

# AENEAS IN THE TROAS AND LATIUM REGIONS

## *Mythology and Archaeology*

“On the Steps of Aeneas: a common cultural heritage between Italy and Turkey” was funded by the European Union in collaboration with the Turkish Ministry of Tourism and Culture.

The project, developed by the Aeneas Route Association, in partnership with the Sapienza University of Rome and the Municipality of Edremit (Türkiye), as part of the Common Cultural Heritage between the European Union and Turkey (IPA-II), constitutes one of the many international collaboration activities promoted and coordinated by the Association.

In the belief that culture plays a fundamental role in promoting dialogue and cooperation, it integrates two main objectives: the dialogue between civil society and institutions and the enhancement of a common European culture. The project activities include the creation of an interactive digital platform called ARISTE (Aeneas Route Information System for Tourism and Education) on the theme of the journey of the Trojan hero.

One of the main components of the project was the International Conference held in Edremit (Turkey) on October 26, 2021, “Aeneas in the Troad and Lazio: mythology and archeology”: the proceedings are published in this volume. The summary of the conference results will be also available in an informative form through the ARISTE platform for dissemination to a larger audience and to schools.



The Conference participants at Troy excavation

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“Grant Scheme for Common Cultural Heritage:  
Preservation and Dialogue between Turkey and the UE-II (CCH-II)”  
(TR2016/DG/03/A2-03-EuropeAid/167523/ID/ACT/TR)  
“On the Steps of Aeneas: A Common Cultural Heritage  
Between Italy and Turkey”

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## *Mythology and Archaeology*

edited by Sandra Gatti



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“On the Steps of Aeneas: A Common Cultural Heritage Between Italy and Türkiye”

## **Aeneas in the Troas and Latium Regions: Mythology and Archaeology**

Proceedings of the International Symposium  
Edremit, 26 October 2021

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*Following the certification of the Aeneas Route as Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, the Aeneas Route Association promoted the project ‘On the Steps of Aeneas: A Common Cultural Heritage Between Italy and Türkiye’, in partnership with Edremit Municipality and Sapienza University of Rome. This project seeks to promote and further develop common cultural heritage activities jointly implemented by Turkish and EU Institutions. The overall objective of this grant scheme is to further improve civil society dialogue through culture, arts and cultural heritage as well as international cooperation for cultural heritage and to promote cultural values and assets in Türkiye.*

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**ON THE STEPS OF AENEAS:  
A COMMON CULTURAL HERITAGE BETWEEN  
ITALY AND TURKEY**

*Farewell speeches to the Edremit Symposium, 26 October 2021*

**Mr. Selman Hasan Arslan**  
*Mayor of Edremit*

Dear guests,

We are at an important stage of a special project financed by the EU. Today local administrations, science and civil society gather together under a common sense of collaboration and synergy. This wonderful achievement adds an immense value to our region, our country and our world.

Particularly our Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Governor of Balıkesir gave a great strength to this important effort.

Not only the Municipality of Edremit, but also the Metropolitan Municipality of Balıkesir and the Municipality of Çanakkale gave significant contributions. I would like to express my gratitude to the esteemed mayors and teams of both municipalities. Here, I would like to express my sincere thanks especially to our Governorate of Balıkesir and our esteemed Governor, Mr. Hasan Şildak.

Our esteemed governor's sensitivity and care are indescribably valuable. His presence today is particularly significant, he is honouring us with his contribution and his presence. It gives us pride and happiness that institutions and organizations adopt the project and become a partner. All these efforts are commendable not only locally, but also nationally and even globally. It is a great contribution to our country. I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to our esteemed Governor once again.



The cooperation of Edremit Municipality with Aeneas Route Association and Sapienza University bears fruit again today. I would like to thank these three institutions that are the stakeholders of this high and respected collaboration which is solid, such as the Mountains of Ida.

It is a great pleasure to listen to academicians from Sapienza, Siena, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart and Aegean Universities.

It is an indescribable chance to listen to the chairman, members and managers of the excavation committee from Troy, Antandros and the Colosseum Archaeological Park. The information they will give, if the analogy is correct, is as valuable as our local production of olives and olive oil. I would like to thank each of our academicians in advance for the information they will provide.

The Municipality of Edremit, on the light of the masterpiece of Virgil and the ancient resources of Homer and many other writers, had the dream to bring together the harbour cities mentioned in the journey of Aeneas.

In 2018, we again established cooperation with local governments at the international level. Afterwards, we had important meetings and meetings. In order not to tire you, I will not go into more details. For the last 3 years, we have never dropped the issue from our agenda. We followed the traces of the continuous journey. We have shaped our project according to the principles of peace, intercultural dialogue and international brotherhood. We have prepared a full project of more 272 pages.

Finally, we ensured that the Aeneas Cultural Route project was declared as a certified Cultural Route of the European Council in France, Strasbourg, on 29 April 2021.

Here, I would like to thank my Vice President, Mr. Tmdeniz elebi, my Human Resources and Education Manager, Mrs. Tamer Acar, and our Foreign Relations Office Responsible, Ms. Elisa Falcini. Their efforts are meaningful; their efforts will not be forgotten today and in the future.

As inhabitants of this territory, we are excited to know that we live in the same land of Prince Aeneas, son of Aphrodite and cousin of Hector. We experience indescribable feelings when we read that his grandchildren founded Rome. His path connects 5 countries, including Turkey, Greece, Albania, Italy and Tunisia.

It connects not only countries, but also archaeological sites, rural and natural areas listed in the UNESCO World Heritage List. We are very, very lucky in this respect considering this immense historical and cultural

bond, touristic, scientific, economic resources. It is undoubtedly valuable and special in terms of relationships. This bridge between Rome and Edremit is a historical chance. The intersection of common cultural motifs and the past is a giant opportunity to open new doors and get closer. Today Aeneas Route is the first sea route of the Council of Europe starting from Turkey. It is the first archaeological cultural route starting from Turkey among 40 registered cultural routes.

Our project was selected in the first place among 17 different project applications from all Europe during the evaluation period 2021/2022 and it has been selected as the most successful, and increases the prestige of the region.

We are confident that we will make a great contribution to the promotion of Balıkesir with this effort. We believe that we will be among the most prestigious touristic destinations.

We want to benefit from the special funds and resources of the European Union on the subject. We want to ensure the international visibility and awareness of our region. We seek to increase the economic well-being of our people. In terms of sustainable tourism, I am sure that with this network of relations, we will provide new advantages and open new horizons.

As the name of Aeneas is mentioned in the epic of the Iliad, we will always keep the place of Aeneas' route in our agenda. Like the floor mosaics of Antandros, we will carefully and beautifully lay the ground for it.

From Antandros to Lazio, we will build bridges in many areas, just like the bridge built with Aeneas. We took our ships out of the harbour and filled our sails with the wind of history and archaeology. Our compass and course are clear. We will finally reach the goal. This will happen with your efforts and contributions. Roman history speaks of Aeneas. I'm sure the history to be written in the future will tell about the efforts of all of us on this issue.

I sincerely believe that in our meeting today, which is composed of 2 sessions, with 10 presentations and subsequent discussions, will add unique information to us and open an incredible horizon. Finally, the interaction here will be warm like our thermal waters, the level to be reached will be beneficial like our thermal waters. I would like to thank everyone who contributed, especially our esteemed governor, individually and once again.



Just like the hero Aeneas, who founded the European civilization carrying his young son and his elderly father on his shoulders while fleeing from Troy, we will walk together towards peace, brotherhood and new horizons of development, keeping our history on our backs and our future in our hands.

With these feelings, I offer my sincere respect and love, thank you.

**Tamer Acar**

*Director of Human Resources and Education Department  
of Edremit Municipality;  
Vice President of the Aeneas Route Association*

The project “On the Steps of Aeneas: A common cultural heritage between Turkey and Italy” has been developed in the frame of the “Common Cultural Heritage: Conservation and Dialogue Between Turkey and the EU-II” grant program carried out by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey was developed by the Municipality of Edremit, Aeneas Route Association and the Sapienza University of Rome, Italy, within the scope of the call for proposals.

The aim of the grant program in question is the development of international cooperation on cultural heritage and the promotion of cultural values in our country promoting civil society dialogue through culture, art and cultural heritage. In this context, the programme is aimed to encourage cross-border cooperation and to support networks in the field of culture and arts, including the creative sectors and cultural heritage, between non-governmental organizations from Turkey and the EU.

After the official application for this grant call, published in December 2019, that was submitted in February 2020, we learned that our project was entitled to be financed in December 2020. After receiving the project training given by the CFCU - Central Finance and Contracts Unit, which is the implementing institution of the program, we started to work on the activities and the calendar of the project since April/May 2021.

The project “On the Steps of Aeneas: a Common Cultural Heritage

between Turkey and Italy", is aimed to digitize this cultural heritage in order to facilitate the circulation of cultural artefacts and especially common educational materials that can help new generations in learning the common cultural heritage embodied by the legend of Aeneas in Turkey and Italy.

In addition, "digitisation" techniques and methods play the most important and critical role among the most effective and innovative policies for the protection of cultural heritage. According to the information sources in the 2018 Cultural Heritage Action Plan Framework for the future of Europe developed in the protection of cultural heritage, only 10% of the cultural heritage of Europe and the Mediterranean region has a digital dimension. Considering this low rate, it appears very clear how critical and urgent is the need to develop studies and policies for "digitisation of cultural heritage".

Antandros in Turkey and Lavinium Ancient City in Italy, which are connected to the Aeneas Culture Route and which represent the starting and arrival point of Aeneas's legendary journey, are two historical sites that have not yet been brought into a digital dimension, although they are little-known archaeological sites. According to the Virgil epic, after Aeneas escaped from the city of Troy, he came to the harbour of Antandros and set out to establish a new Troy by building 21 ships. Lavinum, on the other hand, is the settlement that became the new Troy according to the prophecies of the gods, and it is an archaeological site with the *heroon* of Aeneas.

On the A.R.I.S.T.E. (Aeneas Route IT System for Tourism and Education) digital platform, developed in the frame of project, augmented reality tours will be available through 360-degree camera footage at Antandros and Lavinium excavations. And such "digital visits" will make a very meaningful and permanent contribution to protect our historical and cultural memory for new generations by digitizing the archaeological data while increasing the visibility of these two ruins.

In addition, it is essential to complete such innovative materials with an academic narrative together with digital visuals in order to raise awareness about this common cultural heritage in civil society and especially among younger generations.

For this, valuable archaeologists and academics from Turkey and Italy, who came together for the International Archaeological Symposium held

in Edremit today, will share with us their valuable researches on the figure of Aeneas, which bring the Troas and Latium regions together, in order to create awareness increasing and educative materials that will be uploaded on the digital platform for educational purposes.

According to the agenda of the project's activities, after the "Good Practice Exchange Seminar" to be organized under the coordination of Sapienza University in Rome, Italy on January 2022, A.R.I.S.T.E platform will be shared with civil society and young students of our region along with its digital platform and short promotional video during the Closing Meeting to be held in Edremit in June 2022.

### **Giovanni Cafiero**

*President of the Aeneas Route Association*

Let me start by welcoming the institutions here today. And by thanking both the Municipality of Edremit for its fundamental contribution to the project, and our distinguished speakers. Special thanks also go to the Parco del Colosseo and its Director Dr. Alfonsina Russo, and to Prof. Rüstem Aslan, members of the Association's Scientific Committee, who were also protagonists of a beautiful symposium organised by the Association in Rome in December 2019 with the Superintendence of the City's Metropolitan Area, to celebrate the encounter between ancient Troy, Ilion or Ilusa in the Hittite language, and the new Troy, the city of Rome.

I would like to thank Professor Alessandro Maria Jaia, also a member of our Scientific Committee, and the other distinguished scholars present.

Finally, I would like to thank Dr. Sandra Gatti, who, together with Dr. Elisa Falcini, has organised this wonderful symposium, which also marks the resumption of our in-person international activities, which the Association intends to extend and develop in the course of 2022 in all the countries of the Aeneas Route.

I would also like to welcome the representatives of Turkey's cultural institutions whom I had already met online during the pandemic, such as

Dr. Ridvan Gölcük, director of the Troy Museum, and the other representatives I will have the pleasure of meeting today.

As you know, the Aeneas Route Association obtained certification as a Council of Europe Cultural Route in May 2021. It is the first certified cultural itinerary that departs from Turkey and it is a strategic itinerary for affirming the central role played by the Mediterranean roots of European culture formed from the rise and blending of great civilisations.

The 'On the steps of Aeneas' project is an important step for promoting this shared heritage that has its roots in the ancient world. It belongs to all communities bordering the Mediterranean.

The civilisation and culture of the Mediterranean and the lands surrounding it have become the heritage of all mankind through their myths - from the Homeric poems to the Aeneid and a vast literature - and the many cultural and artistic manifestations they have inspired over the centuries, from figurative arts to music. They have also been confirmed by the many archaeological discoveries, and their traces are still visible in our everyday culture, especially our food and our friendly, open approach to life.

Our task is to rediscover and enhance this common identity by promoting its knowledge and dissemination both in the field of tourism and in the field of education, both for the younger generation and for the generations of their parents and elders.

This is the main purpose of the **A.R.I.S.T.E.** platform, an acronym for **Aeneas Route Information System for Tourism and Education**, one of the project outputs.

The platform will include: the panoramic virtual tours that are currently being created in Italy (in particular in Lavinium and in some symbolic places in Rome and Lazio) and in Turkey (in particular in Antandros and Mount Ida); video and photographic material aimed at promoting an experiential tourism by sea and land that can contribute to the tourist development of the sites of Aeneas' Route; educational contents to promote and spread knowledge of the myth of Aeneas through literature, art, and archaeology to a wider population.

It is important to mention that the On the Steps of Aeneas project is funded under the Civil Society Dialogue programme, which integrates two important objectives: the dialogue between civil society and institutions and the promotion of a common European culture.

Civil Society Dialogue (CSD) is in fact a programme that brings together civil society organisations from Turkey and the EU, focusing on common themes to promote the exchange of knowledge and experience and to build strong cooperation between organisations. The dialogue with the civil society helps to shape public opinion and promote understanding and cooperation in various fields. The dissemination of this programme in the field of cultural heritage encourages civil society to be involved in decision-making processes at local level and to strengthen the dialogue at European level.

The Steps of Aeneas project is based on the idea that culture plays a key role in promoting dialogue and cooperation and was funded under the Grant Scheme for Common Cultural Heritage: Preservation and dialogue between Turkey and the EU-II (CCH-II).

The 3 project partners effectively represent the spirit and substance of the programmes mentioned:

1. The Aeneas Route Association, based in Rome, is the non-profit entity that includes all the partners of the international network. It proposed and obtained the certification of the new cultural itinerary by the Council of Europe based on the sharing of the Mediterranean cultural heritage and common values of peace and dialogue;
2. The Municipality of Edremit, in Turkey, is a founding member of the Aeneas Route Association, which developed an intense local and international cooperation activity with the Association to obtain the Council of Europe certification and is now committed to an ever-wider dissemination and promotion of the Project in Turkey and the Mediterranean.
3. The Sapienza University, one of the largest and oldest universities in Europe, supports the project by providing its advanced scientific expertise in the humanities and social communication and research.

Finally, on behalf of the entire Aeneas Route Association, let me emphasise how proud and happy we are to share the prestigious recognition of the Council of Europe with the institutions and civil society of Turkey. I would like to thank everyone for their kind attention and am pleased to invite you to delve into the myth, values and archaeological heritage of the Aeneas Route cultural itinerary.

