

## LATINUS' GENEALOGY AND THE PALACE OF PICUS (*AENEID* 7. 45–9, 170–91)

In *Aeneid* 7. 1–285 Vergil colours his picture of early Latium with a religious atmosphere which can be fully appreciated only if these verses are read with an attentive awareness of Roman religious beliefs and practices. A detailed exegesis of all 285 verses would hardly be possible here,<sup>1</sup> and I will limit myself to two major points, the account of Latinus' ancestry (45–9)<sup>2</sup> and the description of the royal palace (170–91), both because these passages are interesting in themselves for the way they apparently contradict each other, and because they are good illustrations of how Vergil draws on the data of Roman religion, both its folklore and its cult, to fix in his reader's mind certain definite impressions about Latinus and the Latins.

Vergil begins his account of Latinus (45–9):

rex arua latinus et urbes  
iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat.  
hunc Fauno et nympha genitum Laurente Marica  
accipimus; Fauno Picus pater, isque parentem  
te, Saturne, refert, tu sanguinis ultimus auctor.

It goes without saying that Vergil is working here with traditional materials, but it should also be noted that the genealogy of Latinus which he gives here was not the only one known in antiquity.<sup>3</sup> Vergil's inclusion of this particular genealogy rather than another – indeed, the inclusion of *any* genealogy at this point in his tale – is the result of his own artistic choice, and we may legitimately ask what effect is created by this choice.

One obvious point is that in Vergil's genealogy Latinus' forebears were all gods – or at least all had the same names as gods: Vergil's language is ambiguous enough, and it is perhaps best to think of at least Faunus and Picus here as *diui*, human rulers divinized after death,<sup>4</sup> as Julius Caesar, and eventually Augustus, were divinized in a later age.

Beyond this I would suggest that while Latinus may rule both 'arua et urbes', the particular genealogy which Vergil has chosen emphasizes the king's peaceful rural roots. Thus, according to Vergil, Latinus' mother was the nymph Marica

<sup>1</sup> Such an exegesis of 7.1–135 is provided by H. Boas, *Aeneas' Arrival in Latium* (Amsterdam, 1938).

<sup>2</sup> All line references are to *Aeneid* 7 unless indicated otherwise.

<sup>3</sup> The paucity of sources earlier than or contemporary with Vergil makes it extremely difficult to determine the exact nature of the material available to him, but the several variants attested in the details of the Laurentine king list suggest that the version of the genealogy used by Vergil, even if the most popular, was not canonical. (It cannot be excluded that Vergil's use of this version also contributed to its popularity

in later sources.) For ancient sources for the king list and some variants see A.

Schwengler, *Römische Geschichte* i. 212 ff.; G. Rhode, 'Picus', *RE* xx. 1214 f.;

C. Balk, *Die Gestalt des Latinus in Vergils Aeneis* (Dortmund, 1968), pp. 105 ff.

The king list may not be that old: G. Wissowa (*RKR* 66) dates its actual systemization no earlier than the second century B.C., though F. Altheim (*Römische Religionsgeschichte* ii. 87) places it in the sixth century B.C.

<sup>4</sup> Even Marica could have been human once; cf. the nymph Juturna (*Aen.* 12.139 ff.).

(47). Marica was particularly associated with a stretch of the Liris River near Minturnae (Serv. ad loc.; cf. Luc. 2. 424), though Vergil here calls her simply 'Laurentine', i.e. 'Latin'. Her exact geographical location seems less important, however, than the fact that she is a nymph, that is that she is both supernatural and closely associated with the rural world.

The same supernatural and rustic elements are also associated with Faunus (47). Commentators, at least since Servius (ad loc.), have emphasized here the oracular aspect of Faunus the god, deriving his name from various words meaning 'voice' or 'speak', and indeed within a few more verses Latinus' 'fatidicus genitor' (82) will address his son as a disembodied voice in Albunea's grove (cf. 95). Yet for all that, and for other references to *fauni* as disembodied voices (Cic. *Div.* 1. 101, *N.D.* 2. 2. 6; Lucr. 4. 580-3; D.H. 5. 16. 2-3) or as early poets or prophets (Enn. *Ann.* 214V<sup>3</sup>; Var. *L.L.* 7. 36; Fronto 2. 66 *LCL*; Fest. 432. 13-16L), I suspect that on hearing Faunus named here as part of Latinus' genealogy — and not knowing that he is going to prophesy in another fifty verses — Vergil's readers would think not of the oracular Faunus but of the playful god of woodland and pasture who was identified with the Greek Pan<sup>5</sup> as the *fauni* were identified with the Greek satyrs, supernatural woodland creatures and the male counterparts of the nymphs (cf. *Aen.* 8. 314-15, *Geor.* 1. 10-11). This pastoral and rustic aspect of the god was the primary one for the Romans, and the oracular aspect was secondary. Thus, for example, outside *Aeneid* 7 when Vergil speaks of *Faunus* or *fauni* he usually means the rustic beings (8. 314; 10. 551; *Ecl.* 6. 27; *Geor.* 1. 10, 11).<sup>6</sup> There was, after all, no festival, public or private, in honour of the oracular Faunus, and the site of his oracle, if there really was one, lay outside the city of Rome.<sup>7</sup> There was, on the other hand, a temple of *agrestis* Faunus (cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 2. 193) inside the city, on the Tiber island, where his cult was publicly celebrated on 13 February, while on 5 December the same god was honored privately on farms with rites such as those charmingly described by Horace in *Odes* 3. 18.<sup>8</sup> Now if the Romans were more familiar with the rustic aspect of Faunus than with the oracular aspect they would naturally be reminded of this rustic aspect in reading the genealogy of Latinus. It is only later in the book, when Latinus consults Faunus to interpret the prodigies, that the oracular god is added on to (but does not replace) the rural pastoral deity.

