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FUNUS TRIUMPHALE: FUNERAL ICONOGRAPHY AND THE PARADE OF ROMAN LEADERS IN THE SIXTH BOOK OF THE *AENEID*

Book six of Virgil's Aeneid concludes with the reunion scene of Anchises and Aeneas which leads to the revelation of the gens that Aeneas will father in Italy (... Romanam condere gentem, Aen. 1.33). In the scheme of a pompa, which includes elements of a pompa triumphalis,¹ Anchises describes the victorious course of the Romans in history from their mythical origins down to the time of Augustus. However, the triumphant spirit of the parade is tempered by the greeting scene between Anchises and Aeneas that precedes the prophetic speech of Anchises, and the funus of Marcellus at the end of the procession of Roman leaders. These scenes connect the pageant with funeral iconography and the idea – Etruscan in origin – of the journey of the dead to the afterlife.² Specifically, the posture of Anchises palmas utrasque tetendit (Aen. 6.685) and Aeneas' request da iungere dextram (Aen. 6.697) reminded Virgil's

¹ The pageant includes many features of a procession of triumph as it has been recorded in literary accounts by Plutarch *Pomp.* 45. 1–4, Lucan *BC* 7.9–19, Polybius *Hist.* 6. 15.8, and Appian *Mith* 17.116–117 who describe Pompey's triumph: a) placards with inscriptions of the names of nations, fortresses, cities that the *triumphator* captured; new cities he founded; Augustus included also inscriptions with his *leges*; b) paintings capturing crucial moments in the conflict between the Romans and their absent victims; c) treasure in money and precious things brought to the city plus the increase in revenues from the newly captured nations; d) kings and generals from the captured nations and captives; e) the *triumphator* carried in chariot and dressed in the robes of the triumphant general, an ornate purple toga and tunic, reminding early kings of Rome or the cult image of Jupiter.

² HARRISON E. L. 1978. "Metempsychosis in Aeneid Six." *Classical Journal*, 73, 193–197. Harrison on page 193 suggests that the parade has probably its origins in the procession of the funeral of a Roman *nobilis*, because it unfolds in the context of funerals: the funeral of Anchises, the funeral of Misenus, the funeral of Marcellus. However, Virgil resorts to the Orphic-Pythagorean theory of metempsychosis in order to turn the parade into a procession of future Romans and reserve a prominent place for Augustus in it.

contemporary audience of funerary reliefs which depicted greeting postures between ancestor and deceased descendant. On the other hand, the vision of the young Marcellus (Aen. 6.878) as invincible imperator on foot or on his horse (880–881)³ called up representations of the general triumphator alone or as part of a pompa triumphalis or funebris on triumphant and sepulchral monuments of Rome.⁴ In the following pages I will suggest that the interweaving of triumphant and funerary imagery conjures up for the contemporary audience an image which is at once a pompa triumphalis of Rome and a procession of imagines maiorum that accompany the funus of the young Marcellus, the adopted son of Octavian.⁵ In other words, Virgil has concealed in the triumphant procession of Roman leaders the image of funus triumphale.⁶

Key Words: Vergil; *Aeneid*; iconography

The first lines of the reunion scene between Anchises and Aeneas in the Elysian Fields contain a detailed account of the posture of Anchises. As soon as he sees Aeneas approaching from a distance, Anchises stretches out his two arms (684–689):

*isque ubi tendentem adversum per gramina vidit
Aenean, alacris palmas utrasque tetendit,
effusaeque genis lacrimae et vox excidit ore:
“venisti tandem, tuaque exspectata parenti
vicit iter durum pietas? datur ora tueri,
nate, tua et notas audire et reddere voces?*

As soon as he saw Aeneas walking across the valley
towards him, he stretched out his arms eagerly,
and with tears running down his cheeks, he spoke thus:

³ Here, perhaps, we can detect the poet's suggestion regarding a Marcellus statue.

⁴ VERSNEL, HENK S. 1970. *Triumphus. An Inquiry into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph*. Leiden: E.J. Brill. Versnel uses the findings of Brelich to point out the vast correspondence between triumph and the *funus imperatorium*, against Brelich who considers it a feature of any funeral (121).

⁵ HARDIE, PHILIP R. 2002. *Ovid's Poetics of illusion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Hardie notes that Ovid uses the phrase *duplicis imago* to describe the two-faced god Janus, but also to warn the reader of *duplicitas* in the poem with respect to the literary genre, to the ideology and to the interpretation (1). The spirit of *duplicis imago* permeates the reunion scene and the pageant of Roman leaders in book six of the *Aeneid* as well. RICOEUR, PAUL. 1985. *Time and Narrative II*. MCLAUGHLIN KATHLEEN – PELLAUER DAVID [TRANSL]. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Ricoeur coins the term “refiguration” to indicate the change effected by the reader on the configuration of the narrative, when the world of the literary work confronts the world of the reader (5).

⁶ I would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their comments which contributed to the improvement of the argument and of the form of the present paper. Also, I would like to thank my friend Yianna Platis, expert in computer software, who helped me to insert the photos in the paper.

“Have you come at last and your piety to your father, as I expected,
overcome the difficulty of the journey? Has my wish, son, to
see your face, hear your beloved voice, and talk to you, been granted?”