## INTRODUCTION

Aeneas' journey unfolds from East to West through the Mediterranean Sea. After fleeing from burning Troy destroyed by the Achaeans, Aeneas sails westwards from the shores of Antandros with a small group of companions. The destination, on the shores of Latium, will be reached after long wanderings. There Aeneas will establish the city of Lavinium, where he will be venerated as "Pater". Aeneas' son, Ascanius, will establish the mythical Alba Longa on the Albans Hills and from his lineage will be born Romulus, the legendary founder and first king of Rome according to the myth.

Aeneas' route unfolds across the Mediterranean Sea, an interconnected and unified sea since ancient times, crossed by countless routes of peoples and small groups of individuals, driven to travel for the most different reasons, like wars or trade, famine or conquest, and even in search for a new future. The myth of Aeneas - like the legends of *nostoi* of the Homeric heroes - is thus the echo of a very ancient Mediterranean characterised by lively mobility, profound settlement changes, the rapid evolution of social systems, and the contact, and sometimes the clash, between different groups and cultures, in a framework really very distant from the stability that will establish itself with the Roman Empire.

Aeneas, whose destiny is also marked by sacrifice and sorrow, is nevertheless also the symbol of the encounter between different worlds and of hope in the future.

The mythical voyage of Aeneas was fully recounted in Virgil's Aeneid poem; the myth, however, has deep and ancient roots and is developed, with many variations, in sagas and literary tradition from the Homeric poems onwards, throughout antiquity. But if in Homer's Iliad, Aeneas is a warrior destined, yes, to save himself, but to perpetuate the lineage of Dardanus and to reign over the Trojans (Iliad, XX, 302-308), in the Virgilian poem the *myth* of Aeneas becomes *mythology*, a 'tale of myth' (Hegel's "secondary epos"); it becomes a symbolic heritage that the poet uses to



express his own vision of the world and history: a long journey through time that from the Trojan War ends in the age of Augustus, the apex of Rome's greatness, as is evident in Book VI of the Aeneid.

The Trojans' journey to a new homeland is therefore a route arisen from myth and developed by history and literature, ancient and modern, but it is also a real itinerary, that winds its way in archaeological sites of extreme interest and great importance, places of great environmental and scenic value, all linked by the common thread of the Aeneas' route. From 2021 it is also a Cultural Route, certified by the Council of Europe, because it tells through archaeology, nature and literature a compelling story in which we can all recognise ourselves.

The rich mythical and historical heritage of Aeneas's route, which has deeply pervaded the whole of European culture, is now also concretely reflected in some of the archaeological sites touched by the itinerary, where signs - buildings, cults, inscriptions, artefacts - of the memory of his legendary passage can be found. In this context, the two regions that constitute the starting and finishing areas of the tale, the Troad in Turkey and Latium in Italy, have taken on particular importance in recent years. Here archaeological research has made it possible to acquire important data that sheds new light on the presence of the legend in ancient culture, traditions and religiosity.

The conference held in Edremit on 26 October 2021, promoted by the Aeneas Route Association as part of the activities of the 'On the Steps of Aeneas' project, brought together scholars dealing with the myth of Aeneas from a literary and philological perspective, as well as archaeologists specialising in the places in the Troad and Latium connected with the mythical journey.

In this context Troy is a major protagonist. The myths and epic tales of Troy, destroyed by the Greeks after a long siege more than three thousand years ago, the exploits of Achilles and Hector, the overwhelming passions, the death of young heroes have always left a deep mark on our memory and imagination. But Troy was not only myth, it was also reality. It was not just one city, but ten cities, overlapping one on top of the other on the same strategic site, the hill of Hissarlik in the Çanakkale region, a short distance from the sea and overlooking the Dardanelles strait: an uninterrupted settlement sequence over more than 3,000 years, that had relations with the Hittites as early as 1600 BC and that documents the relations

between Anatolia, the Aegean, and the Balkans, a point where at least three cultures met.

The Trojans' sea voyage begins at Antandros, one year after the fall of. On the beach of Antandros Aeneas built the fleet of twenty ships, using the wood of Mount Ida sacred to the Great Mother, the goddess Cybele. Of the ancient city, in addition to the necropolis, we know the walls and an extraordinary late-ancient villa overlooking the sea, but much is still to be discovered. Nevertheless, it is intense the suggestion of the place, dominating the gulf nestled in the woods of Mount Ida.

The end point of the mythical journey is Latium. Even the ancient city of Lavinium, according to legend founded by Aeneas, has only been partially investigated and certainly much remains to be discovered. However, the extraordinary results of the decades-long excavation campaigns of the Sapienza University of Rome, the sanctuary of 13 altars (VI-IV century B.C.), the huge tumulus which was probably the heroon of Aeneas – the symbolic burial site of the divinized Trojan hero - and the extraordinary archaeological finds today exposed in the Municipal Archaeological Museum, represent the most important elements that give substance to the myth linked to the foundation of the city by the Trojan hero. The myth itself contributed to make Lavinium the origin place of Roman people when the tradition of the direct lineage of Romulus, the founder of Rome, with Aeneas became widespread.

But other archaeological research, including in particular that carried out in Ardea, just south of Lavinium, makes it possible to reconstruct on this stretch of the Latium coast a 'Trojan topography', located on nodal and strategic landings already frequented by the Mycenaean, which involves ancestral cults of the most ancient Latium and of which traces remain for a long time in the legends of the origins of some important Latin centres. And then Rome, for which Aeneas represents the first origin, the progenitor of a people with a grandiose history of civilisation and conquest, foretold by Anchises to his son in the Underworld (in Book VI of the Aeneid). The inexhaustible soil of the heart of the city of Rome (the Palatine Hill, the Capitoline Hill and the Caelian Hill), has in recent years yielded exceptional new evidence from the protohistoric period (late Bronze Age and early Iron Age), relating both to dwellings and defensive structures as well as buildings and installations of a sacred nature, which shed new light on the earliest and most ancient settlement of Rome, and which seem to give

archaeological consistency to the myth of a founder, the one that tradition identified with Romulus, heir to the Trojan progeny of Aeneas. Augustus also intervened directly to emphasise the lineage of his own person and of the Julian family through the power of images and with monumental building works, particularly in the area of the Circus Flaminius and in the Campus Martius in Rome. Aeneas was drawn not only on the Ara Pacis, but also portrayed in a statue in the Forum of Augustus, in the gallery of the ancestors. And in Rome, according to the testimony of the historian Procopius (*Goth.* IV, 22), writing in the mid-6th century AD, ‘the ship of Aeneas’ was still preserved and exhibited.

These and many other topics were addressed during the conference, which represented an important opportunity for in-depth study and scientific comparison. There are still many questions and many issues that remain open and will require further study: but we believe that with the conference a common research path has been started, in the wake of a fruitful international collaboration, which will certainly be able to offer valuable results for an ever broader knowledge of the Aeneas route.\*

Sandra Gatti

*\*For the organisation of the conference and the realisation of this volume, the usual efficient and generous collaboration of Elisa Falcini was invaluable. I would like to thank her for her professionalism and also in particular for her linguistic mediation, which facilitated relations and communication between Turkish and Italian scholars. My thanks also go to Daniele Fortuna for his kind support and availability. Finally, I would like to thank Daniela Caretti, who did an excellent job on the graphics for this volume.*

Rüstem Aslan

## HOW TROY BECAME THE MOTHER CITY OF ROME

### **Abstract**

Troy is one of the most famous and most important cities of the prehistoric world.

The Archaeological Site of Troy has 4,000 years of history. Its extensive remains are the most significant and substantial evidence of the first contact between the civilizations of Anatolia and the burgeoning Mediterranean world. Excavations started more than a century ago and established a chronology that is fundamental to the understanding of this seminal period of the Ancient World and its cultural development. Moreover, the siege of Troy by Mycenaean warriors from Greece in the 13th century B.C., immortalized by Homer in the Iliad during the 8th century B.C. , has inspired great artists throughout the world ever since.

Troy is located on the mound of Hisarlık, which overlooks the plain along the Turkish Aegean coast, 4.8 km from the southern entrance to the Dardanelles. The famous archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann undertook the first excavations at the site in 1870, and those excavations could be considered the starting point of prehistoric archaeology and its public recognition. Research and excavations conducted in Troy and in the Troas region reveal that the region has been inhabited for 8,000 years.

Forty excavation campaigns, spread over the past 150 years, have revealed many features from all the periods of occupation in the citadel and the lower town. These include several sections of the defensive walls around the citadel, live gates, a paved stone ramp, and the lower portions of five defensive bastions. Those archaeological remains date for the most part from Troy II and VI; however, a section of the earliest wall (Troy I) survives near the south gate of the first defences. In the last 15 years, it has become clear that a Lower City exists south of the mound in all prehistoric periods and extended to about 40 ha in the Late Bronze Age. Several monuments, including the temple of Athena and the recently excavated sanctuary, are part of the Greek and Roman city of Ilion, at the site of Troy. The Roman urban organization is reflected by two major public buildings

on the edge of the agora (central market place), the odeion (concert hall) and the nearby bouleuterion (council house).

The surrounding landscape contains many important archaeological and historical sites, including prehistoric settlements and cemeteries, Hellenistic burial mounds, monumental tumuli, Greek and Roman settlements, Roman and Ottoman bridges and numerous monuments of the Battle of Gallipoli. Because of this reason, the antique city of Troy and the surrounding landscape were inscribed as a “Troy National Historical Park” in 1996 from responsible institutions of the Turkish Republic.

The archaeological site of Troy is of immense significance in the understanding of the development of European civilization at a critical stage in its early development. It documents an uninterrupted settlement sequence over more than 3,000 years and bears witness to the success of civilisations. The role of Troy is of particular importance in documenting the relations between Anatolia, the Aegean, and the Balkans, given its location at a point where the three cultures met. Because of all these reasons, Troy was added to the UNESCO World Heritage list in 1998. Twenty years after the UNESCO admission, with the contribution of the Çanakkale Governorship, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Turkish Republic declared 2018 as the “Year of Troy”. The highlight of the Year of Troy was the opening of the Troy Museum in the summer of 2018.

**Keywords:** Troy, Research History, Excavation Results, Sacred City, Aeneas, the Mother City of Rome

## Geographical Location

The Trojan ruins are located at the western end of Anatolia, at the southern entrance of the Çanakkale Bogazi. The region, which was called Troas in ancient times, is now defined as the Biga Peninsula. The region is located at the crossing of East Mediterranean, Aegean and Marmara seas and Asia and European continents (Fig. 1). The ancient city is located at the foot of a plateau between the valleys of the Karamenderes (in the ancient times name Skamandros) and Dümrek (a.Simois) rivers, 6 km from the Aegean Sea coast and 4.5 km from the Çanakkale Bogazi coast, and has a strategic importance since the 3rd millennium BC<sup>1</sup>. For this reason, this place has been inhabited since prehistoric periods and has witnessed many wars due to its importance.

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<sup>1</sup> KAYAN, ÖNER, VARDAR 2003.



Fig. 1 - The geopolitical position of Troy controlling two continents (Europe and Asia) and two seas (and Aegean and Black Sea) has been going on for thousands of years

### Cultural Features: Homer and Epics

Paris, the son of Priamos, the king of Troy, chooses Aphrodite, the goddess who promised her the most beautiful woman in the world in a beauty contest. Thus, a long process of wars and deaths begins. After the beauty contest, the Trojan prince Paris kidnapped beautiful Helena, the wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta in the Greek homeland, and took her to Troy. Thereupon, the kings of the Greek homeland (Achaean) surrounded Troy with their allied forces of 1000 ships. The 10-year siege ends with a ploy by the Achaeans. The Achaeans hide their ships behind Tenedos



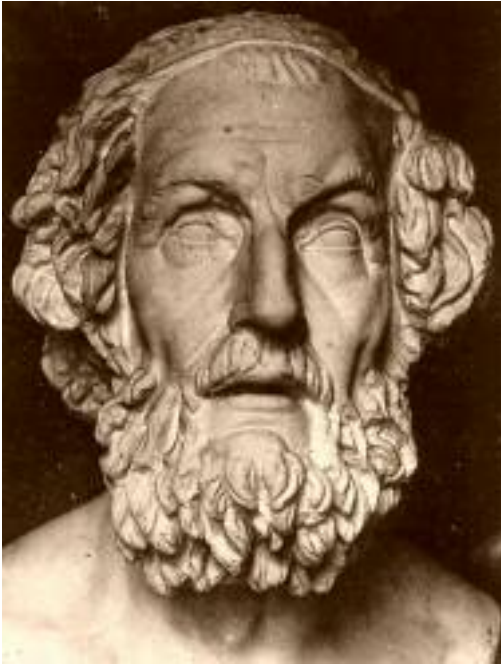


Fig. 2 - A copy of the bust of the poet Homer dated 2th century BC who is believed to have lived during the 8th century BC depicted as blind

(Bozcaada) to give the impression that they have given up the war and are returning; they leave the wooden horse, the idea of Odysseus, the smartest soldier of the Achaeans, in front of the citadel of Troy. The Trojans accept the wooden horse as a gift to the gods and take it into the city. Achaean soldiers coming out of the horse at night open the gates of the city for the soldiers waiting outside. Thus, Troy is conquered. The rich and powerful Troy is burned to the ground; the city is destroyed. The Greeks win a great victory; however, the Achaean soldiers wander the seas for ten years on their journey to return to their homeland. Thus ends the age of heroism with a great war<sup>2</sup>.

Ancient historians dated the Trojan War between 1250 and 1135 BC. However, experts have identified many elements in the epic that are considered to go back to the 2nd millennium BC. In fact, the most important event in this whole process is that the poet Homer, who is considered to have been born in Smyrna (İzmir), brought together the events related to the Trojan War in the 730s BC and wrote the story of the city of Troy / Ilion as the Iliad (Fig. 2). However, Homer does not tell all of the events related to the Trojan War in the Iliad Epic. For example, the story of the Trojan Horse is not included in the Iliad. In the second epic Odyssey, which is attributed to Homer and accepted to be written about twenty years after the Iliad, the events after the Trojan War and the adventures of Achaean soldiers returning to their homeland are told. We understand from the Trojan Horse and other battle scenes on the Mykonos vase

<sup>2</sup> LATACZ 2004.



Fig. 3 - The oldest representation of the Trojan horse depicted on a vase discovered in Mykonos and dated 670 BC

dating back to 670 BC that these and similar details of the epic were up-to-date in the Aegean world at that time (Fig. 3). Other stories about the Trojan War were constantly covered by authors in the following centuries. The most important of these is the Roman poet Vergilius. With his epic of Aeneas (c. 30-19 BC), a lineage relationship is established between the Romans and the Trojans, and this situation is intensively processed especially from the Middle Ages.

After Homer, the Iliad is constantly copied and passed down from generation to generation. The oldest and best preserved copy in which the epic is conveyed as a whole is a copy of the 10th century in Istanbul. The Iliad Epic was first published in Florence in 1488. Especially after this date, it is constantly processed and becomes the

most important basic work of European culture and literature. However, questions such as whether the events in the epics are real or not; whether a city called Troy exists or not have been of interest to researchers for centuries<sup>3</sup>.