<sup>5</sup> Even in Ovid's account of an oracle of Faunus to Numa (*Fast.* 4. 649 ff.), an account derived in large measure from Vergil's description of Faunus' oracle to Latinus in the grove of Albunea (*Aen.* 7. 81 ff.), Faunus is identified with Pan (cf. 'Maenalio . . . deo', *Fast.* 4. 650).

<sup>6</sup> *Aen.* 12. 766 and 777 may refer either to a rustic deity or to the divinized king of Latium. In either case they do not refer to an oracular Faunus.

<sup>7</sup> R. E. A. Palmer, *Roman Religion and Roman Empire* (Philadelphia, 1974), pp. 79 ff., assumes that there actually was a grove of Albunea with an incubation oracle but to the best of my knowledge the only evidence for this is Vergil's account of

Faunus' prophecy to Latinus (*Aen.* 7. 81 ff.); Ovid gives no specific location for the 'silva uetus' in which Faunus prophesies to Numa (*Fast.* 4. 649), while Calpurnius' grove of oracular Faunus (1. 8 ff., probably also inspired by Vergil's grove of Albunea) lies in the nevernever land of the pastoral landscape. Without confirmation from other independent sources we cannot assume that the grove of Albunea and its oracle were not Vergil's own poetic invention.

<sup>8</sup> On the cult of Faunus see further W. W. Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 256 ff. On the temple of Faunus and its history see S. B. Platner — T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, pp. 205 f.

According to Vergil Faunus is the son of Picus (48). *Picus* is the Latin word for 'woodpecker', and the woodpecker was the sacred bird of Mars.<sup>9</sup> The Romans further individualized Picus as a god in his own right, and then humanized him, as they humanized Faunus, by making him one of their early kings.<sup>10</sup> It is possible that Vergil uses this relation between *picus* and Picus to suggest a link with Mars, Rome's tutelary deity. We should remember, however, that while related, the *picus*, Mars' woodpecker, is not identical with Picus the god or Picus the king, both of whom seem more like scholarly constructions than reflections of genuine beliefs. There was, for example, no cult paid to Picus the god: he had, as far as we know, no temple, shrines, or rites. Picus, god or king, appears only in genealogies and lists of gods and kings, in Silius Italicus' statement (8. 438 ff.) that Picus was the founder of Asculum, and in two tales.<sup>11</sup> The first of these tales, told by several authors including Vergil later in book 7, was that king Picus was turned into a woodpecker by Circe. We will see more of this story later, and we need note here only that it has nothing to do either with Picus the god or with Mars.

The second tale, however, does concern Picus the god, but again there is no connection with Mars.<sup>12</sup> The story, related by Ovid, Plutarch, and Arnobius, involves Numa's attempt to find the proper method to expiate thunderbolts. According to Ovid (*Fast.* 3. 285 ff.) Numa set some wine in a grove on the Aventine frequented by Faunus and Picus. Faunus and Picus found the wine and drank it, and when they fell asleep Numa returned, bound the two and asked for the expiatory rite. They answered that only Jupiter could reveal the rite and, in order to obtain their own freedom, they used their magic to call Jupiter himself from heaven. Jupiter demanded human sacrifice as the expiation of his thunderbolts, but by clever word plays Numa was able to substitute an onion, human hair and a fish. Arnobius (*adv. gen.* 5.1) gives essentially the same story, citing Valerius Antius as his source.<sup>13</sup> Plutarch (*Numa* 14. 3 ff.) gives both Ovid's version and a second in which Faunus and Picus themselves explain the rite.

The latter part of this story is clearly an aetiological myth meant to explain the particulars of the expiatory rite actually used by the Romans. What is puzzling — and what is also relevant to our concern here — is the first part of the story, the involvement of Faunus and Picus. The origins of the association of Faunus and Picus with the Aventine and with Jupiter Elicius ('Jupiter who was called down from heaven') have probably been lost irrevocably, and indeed were probably already lost in the first century B.C. But this is no reason to neglect the story as it is told by Ovid, Arnobius, and Plutarch for the evidence it

<sup>9</sup> In some contexts (notably as leader of the *uer sacrum*) *picus* may even be considered as the theriomorphic manifestation of Mars himself.

<sup>10</sup> For the ancient sources for these three forms of *picus*/Picus see W. H. Roscher, *Lexicon* iii<sup>2</sup>. 2494 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Picus ('brother of Ninus') is also syncretically identified with Zeus (e.g. D.S. 6, frag. 6 LCL); for explanations of this identification see W. R. Halliday, 'Picus-who-is-also-Zeus', *CR* 36 (1922), 110 ff., and A. B. Cook, *Zeus* ii. 693 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Arnobius (*adv. gen.* 5.1) does call him 'Martius Picus' but this seems nothing more than stylistic elaboration suggested by the name of a common woodpecker (*picus Martius*, probably the black woodpecker) and not an attempt to relate the present story to Mars. For *picus Martius* = black woodpecker see J. André, *Les Noms d'oiseaux en latin* (Paris, 1967), p. 130.

<sup>13</sup> Indeed the versions of Ovid and Arnobius agree so closely that we may assume that Antias is Ovid's source as well.

provides of how Faunus and Picus were perceived in Vergil's day. Ovid is, after all, Vergil's contemporary; Antias, Arnobius' source, wrote at the start of the first century B.C., and Plutarch wrote in the first century A.D. Plutarch must explain Roman folklore to his Greek audience,<sup>14</sup> but Ovid the Roman writes as though he expects his audience to recognize without explanation and to accept what he says.