At face value the mention of the gesture appears insignificant. Donatus reads in the scene an overflow of emotion which is expressed by a greeting gesture that fails to materialize, because of Anchises' state of being (*ecce patris pietas plena, ante ad amplexus fili praeparavit manus quam fieret potestas retinendi*, “here it is the image of fatherly love; his eagerness to hug his son exceeds his ability to do it).⁷ But there is more to it than it appears at a first reading of the scene. The scene is modeled on Odysseus' meeting with his mother's ghost (*Od.* 11.152 ff.),⁸ but in the Homeric text there is no description of the posture of Anticleia. The particular gesture appears in *G.* 4.498, the scene of farewell between Eurydice and Orpheus ('*invalidasque tibi tendens, heu non tua, palmas*'), in *Aen.* 6.314, the supplication of the deceased to Charon to cross over to the world of the dead (*stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum, / tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore*), and in *Aen.* 12.936–937, the supplication of Turnus to Aeneas to spare his life (*vicisti, et victimum tendere palmas / Ausonii videre*).⁹ The parallels show that the posture is a gesture of farewell between the dead and the living at the moment of departure of the dead for the underworld, and a gesture of supplication. In our text Virgil uses the posture in a scene of reunion between the dead father and his living son. What is the significance of the change? The particular gesture is a motif of Greek, Etruscan and Roman funeral iconography since the fifth century BC. It originates from the adoration gesture that appears in Greek religious iconography, in the so-called *orans* type statues: both arms rise towards the heavens with frontal palms.¹⁰ In funerary art variations of the adoration gesture suggest, according to Brilliant, the hail and farewell given by the deceased as he departs for the underworld from the world of the living (17). In Etruscan

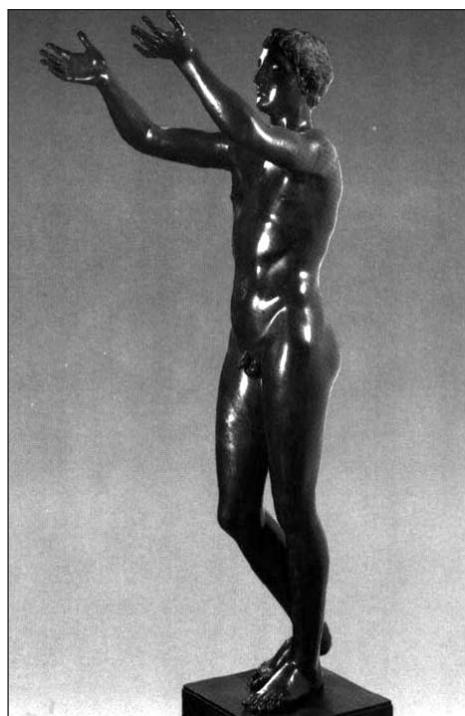
⁷ GEORGES HEINRICH [ED.]. 1905. Donatus, Tiberius Claudius. *Interpretationes Vergilianaæ* I, 597. Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner.

⁸ AUSTIN ROLAND G. [ED.]. 1986. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Sextus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

⁹ CONINGTON, JOHN – NETTLESHIP, HENRY [EDS.]. 1963. *The Works of Virgil with a Commentary* I. Hildesheim: Georg Olms.

¹⁰ A well known statue is the “Adorans” of Boidas: BRILLIANT, RICHARD. 1963. *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art. The Use of Gestures to Denote Status in Roman sculpture and Coinage*. Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 14, New Haven: Yale University Press. The *orans* type gesture corresponds to the kletic prayer in literature, a prayer that summons the helping presence of a god (15–17).

funeral reliefs adoring gestures are used to express welcome to a god or the deceased, to indicate social status by marking someone out of the multitude, and to suggest the gesture of offering.¹¹ Apparently, Virgil describes Anchises' posture in terms of the *orans* type statues to invest the gesture with ambiguity: a gesture of welcome to a god or to the deceased.



‘Adorans’ by Boidas, Berlin

Moreover, the expression *palmas utrasque tetendit*, which describes the pose, draws attention to the *manus* and its symbolism in the Roman political code. The expression recalls such phrases as *manus tollere* to express admiration, or *cedere et tollere manus* to express intention to yield, and *palmas* or *manus tendere*, to ‘implore assistance’ that accompanied representations of *manus* in Roman art.¹² Brilliant includes in his book the photo of the reproduction of the right hand with frontal palm facing outwards on the

¹¹ R. BRILLIANT (1963: 24, 25, 28).

¹² R. BRILLIANT (1963: 215, n. 6), states that the expression *manus tendere* appears in Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* 2.13; 7.48; Cicero, *Phil.* 10.4.9.

reverse of an *aes grave* of the mid-third century BC, as an illustration of the *manus tendere* gesture (37). In Roman art *manus* denotes the various potencies of the hand to act, to express states of emotion, to convey concepts of possession and power, and to indicate relationships of status (one person of lesser rank than another).¹³ In the meeting scene of Anchises and Aeneas the expression *palmas tendere* aims probably at bringing to the attention of the reader relations of power and social status that the *manus* symbolized and were part of a traditional value system that was still in fashion in contemporary Rome.



Aes grave with frontal hand

Virgil hints at the visual sources of Anchises' pose through the term *imago*. As a technical term *imago* is used by Aeneas in the sense of apparition. Aeneas says that Anchises' apparition (*imago*), which appeared frequently in his dreams, urged him to visit the Elysian Fields (*Aen.* 6.695–696):

*tua me, genitor, tua tristis imago
saepius occurrens haec limina tendere adegit.*

Your image, father, your sad image
appearing often in my dreams urged me to come here

Next, the narrator employs the similes of the wind and of the dream to associate the *imago* with illusion or reflection (*Aen.* 6.700–702):¹⁴

¹³ R. BRILLIANT (1963: 38, 215).

¹⁴ Illusion corresponds in meaning to the Latin *visiones* which Quintilian (*Inst. Or.* 6.2.29)

*Ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum;
Ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago,
par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.*

Thrice he attempted to put his arms around the neck
Thrice from the hands which were trying in vain to grasp him,
the image flew away just like the lightness of the wind and
similar to the winged dreams.