### **Troy and the Hittite Empire**

The documents in the Hittite Empire, which started the written history of Anatolia, reveal that political conflicts similar to today are constantly being made on the western and eastern borders. In this sense, Trojan and Hittite relations are like a history lesson. The only time the Trojan kingdom, which held control in a part of Western Anatolia, lived in peace was when it lived in peace with the Hittites, an Anatolian superpower. Troy, which is an Anatolian city in terms of material cultural finds (pottery, architecture, belief system, etc.), has been included in Anatolia for thousands of years in terms of political geography with its relations with the Hittites<sup>4</sup>. Research on Troy's relations with the Hittites and the name of Troy in the Hittite texts goes back to the first quarter of the 20th century. Especially while drawing the map of the Hittite culture geography, the name *Wilusa* came to the fore in localization problems. The name *Wilusa* was first mentioned in the Hittite texts as the Great King Tudhalija I (1420-1400 BC). In this text, the name of *Wilusa* is also mentioned while describing Tudhalija's "military campaign against the *Arzawa* countries" in detail. *Wilusa* was mentioned for the first time with the name of Tudhalija I. During the Hattushili period (1565-1540 BC), it should have been in contact with the "Arzawa Countries" that clashed with the Hittites. After reading this text, the researchers tried to determine the location of "*Arzawa Countries*". For the first time in the 1950s, these "Arzawa Countries" were settled in Western Anatolia and shortly afterwards it was placed by Garstang and O.R. Gruney between the Great Menderes Valley to the south and the Hermos Valley to the north, which is more precisely the regional capital of *Apasas* (it is now accepted that this name is the same as the late Greek Ephesus). This localization was independently finalized in 1997 by Frank

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<sup>3</sup> ASLAN 2011.

<sup>4</sup> KORFMANN 1997.

Starke (Germany) and David Hawkins (London-UK)<sup>5</sup>. Thus, a definitive answer could be given to the whereabouts of *Wilusa*, which was discussed for many years. In the text in which Tudhalija I describes his military campaign, he states that after conquering the Arwaza Country and its neighbors, while returning to Hattusa, he surrounded and “neutralized” other enemy countries who declared war. He writes that while returning to Hattusa, he took some large cattle with him along with the people he had taken captive. Tudhalija I defined this event as “the destruction of *Assuwa* countries” while returning to his country. Experts *point* out the similarity of *Assuwa* to *Aswia* / *Asia* in Greek, the ancient name of *Assos* in present-day Asia and southern Troas. However, this issue is highly controversial. There are nearly twenty names among the “countries” that declare war on Knowhalija I. These names were considered to be large and small management centers in the *Assuwa* region. The last two of these names are “*Wilusija country*” (a version of *Wilusa*) and “*Taruisa country*”. The linguists Emil Forrer and Paul Kretschmer, suggested that *Wilusija* / *Wilusa*, 700 years after Tudhalija’s expedition, was the same place as the *Ilios* in the *Iliad* Epic of Homer in 730s BC and before *Wilios*; furthermore, *Taruisa* (pronounced as *Truwisa* according to the Hittite language rules), Homer’s epics, *Troy* (written in the Ionian dialect as *Troi*) originated from *Trowija* or *Trowisa* in Hittite and explained the same place. As mentioned above, Garstang and Gurney accepted that these suggestions were correct in their study in 1959. According to the results obtained by different disciplines (hittitology, archaeology, mycology, etc.) in the last decade, the names *Ilios* and *Troi*, in the epics of Homer, the last representative of the Bronze Age verbal tradition, are based on the historical facts of Anatolia in the 2nd millennium. The role of *Wilusa* in the history of the Hittites is known since 1907, published in 1920 and interpreted in 1922-24<sup>6</sup>. This treaty was signed in 1280 BC by the Great Hittite King II. It was built between Muwattali (1290-1272 BC) and Alaksandros, the king of *Wilusa*. Its content also sheds light on the history of Hittite-*Wilusa* relations. Somewhere in the treaty are the following: “..In the past, my predecessor, the labarna, had taken over the entire *Arzawa* country and the entire *Wilusa* country politically. Therefore the country of *Arzawa* later

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<sup>5</sup> STARKE 1997.

<sup>6</sup> BECKMAN 1999.

*declared war; nevertheless I know that this event goes back a long way and that no king of the country of Hattusa was defeated in front of the country of Wilusa. Nevertheless, although Wilusa was defeated in the land of Hattusa, they used to be friends with the kings of the land of Hattusa and regularly sent mutual envoys*". In this text, which is a twenty-one paragraph, it is also stated that the king of Wilusa, known as *Alaksandu* 23 times, is the successor of Kukuni. This king of Wilusa, Kukuni, is *Muwattali's* grandfather, the Great King I. He is a friend of the Suppilium (1355-1320 BC) and they sent mutual ambassadors. Suppiluliuma I was also the Grand King of the Hittites, Tudhalija (1420-1400 BC). About him, it is mentioned that "Wilusa country was a friend to him too and he would send messengers to him regularly". If this text of the Treaty of Alexandros was written in 1280 BC, the friendship relations between the kingdom of Hattusa and the country of Wilusa date back to 140 years before the treaty was made. Indeed, these relations go even further because the labarna, which is the *title* of honoring the treaty, points to the period before 1600 BC in the Hittite history. At the time of the signing of the Treaty of Alaksandros, the treaties with the country of Wilusa had a history of 320 years, at least in terms of the Hittites<sup>7</sup>. With the reading of the tablets in the Hittite archives, we see that the kings in Hattusa, the capital of the Hittite Empire, want to control all the countries in Southern and Western Anatolia with war or treaties. Although they largely achieved these goals, kings in Western Anatolia resisted. As such, the king sent a commander and took control of the situation and restored his authority. In this context, many kingdoms in Western Anatolia are mentioned. Wilusija, the Land of Wilusa, is one of them. Beyond these kingdoms in the west, there is also Ahhija, or Ahhijawa Empire, in the overseas region. It is understood from the writings that the king of this empire is an important man and is kept at the same level as the Great Hittite King. For many years, researchers have identified the name *Ahhijawa* with the Greek name *Akhai(w)oi*. Homer often used the name Akhaioi to describe the Greeks. According to this, Ahhijawa, the Greek Empire, could possibly be the Great Mycenaean Empire. Although problematic in grammar terms, the vast majority of researchers now believe in Ahhijawa-Akhai(w)oi identity. In the 2nd millennium BC, it seems almost impossible to have another overseas empire except for the Mycenaeans in

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<sup>7</sup> BECKMAN 1999.



the west and southwest. What is not certain is whether the center of this Empire is on islands such as Rhodes or on the Greek mainland, Mycenaean or Theben.

In 1280 BC, according to the treaty made between Wilusa / Ilios / Troy king Alaksandu and Hittite king II. Muwattalli, what Alaksandu should do is different from the principal cities in Western Anatolia and Northern Syria. With this treaty, Wilusa became a Hittite vassal (principal) city and joined the Hittite Empire. Wilusa's participation in the empire actually meant that she transferred certain rights in state law, especially her authority in foreign policy, to the empire. Wilusa's position within the empire was defined by his inclusion in the union of the "Arzawa countries". Thus, a double loyalty and cooperation relationship occurred both against the empire and the king, and against the neighboring "Arzawa countries", and especially against the king of Mira. The relationship of loyalty and cooperation in question was not limited to contributing to the protection of the empire inward and outward by allocating military unity and chariots; it also had to demonstrate an independent and responsible behaviour for the good of the empire and other states when their internal security was at stake. But at the same time Wilusa's accession to the Hittite Empire provided Wilusa with protection from the outside and stability from the inside. A few years after this treaty, the famous Battle of Kadesh between the Hittite king Muwattalli and King of Egypt II, ends in favor of the Hittites. In the Egyptian inscriptions, he mentions the city of Dardany-Dardanos (settlement in the Troas region, which is the main city of Troy according to mythology), which fought with 25 chariots besides the Hittites in this war. In accordance with his treaty, the kingdom of Troy fought in favor of Anatolia in the war that we will define as the Anatolian-Egyptian war<sup>8</sup>.

## Research Date

The city of Troy, which is the subject of the epic of Homer, is located on the Asian coast of the Dardanelles Strait opposite the Gallipoli Peninsula (Fig. 4). From the 8th century BC, the inhabitants of the classical Ilion city, which is located at the westernmost part of a plateau about 5 km from the sea,

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<sup>8</sup> LATACZ 2004.





Fig. 4 - The lowland of Troy, the entrance of the Dardanelles (Çanakkale Boğazı), Gökçeada island and Semadirek island are visible in the landscape



Fig. 5 - Since the excavations started in 1870, the location of the city of Troy has been accepted to be in Ballıdağ, near to the village of Pınarbaşı. (Picture W. Gell 1801)

believed that the city they lived in was Troy. This city was destroyed by a violent earthquake in the 500s BC and then abandoned. However, the name of Troy continues to be mentioned in that region. Medieval travelers visiting the region believe they have seen the ruins of Troy in different places along the coast. However, 17th century travelers are more critical about where Troy is located. Others begin research, claiming that Troy is inland. The first determination of the location of Troy is made by the topographer Jean-Baptiste Lechevalier during the research carried out by the French in the northeastern Aegean in 1784. In the results of this research, it is claimed that the ancient settlement on Ballıdağ hill above the village of Pınarbaşı, where the Trojan Plain is located, is located about 15 km to the east of Hisarlık Hill (Troy) (Fig. 5). Lechevalier, the river flowing under this hill overlooking the Troy Plain, the islands and the Dardanelles, Skamandros; Simois and the four tumuli (tomb hill) on the hill are seen as the tombs of the heroes in the stream formed by the Kırkközler water source. Thus, the events described in the Iliad Epic are proved by topography. This theory is accepted for about 100 years (Fig. 6). But in later research, engineer Franz Kauffer discovered in 1793 a new settlement closer to the sea, which the Turks called Hisarlık / Asarlık Tepe<sup>9</sup>. After examining the coins and inscriptions on this hill, minerologist

<sup>9</sup> ASLAN 2014.



Fig. 6 - The location of the hill of Hisarlik (Troy) has been detected for the first time during the researches conducted in 1793 (Picture C. Gouffier 1822)

Daniel Clark from Cambridge University found out in 1801 that this was the classical city of İlion. After this determination, it is accepted that Hisarlık Tepe was in the classical city of İlion and Homer's Troy was in Ballıdağ in Pınarbaşı (Fig. 7). Despite this, some researchers argue that this view cannot be correct with their critical approach. British Charles Maclaren, with his article published for the first time in 1820, argues that the water flowing under the Pınarbaşı village cannot be the Scamandres that Homer mentioned in the Iliad; in Homer's narratives; Troy / İlion is described as between two rivers and therefore Troy can only be on Hisarlık Hill. With this view, the classical period İlion and Homer's Troy were placed in the same place. Already in Homer's epics, the city is defined by two names, namely both Troy and İlion. Maclaren further developed this view and published it as a detailed book in 1863<sup>10</sup>. Frank Calvert (1828-1908), one of the Calvert family living in Çanakkale, who was aware of Maclaren's views, excavated the land they purchased in Hisarlık Tepe in 1863 and 1865. The results of the Calvert excavations, which show a very different and ancient stratification, support Maclaren's views, but Calvert does not have the money to make wider and more extensive excavations. Frank Calvert, director of the British Museum at the time, writes a letter to Ch. Newton, stating that Hisarlık Tepe may be Troy and if he is helped, he can prove it with extensive excavations.

<sup>10</sup> EASTON 1991.



Fig. 7 - Since 19th Century, the archaeological site of Troy is excavated with the most innovative technologies (Photo: excavation archive Dörpfeld 1893)

However, it does not receive a positive response. In such a critical period, the roads of the German Heinrich Schliemann (1822-1890) and Frank Calvert, who have a large fortune, intersect in Çanakkale<sup>11</sup>.

### Excavation History

Schliemann, who was aware of the thesis of H. Maclaren about Hisarlık/Troya, excavated in the site of Ballıdağ in Pınarbaşı for a few weeks to find Troy in 1868. However, the data obtained does not convince him. When they

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<sup>11</sup> HEUCK ALLEN 1999.





Fig. 8 - The findings discovered during the Schliemann excavation period gave rise to numerous debates. In the picture we can see Schliemann, Calvert and Hamdi Bey (the first of the line seated) during a meeting on 1890

miss the boat going to Athens through Çanakkale, they have to stay in Çanakkale for two days and thus meet F. Calvert, who tells Schliemann about Hisarlık Hill and its excavations. He mentions McLaren's thesis and publications on Troy (Fig. 8). Believe it or not, Schliemann decides to dig on Hisarlık Hill. Schliemann, who presented his Greek and Troas trips to the University of Rostock (Germany) as a doctoral study in 1869, writes in his thesis that he discovered Troy himself and the thesis is accepted. Schliemann, a doctoral historian-archaeologist, came to the region in 1870 to excavate this time, a year after his trip to Troas. Excavations start at Hisarlık Tepe, but they are stopped both because they do not have permission and upon the complaint of the landowner. At the end of the long efforts, Schliemann excavations, whose death lasted until 1890 (1871-73; 1878-9; 1882; 1890), started in 1871. Schliemann's treasure find, which he found in 1873 and called the "Priamos Treasure" with a dating error of about 1200 years, had a great impact on the world at that time. Schliemann first smuggled these treasures to Athens and then to Germany. After the Second World War, the treasure artifacts taken to Russia as the spoils of war are still exhibited at the Pushkin Museum in Moscow<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> EASTON 1994.

After Schliemann's death, the excavations were carried out by his friend architect Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1853-1940) in 1893-94. After a long break, from 1932 to 1938, American archaeologist Carl W. Blegen (1887-1971) re-excavations were carried out in Troy. Blegen laid the foundations of modern Trojan-based Aegean archaeology with his publications in the following years. After a fifty-year break the ongoing new period excavations were carried out by Manfred Osman Korfmann from the University of Tübingen until his death in 2005. Since 2013 excavations in Troy have been carried out on behalf of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism by Prof. Dr. Rüstem Aslan.

### Remains in the Trojan Plateau

Its strategically important location, where two continents (Europe and Asia) and two large seas (Aegean and Black Sea) intersect, has enabled Troy to see continuous settlement for 3 thousand years. Here, as in many regions of Anatolia, largely adobe was used in the construction of house walls. In the excavations, many destruction layers indicating fire, war and depletion were detected. During the reconstruction of a collapsed structure, due to the fact that the adobe is not suitable for reuse due to its easy distribution, the old layers were corrected and new buildings were built on it. As a result, an artificial hill, a tumulus, has been formed, which is rising gradually and exceeds 16 meters<sup>13</sup>. In the excavations carried out so far, ten different main settlements (cities) from the bottom to the top and the construction phase on the faces were determined (Fig. 9). The settlement by the sea in the early stages, after the alluviums carried by two rivers (Karamenderes-Dümrek Stream), the Trojan Plain is filled and the city loses its geopolitical importance after the Last Bronze Age, also called the Homeric Troy. However, from the 8th century BC, Homer gained a sacred place due to his epics (Fig. 10). The lower seven settlements of Troy (Troy I-Troy VII, from the First Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age) consisted of more than fifty building phase remains. Above this is the ruins of the ancient Greek (Troy VIII) and Roman city (Troy IX) Ilion, and at the top is the settlement of the Byzantine Period (Troy X) (Fig. 11).

Although the settlement of the Trojan I (2290-2550 BC) period has a village character, it has a strong defense system that has been repaired several times.

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<sup>13</sup> KORFMANN 2013.



