annos...

Euripides' *Trojan Women* (415 BCE)

Talthybius:

... hurl the fire in,
so that having flattened the city of Ilium
we may be satisfied and set out homewards from Troy.

Eur. *Tro.* 1262-4

Hecuba:

O Troy, who once upon a time breathed your greatness among
the barbarians,
you will soon be stripped of your famous name.

Eur. *Tro.* 1277-8

Chorus:

The name of the land will become invisible: in one place
and then in another something is gone, and no more is
wretched Troy.

Eur. *Tro.* 1322-4

Further exploration: read Euripides' *Trojan Women* alongside *Aeneid* 2.

Q: Why might staging the fall of a city be of interest to Athenians in 415BCE, who were fighting Sparta in the Peloponnesian War?

Q: What does the play tell us about how women in the ancient world are impacted by war and the fall of their cities? Does Virgil show the same awareness of this?

Carthage

- 3 Punic Wars against Rome (264-146BCE)
- Dido as Cleopatra: civil war between Octavian (to be Augustus) and Mark Antony (32-31BCE)

Dido's curse:

No love must ever exist between our two peoples, no treaties.
Rise from my bones, my avenger – and there will be an avenger! –
So you can hound these **Dardan settlers** with hot fire and cold steel,
Now, or some day in the future, whenever that strength coalesces.

Virg. *Aen.* 4.624-7

nullus amor populis nec foedera sunt.
exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor
*qui face **Dardanios** ferroque sequare colonos,*
nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore uires.

Carthage as exemplary city-foundation

Awed by the massive construction, where once there were rickety hovels,
Awed by the gates, by the noise, the paved roadways, Aeneas just marvels.
Fired-up Tyrians work at their tasks; some extend the defence walls,
Strengthen the castle and, with bare hands, lever masonry uphill.
Some decide housing-sites, mark boundary lines with a furrow.
Magistrates, legal codes, and a sacred senate are chosen.
Others excavate ports, still others are laying foundations,
Deep in the ground, for a theatre. Some chisel out from the cliff-sides
Tall columns, massive in size: décor for a stage in the future.

Virg. *Aen.* 1.421-29

Further exploration: read *Virgil Georgics* 4.

Q: What characteristics of the community of bees does Virgil celebrate?

The city that will be Rome: Pallanteum

Sibyl:

'...The first pathway to safety,
One you anticipate least, will emerge from a Greek city's portals.'

Virg. *Aen.* 6.96-7

Evander:

'We Italians (*Itali*)...'

Virg. *Aen.* 8.331

... in the distance, they saw a town's fortress and walls, and some
scattered

Buildings – a place Rome's dominant power raises high as the heavens
Now, but in those days no more than Evander's impoverished holdings.

Virg. *Aen.* 8.98-100

Further exploration: read the first poem of Propertius' fourth book of elegies alongside Aeneas' visit to Evander in *Aeneid* 8. Consider just the first few lines:

*All that you see here, stranger, where mighty Rome now stands,
was grass and hill before the coming of Phrygian Aeneas; and
where stands the Palatine consecrated to Apollo of the Ships, the
cattle of exiled Evander there lay down.*

Prop. 4.1.1-4, trans. Goold

Q: Why would a Roman audience find this rustic / impoverished description of their city so entertaining?

Trojans go home!

'Dardanus' rugged sons: the first land that nurtured your parents'
Roots will, on your return, take you back to her welcoming bosom.
Go, then, in careful search of your ancient, original mother!

Virg. Aen. 3.94-6

*'Dardanidae duri, quae uos a stirpe parentum
prima tulit tellus, eadem uos ubere laeto
accipiet reduces. antiquam exquirite matrem.'*



ROMANES
EUNT ITE
DOMUS/M

Trojans and Troy

Buthrotum (settlement in Greece):

On getting closer I know it: a miniature Troy, simulating
Mighty Pergamum, even a bone-dry creek that is now named
Xanthus.

Virg. *Aen.* 3.349-51

Aeneas to Dido:

If fate's orders allowed me to live out the life of my choosing,
Putting my anguish to rest as I myself would have wanted,
Troy is the city where I'd be now, looking after my own folk's
Relics and remnants...

Virgil. *Aen.* 4.340-43

*me si fata meis paterentur ducere uitam
auspiciis et sponte mea componere curas,
urbem Troianam primum dulcisque meorum
reliquias colerem...*

Italy: 'this is my love and my homeland' – *hic amor, haec patria.* Virg. *Aen.* 4.347

Trojans and Troy

Aeneas on Trojan buildings:

Doorways gilt with **barbarian** gold, decorated ('arrogant') with plunder,
All lying desolate...

Virg. *Aen.* 2.504-5

*barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi
procubuere...*

Trojans as exotic and caricatured 'others'

Iarbas:

'Here is a woman who wandered within our borders, and founded,
Cash down, a very small city. We gave her a few coastal ploughlands,
Leased on a contract. And then she rejected our offer of marriage,
Took in Aeneas, and made him her master and lord of her kingdom.
Helped by his eunuch entourage, this latter-day Paris,
Chin kept in place by Maeonian bows, and his hair by conditioning
Perfumes, controls what he's raped...'

Virg. *Aen.* 4.211-17

Numanus Remulus:

'We are a species tough from the roots. We carry our new-borns
Straight to the rivers to toughen them up in the cold and the water...
... Old age, as it slows us,
Can't either lessen our strength or diminish our vigour of spirit.
We hide our grey hairs with our helmets...
You, with your needleworked saffron and gleamingly purpled apparel,
You take delight in inertia, indulging yourselves in your dances.
Tunics for you come with sleeves, and your bonnets have nice little ribbons.
Phrygian women, not Phrygian men...'