There are several points worth noting in this tale. To begin, its scene is a wooded grove which Faunus and Picus frequent.<sup>15</sup> In the tale Faunus and Picus are linked together as a pair and no distinction is made between them. Both are deities, not mortals, and Ovid specifies that they are rustic woodland deities ('siluestria numina', 303; 'di nemorum', 309; 'di . . . agrestes et qui dominemur in altis montibus', 315 f.). In Ovid Faunus has horns, recalling the identification of Faunus and *fauni* with Pan and the satyrs, and Plutarch (15. 3) says that both Picus and Faunus are like satyrs or Pans except that they are skilled in drugs and incantation, and that they go about Italy playing tricks. Ovid also mentions that Picus and Faunus are natives, 'Romani numen utrumque soli' (292). Lastly we should note that the story, at least the part dealing with Picus and Faunus, is light and playful, and again it should be stressed that it has nothing to do with Mars.

Briefly then, in this tale of Ovid, Arnobius, and Plutarch we have a story of Picus and Faunus, two of a kind, both native Roman deities, but playful rustic ones in a woodland setting. If I read particularly the contemporary evidence of Ovid correctly, it suggests that on hearing of Picus and Faunus juxtaposed in Latinus' genealogy, especially in the rustic context provided by Marica, Faunus and, as we shall see, Saturn — and, one might add, by the lengthy description of the charming grove, the *locus amoenus*, which Aeneas has just seen at the mouth of the Tiber (29–36) — a Roman audience would more likely think of this rustic fairytale Picus than of *picus*, the bird of Mars.

Picus' father and Latinus' 'sanguinis ultimus auctor' is Saturn (48 f.). The identification of Saturn with the Greek god Kronos, and the importation of elements from his Greek festival, the Kronia, into the Roman Saturnalia have all but obliterated Saturn's primitive cult, but numerous ancient texts which associate Saturn with the cultivation of fields show that, whatever his origins, he was later perceived as a god of agriculture.<sup>16</sup>

More importantly for our purposes here, Saturn was also the god of the Golden Age. According to Hesiod (*Op.* 109 ff.) Kronos ruled in heaven during the Golden Age, while earth bore her fruit of her own accord for men who lived in carefree leisure. In time this simple, non-agricultural Golden Age came to an

<sup>14</sup> Plutarch (*Numa* 15.3) likens Picus and Faunus to the Idaean Dactyls for their playing of tricks. These Dactyls, from Mt. Ida in Phrygia, invented the art of working iron. They also had a reputation as wizards and as casters of spells (cf. Strab. 10. 3. 22; D.S. 5. 64. 3 ff.). Plutarch probably uses the analogy of the Dactyls to describe Faunus and Picus because of the spells which the latter used to call down Jupiter.

<sup>15</sup> The grove is specifically mentioned by Ovid (*Fast.* 3. 295) and by Plutarch (*Numa* 15. 3); Arnobius speaks only of a fountain but this does not exclude the

possibility that there was also a grove in his source, Antias.

<sup>16</sup> For Saturn as a god of agriculture see, e.g. L. Preller-H. Jordan, *Römische Mythologie* ii. 10 ff. The objections (nicely summarized by H. J. Rose, 'Saturnus', *OCD*<sup>2</sup>) which have been raised against the theory that Saturn was in origin an agricultural god do not alter the fact that later generations perceived him to be one. It is this general perception rather than the modern scholar's reconstruction which must be kept in mind when reading Vergil.

end however, and Zeus replaced Kronos on heaven's throne to rule the succeeding ages of men. This hesiodic version of the myth is the basis, for example, of Tibullus' and Ovid's picture of the Golden Age (Tibull. 1. 3. 35 ff.; Ovid, *Met.* 1. 89 ff.), and it stands behind Vergil's references to the Golden Age in the fourth *Eclogue* (esp. 39 ff.) and in *Geor.* 2. 500 ff.<sup>17</sup> Vergil also presents a second version of the Golden Age myth at *Aen.* 8. 314 ff.,<sup>18</sup> telling how Saturn, cast from his throne by Jupiter, fled to Latium<sup>19</sup> where he found a hearty race ignorant of agriculture. Saturn settled these proto-Latins and, Vergil implies, he taught them how to cultivate the land.<sup>20</sup> The result was 'aurea . . . saecula', a Golden Age (8. 324 f.).

The fruitfulness of the earth, then, is a common theme in both versions of the myth of the Golden Age, the earth either naturally fruitful or made fruitful by the cultivating hand of man. A second theme is that of peace. In the Golden Age war did not yet exist, and Saturn 'sic placida populos in pace regebat' (8. 325). and Latinus' reign, like that of his ancestor, was also one of peace (7. 45 f.):

rex arua Latinus et urbes  
iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat.<sup>21</sup>

Finally the rustic Golden Age was also an age of justice (cf. Arat. *Phaen.* 100 ff.; Ovid, *Met.* 1. 89 f.), a motif which dovetails nicely with the Roman writers' idealization of the righteousness of their simple rustic ancestors (e.g. Tibull. 1. 10. 17 ff.). So too later (203 f.) Latinus will describe the Latins whom he rules as:

Saturni gentem haud uinclo nec legibus aequam,  
sponte sua ueterisque dei se more tenentem.<sup>22</sup>

Lastly in this survey of Saturn's associations we should not forget the Saturnalia itself, the god's familiar feast, as it existed in Vergil's day, a happy