G. N. Knauer¹⁵ pointed out as prototypes of the similes the *Il.* 23.99 ff., Achilles' meeting with the ghost of Patroclus,

*ώς ἄρα φωνήσας ὠρέξατο χερσὶ φίλησιν
οὐδὲ ἔλαβε: ψυχὴ δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς ηὗτε καπνός
ῳχετο τετριγνῖα*

so saying he reached forth with his hands but did not grasp him.
the spirit like a vapor went away beneath the earth raging

defines as *imagines rerum absentium* . . . , see: PH. HARDIE (2002: 4–5). FLOWER, HARRIET I. 1996. *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press. Flower suggests that *imago* is an ambivalent term; it can express both ideas of ‘reality’ and ‘truth’ such as ghosts, but also mere imitation, outward form, mere reflection, illusion, the ancestral mask worn by an actor, which creates the illusion of reality that the ancestor is alive (33). FELTON, DEBBIE. 1999. *Haunted Greece and Rome. Ghost Stories from Classical Antiquity*. Austin: U. of Texas Press. Felton observes that many ghosts appeared looking just as the person did in life, and if a person’s death was gory, his ghost was gruesome as well (14–18, 14). The manner of burial (cremation or burial without cremation) and the idea of the soul flying away from the pyre with the smoke may be responsible for the descriptions of the ghosts (17). WINKLER, JOHN. 1980. “Lolianos and the Desperadoes.” *JHS*, 100, 155–181. Winkler distinguishes three main depictions of ghosts: pure black, pure white, and smoke-like (160–161). WRIGHT, HERNDON DAVID. 1993. *The Vatican Vergil: a masterpiece of late antique art*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Wright discusses the iconography of the reunion scene on page 57. On p. 127 he also includes a photograph of folio 19v which depicts the ghost of Hector as a black shade. JOHNSTON, SARAH I. 1999. *Restless Dead. Encounters between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 3–35. See: NOVARA, A. 1987. “Imagines de l’ Elysee virgilien.” In HINARD FRANCOIS [ED.]. *La Mort, les morts et l’au-delà dans le monde romain, Actes du colloque de Caen*, Caen, 1985, 321–349. OGDEN, DANIEL. 2002. *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds. A sourcebook*. New York: Oxford U. Press, 149, talks about ‘demons’ which he describes as “the human soul that abandons the body when it has finished its services in life.” He distinguishes between *lemures* or *lares* (good spirits to whom was allotted the care of their descendants) and *larvae* (spirits harmless to good men but dangerous to bad).

and the *Od.* 11.206ff., Odysseus' attempt to embrace his mother:

*τρὶς μὲν ἐφωρμήθην, ἐλέειν τέ με θυμὸς ἀνάγει,
τρὶς δέ μοι ἐκ χειρῶν σκιῇ εἴκελον ἦ καὶ ὄνείρῳ
ἔπτατ'*

thrice I run towards her, my heart urged me to hug her,
thrice she flew away from my hands like a shadow or a dream

The Greek passages use the similes *σκιῇ εἴκελον ἦ καὶ ὄνείρῳ* and *ψυχῇ ἡῦτε καπνός* to describe Anticleia and Patroclus as life forms but insubstantial. On the other hand, Ulysses describes Elpenor as *εἴδωλον* to draw attention to the exterior shape of the dead (*Od.* 11.83).¹⁶ We infer that in the Greek source *ψυχῇ* and *εἴδωλον* describe the dead as an insubstantial but living presence.



Eidolon (ghost?) of a woman seated on the steps of a tomb attended by two women. Attic white lekythos by the Thanatos Painter (ca. 440 BC). National Museum of Athens, 1942.
Photo: after Riezler, pl. 30.¹⁷

¹⁶ RUSSELL, DONALD A. 1964. *Longinus on the Sublime*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Russell translates *εἴδωλοτοία* as production of images (commentary on 15.1). He adds that in the rhetoricians the word is almost a synonym for *prosopopoeia*: the dead are made to speak; in philosophy it indicates 'mental image'.

¹⁷ See: OAKLEY, JOHN H. 2004. *Picturing Death in Classical Athens. The Evidence of the White Lekythoi*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 165–166. Depictions of the deceased as ghosts are rare in funerary art. One unique image is the shadow-like image of a woman seated on the steps of the stele on an Attic vase painting by the

In Latin Virgil uses the term *imago*, not *anima* or *manes*, to convey primarily the sense of representation, of a *mimesis*, and the similes of the wind¹⁸ and of the insubstantial dream (*par levibus ventis volucrique similima somno*) to connect *imago* with illusion, not with a flesh and bones human being. An exact repetition of *Aen.* 6.700–702 is *Aen.* 2.792–794, the scene of Aeneas' meeting with the apparition of Creusa, which enforces the interpretation of *imago* as representation, copy:¹⁹

*Ter conatus ibi collo dare brachia circum;
Ter frustra compresa manus effugit imago,
Par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.*

Creusa is described successively as *simulacrum*, *umbra* (*Aen.* 2.772) and *imago* (*Aen.* 2.773), terms which hint at the process of creating a painting. The term *simulacrum* is used by Lucretius to indicate an imitation, a representation without human soul and body (*DRN* 1.122). In the *De Rerum Natura* 1.125 the *simulacrum* has the look (*species*) of Homer. Virgil links *simulacrum*, representation, to *umbra*, shadow, to suggest the idea of representation without clear features, and, then, to *imago*, reflection, to suggest a representation which has the looks of Creusa. Daut and Lahusen have noted that *imago* in Roman art indicates a representation of a human, living or dead, in many media: paintings, representations, gems, coins, reliefs, busts, shield portraits.²⁰ In *Aeneid* 2 there is no description of the posture of Creusa at the moment of the meeting with Aeneas. The description of the posture of Anchises in book six and the use of the term *imago* draw an association between the literary description and iconographic art, specifically the adoration or imploration posture of Greek religious iconography, and the gesture

Thanatos Painter. Her hair is in outline, her skin dark, and along with her huddled pose gives one the impression that she represents the spirit of someone dead.

18 CHIARA DE FILIPPIS CAPPAL. 1997. *Imago Mortis. L'uomo romano e la morte*. Napoli: Loffredo Editore, 50, quotes Aristotle's *De Anima* 1.5.410B as evidence of an etymological relation between the Greek term ἀνέμος, wind, and the Latin *anima*, soul, by analogy to the Greek ψυχή which derives from the same root as the verb ψύχω. OLD *animus-a, ἀνέμος*.