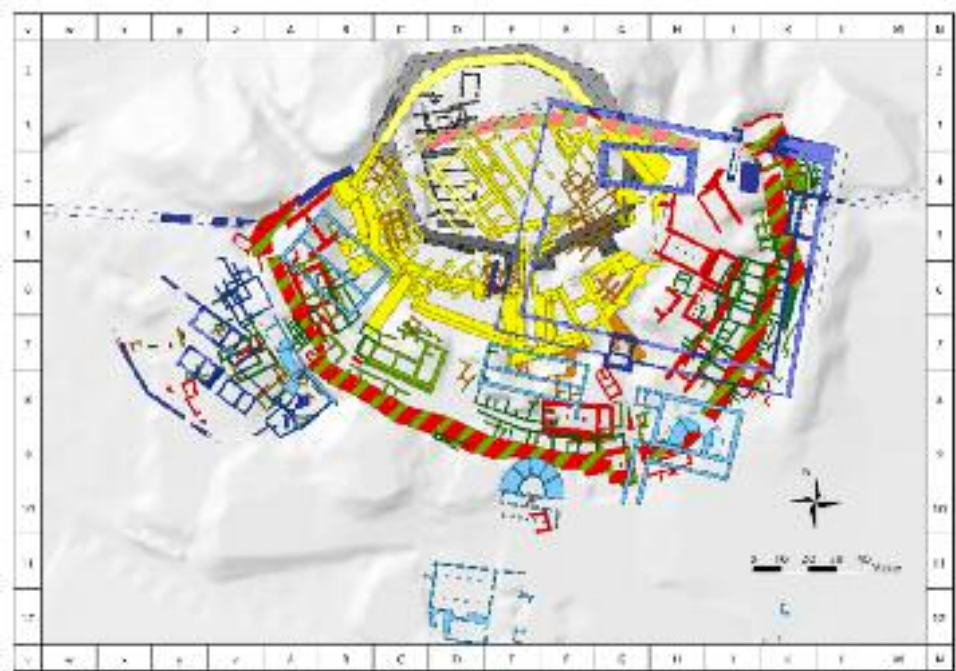


Fig. 9 - The urban plan relative to the centuries III B.C to the 500 AD and houses with different architectural styles



Fig. 10 - During the Roman time, Troy became a place of worship with several temples, altars and other buildings of cult (Reconstruction: C. Haussner)



Fig. 11 - Nine different reconstructions of the city of Troy (C. Haussner)



Fig. 12 - Today it is possible to observe the damages caused by Schliemann during his excavations (cut excavation of Schliemann)

It consists of rectangular adjacent houses made of stone foundation and adobe wall (Fig. 12). A more magnificent citadel settlement was built in Troy II (2550-2250 BC). It gains a rich urban character with a gene ramp and tall slaves. Many large “megaron” (rectangular planned structure with entrance





Fig. 13a - Since 2500 BC the findings of the city of Troy and the architectural structures of the city became one of the most important centres of the Aegean regions



Fig. 13b - The walls of the citadel of Troy II and the ramp entrance of the city are the most impressive remains for the visitors



Fig. 14 - The north side of the citadel and the entrance of the city belonging to Troy VI, which is believed to be the Troy of Homer, represent the most magnificent remains of the Aegean regions.

and main space) emerge for the first time in this period. The use of the fast potter's wheel is also seen in this phase. Along with the treasures that Schliemann found and missed in 1873, all 23 treasure finds emerged from these city stages. There are many archaeological finds pointing to trade with distant regions. Three major fire damage was detected in this settlement phase. Again, in this period, a lower city settlement emerged for the first time outside the citadel (Fig. 13a-b). The period of Troy III (2250-2200 BC) has common characteristics with Troy II. In this period, the houses were built more adjacent to each other. At the end of this period, there were data indicating that eastern living conditions became difficult. This settlement also ended with a big fire. The settlement of the Trojan IV/V period (2200-1730 BC) is also defined as an Anatolian settlement. It is understood from the sudden increase in the prey rate in nutrition that the living conditions changed in the early stages of this settlement phase (Troy IV). This period ends with a big fire in the city. The Trojan VI period settlement (1730- 1300 BC) is called the Homeric Troy (Ilion/Wilusa) (Fig.14). In this period, magnificent citadel and palace buildings are built, whose ruins can still be





Fig. 15a - Reconstructions of the Troy of Homer (1700-1200 BC)



Fig. 15b - South entrance of Troy VI, the paved road and the steles before the door of the citadel



Fig. 16 - The worship area on the east side of the citadel of Troy was in use from 8th century BC to 5th century AD

seen. Again in this period, the lower city is surrounded by a defensive ditch and a defensive wall. In this period, which is called the Last Bronze Age with its city finds and architecture, it has an important trade establishment between the Hittite in Anatolia and the Mycenaean Empire in Greece (Fig. 15a-b). The settlement of the period of Troy VII-a (1300-1180 BC) was established after the reconstruction of the city destroyed by the earthquake. In this period, the citadel wall is strengthened with towers. The city, which is estimated to have about 6000 inhabitants, was destroyed by a catastrophe that marked the war in the 1180s BC (Trojan War?). In the period of Troy VII b1 (1180-1130 BC), which is called the transition phase to the next Iron Age, there is a great collapse in the character of both architecture and pottery, although there is no great cultural change. In the Trojan VIIb2 settlement (1130-950 BC), which is the continuation of this period, some new cultural elements from the Northeast Balkans and the Western Black Sea emerge. This period is now considered as the beginning of the Iron Age. After this period, which was destroyed by a fire, a void (Dark Ages) continued from 950 BC to 720 BC. The settlement in Troy during the VIII period (720-85 BC) is known as the Archaic and Hellenistic Trojan Period. In this period, the Greeks, who visited Hisarlık Hill, accepted this place as the sacred city of Troy (İlion) by Homer and transformed the settlement into a rich city with temples and sacred areas (Fig. 16). This sacred character of the city of Troy/İlion reaches its peak especially in



the Roman Period called Troy IX (85 BC - 500 AD). Many Roman commanders visit the city. Especially Emperor Augustus' visit to Troy in the 20 BC was a turning point for the city. During this period, many buildings such as the magnificent Athena Temple and the Great Theatre were built.

In fact, the Roman Empire has accepted Troy as its origin since the 3rd century BC. The reason is that Venus/Aphrodite, who was the mother of Aeneas, the great surviving hero of the Trojans, and made him flee to Italy and settle there as the ancestor of the Romans, was also the goddess of Caesar, who influenced politics between 60-44 BC. Although there is no concrete proof of this belief, the gens Iulia, founded by Caesar, claimed that they were descended from Ilius (or Iulus), the son of Aeneas, to consolidate their ideology of reign. Some time before he was killed, Caesar was preparing a great expedition to follow in the footsteps of Alexander the Great and defeat the Parthians. According to some historians, he planned to move the capital of the new empire to the old homeland of Troy; however, this plan ended with his death. These plans had an anchor point; the city had already been established in a very convenient place for transportation between the East and the West, the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. His successor, Augustus (30 BC), was also confronted with such ideas and was warned by the Roman poet Horatius: 'As long as the sea flutters between Rome and Ilion, the Roman reign will endure'. Emperor Augustus also supported Troy/Ilion, the province of his ancestors. With the Aeneas Epic written by Augustus' poet Vergilius, he took the fictitious (quite) fiction of history to literature and legitimized this event in a sense. The history of Roman city formation, which was also associated with a new epic (Vergilius/ Aeneas Epic) after Augustus' visit to Troy, is accepted as an official view without being discussed as an imperial ideology.

In the later period, the city was completely destroyed after two major earthquakes that occurred consecutively by the 500s AD<sup>14</sup>. For the first time since these earthquakes, there is a trace of resettlement in the 12th century AD. The settlement of Troy X (12 AD-13th century) ends at the end of the 14th century after the region fell into the hands of the Ottomans. Although it is not completely forgotten that Troy is in this region, its exact location is gradually forgotten<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> ROSE 2014.

<sup>15</sup> KOREMANN 2013.

### The Lost Treasure: 'Treasures of Priamos'

Many things have been written about the treasures, which are the most important works from Troy, within 130 years after their discovery. Many people did not believe in Schliemann, considering that he sometimes contradicted him in his writings. However as a result of Prof. Korfmann's studies, it was determined that Treasure A, which is called the 'Priamos Treasure', was located just in front of the Trojan II walls and at the same level as the visible upper part of the wall wall (Fig. 17). The treasure is in a stone structure, a kind of stone chest. Schliemann, when he discovered the treasure on 31 May 1873, was not yet aware of the wall there, and therefore believed at the time that it belonged to a large and multi-room "palace of Priamos" he had found<sup>16</sup>. Schliemann tried not to tell or even completely hide the location - and perhaps the history - of the A treasure, especially against Emin Bey, the representative of the Ottoman Empire. In addition, although he stated in his publications that he was with his wife



Fig. 17 - The place in the citadel, belonging to Troy II, where Schliemann found in 1874 the remains he stole

<sup>16</sup> EASTON 2002.



Fig. 18 - The firsts released pictures of the remains found by Schliemann he incorrectly believed it was the "Treasure of Priamos"

Sophia when he found the treasure, it was determined by the researchers that this was not true.

According to our information today, the treasure was located in an old tower from the Trojan II period (2500 BC), and it was then completely knitted during the construction of the stone ramp. Schliemann made a mistake of 1250 years by thinking of the city of Troy II as the Troy / Ilios of Homer he was looking for because of the fire layer and the stone ramp he accepted as the "Skaia Gate". Schliemann realized his mistake in the last year of his life, in 1890<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> EASTON 2002.

Schliemann first took the treasure to Greece and then to Germany. The Ottoman Empire put Schliemann on trial and in the hearing held in Paris, the court sentenced Schliemann to heavy fines. Although the Ottoman Empire tried to take back the treasures for quite a long time<sup>18</sup>, it was closed with a compensation of 50.000 gold francs when it came to the opinion that it could not take back the works (Fig. 18). After the Second World War, a large part of treasure in Germany was smuggled to St. Petersburg and Moscow. The "Treasure of Troy", a large part of which is exhibited in Moscow Pushkin Museum, is now distributed in nine different museums in seven different cities of the world. As a result of the intensive efforts of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, some treasure finds that were smuggled from Troy were brought from America to Turkey in 2012.

### **Sacred Trojan: Travellers, Soldiers, Politicians**

After the Trojan settlement was burned down in 1180 BC, the city was not settled for a long time. Starting from the 8th century BC, the Greeks established trade colony settlements in distant regions with the revitalized trade relations in the entire Mediterranean Region. In these periods, they come to Hisarlık Tepe (Troy/Ilion), where the ruins of the Late Bronze Age can be seen, and accept this place as a sacred settlement<sup>19</sup>. After this period, Troy becomes a place where East and West unite, integrate and especially conflict in political and military sense. For this reason, many important soldiers and politicians in history have visited Troy. The city of Troy was visited by several kings such as Kserkes of Persia in 480 BC, Alexander the Great in 334 BC and other Roman Emperors like Augustus. During their visits the all offered sacrifices on behalf of heroes (Fig. 19-20). In 1462, Fatih Sultan Mehmed visited Troy and mentioned the importance of the city in history. We know the visit of Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror to Troy from his book on the expeditions of the Conqueror by his historian Imbrozlu (Gökçeada) and historian Kritovulos. Kritovulos, like other historians, participated in the expeditions of Mehmed the Conqueror and wrote a book on this subject. In the work written by Kritovulos,

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<sup>18</sup> ASLAN, SÖNMEZ 2012.

<sup>19</sup> WOOD 1985.



Fig. 19 - The statue of Hadrian found during the excavations works in 1995



Fig. 20 - The statue of Augustus found during the excavation works in 1995

the original of which is still preserved in Topkapı Palace, the visit of Mehmet the Conqueror to Troy in 1462 is described as follows.

*'He himself crossed Hellespont with his army, crossed the little Phrygia and arrived in Ilion. He observed the ruins and traces of the old city of Troy, the scope and advantages of its surroundings, as well as its convenient connection to land and sea. In addition, Achilles, one of the heroes, listened to the stories of Aias and others on their graves. He praised them and congratulated them on having a poet like Homer to remind them of their great work. People shake their heads at him and say, "God has given me the right to avenge this city and its people after all these years".'*

The basis of Mehmet the Conqueror's visit to Troy is the idea of Turks returning to their old homeland after a long time, based on a historical origin in the East-West conflict at that time. Thus, Fatih revealed that he valued the past cultures of the Anatolian lands as an Ottoman ruler<sup>20</sup>. Historians state that Fatih understands Greek very well. We know that he

<sup>20</sup> ASLAN 2013.



also brought copies of the Byzantine period manuscripts to the palace in the palace library in the period before him. It is also known that at the time of Fatih's Lesbos expedition, about a decade after the conquest of Istanbul, a copy of the Iliad was prepared for the palace library by Johannes Dokeianos, a very famous copyist and writer at that time. For this reason, it is impossible to evaluate the words of Fatih in Troy as the flattery of the palace historian Kritovulos. Because in Montaigne, Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror in a letter to Pius, he mentions that the Italians expressed their strange hostility. According to Fatih, *he came from a common origin with the Italians (referring to Vergilius' Aeneas epic)*, the Turks, that is, the Trojans, and Fatih conquered Istanbul and avenged the spilled blood of both the Italians Hector.

### Protecting and Telling Troy

Perspectives and thoughts on the preservation and presentation of archaeological ruins and artefacts have changed since the excavations initiated by F. Calvert in Troy in 1863. Nowadays, there is a mutual interaction between tourism and archaeology that affects and changes each other. However, in this interaction it is certain that their artefacts are faced with destruction. Cultural and historical monuments have to be protected and explored with public support and some laws. Beyond this, the main goal is to present the remains uncovered by archaeological excavation in an understandable way without deteriorating their essence (Venice Convention). For whatever reason, there are not many places in Turkey today where remains are preserved and presented to visitors in an understandable way in a modern sense. In 1988, BC in the Trojan excavations restarted by Korfmann, the priority was to present the remains excavated as a result of old and new excavations to the visitors by preserving them in an "ideal" way<sup>21</sup>.

Between 1988-1991, efforts were focused primarily on the protection of the remains excavated during the Schliemann period (Fig. 21-22-23). In this context, first of all, measures were taken to clean the "Schliemann Rift" and to protect the house foundations of the Trojan I period. The eastern profile of the north-south opening, which collapsed continuously

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<sup>21</sup> ASLAN 2011.





Fig. 21 - The structure of a palace belonging to Troy VI discovered in 1893 during the excavations conducted by Dörpfeld



Fig. 22 - The structure of a palace of Troy VI in 1987



Fig. 23 - The structure of a palace of Troy VI after the excavation works in 2015

with the rains, was supported by a mudbrick wall. Thus, the collapse of the Trojan II period megaron structures in the upper layers with the profile was prevented. At the same time, the direction of the visitor path through the Trojan II ramp was changed. (Fig. 24-25-26). The new visitor road, which was directed over the citadelwalls of Troy I and II, was reconstructed as wood. Thus, those who visited Troy were partially prevented from walking on the prehistoric walls of the mound and destroying it. Later, information boards in three languages (Turkish, English, German) were placed at the navigation points on the visitor's road, enabling visitors to better understand the pattern. After the Blegen excavations, a conservation and restoration concept covering the whole site was worked on after these "urgent importance" in the site, which turned into a ruin from neglect and indifference (Fig. 27-28-29). For this purpose, all myrmarian remains in the site were documented in a three-dimensional manner. The elusive architectural layers and



Fig. 24 - The entrance ramp of Troy II during the excavation works conducted by Schliemann in 1873



Fig. 25 - The entrance ramp of Troy II in 1887





Fig. 26 - The entrance ramp of Troy II after the excavation works in 2015

phases in Troy were redrawn as “models”. In this context, the 1:200 scale plan of the Trojan fortress was first produced, and then the lower city and the protection area around it were processed into a 1:500 scale plan. With these relic models, the protection and presentation of architectural remains in the whole area, filling of some regions with soil, visitor paths and other measures to be taken are embedded on the plan as a whole.