<sup>17</sup> At *Geor.* 2. 500 ff. the Golden Age is already an agricultural one (although one of relative ease not far removed from the Hesiodic version) but the principal contrast is still with the 'Iron Age' activities of commerce, war, etc. This view of the Golden Age in the *Georgics* thus differs from the second view where the principal contrast is between agriculture and the previous brutish non-agricultural life. On these two versions see further M. E. Taylor, 'Primitivism in Virgil', *AJP* 76 (1955), 261 ff.; K. J. Reckford, 'Some Appearances of the Golden Age', *CJ* 54 (1958), 79 ff.; B. Gatz, *Weltalter, goldene Zeit und sinnverwandte Vorstellungen* (Hildesheim, 1967), esp. pp. 114 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Aeneid* 8. 314 ff. are discussed in detail by G. Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1971), pp. 84 ff. Traces of this second version of the Golden Age myth are also found, e.g. in Ovid (*Fast.* 1. 235 ff.) and in Plutarch (*Q.R.* 42).

<sup>19</sup> The name of Saturn was particularly associated with the Capitoline hill in Rome, at the foot of which the god's temple stood (for sources see Fowler, op. cit., p. 269). Vergil has Saturn settle on the Capitoline when he flees from Jupiter (*Aen.* 8. 357 f.).

<sup>20</sup> For Saturn as the inventor of agriculture see also Plut. *Q.R.* 42; Macr. *Sat.* 1. 7. 21.

<sup>21</sup> The same language also finds its echo in Anchises' prophecy of the Golden Age of Augustus ('Augustus Caesar, diui genus, aurea condet saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arua Saturno quondam . . .', 6. 792 ff.), another Golden Age especially for Latium, and again an agricultural one, as the word *arua*, 'plowed fields', implies. Latinus' relation to Saturn as *Friedensherrscher* is discussed in detail by Balk, op. cit., pp. 8 ff. The relation of Saturn, Aeneas and Augustus is discussed by Binder, loc. cit.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Saturn as lawgiver for the primitive Latins (*Aen.* 8. 322).

time of light-hearted merrymaking, 'Saturnalibus optimo dierum' (Catull. 14. 15).<sup>23</sup>

In summary then, for Vergil's audience Saturn was an agricultural or at least a rural god, the god of the Golden Age, a god of prosperity, justice, peace and happiness — and not too much seriousness — and, in the version followed by Vergil in *Aeneid* 8, a god particularly associated with Latium, the singular beneficiary of Saturn's prosperity and peace. In more general terms, all of Latinus' ancestors, Saturn, Picus, Faunus, and Marica, are rustic deities associated with Italy's fields and woods.<sup>24</sup> The genealogy suggests a particular image of Latinus himself, the venerable ruler of a rustic community close to nature and to nature's gods, prosperous and happy in its peaceful simple life. The image created by the genealogy thus reinforces the description of Latinus which precedes it: 'iam senior longa . . . in pace regebat' (46).

It is worth noting that there is almost no evidence for any cult associated with Picus and Saturn, and an almost total absence of inscriptional evidence which would indicate strong popular devotion to these two gods or to Faunus.<sup>25</sup> Put another way, the associations of Latinus' ancestors are primarily in the realm of religious folklore and myth, not in that of actual religious practice and cult. In the description of the royal palace, the *regia Pici*, on the other hand, associations with religious practices, not folklore, predominate.

On the day after his arrival in Latium Aeneas sends ambassadors to the local ruler. Latinus, seated upon his ancestral throne ('solo . . . auito', 169), greets the Trojan ambassadors in the 'Laurentis regia Pici' (171), a striking building decorated with statues of war heroes (182) and with war trophies (183 ff.) and, most importantly for our purposes here, with a series of portraits representing Latinus' kingly ancestors ending with Picus (187 ff.) and extending back in time well beyond Saturn to the misty *origo* of the royal line (177 ff.). This 'royal house of Laurentine Picus' is quite impressive as Vergil describes it, both in its architecture and location ('tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis/urbe fuit summa', 170 f.)<sup>26</sup> and in its function as a combined civil and religious centre (173 ff.) and trophy case for past national heroes and military victories (178 ff.). But the building also raises some difficulties for the reader, for there are several inconsistencies between what Vergil says here in describing the *regia Pici* and what he said earlier of Latinus and his palace (59 ff.):

laurus erat tecti medio in penetralibus altis  
sacra comam multosque metu seruata per annos,  
quam pater inuentam, primas cum conderet arces,  
ipse ferebatur Phoebos sacrasse Latinus,  
Laurentisque ab ea nomen posuisse colonis.

<sup>23</sup> For the rituals associated with the Saturnalia see Fowler, op. cit., pp. 270 ff.

<sup>24</sup> The absence of Greek Olympians from Latinus' genealogy should be noted.

<sup>25</sup> There are a very few inscriptions to Saturn from Rome (see Preller-Jordan, op. cit. ii. 10 n. 1) but most of the inscriptions to Saturn are from North Africa where he is a quite different god, viz. a Latinized version of the Punic Baal.

There are to my knowledge no inscriptions to Faunus from Rome and none at all to Picus. There are, on the other hand, at least two inscriptions to Marica, *ILS* 2976 (from Pisaurum) and *ILS* 9264 (from the Liris near Minturnae).

<sup>26</sup> The impressiveness of the description is enhanced by the five spondees and the asyndeton in line 170.