19 G. N. KNAUER (1964: 125) gives a reference to Creusa.

20 H. FLOWER (1996: 33). Pliny *N.H.* 35.4–13 uses the term in different contexts and hence meanings: *scutis enim, ..., continebantur imagines, unde et nomen habuere clupeorum, ... origo plena virtutis, faciem reddi in scuto cuiusque, qui fuerit usus illo* (35.4.9–13). Also in Plautus *imago* refers to physical appearance *Am.* 121, 124, 141, 265; *Cpt.* 39; *Men.* 1063; *Mil.* 151. It means exact likeness, copy (*Men.* 1063: *imago. Tam consimilest quam potest*). In *Pseudolus* it refers to a portrait of a soldier on his ring: H. FLOWER (1996: 34). For its use in abstract sense see: H. FLOWER (1996: 35).

of greeting of the dead in Greek and Etruscan funerary reliefs. Thus through the gesture Virgil succeeds to construct a scene of multiple meanings. The gesture alludes to Anchises' fatherly power (*patria potestas*), which led Aeneas to the underworld (*Aen.* 6.695–696). As a pose of imploration for assistance it looks forward to Anchises' request of Aeneas' help for the materialization of the *fata* (*Aen.* 6.806–807: *et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extendere factis / aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra?*). However, as a posture of welcome to the deceased in the underworld by the dead ancestor, Anchises' gesture invests the scene with a funeral undertone as well.

In turn, Aeneas asks his father for a handshake (*Aen.* 6.697–701):

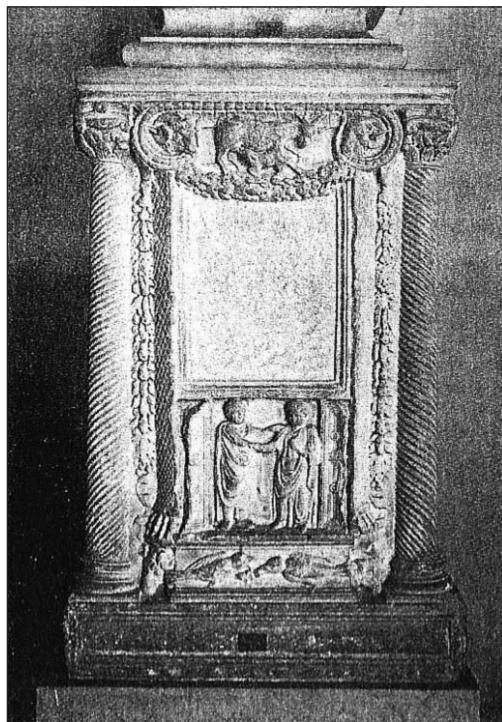
*da iungere dextram,
da, genitor, teque amplexu ne subtrahe nostro.
Sic memorans largo fletu simul ora rigabat.*

‘Give me your hand, father;
Let’s shake hands and do not withdraw from my hug.’
While he was talking thus, tears were running down his face;

The expression *da iungere dextram* links the literary description with the *iunctio dextrarum* gesture which is a motif of funeral iconography. Originating in mythological scenes on vases of the Archaic and Classical period, the handshake motif appears in connection with death and the underworld for the first time on a *lekythos* by the Alkimachos painter in Berlin, which depicts Herakles’ attempt to rescue Peirithoos from the Underworld.²¹ Peirithoos is linked with his would-be rescuer by a right handclasp (Davies 628). Among ordinary mortals, the handshake appears around 450 BC in a krater in N.Y. decorated with a scene in Hades: one of the inhabitants welcomes a female deceased (Davies 628). Since then grave reliefs, Athenian white *lekythoi*, Etruscan ash chests and sarcophagi and Roman tombs frequently depict the motif of the *iunctio dextrarum*. In Roman art of the early Empire (Davies, 632), it appears on two types of sculptured funerary monuments made in Rome: a) ash-chests whose central motif is the *iunctio dextrarum*, and b) a series of reliefs of the Augustan period published by Diane E.E. Kleiner set into the façade of a family tomb.²²

²¹ Herakles and Athena pl. 68 fig.1: DAVIES, GLENYS. 1985. “The Significance of the Handshake Motif in Classical Funerary Art”. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 89, 627–640, 627.

²² KLEINER, DIANE. 1987. *Roman Imperial Funerary Altars with Portraits. Archaeologica*, 62, Roma: Bretschneider, Giorgio.



Ash chest of Vestricius Hyginus and Vestricia Hetera, Galleria delle Statue, Vatican Museum

Davies suggests that the *dexiosis* was associated with the motif of reunion and departure and especially reunion with ancestors in the underworld or departing of dead from family.²³ Attic funerary reliefs represent fathers greeting and comforting members of their family, as they are united in Hades. An example is the lekythos relief of Timotheos, the seated father-figure who shakes hands with his deceased son Philleus.²⁴

²³ G. DAVIES (1985: 629–630).

²⁴ On the father figure reliefs see FRISCHER, BERNARD. 1982. *The Sculpted Word. Epicureanism and Philosophical Recruitment in Ancient Greece*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 139, 203–208, especially 204–205, the seated Epicurus figure who, as Frischer suggests, “offers paternal comfort to his ‘family’ (=the school) in the face of death” (an example of which is the Ludovisi Epicurus statue 245 with a stretched-out right palm). B. FRISCHER (1982: 207) remarks that Epicurus is compared to the father in Hades because of the symbolism of that figure. Lucretius addresses Epicurus as *pater* because of his advice (*tu pater es, rerum inventor; tu patria*



Lekythos relief of Timotheos (Conze, nr.752)

Johansen observes that on white *lekythoi* there is iconography showing the dead and living together but absence of the motif of *dexiosis*.²⁵ The location of the meeting is the tomb in the upper world indicated by the representation usually of a stele (Johansen 59). The scenes on the *lekythoi* that show dead and living widely separated from one another are meant to suggest that they exist in different states and are unable to make contact.²⁶ The Houston Painter depicts on a white *lekythos* two males extending their

nobis / suppeditas praecepta 3.9–10). BURKERT, WALTER. 1972. *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

²⁵ JOHANSEN, FRIIS K. 1951. *The Attic Grave-Reliefs of the Classical Period. An Essay in Interpretation*. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 60.