The closure of the walls, which are not of much importance in the history and chronology of the archaeology, was also carried out in this context in order to transfer them to future generations without destroying them. In addition to these measures, some arrangements were made with the other museum didactic approach in Troy. The archaeological, historical and tursitic importance of the 12 x 12 km area around the site increased due to the fact that it was declared as the Historical National Park of Troy in 1996 and was subsequently included in the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage List in 1998. However, the main problem of its location is that its



Fig. 27 - The north walls and the entrance of the city after the excavation works of Dörpfeld in 1893

ruins, dating from the 3rd thousand BC to the 5th century AD, are not very impressive for tourists compared to other archaeological sites. For this reason, the wooden walkway, orientation signs and picture and reconstructed information boards prepared in three languages during Korfmann studies caused this perception to change positively<sup>22</sup>. The Trojan Museum of Troy, which was opened by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2018, ensures that the finds are presented in a whole concept and positively and permanently affects the perception of Troy and its landscape.

## World Cultural Heritage and Troy

Troy is the place where the Trojan War described in the Iliad Epic of Homer, believed to have lived in the 8th century BC; that the poet Homer has an international fame for centuries with the Iliad and

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<sup>22</sup> ASLAN 2011.



Fig. 28 - The north walls and the entrance of the city of Troy VI in 1987

Odysseia Epics; around 10 km around the archaeological site, the settlements and ruins related to the history and epics of Troy (Patroclus, Achilles, Ajax and the other tumuli (artificial grave hills) dedicated to war heroes) were included in the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage List in 1998 due to the fact that the Iliad epic, described by the events



Fig. 29 - The north walls and the entrance of the city of Troy VI after the excavation works in 2015





Fig. 30 - The magnificent fortification walls of the Troy of Homer (Troy VI)

in the Trojan and Trojan Historical National Park area, affected European art, culture and science from the Middle Ages to the present day and was the first prehistoric excavation of the prehistoric period (Fig. 30).

Due to all these features, the ancient city of Troy is visited by nearly one million people every year. The Trojan Museum, built by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, was opened in 2018, thus increasing the recognition and importance of Troy in the international arena.

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Reyhan Körpe

**PRINCE AENEAS OF DARDANOS:  
HIS POSITION IN TROJAN MYTHOLOGY  
AND HIS REFLECTIONS IN TROY  
IN ANCIENT TIMES**

**Abstract**

Aeneas, who was considered as the founding ancestor of the Romans, appears as one of the leading heroes of the Trojans in Homer's Iliad. His descendants extends from his father Anchises to the founding fathers of Troy, to his mother Aphrodite and the gods of Olympus. In the war that started with the attack of the Achaeans to the city of Troy, he joined the support to Troy as the prince of Dardanus with the Dardanians under his command. His achievements in the war made him one as one of the most important hero of the Trojan army after Hector in Iliad. He killed many Achaeans in the war and clashed with Diomedes and Achilles, the leading heroes of the Achaeans. Instead of attracting the anger of the Olympus gods like other Trojans, Aeneas was protected by Apollo and Poseidon, especially his mother Aphrodite, as the new founder of Troy at the end of the war. But by his mother destiny set him on a completely different path, and instead of being the founder of the new Troy, he became the founding father of a new nation far away in Italy. The return of Aeneas to Troy, who sailed to Italy with a handful of survivors after the fall of Troy, was thanks to the Romans, who believed that they were descended from him hundreds of years later. The Romans became rulers not only of this city but of all Asia Minor, just as the gods prophesied in the epic.

**Keywords:** Troas, Troy, Dardanus, Aeneas, Homer

Aeneas, which the Romans regarded as the founding ancestor, appears as one of the leading heroes of the Trojans in Homer's Iliad. His lineage extends from his father Anchises to the founding fathers of Troy, to his mother Aphrodite and the gods of Olympus. In the war that started with

the attack of the Achaeans on Troy, he joined the aid of Troy as the prince of Dardanus with the Dardanians under his command. His achievements in the war are described as the most important hero of the Trojan army after Hector in Iliad. He killed many Achilles in the war and clashed with Diomedes and Achilles, the leading heroes of the Achilles. Instead of attracting the anger of the Olympus gods like other Trojans, Aeneas was protected by Apollo and Poseidon, especially his mother Aphrodite, as the new founder of Troy at the end of the war. But his fate led him to a completely different path, and instead of being the founder of the new Troy, he became the founding father of a new nation far away in Italy. The return of Aeneas to Troy, who sailed to Italy with a handful of survivors after the fall of Troy, was thanks to the Romans, who believed that they were descended from him hundreds of years later. The Romans became rulers not only of this city but of all Asia Minor, just as the gods prophesied in the epic.

### **The Kingdom of Dardanus on the Hellespont Coast**

It is told that the Kingdom of Dardanus, which is a small ancient settlement on the banks of today's Çanakkale Strait, was founded by its first ancestors Dardanus long before Troy in ancient mythology<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1). Although it has a much older history than Troy, which was later founded by those who left this city, this settlement turned into a small kingdom that remained in the shadow of Troy over the time. Although the kingdom of Dardanus was on the Asian coast of Hellespont, its territory stretched to Mount Ida in the south and to the western end of the Gallipoli peninsula opposite Hellespont in the north. Protesilaus, the first Achaean landing at the beginning of the Trojan war, was actually killed by a Dardanelles when he set foot on the western tip of the Gallipoli peninsula, which belonged to the Dardanian principality<sup>2</sup>. It can be thought that the lands of the kingdom of Dardanos on the Asian side are also quite large and extend to Mount Ida, and even the southern foothills of the mountain are included in this kingdom. Before the Achaeans besieged the city of Troy, they plundered the lands of the king-

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<sup>1</sup> SCHWERTECK 1997, 321.

<sup>2</sup> Hom., *Il.*, II. 15.696.1.



Fig. 1: The ancient city of Dardanus is located on the shore of Hellespont, in this small hill and its around today (R. Körpe archive)

dom of Dardanos overlooking Mount Ida and the Adramytion plain. In *Iliad*, this incident is described as Aeneas being chased by Achilles while trying to protect the cattle herds in this region. In fact, Demetrius of Skepsis reports that the city of Skepsis is also the capital of the region<sup>3</sup>. Hellespont's piece of land from the Asian coast to Mount Ida continued to be known as "Dardania" even after the Trojan wars<sup>4</sup>. In the later centuries, the territory of the city of Dardanus, which was rebuilt by Greek immigrants after the Trojan War, covered the lands of the Dardanus Principality in Asia in the Late Bronze Age. In fact, in the 5th century BC, Zenis and Mania, the rulers of the city of Dardanos during the Persian dominance of the region, formed a subordinate estate, including

<sup>3</sup> LEAF 1923, 275.

<sup>4</sup> WISSOWA 1901, "Dardania", 2157.





Fig. 2: This consists of many hills and valleys starting from the north of Edremit Bay to the inlands of Ida Mountain. (R. Körpe archive)

the interior of the region, including Skepsis and Kebren at the foot of Mount Ida<sup>5</sup>. Historically, it has been accepted for centuries that these lands belong to Dardanos (Fig. 2).

Documents written on nails that appeared in Hittite archives in recent years revealed that in the Late Bronze Age Troy was a small kingdom located in northwestern Anatolia called Wilusa. These documents show that there are diplomatic relations and alliance between Troy and the Hittite. Although the Hattusha documents have not yet been obtained, it is understood that the Hittites did not only form an alliance with the Trojans in this region, but also formed a similar alliance with the Dardanians. One of the allies who fought alongside the Hittites in the battle of Kadesh between the Hittite Empire and Egypt in 1274 BC was the Dardanians. The name “*drdny*”, which is referred to as “*drdny chariots*” in Egyptian docu-

<sup>5</sup> Xen., *Hell.*, 3. 1. 18-20.

ments, is thought to be Dardanian<sup>6</sup>. Although the presence of the Dardanians in the Kadesh war is claimed to be the result of Troy's alliance with the Hittites, in Egyptian sources, the Trojans/Wilusans are not mentioned at all, while the Dardanelles are even shown among the prisoners in Egyptian reliefs. This situation reveals that the Dardanians are an important power, enough to make a separate alliance with the Hittites. Considering that the Trojan War was about a generation after the battle of Kadesh, we can say that the fame of the Dardanus chariots in the Trojan War dates back to Kadesh.

The events that developed in the years after the Trojan War changed everything in the Aegean and Asia Minor world. This wave of migration, later called "Sea Tribes", also brought the end of the Bronze Age. While Mycenaean and Troy are quietly disappearing in history, the Dardanians appear once again in the most turbulent phase of world history.

In the Iliad epic, Dardanus, which was mentioned as a close ally other than kinship with the Trojans, is now a completely underground ruin. The surface survey and the ceramics found in the rescue excavations prove that the settlement existed in the Late Bronze Age, when the Trojan wars took place<sup>7</sup>. A Trojan-like settlement will probably emerge in Dardanus during the archaeological excavations that will take place here in the future.

## Royal descendent of Aeneas and Dardanos

All of our knowledge about Aeneas comes from mythology and ancient writers especially Homer. Considering that the debates about the reality of the Trojan War described in Iliad still continue, it may never be known whether the names mentioned in this epic are the real persons of the period. Although the names of kings or administrators such as Walmu and Alaxandu have been mentioned in the Hittite texts in recent years, none of the kings mentioned in Iliad are yet on Hittite nail tablets or Linear-B tablets. Likewise, no record was found in these written documents that could be associated with Aeneas or a member of the kingdom of Dardanus. On the other hand, the archaeological excavations that started in Troy and Mycenae since the mid-century revealed the cities, palaces and tombs

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<sup>6</sup> MATIĆ 2015, 215-238.

<sup>7</sup> FILIP 2004, 21-25.

where these kings came, especially Troy, where the war took place, and illuminated the Late Bronze Age of the Aegean world where the Trojan War took place. The armor and helmets found in the cities, the palaces and graves that emerged in the excavations are consistent with the depictions of Homer in archaeological terms. Dardanus is one of the places where we are really sure of its existence during the Trojan War due to the correspondence of the position of the kingdom with information given in the *Iliad*, the presence of the city with the same name in the same place, and most importantly, the Late Bronze Age ceramics found in archaeological researches. Unfortunately, our knowledge of Aeneas, the prince of this kingdom known to exist in the Trojan War, comes from Homer and other ancient sources, like other Trojan War heroes. The life of the hero is so entwined in the epics and mythological weave that the proportion of reality in him will never be understood in the measure of how much this reflects his real personality. Therefore we have no choice but to return to epics and mythology to tell the story of Aeneas' life.

Before explaining Aeneas' role in the Trojan War, it is necessary to take a look at Aeneas' lineage and his relationship with Troy. The ancestors of Aeneas descended from the founding line of Troy. If we look at this lineage, we should first start from Dardanus, which also gave its name to the city of Dardanus. Dardanus, the son of Zeus from Electra, the daughter of Atlas, crossed<sup>8</sup> from Samothrace island to the opposite coast, that is, to the lands known as Troas in the northwest of Anatolia. According to Vergilius, Dardanus originally lived in Italy, in the city of Corythus (probably in Cortona, near today's Arezzo)<sup>9</sup>. This place is ruled by a king named Teucer. Teucer, on the other hand, is almost entirely indigenous to this region. He is the son of Ida and Scamander, that is, the largest mountain of the region and the river. Teucer gave Dardanus his daughter Batieia and gave up his throne after his death.

Dardanus has now established a city with its own name on the banks of the Dardanelles. Troy was the ancestor of the royal line. Erichthonius, his son from Batieia, Tros, his son, and Ilios, the son of Tros, also established the city of Troy. Laemedon, the son of Ilos, and Priamos, the last king of Troy, were his sons.

<sup>8</sup> Apollod., 3. 12. 1; Servius, *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid* 3.167, 7.207, 10.719; McDONOUGH 2008.

<sup>9</sup> Verg. *Aen.*, III, 170; VII, 209; IX, 10; HORSFALL 1973, 68-79.

The descendants of Aeneas were Assarakos, another son of Tros, Kapys, his son, and Anchises, his father.

Assaracos, the founder of the Dardanus dynasty, was the second of three sons born of Callirhoe, daughter of Scamander, the river god of Tros<sup>10</sup>. While his brother Ilios later left Dardanos and founded the city he would name after himself, he kidnapped his other younger brother, Ganymede, to the god Zeus Olympos<sup>11</sup>. Like his father, Assaracos married Hieromneme, the daughter of another river god Simoeis. Some sources say she married Clytadora, the daughter of Assaracos' cousin and also the king of Troy, Laomedon. In this case, the two relatives were united by marriage. Of these marriages, his only son and heir Kapys was born. When Assaracos died, Quintus Smyrnaeus, not Dardanus, told that he was buried in the very center of Troy near the Athena temple and Priamos palace<sup>12</sup>.

When Assaracos died, his son Capys took the throne of Dardanus. According to some ancient sources, Capys married his cousins Themiste, one of the daughters of Ilios, who came from the Trojan kings, just like his father. Two boys named Anchises and Acoethes were born from this marriage. There is not much information about Acoethes from these children. We do not know except that he is the father of Laochoon, who, at the end of the Trojan war, felt that the wooden horse built by the Achaeans was a trick and objected to its being brought into Troy, and was therefore killed with his sons by the serpents sent by Poseidon<sup>13</sup>. He probably should have been an Apollo priest like his son Laochoon.

Capys's rule in the kingdom of Dardanus continued until the end of the Trojan War. Neither Anchises, his son nor Aeneas his son, could sit on the throne of Dardanos. With the Trojan War, it is understood that the Dardanos royal dynasty moved to Troy when the Dardanians joined the war alongside Troy. At the end of the war, when the Achaeans left the wooden horse in front of the Trojan walls, Kapys, the king of Dardanos, as his son Laochoon, sensed that this was a trick and even told the horse to be thrown into the sea according to Vergilius<sup>14</sup>. But no one believed the old king's words.

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<sup>10</sup> Diod. Reg., *Bibliotheca historica*, 4.75.3-5; Ps- Apollod., *Bibliotheca*, 3.12.2.

<sup>11</sup> Homer., *Il.*, XX, 233-235.

<sup>12</sup> Qui. Smry., *The Fall of Troy*, 6.145, 266.

<sup>13</sup> Tax. Aen., 2.35-38.

<sup>14</sup> Tax. Aen., 2.40-198; LYNCH 1980 170-179.