The first of these difficulties<sup>27</sup> involves the exact relationship between this palace of Latinus and the *regia Pici*. Some modern scholars say that they are one and the same<sup>28</sup> while others say that they are two different buildings,<sup>29</sup> and the same uncertainty may already have existed in antiquity.<sup>30</sup> Related to this is another chronological difficulty: lines 59 ff. present a clear image of Latinus as *oikistes* founding a new city while the words 'Laurentis regia Pici' (171) imply that the foundation dates back at least to the generation of Picus. The contradiction can be explained away, it is true, by taking 'colonis' in the earlier passage (63) to mean 'inhabitants'<sup>31</sup> and by assuming that Latinus' *arces* were a newer palace intended as a private royal residence to replace the earlier palace of Picus which was then converted into a public hall for use on state occasions. Or we may argue that Latinus' *arces* and the *regia Pici* are one and the same, and that the name *regia Pici* comes from the pride of place given to Picus' statue in the palace as Vergil describes it.

I doubt, however, that Vergil intended his readers to go through such exercises to reconcile these and other conflicting details. Rather I would suggest that Vergil is intentionally ambiguous here for his own poetic purpose, sometimes suggesting that Latinus' palace and the *regia Pici* are the same, sometimes suggesting that they are different, and the reader should simply accept the ambiguity Vergil intended. Thus in the description of Latinus' palace the word 'arces' in 'primas cum conderet arces' (61) implies not simply a royal residence but more the seat of royal power and government, an implication which is reinforced a few lines later by the *uates*' interpretation of the bee prodigy, that like the bees on the laurel tree 'a foreigner will be lord on the topmost citadel' ('summa dominarier arce', 70). On the other hand the laurel tree which stands 'tecti medio', preserved uncut through the years as the palace is built around it (59 ff.), recalls, despite obvious differences, the tree about which Odysseus built his chamber (Hom. *Od.* 23. 189 ff.)<sup>32</sup> and so suggests that Latinus' palace is a domestic residence as well. Similarly the juxtaposition here of laurel tree (site of the bee prodigy, 59 ff.) and altar (site of the flame prodigy, 71 ff.) recalls the laurel tree and adjacent altar in Priam's palace (2. 513) which Vergil describes as part of a passage which emphasizes Priam's role of *pater familias* rather than that of king. Finally the religious ritual preceding the flame prodigy, with Lavinia present and perhaps participating (71 f.),<sup>33</sup> also seems

<sup>27</sup> There is also an initial anachronism in Vergil's calling Picus 'Laurentine' since the Laurentes are said by Vergil to have received this name two generations after Picus when his grandson so named them in honour of the laurel tree which he had preserved in his palace (59 ff.). But the anachronism is a minor one since despite the tale of Latinus and the laurel (which may well be Vergil's own invention; see Boas, *op. cit.*, pp. 96 ff.) 'Laurentes' is regularly used by Vergil and others as an early name for the people later called Latin, e.g. 'Laurente Marica' (47), 'regis Dercenni . . . antiqui Laurentis' (11. 850 f.), 'Laurente diuo' (sc. Faunus, 12. 769). On the use of 'Laurentes' see further J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les origines d'Ostie*<sup>2</sup> (Paris, 1968), pp. 186 ff., 243 ff.

<sup>28</sup> e.g. C. Bailey, *Religion in Virgil* (Oxford, 1935), p. 70; C. C. van Essen, 'L'architecture dans l'*Enéide* de Virgile', *Mnemosyne*, ser. 3, 7 (1930), 230 f.

<sup>29</sup> e.g. C. G. Heyne — G. P. E. Wagner, *Publius Virgilius Maro*<sup>4</sup> iii. 34 ff.; F. Plessis-P. Lejay, *Oeuvres de Virgile*, p. 576; R. D. Williams, *The Aeneid of Virgil* ii. 179.

<sup>30</sup> In the one certain imitation of our passage, *Thyest.* 641 ff., Seneca describes the *domus* of Pelops, while the less certain imitation of Silius Italicus 1. 181 f. describes a temple.

<sup>31</sup> As does Lewis-Short, s.v. 'colonus'.

<sup>32</sup> The reminiscence is not listed by G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer* (Göttingen, 1964).

<sup>33</sup> The subject of 'castis adolet dum altaria taedis' (71) is unclear and could be

more like a detail of domestic rather than state religion,<sup>34</sup> though even here the palace also has a public function since the flames which Lavinia sprinkles 'totis . . . tectis' (77) are interpreted as portending a war for the Laurentines as a whole ('populo', 80).

The fact that Latinus found the laurel tree 'primas cum conderet arces' (61), when he was building his palace on previously uncleared land, suggests to the reader that this building is the first and, as far as we know, the only palace, and the first and only building on the citadel. And so when word of the Trojan embassy is brought to Latinus (166 ff.) we naturally assume that he receives this news in his palace, and when he orders the ambassadors to be brought 'intra tecta' (168 f.) and again when he greets them seated 'solio medius . . . auito' (169) we also assume that this all takes place in the palace described in lines 59 ff., for there has been nothing in the text since then to suggest where else this meeting could take place.

Thus as the reader enters into the description of the interview he has been conditioned to expect it to be in the palace of Latinus or, to put it differently, that the *regia Pici* where the interview takes place is identical with the palace of Latinus described earlier. Indeed, were it not for the single word 'Pici' (171) there would be nothing to prevent the reader from assuming that the building which Vergil now proceeds to describe is in fact Latinus' palace, and there is much which contributes to a confusion of the two buildings. The present building is called 'tectum', the same word used to describe Latinus' palace (59, 77; cf. 168). It is also precisely a 'regia' (171), a king's palace. Its location 'urbe . . . summa' (171) reminds us of Latinus' *arces* (61). Even Picus' epithet 'Laurentis' (171) recalls the laurel tree involved in the construction of Latinus' palace and the naming of the site. Through the way he has structured this episode and through his choice of language Vergil clearly wishes to link Latinus' palace and the *regia Pici* in his readers' minds.