²⁶ FAIRBANKS, ARTHUR. 1907. *Athenian White Lekythoi* II. University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series.

hands towards each other in a final farewell gesture at the moment of departure of the dead from the upper world.²⁷



Youth departing. Attic white lekythos by the Houston Painter,
ca. 440 BC, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen
und Glyptothek ex Schoen 78. Photo: R. Kühling (Oakley 71)

In the *Aeneid* the incomplete *junctio dextrarum* gesture suggests the different states of being of Aeneas and his father, but for the contemporary reader it alludes also to the motif of welcome of a deceased relative by his ancestor or father in the underworld on the funerary reliefs. The eschatological speech of Anchises and the pageant of Roman leaders unfold thus in a context which reminds the contemporary audience of funeral iconography, the moment of the arrival of the deceased descendant in the underworld.

The funerary overtone of the reunion scene complements the conclusion of the procession of Roman luminaries. Here the reader confronts the structural paradox of the two endings. Why? The first closure, appropriate

²⁷ J. OAKLEY (2004: 69).

to the triumphant spirit of the preceding spectacle, focuses on Marcellus the elder *virosque supereminet omnes* (*Aen.* 6.856) whose *insigne* is the *spolia opima* (*Aen.* 6.855). The *spolia opima* is a technical term used to allude to a primitive ceremony for victory before the triumph proper was introduced in Rome from Etruria;²⁸ it associates implicitly Marcellus with the concept of *triumphator*. Anchises praises him for the restoration of the *Res Publica* and for his fights against the Carthaginians and the Gauls (*Aen.* 6.857–858). The praise closes with Marcellus on horse (*Aen.* 6.858) heading to the temple of *Janus Quirinus* to dedicate the *tertia arma* (*Aen.* 6.859). The image corresponds to statues of the triumphant general in the Roman forum such as the statue of Sulla.²⁹ Significant is the phrase *tertia arma* which alludes to Romulus (Plutarch, *Rom.* 16.6), Cossus, and Marcellus, the three leaders to whom was granted the right of dedication of the arms.³⁰ Yet, the inclusion of Marcellus at this point in the narrative may serve also as a hint at another list, the book of *Fasti Triumphales*, in which Marcellus was included by order of Augustus, because, according to Bastien, he had the name of Marcellus, the adoptive son of Augustus.³¹ Also, the reference to Carthaginians and Gauls followed by the mention of the *tertia arma*, may be intended as an allusion to a subject excised from Augustan propaganda, Pompey and his triumphant career. Pompey celebrated three triumphs. Plutarch, *Pomp.* 45 and Appian, *Mith.* 17. 116–117 record the third triumph of Pompey for his victory over Mithridates. Plutarch writes that what enhanced Pompey's glory was that he celebrated his third triumph over the

²⁸ H. VERSNEL (1970: 306–307). The *spolia opima* is the armour captured by the Roman commander from the enemy general. Three examples are mentioned by Roman tradition: Romulus captured the armour of the king of the Caeninenses, A. Cornelius Cossus in 437 BC that of Lars Tolumnius, M. Claudius Marcellus in 222 BC that of Viridomarus, prince of the Insubres.

²⁹ It was represented also in gold coins of 82 BCE: Brilliant 48.

³⁰ H. VERSNEL (1970: 308) gives all the confusing evidence regarding the division of the *spolia opima* into *prima*, *secunda*, *tertia*. The *prima arma* were dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius, the *secunda* to Mars, the *tertia* to Janus Quirinus. Varro hands us a *lex Numae* in which a distinction is made between *prima*, *secunda*, *tertia* without explanation of the significance. Servius follows Virgil. Maxfield offers evidence from a third ancient source according to which the category of spolia depended on the rank of the person who won it. *Prima* captured by the supreme commander, *secunda* by an officer of lesser rank, and *tertia* by an ordinary soldier. But it is not considered trustworthy. Obviously, Anchises wishes to suggest that early traditions of the regal and the Republican periods persisted or were revived in the Augustan period.

³¹ BASTIEN, JEAN-LUC. 2007. *Le Triomphe Romain et son Utilisation Politique*. Rome: Ecole Francaise, 67. ITGENSHORST, TANJA. 2005. *Tota illa pompa. Der Triumph der römischen Republik. Hypomnemata*, 161, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

third continent. For others before him had celebrated three triumphs; but he celebrated his first over Libya, his second over Europe, and this, his last, over Asia, so that he seemed in a way to have included the whole world in three triumphs.” In the context of the parade the mention of the restoration of the *res Romana* by Marcellus, which suggests the restoration of the Roman *imperium* over the world after the brief turbulence of the civil war (*Aen.* 6.828–835), is probably meant to enforce the allusion to Pompey who transformed Rome from a Mediterranean power to world power through the subjugation of the three continents, Africa, Europe, Asia.

At this point the parade seems to have reached the natural conclusion. But by an unexpected twist in the narration Virgil introduces the motif of the *profectio* of the deceased depicted on the Sarcophagi. Aeneas catches sight of the young Marcellus handsome and in shining armor but sad (*frons laeta parum, et deiecto lumina voltu*, *Aen.* 6.862). Naively Aeneas inquires about the identity of the youth: *quis ille virum qui sic comitatur euntem / filius, anne aliquis magna de stripe nepotum?* (*Aen.* 6.863–864). Key words *comitatur euntem, filius* remind the contemporary audience of the relationship between Marcellus and Augustus. Aeneas reaches the critical point in his inquiry, when he asks about the sharp noise that the escorts of Marcellus make: *quis strepitus circa comitum?* (*Aen.* 6.865). Anchises explains *strepitus* as the ritual lament (*gemitus*) that accompanied the funeral of Marcellus (*Aen.* 6.872–874):³²

*Quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem
Campos aget gemitus! Vel quae Tiberine videbis
Funera, cum tumulum praeterlabere recentem!*

the massive mourning of the people will arise from the fields of Mars
and fill the great city! And you, Tiber, what a funeral procession will watch,
as your waters will flow by the newly-made tomb!