Anchises, the other son of Capys and heir to the throne, is much more well known. Anchises, who is extremely handsome enough to make the goddess Aphrodite fall in love with him, is the father of Aeneas. The legend of Aeneas can be said to begin with Anchises being with Aphrodite in a sense. Legend has it that this handsome Dardanian prince drew Aphrodite's attention as she grazed the royal cattle on Mount Ida in the south of the kingdom, as we mentioned above. Aphrodite seduces this young man by approaching him in the guise of a Phrygian princess or a young girl<sup>15</sup>. After this union, which took place in a cave on Mount Ida, two boys named Aeneas and Lyrus will be born. We have no information except that Lyrus died without his child. Apart from his short-term relationship with Aphrodite on Mount Ida, Anchises married his cousin Alcathus and had a daughter named Hippodamia from this marriage.

In Trojan mythology, Anchises, who was depicted as an old and crippled man who was carried on his back by his son Aeneas at the end of the war, is one of the few people who managed to escape from Troy. But what cripples him, let alone his old age, is that he revealed his association with the goddess Aphrodite. After making love in the cave on Mount Ida, Aphrodite appears to Anchises as a goddess this time and tells her that they will have a son named Aeneas. However, he warns not to tell anyone that the mother of this child is a goddess. If he will do so Zeus will punish Anchises. But Anchises breaks the word gave to the goddess and reveals his secrets by boasting that he loved Aphrodite one day. As a result, he is maimed by striking Zeus' lightning, just as Aphrodite warned before.

Thus, the descendants of the Dardanos, which started with Dardanos, the son of the god Zeus, stretched back to Aeneas, the son of a goddess. In addition, it can be seen that Aeneas and the Trojan dynasty are relatives and cousins of the same lineage, which can be considered quite distant. Geneas, as described in the epic before the Trojan war, was the prince of the kingdom of Dardanos in the north of the kingdom of Troy and founded by his founding fathers. And Aeneas wasn't really a Trojan and a Trojan prince, he was a Dardanelles prince.

Back to mythology and the birth of the hero, Aeneas' mother was Aphrodite, an Olympus goddess. Thus, while Aeneas stretched from his father's lineage to Dardanos and the god Zeus, his mother's bond with

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<sup>15</sup> *H.H.* 108-1; OLSON 2011, 5; ROSE 1924, 11.



Olympus became stronger due to Aphrodite. However, as we have seen examples in Greek mythology on the Trojan battlefield in Iliad, while the godly parents of many heroes whose parents are gods or goddesses could not prevent their deadly fate, we see that Aeneas had full protection that the Olympians withheld from all other children during the war.

Where does this privilege of Aeneas come from? In fact, when we look at the epics, we see that the gods' plans for Aeneas started with his birth. Just after she slept with Anchises, Aphrodite said:

*You will have a son, king to the Trojans.  
it will be.  
And children will be born to your children.  
for all eternity!*

This is the fate of Aeneas in the future<sup>16</sup>. However, it should not be forgotten that Dardanos and Troy were separate kingdoms at this time. One never knows how a child will become king of the Trojans.

Before the Trojan War, we know nothing about Aeneas' position in the kingdom and what he did except the limited information given in some passages of Iliad. The young prince watched over the royal lands and herds around Mount Ida, as did his father, Anchises, in the kingdom of his grandfather, King Capys. Probably because of his father's injury, he not only took on these duties, but also became the crown prince. He was also the commander of the royal armies because the king of Dardanos was too old. The fact that Aeneas assumed these duties from a very early age must have gained him experience and fame before the wars. Like the kings of Dardanos before him, Aeneas married Creusa, the daughter of Priamos, the neighbour and relative of Troy.

## **Aeneas and the War of Troy**

As the fate of Aeneas was drawn before he was born, the fate of Troy was drawn when Paris who did not yet know that he was the prince of Troy, gave the golden apple to Aphrodite on Mount Ida. Continuing from ancient mythology, after the events began with the beauty contest proceed

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<sup>16</sup> H.H. 195.



Fig. 3: The city of Troy and Hellespont. It is thought that the Trojan War was made on the plain outside the city until the city was captured by wooden horse trickery (Troy Excavation Archive)

with the journey of Paris to Troy, and from here to Sparta where he encountered Helene; from that the Helene's abduction, and then the Trojan War. It is seen that Aeneas had a role in the kidnapping of Helena. On an Attic vase dated 5th century BC, is depicted Menelaus king of Sparta with his wife Helena, greetings Paris and Aeneas visiting them<sup>17</sup>. We can attribute the fact that Aeneas went to Sparta with Paris to be the "*counselor of the Trojans*," as Homer later said in Iliad.

According to the words of Homer, the Trojan War took place in proximity of Troy and was fought between Agamemnon and his allies and Priamos and his allies (Fig. 3). Priamos, the ruler of a powerful kingdom in the region, immediately calls on his own allies to help against this attack on his country. In Iliad, both the Achaeans and the distant and nearby countries called for help by Troy are counted one by one.

<sup>17</sup> WOODFORD 1993, 23, fig. 11.

One of the allies that Priamos immediately called for help was the nearest neighbouring kingdom and its distant cousin Dardanos. Moreover, the distant kinship relations between Troy and Dardanos were strengthened again when Priamos gave his daughter Creusa to Aeneas, the young prince of Dardanos.

However, as will be seen later during the war, it is understood that the relations between these two distant relatives are not very warm. In the attack of the Achaeans on Troy, the Dardanells did not rush to the aid of Troy. But it must have changed the mind of the king of Dardanos when the Achaeans attacked not only the Trojans but also other neighbours. The fact that the Achaeans first attacked the southern lands of Dardanos and captured the herds<sup>18</sup> around Lyrnessus and looted the cities brought the Dardanians and the Achaeans against each other. In the battles here, the Achaeans succeeded and Achilles forced Aeneas to flee. However, later, when the Achaeans attacked their land at the end of the Gallipoli Peninsula, opposite Troy in the north of Dardanos, they saw an unexpected response from the Dardanians. As happened in the Çanakkale wars three thousand years later, after the attack of Dardanos soldiers on the Achaeans who landed at the end of the peninsula, Protesilaus, the hero of the Achaeans, was killed by a Dardanian and the Achaeans also gave the first martyr of the Trojan campaign on this coast<sup>19</sup>.

When the Dardanians joined the war alongside the Trojans, they must have thought that their own city was no longer safe, so the royal family must have moved to Troy. They must have stayed here until the end of the war. On behalf of the old king Capys and his father, the crippled Anchises, Aeneas took his place in the Trojan army as the commander of the Dardanos troops.

*"The strong son of Anchises was leader of the Dardanians –  
Aieneias whom divine Aphrodite bore to Anchises  
the folds of Ida, a goddess lying in love with a mortal."*<sup>20</sup>

.....

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<sup>18</sup> LEAF 2012, 245.

<sup>19</sup> KÖRPE 2015, 142.

<sup>20</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, II, 820. The citation of the *Iliad* here and always in this contribution are in the translation of Richmond Lattimore, 2011.

*The leader of the fourth group was the strong son of Anchises,  
Aieneias*<sup>21</sup>

In the collisions, we see Aeneas appearing as a hero equivalent to Hector in the Trojan army.

*... A man lies  
fallen whom we honoured as we honour Hektor the brilliant,  
Aiineias, who is son of the great-hearted Anchises.*<sup>22</sup>

In the epic of Iliad the name of Aeneas is mentioned in books II, V, VI, VIII, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XX. In these parts of the epic, as described in the battles of Aeneas, both information about his past and prophecies about his future are made.

In the V book of Iliad, Aeneas encounters Diomedes, one of the most powerful heroes of the Achaeans. In this battle, Aeneas wears the armour of the god Hephaistos and he returns from the death. Diomedes would hurt his mother, Aprodite, who tried to save Aeneas. Another Olympus god, Apollo, rescues the hero from this situation. Aeneas saved his own life, but lost his horses, descended from the godly stallions that the god Zeus gave to his ancestor Tros. Diomedes will then win the car races in honour of Patroclus with these horses.

*But Aineias sprang to the ground with shield and with long spear,  
for fear that somehow the Achaians might haul off the body,  
and like a lion in the pride of his strength stood over him  
holding before him the perfect circle of his shield and the spear  
crying a terrible cry.*<sup>23</sup>

.....

*... But Tydeus' son in his hand caught  
up a stone, a huge thing which no two man could carry  
such as men are now, but by himself he lightly hefted it.  
He threw, and caught Aineias in the hip, in the place where the hip-bone*

<sup>21</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, XII, 95.

<sup>22</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, V, 465.

<sup>23</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, V, 295-300.

*turns inside the thigh, the place men call the cup-socket.  
 Il smashed the cup-socket and broke the tendons both sides of it,  
 dropping to one knee stayed leaning on the ground with his heavy  
 hand, and a covering of black night came over both eyes.*<sup>24</sup>

*Now in this place Aineias lord of men might have perished  
 had not Aphrodite, Zeus' daughter, been quick to perceive him,  
 his mother, who had borne him to Anchises the ox-herd.*<sup>25</sup>

.....  
*She gave a great shriek and left fall her son she was carrying,  
 but Phoibos Apollo caught him up and away in his own hands,  
 in a dark mist, for fear that some fast-mounted Danaan  
 might strike the bronze spear through his chest and strip the life from him.*<sup>26</sup>

.....  
*Now as these were talking in this way which each other  
 Diomedes of the great war cry made for Aineias.  
 Though he saw how Apollo himself held his hands over him  
 he did not shrink even from the great god, but forever forward  
 drove, to kill Aineias and strip his glorious armour.  
 Three times. Furious to cut him down, he drove forward,  
 And three times Apollo battered aside the bright shield*<sup>27</sup>

Aeneas, who returned to the war after his wounds were healed, brought morale to the Trojans in their attacks against the Achaeans again.

*So Aineias stood among his friends, who were happy  
 as they saw him coming back, still alive, and unwounded  
 and full of brave spirit; yet they asked him no question,  
 for the rest of their fighting work would not let them, that the silver-bow god  
 woke, and manslaughtering Ares, and Hate, whose wrath is relentless.*<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, V, 305-310.

<sup>25</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, V, 311-313.

<sup>26</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, V, 343-346.

<sup>27</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, V, 431-437.

<sup>28</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, V, 514-518.



*Now Aineias killed two great men of the Danaans  
the son of Diokles, Orsilochos and Krethon,  
men whose father dwelt in Phere the strong-founded,  
rich in substance, and his generation was of the river  
Alpheios<sup>29</sup>*

*There Aineias lunging at Aphareus, the son of Kaletor,  
struck him with the sharp spear in the throat where it was turned toward him.  
His head bent over to one side, and his shield tumbled,  
and the helm, and death breaking the spirit drifted about him.<sup>30</sup>*

.....

*But Aineias slaughtered Medon and Iasos. Of these  
Medon was a bastard son of godlike Oileus<sup>31</sup>*

We see that Aeneas and Hector fought side by side and drove the Achaeans to their camps with the superiority of the Trojans over the Achaeans with the withdrawal of Achilles from the war.

*... Priam's, Helenos, best by far of the augurs,  
stood beside Aineias and Hektor and spoken a word to them:  
"Hektor and Aineias, on you beyond others is leaning  
the battle-work of Trojans and Lykians, since you are our greatest  
in every course we take, whether it be thought or in fighting<sup>32</sup>*

But despite all the heroics Aeneas had done for the Trojans to lose his whole life, he still felt that he was not appreciated by Priamos as much as his own sons. Because he had long been displeased with Priamos; he had not given him the dignity he deserved, despite his bold actions. So much so that in one of the angriest moments of the war, the hero retreated from the front lines.

*So he spoke, and the heart in Deiphobos was divided,  
Pondering whether to draw back and find some other high-hearted*

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<sup>29</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, V, 541-544.

<sup>30</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, XIII, 541-544.

<sup>31</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, XV, 330.

<sup>32</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, VI, 75.

*Trojan to be his companion, or whether to attempt him singly.  
and in the division of his heart this way seemed best to him,  
to go for Aineias. He found him at the uttermost edge of the battle  
standing, since he was forever angry with brilliant Priam  
because great as he was he did him no honour among his people.*<sup>33</sup>

The Trojans, who are in a difficult position in the face of the attacks of the Achaeans, say that their sister, who was killed even if not for Priamos, should enter the war to draw the hero back to the war to help her husband.

*"Aineias, lord of the Trojans' counsels, now there is need of you  
to stand by your brother-in-law, if this bond of kinship touches you.  
Come then, stand by Alkathöös, who was your sister's husband  
and in time past nursed you in his house when you were still little.  
But now Idomeneus the spear-famed has killed him in battle."*<sup>34</sup>

Thus, Aeneas, who returned to the war, will meet the most famous Achali towards the end of the epic. In fact, the two heroes participated in the war reluctantly, their success in the war was not appreciated enough by their supreme commanders, but eventually the war turned into a personal revenge of both in a sense. While Achilles' motivation in the war was to revenge his friend Patroclus, who was killed by Hector, Aeneas was fighting for the revenge of his brother-in-law and the Dardanelles.

Although Aeneas was fighting for revenge, he was also aware that the battle with Achilles would end. Zeus saved Aeneas, who had previously encountered Achilles when he destroyed Lyrnesso's and Pedasos at the foot of Mount Ida. But the god Apollo seduces the hero and reminds the Trojan king that he has promised to fight Achilles. He also implies that while Aeneas is the son of an Olympus goddess like Aphrodite, Achilles is only the son of a smaller goddess, and therefore the gods will surely support him in this battle.

*"Aienias, lords of the Trojans", counsels. Where are those threats gone  
Which as you drank your wine you made before Troy's kings, solemnly,*

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<sup>33</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, XIII, 455-461.

<sup>34</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, XIII, 462-467.

*The you would match your battle strength with Peleian Achilleus?"*<sup>35</sup>

.....

*In turn the lord the son of Zeus Apollo spoke to him:*

*"Hero, then make your prayer, you also, to the everlasting  
gods, since they say that you yourself are born of Zeus' daughter  
Aphrodite, but Achilleus was born of a lesser goddess,  
Aphrodite being daughter of Zeus, Thetis of the sea's ancient.*

*Carry your weariless bronze straight against him, let him by no means  
Turn you back by blustering words and his threats of terror."*<sup>36</sup>

Thus, Aeneas confronts Achilles with the encouragement of Apollo. When he sees Aeneas again in front of Achilles, he asks him why he wants to fight him by putting himself in such danger. He tells Aeneas not to think of becoming the king of Troy in the future, and that Priamos has many more sons.

*"Aineias, why have you stood so far forth from the multitude  
against me? Does the desire in your hearth drive you to combat  
in hope you will be lord of the Trojans, breakers of horses,  
and of Priam's honour. And yet even if you were to kill me  
Priam would not because of that rest such honour on your hand.  
He has a son, and he himself is sound, not weakened.  
Or have the men of Troy promised you a piece of land, surpassing  
all others, fine ploughland and orchard for you to administer  
if you kill me?"*<sup>37</sup>

Homer here explains the exact position of Aeneas in Troy from the mouth of Achilles. Although the cities of Dardanos and Troy are of common ancestry, it can be seen that there is a coldness between the two dynasties. This rivalry between the two relatives probably goes back to the separation of the kingdom of Troy from the kingdom of Dardanos. It should not be forgotten that the kingdom of Troy and its lands were once part of the kingdom of Dardanos. The lands of Dardanos actually surround the lands of Troy in a sense. We know that the lands on the western tip of the Gallipoli peninsula just op-

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<sup>35</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, XX, 83-85.

<sup>36</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, XX, 104-109.