Overlying this initial impression of the palace is a second one, that of a civil and religious centre. The word 'regia', a word not used earlier to describe Latinus' palace, also reminds us of the Roman Regia, the building in the Roman forum which served as the headquarters of the pontifex maximus.<sup>35</sup> According to tradition the Regia was built by Numa, by which we should understand that it was a building of immemorial antiquity and that its function was predominantly religious — *res sacrae* were the particular province of Numa in Roman mythical history. This Roman Regia was, among other things, a shrine of Mars in which the *bastae* and *ancilia* of the god were

either Latinus or Lavinia (Serv. ad loc. says that Latinus is performing a sacrifice, but this is probably only his interpretation of a passage which puzzled him enough that he felt obliged to make some comment on it). See also following note.

<sup>34</sup> Historically, during the period of kingship the domestic religion of the royal family was also public, i.e. it was involved in the general welfare of the community as a whole, but it is possible that Vergil's readers would not realize this here. Boas, op. cit., pp. 150 ff., assumes that Lavinia is

the subject of 'adolet' (71) and argues that she is here a proto-Vestal Virgin tending the royal/state hearth fire. On the other hand, Latinus can also be the subject of 'adolet' (see preceding note), and daughters did assist their fathers at simpler domestic sacrifices (cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 2. 645 ff.; Tibull. 1. 10. 24). If Vergil is ambiguous at 70 f. he is probably intentionally so, to leave us with a nebulous picture combining elements of both domestic and state religion.

<sup>35</sup> On the Roman Regia see Platner-Ashby, op. cit., pp. 440 ff.



kept.<sup>36</sup> Now near the end of his account of the *regia Pici* Vergil describes a statue of Picus holding in his left hand the *ancile*, the sacred shield of Mars (188 f.), and this association with Mars is immediately reinforced by the following tale of Picus' transformation by Circe into a woodpecker (189 ff.), for the woodpecker (*picus*) was, as we have seen, the sacred bird of Mars. More generally the *regia Pici* is twice called 'templum' (174) and 'templo diuum' (192),<sup>37</sup> and we are told that it is the site of sacred banquets ('sacris sedes epulis', 175). It is also called 'augustum' (170), another word with religious connotations,<sup>38</sup> and it is 'horrendum' both because of the woods which surround it and because of 'religione parentum' (172). Such wooded groves are frequently a source of reverential awe in Roman religion, e.g. the woods which inspire *religio* on the ancient Capitoline (8. 347 ff.), the grove of Silvanus 'religione patrum late sacer' (8. 597 f.), and the grove of Albunea in which Latinus consults Faunus (7. 81 ff.).<sup>39</sup> Dido's temple of Juno, the only temple described at length in the *Aeneid*, was, like the *regia Pici*, built within a grove (1. 441 ff.).<sup>40</sup>

The *regia Pici* also has civil functions. It serves as the meeting place of the Laurentine senate ('hoc illis curia templum', 174), though the language makes the civil function secondary, i.e. the *templum* also served as a *curia* rather than vice versa. Similarly the new kings of Latium here receive their tokens of office, sceptres and, somewhat anachronistically, *fascēs* (173 f.);<sup>41</sup> the reason why the investiture takes place in the *regia Pici* is a religious one, 'omen erat' (174), 'it was a custom without observing which the reign would not have begun auspiciously'.<sup>42</sup> War trophies are also displayed in the *regia Pici* (183 ff.) and the building is decorated with statues of past kings and other national heroes (177 ff., 187 ff.) who have been deified ('diuum', 192) after the manner of the Julian line of Vergil's day.

W. A. Camps has called attention to the 'numerous and precise' correspondences between the *regia Pici* and the Capitoline temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus of Vergil's day. Like the *regia Pici*

[t]he Capitoline temple was vast and majestic (*augustum, ingens*). It stood conspicuous on a hill. It was fronted with a triple row of columns. . . . It was no doubt adorned, as was common practice, with spoils of war. . . . At its entrance stood statues of former kings . . . and heroes. . . . It was the scene of meetings of the senate. . . . It was the scene on 13 September and 13 November each year of the ritual banquet called the *epulum Iovis*, in which the senate took part . . .

— the *patres* also assist at the 'sacris . . . epulis' in the *regia Pici* (175 f.) — 'It

<sup>36</sup> For sources see Platner-Ashby, op. cit., p. 441.

<sup>37</sup> The religious connotation is equally present whether 'templum' here refers to a sacred precinct or to a sacred building ('temple') within the precinct.

<sup>38</sup> 'Augustus' can also mean 'majestic' with no religious connotation (cf. 'augusta ad moenia regis', 153) and something of this meaning is probably present here as well, but in the generally religious context of the present passage the religious connotation, the primary connotation of the word, would be most strongly felt.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Ovid, *Am.* 3. 1. 1, *Fast.* 3. 295 f.;

Plin. *N.H.* 12. 2. 3; Sen. *Ep.* 41. 1 f.; Quint. 10. 1. 88. See in general Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. 'lucus'.

<sup>40</sup> Trees were also found around private houses (cf. 2. 299 f.).

<sup>41</sup> The *fascēs* were a particularly Roman symbol said to date back to Romulus (Livy 1. 8. 3) and apart from the claim that they were imported from Vetulonia in Etruria (Sil. Ital. 8. 484 f.; cf. Livy, loc. cit.) they are not to my knowledge mentioned in connection with any other city.