The *funus* is set forth in language filled with insinuation. The mention of *campus* and *urbem Mavortis* suggests both Rome and *Campus Martius* the former cemetery of Rome and the starting place of the triumphant procession, and reminds the contemporary audience of another *funus*, Caesar’s funeral pyre and his *apotheosis*.³³ Thus, a parallel is drawn between Caesar and Marcellus of unfair death but also of the apotheosis. In fact the paral-

³² Contrast with Ovid, *Amores* 1.2. 25: *populo clamante triumpho* and *vulgus ‘io’ magna voce ‘triumphe!’ canet!* The crowd in a *pompa triumphalis* is roaring as opposed to the wailing crowd of the *pompa funebris* of Marcellus.

³³ H. VERSNER (1970: 117).

lelism continues in the triumphant symbolism that permeates the portrait of Marcellus. Anchises uses the term *dona* to indicate Marcellus (*Aen.* 6.870–871). The term may allude to the tradition of the *dona militaria* that in the Republican period a general awarded to his soldiers for conspicuous gallantry. The *dona militaria* acknowledged in a more symbolic fashion the valour of those to whom they were awarded.³⁴ The use of metonymy, *dona*, instead of the proper name, Marcellus, is probably another device Anchises employs to suggest the exceptional valour and the victories in the battlefield of his descendant.

Anchises, next, portrays Marcellus as outstanding with regards to the military deeds. Marcellus is *armatus* (*Aen.* 6.880) and no enemy can resist him (*quisqua*, *Aen.* 6.879, *in hostem*, *Aen.* 6.880). He is described as invincible (*invictaque bello dextera Aen.* 6.878). The notion of incomparability was a powerful aristocratic ideal on which the Roman *nobiles* built their dignity (Flower 139). The phrase *invictaque bello dextera* associates once more Marcellus with Caesar. Versnel reports that Dio Cassius 43. 45. 3 mentions a statue of Caesar bearing the inscription ‘to the invincible god’.³⁵ The use of a similar expression here should have reminded the contemporary audience of the statue of Caesar and his *apotheosis* and hence enhanced the expectation of the *apotheosis* of Marcellus. The language of triumph continues with the image of Marcellus on foot or as galloping knight which suggests the image of Marcellus the elder *triumphator* (*Aen.* 6.856).³⁶ Brilliant states that an image of importance in Republican art is the monumental equestrian statue, a Greek invention (47). It alludes to the status of the dead in this world (Brilliant 48), but also serves as a symbolic representation of the fate of his soul in the next. Haynes³⁷ observes (30) that the same compositional scheme is used not only for a funeral (*profectio* of the emperor) but also for a triumphal scene (*adventus* of the emperor); Haynes assumes

³⁴ MAXFIELD, VALERIE. 1981. *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 55. Two highest awards were the *corona obsidionalis* and the *corona civica* (56).

³⁵ “ἄλλην τέ τινα εἰκόνα ἐξ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου ναὸν Θεῷ ἀνικήτῳ ἐπιγράψαντες, καὶ ἄλλην ἐξ τὸ Καπιτώλιον παρὰ τοὺς βασιλεύσαντάς ποτε ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ” before H. Versner (1970: 124)

³⁶ SUMI, GEOFFREY S. 2002. “Impersonating the dead: mimes at Roman funerals.” *American Journal of Philology*, 123, 559–583, writes “most striking was the performance of an actor (funerary mime) who donned a mask that portrayed the likeness of the deceased and wore clothing that represented the highest offices and honors that the deceased had achieved (p. 559). Diodorus Siculus 31.25.2.

³⁷ HAYNES, D. E. L. 1939. “Mors in Victoria.” *Papers of the British School of Archaeology at Rome*, 15, 27–32.

that the scheme was part of the stock-in-trade in Roman popular art which provided illustration for funeral and triumph indifferently (31). The horseman statue on tomb serves to heroicise the dead cavalry man and indicate symbolically his ultimate victorious journey to the afterlife”(Brilliant 54). Haynes suggests that the idea of the journey of the soul to the underworld is Etruscan in origin (29). Starting in the 6th century BC Etruscan sarcophagi show images of the journey of the deceased from the place of burial to the other world, which multiply by the 4th century BC.³⁸ The dead on horse or on foot travels over land or in a ship. Sometimes the guides that accompany the dead carry swords to defend themselves against menacing beings (64), or the deceased on horse or on foot is accompanied by a guide with sword to clear the road towards the city of the dead from monsters.³⁹



Bruschi sarcophagus. The final stage of the journey to the city of the dead under the direction of Charu(n) and Vanth. 3rd century, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale

It is the expectation of *apotheosis* after death which transforms the Etruscan version of the last journey into a Roman one, though one influenced by Orphism.⁴⁰ In the Roman version the knight rides sadly but in state attended by servants and honored with symbols of victory. In our pageant Marcellus appears sad, but Anchises uses language which associates him with the idea of the *triumphator*.

³⁸ J-R. JANNOT (2005: 59).

³⁹ J-R. JANNOT (2005: 61); BONFANTE, LARISSA [ED.]. 1986. *Etruscan Life and After-Life. A handbook of Etruscan Studies*. Detroit: Wayne State University, 232–278.

⁴⁰ MOLYVIATI-TOPTSIS, URANIA. 1994. “Vergil’s Elysium and the Orphic-Pythagorean ideas of after-life.” *Mnemosyne*, 47, 33–46.

The triumphant language is juxtaposed with the language of funeral in the last lines of the parade (*Aen.* 6.883–886):

‘... manibus date lilia plenis
purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis
his saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
munere.’