<sup>37</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, XX, 178-186.

posite Troy and Mount Ida in the south belong to the Dardanians from the collisions Aeneas made with the Achaeans in this region. But Mount Ida was also important to the kingdom of Troy. Considering that the herds of the kingdom graze at the foot of this mountain, it can be argued that the problem between the two relatives' kingdoms originated from the lands on Mount Ida. The reluctance of the Dardanians to participate in the war, on the other hand, was noticed even by the Achaeans that Priamos did not appreciate Aeneas as much as his own sons for his valour. Aeneas had no claim to the throne of Troy, no matter what he did in the war, even if he killed Achilles. Nevertheless, Aeneas, who was at war with Achilles, soon realized his mistake. The gods who watched the battle also saw the result. Poseidon, who was among the gods and took the side of the Achaeans from the very beginning of the war, intervened in the war and saved Aeneas' life once again. While telling the purpose of saving Aeneas, he also prophesies about the future life of the hero and his descendants<sup>38</sup>.

*"Ah me; I am full of sorrow for great-hearted Aineas,  
who must presently go down to the death, overpowered by Achilleus,  
because he believed the words of Apollo, the far ranging;  
poor fool, since Apollo will do nothing to keep grim death from him".*<sup>39</sup>

.....

*But come, let us ourselves get him away from death, for fear  
the son of Kronos may be angered if now Achilleus  
kills this man. It is destined that he shall be the survivor,  
that the generation of Dardanos shall not die, without seed  
obliterated, since Dardanos was dearest to Kronides  
of all his sons that have been born to him from mortal women.  
For Kronos' son had cursed the generation of Priam,  
and now the might of Aineias shall be lord over the Trojans,  
and his sons' son, and those who are born of their seed hereafter."*<sup>40</sup>

In other parts of Homer's Iliad saga, Aeneas is not mentioned again. After that, the epic ends with the killing of Hector by Achilles and the funeral.

<sup>38</sup> CASALI 2010, 40-41.

<sup>39</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, XX, 293-6.

<sup>40</sup> Hom., *Iliad*, XX, 300-308.

In the verses in the above Iliad that speak of Aeneas, Homer clearly stated the lineage of this hero, his role in the battles, and most importantly, the value that the gods gave him. On the other hand, it is seen that Aeneas is not as prominent in the epic as an Achilles or Hector. While Achilles is the main hero of the Achaeans, the Trojans' is undoubtedly Hector. Homer said that Aeneas was "equivalent to Hector" in the Trojan army and showed where his place and position was. Undoubtedly, Iliad was the war between the Trojans and the Achaeans, and Aeneas was one of the close allies who participated in this war alongside the Trojans. But it is clear that Troy is first and foremost among its allies.

Perhaps the most important factor that brought Aeneas to the forefront among other Trojan allies in Iliad is the fact that among those who came to Troy's aid, it was the Dardanians who were attacked by the Achaeans on their own territory. In a sense, Aeneas is fighting against the invaders who also attack their lands in the Trojan plain. Along with the Trojans, he actually defends his own homeland. This must be the motivation for Aeneas to join the war so eagerly and risk his life against Achilles.

We learn what happened next in the Trojan War from other epics defined as *Iliou Persis* and *Epic Cycle*, which reached the present day only indirectly and in very small pieces, rather than comprehensive and detailed sources such as Homer's Iliad<sup>41</sup>. Moreover, these pieces are mostly in the form of quotations of ancient sources. Our knowledge of the wooden horse trick, the capture of Troy, the looting of Virgil until the epic of Aeneas is limited and related to restricted resources, except for very few returns in Odyssey. We also need to add to these written sources ancient vase paintings, mosaic and wall paintings, and a wide range of sculpture works. The details in these works and the written sources that have not been obtained in a sense are completed.

Although there is no mention of it in the written sources, Aeneas' last role in the Trojan War is described among the Trojan heroes who made a move to take Achilles' body. When Paris guided by Apollo, shot Achilles from the heel, his only deadly place, the Achaeans and Trojans stepped forward to capture the dead body of this hero. Unfortunately, the vase in which this scene was depicted disappeared like other ancient sources. The night that Troy fell into the hands of the Achaeans thanks to the wooden horse trick, and the Achaeans looted the city and braided the Trojans, Aeneas

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<sup>41</sup> HORSFALL 1979, 273-276; WEST 2013.



sees Helena hiding in fear in the midst of this destruction. When he tries to kill Helena, whom he sees as the cause of all this pain, he is stopped by his mother Aphrodite. Aphrodite tells her son to control his anger and save his family while he is still alive and run away<sup>42</sup>.

Thus, the most iconic description of Aeneas is his escape from Troy, which we encounter in almost every way from the 6th century BC to the late antiquity, especially in ancient sources and vase paintings. Here the hero is shown with his father Anchises on his back, along with his son Ascanius and a woman described as his wife Creusa<sup>43</sup>.

Although ancient sources largely agree that Aeneas escaped from Troy, statements about how and when he escaped are diverse. It is said that some of the Achaeans decided after leaving the wooden horse in front of the walls of Troy, that the prophet Laochoon tried to warn the Trojans and Poseidon killed the prophet and his sons by sending giant sea snakes<sup>44</sup>. Others say that the Achaeans escaped from the confusion during the looting of Troy. Some sources say that he was warned primarily by his mother, Aphrodite, and other gods, and that among the stimuli was the ghost of Hector. In another story, they say that his wife Creusa, whose fate was to die in Troy, was left behind, and that the hero returned to Troy to find his wife and met the ghost of his wife here, and that Creusa told her husband to leave Troy and marry again.

Aeneas' survival from this destruction was interpreted by sources such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus in ancient times as his agreement with the Achaeans and betrayal of the Trojans<sup>45</sup>. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 4 BC Century historian Menecrates of Xanthus says that Aeneas was excluded from his share of sacrifices by Paris, the new leader of the Trojans, after Hector's death, and therefore, he cooperated with the Achaeans in the fall of the city by agreeing with the Achaeans after the death of Achilles<sup>46</sup>.

Another proof of Aeneas' collaboration with the Achaeans was that Aeneas and his family were untouched the night the Achaeans captured and pillaged Troy and killed the Trojans. While even the boys of Troy were killed,

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<sup>42</sup> *Tax. Aen.*, 2, 594-629.

<sup>43</sup> WOODFORD 1993, 114-116, fig. 109, 110; SIMON 2001, 159-162, fig. 1.

<sup>44</sup> MOST 2010, 227.

<sup>45</sup> SCAFOGLIO 2013, 1-14.

<sup>46</sup> *Ant.Rom.* 1.48.3 = *FGrHist* 769 F 3.

Aeneas was taken prisoner by Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, and in a sense survived the mass murder.<sup>47</sup>

Neoptolemus, who was brought to Troy after the death of his father Achilles, stands out especially in the destruction of the Trojan royal family. As depicted in many vase paintings, the king killed Priamos by grabbing his grandson Astynax by the foot and shooting him<sup>48</sup>. It is unthinkable that such a warrior would capture Aeneas, who is said to be Hector's equal. We know that during the war, powerful gods such as Poseidon and Apollo were protected, especially his mother Aphrodite. At the end of the war, it can be said that the hero was protected by the Achaeans; at least he was allowed to escape.

In the ancient depictions of this escape, Aeneas almost escapes from the burning Troy. Thus, his journey to Mount Ida and then to Italy began.

### **The Journey to Italy of the Dardanos Aeneas**

The next adventure of Aeneas, who escaped from Troy, is described in great details by ancient writers, especially Vergilius. Numerous works written on this subject try to explain the journey of the hero in its historical sense, especially its literary aspect, since it is considered as the founding ancestor of the Romans.

The night Troy was looted, the Trojan line of the descendants of Dardanos was completely wiped out. This includes Aeneas' wife, Creusa. In addition to her mother being Aphrodite, Aeneas was also saved from the Trojan dynasty. He was from Dardanos from the very beginning, and joined the war with the Dardanians. As often stated in *Iliad*, he is destined to rule the Trojans one day, or perhaps with a more accurate interpretation, his descendants. Although some ancient sources, such as Strabo, say that his descendants later returned to Troy and ruled the city, many Greek sources and, of course, Vergilius lead our hero to an irreversible path.

Aeneas' journey to Italy is not only his own adventure but also the adventure to find a new home for those who survived the Trojan War. The fact that a people whose country have been occupied and whose cities have been looted get on ships and search for a safer land and a new future is ac-

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<sup>47</sup> SCAFOGLIO 2013, 11.

<sup>48</sup> WOODFORD 1993, fig. 111.

tually a frequent event throughout history. This event, which frequently takes place in the Aegean world especially during the colonization movements in the 19th century, it happened also during the 5th century BC when Persians invaded Western Anatolia. The Phocaeans fled from the Persian invasion to the colonies of the Mediterranean off the coast of France<sup>49</sup>.

It can be thought that Aeneas and those with him left their country for such a reason. But what was the power here that forced them to migrate overseas? The answer to this question, which has been known for centuries, was of course the Achaeans, who captured Troy. In the Aeneid epic, which was enriched with both epics and Vergilius' details, Aeneas first took refuge in Mount Ida and then left his homeland by building ships in Antandros at the foot of Mount Ida.

The use of mythology and epics as a source has long been discussed among historians. How much of the events described in the epics reflect the truth can only be verified to the extent that they coincide with historical events and are proven by archaeology. Until the excavations in Troy which began in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Trojan War was just a saga. Excavations and written documents in recent years have revealed that the war described in the epics and those mentioned may be historical personalities.

The truth here is that the region, especially Troy, was looted, burned and killed by invaders from outside. Those who survived this destruction fled to inland areas and mountainous areas such as Mount Ida. Unfortunately, the archaeological excavations carried out in Troy since one hundred and fifty years have not yielded any definitive evidence of the war that Homer described in his Iliad. Although there are several layers of fire and destruction within the time period considered to be war, it is not clear which one belongs to the war Homer mentioned.

Although we are not very sure about the traces of the war described in the epic in Troy, the traces of a great destruction and then abandonment in the city are clearly evident. Moreover, all the Late Bronze Age settlements in the region, especially Dardania, not only Troy, but also in its immediate vicinity, were abandoned simultaneously. It is very clear that it was not the Achaeans who caused this destruction and abandonment because they were living a similar fate at the same time.

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<sup>49</sup> *Hdt.* 1. 164-168.

This movement, which started in north-western Anatolia, soon descended to the south like an avalanche and ended the Hittite Empire and its contemporary West Asian states. It happened so suddenly that we could only find out who caused it when they were based in Egypt. Among the peoples whom Egyptian sources referred to as “Sea Tribes”, there was a familiar from the Kadesh war: the *Dardanoi*<sup>50</sup>. The Dardanians, who fought against the Egyptians with their chariots beside the Hittite army, probably came to the north African coast, Egypt, this time in a wave of migration that dragged them by ships.

This force, which displaced the Dardanians and other Troas peoples and forced them to emigrate overseas, could not have been the capture of Troy by the Achaeans. The movement that first forced these people to take refuge in the safety of Mount Ida from the cities they lived in and then caused their country should be the great migration movement, which would later be called “Sea Tribes”. Some of these people who participated in this wave of migration with other Anatolian people must have reached the coast of North Africa.

One of the leaders of one of these groups must undoubtedly be one of the local leaders of the region, such as Aeneas, the prince of Dardania. Other sources, especially Vergilius, later describe the detail of Aeneas, who we know from the Iliad saga that he fought against the Achaeans alongside his Trojan allies, took refuge in Mount Ida at the end of this war. Going back to the epics again, there must be a far greater force forcing Aeneas, destined to be king of the Trojans, to leave his homeland.

The Dardanians, led by Aeneas, must have finally reached the Italian coast after a long stroll between the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa, just like the other peoples who formed the Sea Tribes and sought new lands to live in.

## Aeneas and Trojans

All sources, especially Homer, agree that Aeneas was the prince of the kingdom of Dardania and participated in the Trojan War as the leader of the Dardanians, just like Sarpedon, the leader of the Lycians, and Penthesileia, the queen of the Amazons. But after the war, and especially

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<sup>50</sup> BARNETT 1975, 359-363.

on his journey to Italy, we see that Aeneas of Dardania turned into Aeneas of "Troy". In Iliad, it is clearly stated that he was from Dardania and even was excluded by Priamos. In Vergilius' epic of Aeneid, the bard mentions him six times as "Dardanian" and six times as "Trojans". In addition, the poet mentions those who came with Aeneas as both Trojans and Dardanians.

Vergilius must have known that Aeneas was a Dardanian, not only from the sagas of Homer, but from the numerous sources he had read in his own time, which he had come to this day in pieces, whose name we know or never knew. But he must have thought that the fact that the hero who would be the ancestor of the Romans was from Troy would attract more attention than the fact that he was from Dardania. It is clear that Aeneas deliberately converted from Darcos to Trojanism.

On the other hand, there is a place where Vergilius is right about this. The people referred to as "Trojans" in Iliad and Aeneid should not only be the people of the city or kingdom of Troy (Ilion), but all the people living in the vicinity. In the Late Bronze Age, Hittite cuneiform tablets are also referred to as "Taruisas" other than Wilusa in the region<sup>51</sup>. The name of the region indicated along with the classical ages as "Troas" should be largely related to the ethnic origin of the people living in the region. Most of these people living in the area can be considered Trojans. So the Dardanians and the Trojans were actually people who spoke the same language. Our only source in this regard is *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*. Aphrodite, who approached Anchises of Dardania as a Phrygian princess, says that her mother-in-law is from Troy and that she learned this language from her. Unfortunately, except for a single bronze seal written in Luvian found in the Trojan excavations, we do not have epigraphic finds that will allow us to understand the language spoken by the people of the region.

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<sup>51</sup> GÜTERBOCK 1986, 33-44; Some scholars even suggest that the Etruscans in the northwest of the Italian peninsula may *originate* from the Taruisas region. BILLIGMEIER 1977, 5-10; FONTAINE 2016, 8.



## Back to Troy

The events of the Late Bronze Age greatly changed the demographic structure of the region. A new group of people arrived in the region through the Balkans. All the cities of the Late Bronze Age, especially Troy, were abandoned. Again with Troy, these settlements remained as ruins for a while and they started to be resettled by Greek-speaking people coming from the south from the 20th century onwards. The newcomers must have called Troy, mentioned in the epics and whose glorious walls can still be seen, Ilion in reference to both the name of Wilusa in the Late Bronze Age and the name of Ilios mentioned in Iliad.

But the newly established Ilion was now an ordinary city far from its former glory. Kings such as Xerxes and Alexander the Great, who knew this history of the city from time to time, tried to revive the city, but it was not very successful. He even turned into a miserable town with no tiles on the roofs of their house. It is understood that the visitors who came to the city's economy made an important contribution in this period. Visitors to Troy were guided by local guides and shown the traces of the Trojan War and the graves of the heroes and their remains. However, apart from Hector, a monument or similar places related to the cult of Aeneas has not been found until now, while relics of Achaean heroes and their tumuli are visible in Ilion. Is Aeneas once again to be excluded from Troy? We don't know that yet, but the hero will return to Troy permanently.

The fate of Troy will change with the fall of Western Anatolia under the Roman domination<sup>52</sup>. Although Aeneas is seen more in Rome as a figure related to its own founding legends, this will change after the Romans become a Mediterranean power. For the Romans, who thought that their founding father was Aeneas, who came to Italy after the Trojan wars, the city of Troy became to have a special place<sup>53</sup>. Although the burning of the city by Roman general Fimbria during the wars with Mithridates was the greatest catastrophe that the city experienced after the Trojan wars, the subsequent Roman statesmen will correct this mistake<sup>54</sup>. Sulla, who came to Troy after the disaster of Fimbria, started the works to restore the former

<sup>52</sup> ERSKINE 2001.