<sup>42</sup> J. Conington-H. Nettleship, *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*<sup>3</sup>, iii. 19.

was the scene of the assumption of office by the consuls of the Republic and their first appearance with lictors carrying the *fascēs* before them. . . .<sup>43</sup> A desire to identify the early kings of Latium with the later Romans would explain the anachronism of the royal *fascēs* noted earlier. I would add one further item to Camps's already extensive list of coincidences, that the *regia Pici* is surrounded by woods while in book 8 Vergil places a grove on the Capitoline in the place later occupied by the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (347 f.). The name *inter duos lucos* given to the saddle between the two peaks of the Capitoline<sup>44</sup> suggests the possibility that the Capitoline temple itself on the south peak (and the temple of Juno Moneta on the northern *arx*) may have been built within groves which eventually gave way to other buildings<sup>45</sup> to survive in Vergil's day only in the name *inter duos lucos*.

In summary then, if Camps is correct, as I believe he is, we should see in Vergil's description of the *regia Pici* an anticipation of the Capitoline temple of Jupiter. In other words, the *regia Pici*, as Vergil describes it, is essentially a religious building, and the civic functions associated with the *regia Pici*, like those associated with the Capitoline temple, derive from the fact that the *regia* and the temple are the focus of the religion of the state.

Thus, as we saw earlier, Vergil creates an initial impression that Latinus' interview with the Trojan ambassadors takes place in his palace. He then describes the *regia Pici*, the scene of the interview, as an essentially religious building apparently distinct from Latinus' palace. The ambiguity seems intentional, as I suggested above. Its effect here is to leave both impressions side by side, that the interview takes place in Latinus' residence and that it takes place in a building analogous to the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, or to put it in slightly different terms, that Latinus' palace/residence is like the Capitoline temple of Jupiter.<sup>46</sup>

This ambiguity of temple vs. palace/home comes into play particularly in the description of the *effigies* of the early Italian kings (177 ff.). On the one hand in the temple context the *effigies* can easily be understood as statues decorating the porch of a temple, a Roman practice for which we have ample evidence, including the case of the Capitoline temple of Jupiter.<sup>47</sup> On the other hand these *effigies* are said to stand in the building's 'uestibulo' (181), a term which is not to my knowledge used elsewhere to describe the porch or any other part of a temple. The word 'uestibulum' is drawn rather from the vocabulary of domestic architecture and properly describes the corridor between the street and the inset house door (Gell. 16. 4. 3).<sup>48</sup> But we also know from Aulus Gellius (16. 4. 2) that 'uestibulum' was used even by educated people as an improper

<sup>43</sup> W. A. Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid* (London, 1969), pp. 153 f. n. 14, with sources for the Capitoline parallels; see also Camps (*CQ* N.S. 9 (1959), 54). The earlier view of H. T. Rowell (*AJP* 62 (1941), 261 ff.) that the *regia Pici* was modelled on the Forum of Augustus is chronologically improbable: see A. Degraffi (*Epigraphica* 7 (1945), 88 ff.).

<sup>44</sup> On *inter duos lucos* see Platner-Ashby, op. cit., p. 283.

<sup>45</sup> As did, e.g., the sacred grove between the *atrium Vestae* and the Palatine (see

Platner-Ashby, op. cit., p. 58).

<sup>46</sup> The two images of domestic residence (palace) and of civil/religious centre are not antithetical. In the primitive royal state the domestic residence of the king would also be the civil and religious centre of the community. Cf. also above, n. 34.

<sup>47</sup> Statues of the kings stood near the door of the Capitoline temple (App. B. C. 1. 16).

<sup>48</sup> See further the discussion of E. Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis Buch VI*<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig, 1916), pp. 212 f., on 6. 273 ff.

synonym for 'atrium', and it was precisely in the atrium that the noble Roman families displayed the *imagines*, representations of their noble ancestors (Plin. *N.H.* 35.6 f.). These *imagines* were part of the Roman familial religion, the cult of the ancestors, and are perhaps most familiar to us from their role in funeral processions (cf. Polyb. 6. 53). In general terms they were a device representing the unity and continuity of the Roman family from generation to generation.<sup>49</sup> Through the *imagines* the present *pater familias* is linked with his ancestors, implicitly like them and implicitly capable of their deeds. In the ambiguous *regia Pici* the *effigies* of the early Italian kings are civic memorials in the *regia*'s temple context and, in its palace/home context, they remind us of *imagines* — Vergil uses the word twice (179, 180) — of Latinus' ancestors ('ueterum effigies ex ordine auorum', 177).<sup>50</sup> Again, in the ambiguity it is not a question of choosing between civil monuments and the suggestion of ancestral *imagines*. We are to perceive in the *effigies* something of both. This point is important, for as we pass from the ancestors to those 'Martia . . . ob patriam pugnando uulnera passi' (182) we meet what should be purely civic monuments, but in the context created by the portraits of Latinus' ancestors we in some way sense that Latinus and the Latins are similarly related to these heroes as well, that the same spirit which dwelt in the heroes now dwells in them, and that the trophies of the heroes' triumphs affixed to the *regia* (183 ff.) are not simply symbols of past grandeur but also an index of the present capacities of Latinus and his people.