Bring handfuls of lilies
 Let me throw purple blossoms and the spirit of
 my grandchild honor, heaping high my gifts,
 and an unavailing gift let me pay.

The language of funeral preserved in such words as *lilia*, *anima*, *munus*, a term used to suggest offerings to the dead, blends with the language of triumph, *dona*, the purple flowers that Anchises throws on his descendant (*purpureos spargam flores*, *Aen.* 6.885).⁴¹ Ovid used similar language in the *Amores* 2.39–40, as Venus throws roses (recalling the purple flowers of Anchises) on her triumphant son, *Eros*:

Laeta triumphanti de summo mater
Olymbo plaudet et adpositas sparget in ora
rosas.

from the peak of Olympus the mother applauds
 happy for her triumphant son and handfuls of roses she throws on his face

Also the phrase *manibus date lilia plenis* recalls the gift of Corydon to Alexis in *Eclogue* 2. There the rustic Corydon does not know the difference between flowers appropriate for funerals and flowers suitable for lovers (*E.* 2. 45–48):

Huc ades, o formonse puer: tibi lilia plenis
Ecce ferunt nymphae calathis; tibi candida nais,
Pallentis violas et summa papavera carpens,
Narcissum et florem iungit bene olentis anethi;

Come here, beautiful boy; for you the nymphs bring
 baskets full of lilies; for you the fair naiad
 Plucking pale violets and poppy flowers
 Weaves the narcissus flower with the fragrant fennel,

⁴¹ R. Austin quotes *AP* 7.485.1 and Nicander fr.74.70 and Val. Flacc. 6.492 ff. as evidence of the custom of offering flowers to the dead. TOYNBEE (1971: 62–63); H. FLOWER (1996: 94).

Rusticus es, Corydon: nec munera curat Alexis, (E. 2.56)

You are rude, Corydon, Alexis does not care for ‘funeral offerings’
(*munera*)

The interweaving of triumph and *funus* at the end of the parade raises questions regarding the significance of the procession: is it a triumphant procession or a funeral? Reconsidering the reunion scene in the context of the *funus* of Marcellus we as readers sense a change in meaning of the key terms to be in effect. The term *imago* that originally indicated the reflection of Anchises hints now at the wax masks, the *imagines maiorum*, worn in funeral processions.⁴² Polybius uses the term *εἰκών* to translate *imago*, when he talks about the Roman tradition of the *imagines maiorum*, and explains that it is a representation of persons living or dead in portraits, masks, busts (*Histories* 53.5).⁴³ Polybius 6.54 describes the procession of the *imagines maiorum*. Daut and Lahusen suggest that the original meaning of the word *imago* was ancestor portrait in the sense of a mask or the funerary bust of the dead in wax or terracotta.⁴⁴ Masks worn by actors representing the ancestors of the deceased paraded from the home of the deceased to the forum for the delivery of eulogy and to grave or site of cremation.⁴⁵ Hence, the term *imago* reinterpreted from the point of view of the *funus* suggests to the contemporary Romans the procession of the *imagines maiorum*⁴⁶ that were

⁴² H. FLOWER (1996: 99) notes that the usual verbs to describe the procession of the *imagines* were *ducere* or *duci* and *comitari*. Anchises opens the parade with the verbs *sequere* (*sequatur* 6.756) and *ire* (*ituras* 6.758).

⁴³ ή δ' εἰκών ἔστι πρόσωπον εἰς όμοιότητα διαφερόντως ἐξειργασμένον καὶ κατὰ τὴν πλάσιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπογραφήν. For *imagines* see: Diodorus Siculus 31.15.2, Suetonius, *Vespasian* 19.2, Tacitus, *Annals* 3.5 funeral of Drusus, Suetonius, *Tiberius* 7, Cassius Dio, *Histories* 55.52.

⁴⁴ H. FLOWER (1996: 16–31). TOYNBEE, JOCELYN M.C. 1971. *Death and Burial in the Roman World*. London: The Camelot Press L.T.D. 48. HARRISON, ROBERT P. 2003. *The Dominion of the Dead*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 142–159, (the afterlife of the image), especially 147–148, where he speaks of the process of the separation of *imago* from the body which is confined to earth but the *imago* to ‘the afterlife of the imagination’.

⁴⁵ HOPE, VALERIE M. 2009. *Roman Death. The Dying and the Dead in Ancient Rome*. UK: Continuum Intl. Pub. Group, 74.

⁴⁶ For the procession of *imagines*, see: Polybius, *Histories* 6.53–54; Plutarch, *Sulla* 38; Appian, *Civil Wars* 1.205–206 for Sulla’s funeral. Also, BETTINI M. 2005. ‘Death and its double’. In K. MUSTAKALLIO, J. HANSKA, H-L SAINIO, V. VUOLANTO [EDS.]. *Hoping for continuity*. Rome: Institutum Romanorum Finlandiae, 191–202. For public funerals, see: WESCH-KLEIN G. 1993. *Funus Publicum: Eine Studie zur öffentlichen*

part of the *pompa funebris* of the younger member of the imperial family,⁴⁷ and the future of Anchises' *nepotes* turns into a history of the past.⁴⁸ Read from the end towards the beginning the *pompa triumphalis* changes into the *pompa funebris* of Marcellus and appears to move towards left, in the opposite direction from the original direction of the *pompa triumphalis*. Now, at the resolution point of the *pompa funebris* of Marcellus stand Anchises, the remote ancestor of Marcellus, and Aeneas.⁴⁹ Anchises' pose and Aeneas' request for *da iungere dextram* reinterpreted in the context of Marcellus' death (6.868–870) foreshadow for the contemporary audience the reunion of Marcellus with his dead ancestor, his reunion with the *di patres* and the continuation of life in the afterlife. This sense is enforced also by the appearance of the *iunctio dextrarum* motif at the resolution point of funeral processions depicted on sarcophagi either at the end or at the center of a procession between man and woman or two men.⁵⁰ For example, the Vulci sarcophagus in Boston is resolved in the *dextrarum iunctio* of the memorialized couple (Brilliant 35). The sarcophagus of Hasti Afunei in Palermo has the *iunctio dextrarum* at the end of the procession between the bereaved husband and the dead wife.