Virg. *Aen.* 9.602-17

Aeneas as 'founder'

Further reading: S. L. James, 'Establishing Rome with the Sword: *Condere* in the *Aeneid*' *American Journal of Philology* 116.4.(1995) 623-637 (JSTOR)

Latin is not translated, but you don't need Latin to follow her argument.

Condere: to hide, bury, dig, 'found'

Aeneas goes through trials 'to establish a city' – *dum conderet urbem* – Virg. *Aen.* 1.5

Aeneas 'buries the steel in the heart that confronts him' – *ferrum aduerso sub pectore condit* – Virg. *Aen.* 12.950

Anchises' advice from the underworld

You, who are Roman, recall how to govern mankind with your power. These will be your special “Arts”: the enforcement of peace as a habit, Mercy for those cast down and relentless war upon proud men.’

Virg. *Aen.* 6.851-3

*‘tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem,
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.’*

Mercy, before and after

‘not only must we show consideration for those whom we have conquered by force of arms, but we also must ensure protection to those who lay down their arms and throw themselves upon the mercy of our generals...’

(Cicero *On Obligations* 1.35)

Those who killed my father I drove into exile by way of the courts of law, exacting retribution for their crime and afterwards I defeated them twice in battle while they were making war upon the state.

I have often conducted wars by land and sea, civil and foreign, across the whole world, and as victor I was merciful to all citizens who asked for pardon. As for foreign peoples, those whom I could safely pardon, I preferred to preserve than to destroy.

(Augustus *Res Gestae* 2-3)



'Aeneas defeats Turnus'
Luca Giordano, 1634–1705

Augustus – Aeneas

Augustus on Aeneas' new shield

Centrally placed, fleets depicted in bronze, the whole conflict at Actium
Opened to view. You could see, as decks cleared for battle, all Leucas
Seething with action and churning with waves flashing white against gold-plate.
Caesar Augustus, on this side, is leading Italians to combat,
Backed by the senate and people, the household spirits and great gods,
Stationed high on the aft-deck, his joyful temples erupting
Twin flame-plumes. His paternal star is the badge on his helmet.

(Aen. 8.675-81)

Aeneas returning to the Trojan camp

Since he's already in sight of the Teucrians and his encampment,
He, standing high on the aft-deck, hoists in his left hand, the blazing
Menace of his Sky Shield. On the walls, in reply, the Dardanians
Raise up a cheer to the stars...

But the Rutulian king and the other Ausonian leaders
Find this reaction bizarre – until, looking behind them, they notice
Ships backing onto the beach, the whole sea rolling in with a navy.
There is Aeneas, helmet ablaze, crest vomiting fire,
Golden shield-boss erupting with searing flames of destruction.

(Aen. 10.260-71)

Trojans become Romans

Juno to Jupiter:

When, as so be it, they settle their peace in fulfilment of marriage,
When they shape treaties and laws in their confederation together,
Don't require those who were born here, the Latins, to alter their ancient
Name, become 'Trojans', be known as 'The Teucrians', or alter their language.
Don't make them change their traditional dress. Let Latium continue,
Let there be Alban kings who will span all the centuries. And let
Roman stock get its strength from Italian concepts of courage.'

Virg. Aen. 12.821-27

Jupiter to Juno:

Italy's people will keep both native language and culture...
I'll ensure that they'll all be collectively known as 'the Latins'.
Out of this blend with Ausonian blood you will see a new nation
Rise...

Virg. Aen. 12.834-6

Daniel Mendelsohn: 'Is the *Aeneid* a Celebration of Empire- or a Critique?' *The New Yorker* 8/10/18

What is the *Aeneid* about? It is about a tiny band of outcasts, the survivors of a terrible persecution. It is about how these survivors—clinging to a divine assurance that an unknown and faraway land will become their new home—arduously cross the seas, determined to refashion themselves as a new people, a nation of victors rather than victims. It is about how, when they finally get there, they find their new homeland inhabited by locals who have no intention of making way for them. It is about how this geopolitical tragedy generates new wars, wars that will, in turn, trigger further conflicts: *bella horrida bella*. It is about how such conflicts leave those involved in them morally unrecognizable, even to themselves.

Q. Find all the words that Mendelsohn uses to describe the Trojans. What does he see as the defining features of the Trojans' status?

Q. Based on how the Trojans travel across the Mediterranean and what happens when they arrive in Italy, which of the following words do you think best describes them:

1. Refugees?
2. Colonisers?
3. Something else?

Q. Would the Trojans be described differently by other communities within the epic (e.g. the locals in North Africa, or the Greeks in Italy)?

Q. Might they have been described differently again by Augustan readers, who were engaged in aggressive and unapologetic imperial expansion?

Trojans: refugees or colonisers?

'A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. War and ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of refugees fleeing their countries.'

<https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/what-is-a-refugee/>

Colony. 'A body of people living in a new territory but retaining ties with the parent state' (Merriam Webster dictionary)

Colonization. 'The action or process of settling among and establishing control over the indigenous people of an area.'

Colonization. 'The action of appropriating a place or domain for one's own use' (Oxford English Living Dictionaries)

Further Reading

Morwood, J. (1991) 'Aeneas, Augustus, and the Theme of the City',
Greece and Rome, 28.1: 212-223

Aeneid edition cited in this talk:

Virgil *Aeneid*, translated by Frederick Ahl (Oxford World's Classics,
2007)