This series of kings and heroes emphasizes war and victory,<sup>51</sup> and hegemony in Italy (note the eponymous Italus and Sabinus, 178).<sup>52</sup> The climax of the series is Picus (187 f.). His attire, a short cloak (*trabea*) and the augur's staff (*lituus*), reminds us that *picus*, the woodpecker, was a bird of augury.<sup>53</sup> But the adjective 'Quirinali' (187) also reminds us that *trabea*<sup>54</sup> and *lituus* were also worn by Quirinus (cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 6. 375; Serv. ad 7. 610) who is here either to be identified with Romulus (cf. e.g. *Aen.* 1. 292; Ovid, *Fast.* 2. 475 f.) or perhaps to be taken as a doublet of Mars himself (cf. D.H. 2. 148. 2). In his left hand Picus carries the *ancile*, the sacred shield of Mars. We are now told (189 ff.) that Picus has been transformed by Circe into a woodpecker, Mars' bird.<sup>55</sup> The mention of Circe strikes another sinister note, for earlier in this same book Vergil had described the dehumanizing effect of Circe's spells on other men (15 ff.). Lastly, we should note, Picus is shown seated ('sedebat', 187) as is

<sup>49</sup> On the *imagines* see *RE* s.v. 'imagines maiorum'; Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. 'imago'.

<sup>50</sup> The *effigies* were made of wood (178) — and hence were not, in the technical sense of the word, *imagines* which were made of wax. Rather through their genealogical nature and their location they suggest *imagines*, and the suggestion is furthered by Vergil's non-technical use of the word *imago* in 179 and 180.

<sup>51</sup> Significantly Faunus has been dropped from this second list of Latinus' ancestors. In the context of war and victory there is no place for a frivolous Panlike nature spirit.

<sup>52</sup> The phrase 'alii ab origine reges' (181) may perhaps also suggest rule over the Aborigines, the primitive inhabitants of Italy, but cf. 1. 642 where 'antiqua ab

origine gentis' refers to the Carthaginians.

<sup>53</sup> For the augur's *trabea* see Serv. ad 7. 612. For the woodpecker as a bird of augury cf. e.g. Plaut. *Asin.* 260; Plin. *N.H.* 10. 20. 40 f.; Serv. ad 7. 190 (where he associates Picus' *trabea* like his *ancile* with 'Diali uel Martiali sacerdote').

<sup>54</sup> The augur's (purple and yellow) *trabea* was a different colour from the royal (purple and white) *trabea* which Quirinus would presumably wear (Serv. ad 7. 612, citing Suet. 'in libro de genere uestium'), but the absence of colour terms in the present passage minimizes the difficulty.

<sup>55</sup> On what kind of woodpecker see T. S. Mackay, 'Three Poets Observe Picus', *AJP* 96 (1975), 272 ff.

Jupiter in his cult statue in the Capitoline temple (Joseph. *A.I.* 19. 11; cf. D.C. 59. 28. 7), the model, as we have seen, for the *regia Pici*. Latinus is also seated as we are told twice, both immediately before (169) and immediately after (193) the description of the *regia Pici*. The association of Latinus with Picus, and thus with Mars, is clear.

The *regia Pici* then is both Latinus' ancestral palace (cf. 'patria . . . sede', 192 f.) and the temple of Latinus' divine ancestors ('templo diuum', 192). When the present description of an ancestral palace built by Picus ('*regia Pici*', 171; cf. 'solio . . . auito', 169) is juxtaposed with the earlier description of the palace which Latinus built about the laurel tree the contradiction between the two is obvious and unresolvable. Equally contradictory are the accounts of Latinus' divine ancestors. Earlier Latinus' ancestry was traced back but three generations to Saturn, the 'sanguinis ultimus auctor' (49). Now it is as if a veil were lifted and we see Latinus' ancestors with Saturn in the relative foreground of a line of kings stretching back to the vanishing point in time. The earlier genealogy emphasized Latinus' peaceful rural roots. The later genealogy emphasizes war.

Why does Vergil contradict himself? Because it suits his poetic purpose to do so. At the beginning of book 7 Vergil wished to portray the Latins as a simple peaceful folk. A genealogy with rustic associations for their king at a time not far removed from the Golden Age suited his purpose there, as did the respect for nature which Latinus showed in building his new palace when he preserved the laurel tree and dedicated it to Apollo (59 ff.). But now something has changed. The Trojans have come to Latium and in their way they taint the Latin Golden Age themselves long before Juno interferes. The Trojans may come in peace, but Aeneas' first settlement is a military camp (157 ff.).<sup>56</sup> Latinus cannot be cast in a position of weakness. The Trojan ambassadors must be met in an appropriate place, and so the emphasis is no longer on peace and Apollo but on Mars and the past accomplishments of war. An older temple palace, a mighty civil and religious centre of the community, reflects the grandeur and might of the Latin people. If there is to be an alliance between Trojans and Latins it will be an alliance of equals.

It should be noted, however, that the conflicting passages are not juxtaposed in the text as we have juxtaposed them here. The two passages are far enough apart (120 lines), the two genealogies contain enough similar elements, and the description of the *regia Pici* is ambiguous enough that the contradictions are not immediately apparent, and the first image of rustic peace is not cancelled out but is rather overlaid with the second image of martial grandeur. We are to think of the Latins now both as simple, peaceful folk and as capable warriors, an impression which carries over into the description of their first combat with the Trojans (475 ff.).

To summarize briefly, Vergil has drawn in diverse ways upon the material of Roman religion to develop a complex portrait of Latinus and, by implication, of his people. In the first genealogy of Latinus Vergil uses the data of Latin folklore and mythology, while in the description of the *regia Pici* he turns to the artifacts of Roman religion, as it were, to the Capitoline temple and the *imagines*, and to the cult of the ancestors. In these different ways we are

<sup>56</sup> For this and other negative notes in the descriptions of Latium see K. J.

Reckford., 'Latent Tragedy in *Aeneid* VII, 1-285', *AJP* 82 (1961), 252 ff.

brought to see Latinus and his people both as simple, righteous folk and as warriors. Above all we sense the close relation between these early Latins and Italy's gods.

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