A procession depicted on an urn from Volterra, which represents the journey of a magistrate to the underworld on a chariot, marches on the right.⁵¹

Beisetzung und Gewährung von Ehrengräbern in Rom und den Westprovinzen.
Stuttgart: F. Steiner.

- 47 H. VERSNEL (1970: 121) uses the findings of Brelich to point out the vast correspondence between triumph and the *funus imperatorium*, against Brelich who considers it a feature of any funeral. According to Servius, Marcellus had 600 *lecti* at his funeral. H. FLOWER (1996: 100–101) gives the suggestion that *lecti* are picked men chosen to escort the funeral and not litters with *imagines maiorum*, as Servius suggests. ARCE, JAVIER. 1988. *Funus Imperatorum: Los funerales de los emperadores romanos*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 35–57.
- 48 HOLLIDAY, PETER J. 2002. *The Origins of Roman Historical Commemoration in the Visual Arts*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 122. The senate awarded Sulla in 78 BC a *funus publicum*. Elaborate decorations of mid-republic tombs 3rd and 2nd century BC suggests that prominent families used them as a vehicle for fashioning their public images (123). While the tombs were modest before and after the archaic age, in the 1st century BC great men once again received the honor of public funeral and burial outside the *pomerium* in the Campus Martius (123).
- 49 BODEL JOHN. 1999b. “Death on Display: looking at Roman Funerals.” In BERGMANN, B. and KONDOLEON, C. [EDS.]. *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999, 259–281.
- 50 R. BRILLIANT (1963: 35).
- 51 PRYCE, F. N. 1928. *Greek and Roman Antiquities from the British Museum*, I, part 2. London, 229–230.



Sarcophagus of Hasti Afunei from Tarquinia, Palermo

Another Volterrana cinerary urn depicts a military procession moving towards right. The movement terminates in the figure of an Etrusco-Roman togate magistrate who receives the respectful honors by *iunctio dextrarum* from the leader of the procession.⁵²

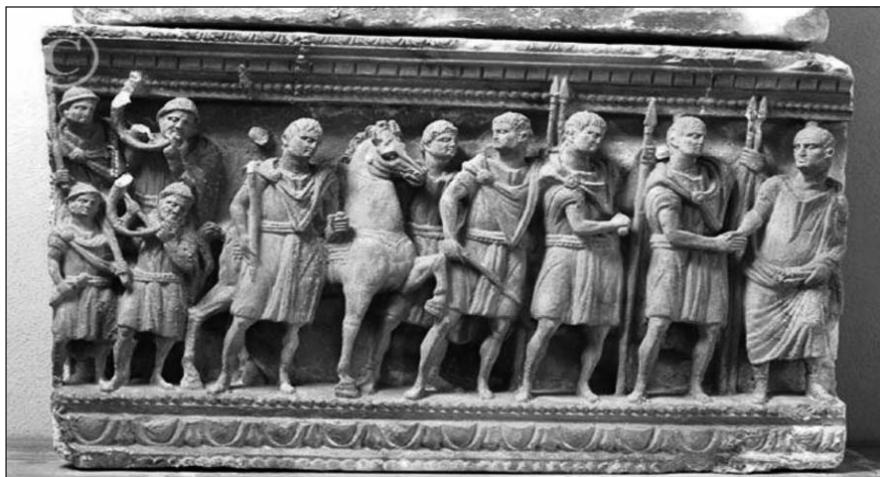
According to Brilliant, these funeral *pompae* relate to *pompa triumphalis* of the Roman Empire, which is comparable with the *profectio* of the deceased on horseback towards the lower world, and grow into an element of Imperial symbolism.⁵³

A tradition that permeated Roman culture was the celebration of the Roman achievement both in the public domain through monumental architecture and in the literary domain through poetry. The forum of Augustus seems to have been packed with allusions to triumph. Triumphs, as Beard has noticed, offered a suitable climax to poems celebrating Roman achievement as well.⁵⁴ The final book of the *Annales*, as the *De Viris Illustribus* 52 suggests, very likely featured the triumph of Ennius' patron Marcus Fulvius Nobilior. In 187 BC Silius Italicus 17.625–654 made the triumph of Scipio Africanus the culmination of his verse account of the war against Hannibal. The paradox in Virgil is that he turns a tradition which began with Ennius to close a work celebrating Roman achievement with triumph to something new. In *Georgics* 3.10–16 Virgil announced his intention to take up epic poetry through the metaphor of monumental architecture:

⁵² R. BRILLIANT (1963: 36).

⁵³ R. BRILLIANT (1963: 36).

⁵⁴ BEARD MARY. 2007. *The Roman Triumph*. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 42, 43.



Etruscan urn with military procession, Muzeo Guarnacci, Volterra

*Et viridi in campo templum de marmore ponam
Propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
Mincius et tenera praetexit harundine ripas.
In medio mihi Caesar erit templumque tenebit:*

And on a green valley I will build a temple of marble,
near the water, where Mincius wanders vast in lazy coils,
and weaves tender reeds in front of his banks.
Among all these will be Caesar; he will dwell my shrine:

He promised to construct a triumphant monument in honor of Caesar.⁵⁵ In the *Aeneid* he indeed constructs a *monumentum* but of an ambivalent nature: he closes book 6 and the first six books of the *Aeneid* with a procession which is a *pompa triumphalis* that conceals a *funus triumphale* and hints at the idea of the *apotheosis* of Marcellus.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ INTGENSHORST, TANIA. 2004. "Augustus und der republikanische Triumph." *Hermes*, 132, 436–457, where refers to literary accounts in memorializing the ceremony.

⁵⁶ M. BEARD (2007: 42–43).