<sup>53</sup> ROSE 2015, 142.

<sup>54</sup> Strabon 13. 1, 27; MÜNZER 1909; MAGIE 1950, 228; HAYES 1995, 177-183; ROSE, KÖRPE 2016, 219-221.



Fig- 4: Roman structures and inscriptions in Troy (R. Körpe archive)

glory of the city. But everything will change after Caesar, who visited Troy after the Pharsalia wars in 48 BC. Believing that he himself was descended from Aphrodite and Aeneas, Caesar visited the city<sup>55</sup> and its surroundings just as Alexander the Great did<sup>56</sup>. During this visit, which was described in detail by the Roman poet Annaenus Lucanus, a local host showed Caesar the “ruins of ruins” from the time of Troy’s past wars<sup>57</sup>.

After Caesar’s death, Rome was transformed into an empire by his nephew Octavianus after a long civil war, and Octavianus, who took the title of Augustus, based his descendants on Aeneas, just like his great-uncle<sup>58</sup>. Rome’s policy of settle its roots in Troy culminated in the writing of Vergilius’ Aeneid during the time of Augustus. Due to this particular attention, Troy became one of the cities that the Roman Empire valued the

<sup>55</sup> Cass. Dio., XLIII, 43, 3.

<sup>56</sup> MINCHIN 2012, 86; CARVOUNIS 2014, 191.

<sup>57</sup> Lucan., 9, 964-999; PERROTTET 2002, 244.

<sup>58</sup> Suet., *Caesar* 39. 2; *Augustus* 43. 2; *Tiberius* 6. 4; *Claudius* 21. 3; Cass. Dio., 54. 26. 1, 55.10.6–7, 59.11.2; Plin., 8.65; ALLEN 1922, 255.

most in Anatolia<sup>59</sup> (Fig. 4). The myth of Aeneas, initially highlighted by the Caesar and Julio-Claudius dynasties, soon became the mythological infrastructure of Rome's political presence in Asia. The Romans showed that Aeneas escaped from Troy and went to Rome in every way from coins to reliefs and mosaics in these lands of the empire. There are so many Aeneas depictions that emerged in archaeological excavations of many ancient cities today that even Saint Paulus in the 1st century BC, during his several trips in Western Anatolia mentioned about it.

Coming back to Troy and Aeneas, Aeneas has returned to Troy, even thanks to the Romans. As we see in many imperial city coins in Anatolia, we see his famous depiction in Ilium coins<sup>60</sup>. However, a monument belonging to this hero in Troy does not appear until the beginning of the 3rd century, until the Aurelian period<sup>61</sup>. Realizing the interest of the Romans in Aeneas, the Ilionians added another place among the places they showed to the visitors who came to the city before. This was perhaps the cave where Aeneas' father, Anchises, laid with Aphrodite, which most Roman tourists wanted to see at the time. In the cave there was even a bed which was said to have belonged to the couple and the bed in it was one of the most interesting details<sup>62</sup>. Aeneas, who was respected as the founding ancestor for the Romans, was no longer anything but a tourist figure for the new Trojans-Iliumans.

Aeneas eventually returned to Troy, but his return was hundreds of years later, thanks to the Romans, who believed they were his descendants. The Romans dominated all Asia Minor, not just the Trojans, just as the gods prophesied in the epic.

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<sup>59</sup> KÖRPE 2019, 134.

<sup>60</sup> DUNCAN 1948, 15.

<sup>61</sup> FRISCH 1975, 141-5; ROSE 2014, 255.

<sup>62</sup> KÖRPE 2019, 138.

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Rıdvan Gölcük

## AENEAS DIPLOMACY

*“We make for Latium, where fates have promised  
a peaceful settlement. It is decreed  
that there the realm of Troy will rise again”*

(Aeneid, Book I, 205-206.  
Trans. by Allen Mandelbaum)

### Abstract

The Aeneid written by Vergilius aimed to become an establishment legend for the Roman Empire and to create a root for the Empire. Although it has been passed for almost two millennium over being written, it takes its place in collective memory with its new contexts. Aeneas established Lavinium, Romulus and Remus, descended from him and being breastfed by a wolf, established the city of Rome in 753 BC. Refugee Aeneas, a mythic character, has a special place in the Italian cultural memory today. On the other hand, Aeneas with Dardanos is referred to as the “leader of the Trojans” and the “advisor of the Trojans” in the Iliad. Therefore, our hero has an important place in Anatolian cultural memory. In our study, the construction of “Aeneas Diplomacy” as a new channel of association and communication through Aeneas, which has an important place in the cultural memory of both countries, will be discussed.

**Keywords:** Aeneas Diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, Troy, collective memory

### Introduction

The history of diplomacy is as old as the history of humanity, and it is impossible to give the date of its emergence. Diplomacy also emerged before the invention of writing and the transition of man to settled life, when two communities of people thought to negotiate and bargain instead of coming

across each other and fighting. This implies that diplomacy is often a whole of relationship the opposite of the action of warfare<sup>1</sup>.

In today's sense, diplomacy has been first developed thanks to relationship between city-states in Northern Italy of the 17th and 18th centuries . It is considered that multilateral diplomacy started especially with the 1648 Westphalia Agreement and become popular all over Europe with the 1815 Vienna Congress<sup>2</sup>.

A significant change in the understanding of diplomacy has been occurred with the changing age. Firstly, the concept of public diplomacy emerged. In Hans Tuch's definition, "public diplomacy is the communication process of a government that aims to convey the thoughts and ideals of its own nation, its own institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and current policies to foreign peoples"<sup>3</sup>. The subject of Cultural Diplomacy, that we will discuss here today, is defines as "the exchange of ideas, knowledge, art and other cultural elements within the mutual understanding relationship" by the American political scientist Milton C. Cumming<sup>4</sup>.

The history and archaeology used by nations to recognize themselves and their topos and to "build" are also the two areas in which cultural diplomacy naturally feeds the most today. In this case, how can Aeneas emerge from the depths of the past and help us in cultural diplomacy? Can Aeneas be with us to build our common future? Can Aeneas guide us where traditional diplomacy cannot?

Aphrodite and Homer's Aeneas, the son of the Trojan prince Anchises, not only appeared in the Iliad, but also inspired by Vergilius, the greatest of classical Latin poets<sup>5</sup>. At this point, we find it useful to examine the personality of Aeneas, who briefly appeared in both of them.

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<sup>1</sup> BİLİNER, LİQUİD 2020, 127.

<sup>2</sup> BEE 1997, 302.

<sup>3</sup> AKÇADAĞ 2013, 1.

<sup>4</sup> ER 2018, 22.

<sup>5</sup> ERHAT 2021, 20.

Homer tells for the first time in Book II of the Iliad, of Aeneas (II, 819-823):

*"The strong son of Anchises was leader of the Dardanians,  
Aineias, whom divine Aphrodite bore to Anchises  
In the folds of Ida, a goddess lying in love with a mortal"*<sup>6</sup>

We see Aeneas mostly in Book V, within the struggle with Diomedes. First he provokes Pandaros against Diomedes (V, 166-275), later in the chapter, Diomedes injures first Aeneas and then his mother Aphrodite, who wants to save him (V, 297-350). In book XX, it is handled a war against Achilles (XX, 75-352). In this chapter, Aeneas mentions at the same time the Dardanos descendants, which extend until Troy. In the Iliad, Aeneas is referred to as *"the advisor of the Trojans"* (V, 180), *"the leader of the Trojans"* (V, 217, and it is even written that both he and his grandchildren will be king of Troy (XX, 307-308). However, it is difficult to say that Aeneas found enough space in the Iliad. Aeneas sulks about Priamus for not regarding him from the valiant (XIII, 460-461). It is obvious that there is a tug of war between the family, uncle or uncle children. As Achilles should also know this tug of war, he said that Priamus would not give him his seat / place of honor, has the sons of him; the Trojans would not give him land even if he defeated himself in order to demoralize his opponent when they met Aeneas (XX, 180-187).

This strong hero undoubtedly appears to be overshadowed by Hector in the Iliad. However, Homer seals the fate of Aeneas with these lines so to speak and paid him new respects (XX, 303-305):

*"... It is destined that he shall be the survivor,  
that the generation of Dardanos shall not die ..."*

The course of the new journey is drawn in 'Aeneid' work of Vergilius. But Aeneas emerged here as a new man. The hero, referred as *"Pius Aeneas"*, has a different attitude and behaviour than the valiant ones in the Homeric epics.

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<sup>6</sup> The verses of the Iliad quoted in the text are from the translation of Richmond Lattimore.





1. Aeneas and Dido's lion hunt scene (Ersoy, Koçer , Serin 2022, 74)

The concept defined as “*Pietas*” is a virtue that also transcends respect for religion, Augustus age man knew as ideal, the virtue of commitment to Augustus and to the ideals of humanity belonging to the Augustus age and respect to the ideal of the past belonging to that era, the endless respect to national history and culture, and the associate effort to accept resources, even if foreign, the aim of reaching out to them in creativity by considering the greatest examples of serving culture, and an infinite sense of responsibility for this purpose, all of which are included in the concept called “*pietas*” and are fully symbolized by the type of Aeneas revived in the *Aeneid* epic<sup>7</sup>. Vergilius uses the adjective “*pious*” for Aeneas 15 times in his book and obviously wants to impress the reader with this aspect of Aeneas<sup>8</sup>.

In fact, long before ‘Aeneas’ of Vergilius, Aeneas was known in Italy. As is also understood from many pottery depicting the escape of Aeneas and Anchises from Troy, which first appeared in Etruscan graves, the Trojan

<sup>7</sup> ERHAT 1996, 21.

<sup>8</sup> MOSELEY 1925, 387.

War epic and Aeneas were known in Italy in the 6th century BC<sup>9</sup>. In the 7-6th century BC, the Sicilian poet Stesichorus was the first to say that Aeneas traveled west<sup>10</sup>. It is known that the relationship between Aeneas and Rome was established by Hellanicus of Lesbos, who lived in the 5th century BC and his student Damastes of Sigeion. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Hellanicus said that Aeneas founded Rome when Odysseus made his return travel. In addition, Hellanicus stated that Aeneas called the city Rome on behalf of the Trojan woman “Romê” who survived the burning ships<sup>11</sup>.

There are many examples in the historic scene where the topic of the descent of Rome from Troy were used in diplomatic interactions as it happened when Lampsakos sent ambassadors to Rome to ask help against the threats received by Antiochus III or when Pyrrhus helped Tarentini.

Aeneas is not a mythical image that is far from history, especially for Italy. The famous Italian archaeologist Luigi Maria Ugolini, who conducted the excavations in Butrint (Albania) in 1928, writes that he studied Vergilius in the acropolis of Butrint, and the spiritual bonds between Rome and Butrint and between this city and Troy became closer<sup>12</sup>. At this point, Aeneas' journey includes a multi-layered and griffin structure from myth to historiography, from archaeology to 'identity selection' and cultural memory formation.

## Cultural Memory

Assmann says that “Cultural Memory” refers to the external dimension of human memory. According to him, when it comes to memory, an internal phenomenon usually comes to mind and its place is the brain of the individual, that is, memory is thought to be related to brain physiology, neurology and psychology, but it has nothing to do with historical culture science. However, what this memory contains, the organization of these

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<sup>9</sup> SONGUL 2013, 7.

<sup>10</sup> MEDITERRANEAN 2020, 83-84.

<sup>11</sup> SONGUL 2013, 8.

<sup>12</sup> LEPORE 2015, 64.

contents and how long they will be preserved are determined by external conditions rather than the capacity and orientation of the individual, that is to say, the conditions of the social and cultural framework<sup>13</sup>. In this type of memory, societies determine what they should remember depending on their past policies. In other words, the past is created and shaped from designed and established memories, legends and similar recall elements. Cultural memory contains a ceremonial character. Recollection figures with an original past such as holidays, monuments, epics and days of remembrance are within the realm of cultural memory. Groups, in these ceremonial and ritual situations, renew their social identities by repeating memories of their origins<sup>14</sup>.

At this point, we can say that Aeneas is important for Italy not only in terms of history but also in terms of collective memory. When it comes to Türkiye, where Aeneas was born and traveled, it becomes a grift. The history of the Turks coincides with the history of Islam after the 8th-9th centuries, with the history of Anatolia after the 11th century, and with the history of "Türkiye" just after 1923. This incompatibility between the history of the Turks and the history of Türkiye gives a special quality to historical discourse; because either the fact that the readers are constantly unfamiliar with the lands or the fact that they acquire the characteristics of Turks - from an ethnic point of view- coincides with a recent history (1922) is referred to Türkiye<sup>15</sup>. The historian Ethem Eldem states that "The biggest problem of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Türkiye has been the inability to establish a solid connection between the ancient artifacts on their lands and their own identity<sup>16</sup>."

In fact, the situation is not that clear. In Italy, the exchange of Turks/Teukros has been ordinary since the turn of the 15th century. For example, it was emphasized that the Turks were of Trojan origin by reason of a Turkish slave named "Teucro (Türk) Bartolomeo from the descent of Teucros" in

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<sup>13</sup> ASSMANN 2015, 26-27.

<sup>14</sup> ERDOĞAN 2013, 52.

<sup>15</sup> COPEAUX 2016, 22.

<sup>16</sup> HAMİLAKIS 2020, 21.



2. Aeneas figure (Ersoy, Koçer, Serin 2022, 74)

Ferrara in 1444<sup>17</sup>. The famous essayist Montaigne in his work titled “Articles”, in a letter that Ottoman Sultan Fatih Sultan Mehmet’s posted to Pope Pius II, he writes that the Turks were descended from the Trojans and that it was the responsibility of the Turks to avenge Hector<sup>18</sup>. Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406) emphasised that Turks were more loyal to the ancient Roman spirit than modern Italians before the 15th century. Spain’s Pero Tafur tells that “the Great Turk, who boasts of his victory, avenged the Trojan virgin who was raped in the Temple of Pallas” during the conquest of Istanbul. During the Midilli conquest of Fatih Sultan Mehmed in 1462, in Çanakkale, in Troy; “... The Greeks, Macedonians, Thessalonians and Morals captured this place (Troy). It was written by Kritovulos Tukidides that said “we have avenged the bad behavior they have done against us Asians from their descendants, despite the passage of many eras and years<sup>19</sup>”. It

<sup>17</sup> Ricci 2005, 108.

<sup>18</sup> Aslan 2015, 88

<sup>19</sup> Afyoncu 2018, 96-103.





3. Dido figure (Ersoy, Koçer, Serin 2022, 75)

is written up by Sabahattin Eyüboğlu “we now avenged Hector!” words of Mustafa Kemal after Dumlupınar Victory<sup>20</sup>.

The Turkish History Thesis, which was created with the encouragement of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in the 1930s, considered the Hittites, the first indigenous people of Anatolia, as the ancestors of the Turks<sup>21</sup>. At this point, it is necessary to mention the formation of Blue Anaism. The Blue Anaism Movement claimed that the main center of civilization was the coasts of Anatolia and that the origins of the Turks date back to the oldest tribes of Anatolia and adopted a universal understanding of civilization with a humanist approach. The Blue Anaism Movement, which is one of the ideas centered on Anatolianism, adopted a culture-based nationalism approach that dates back to Anatolian civilizations in the Early Ages<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> ASLAN, ATABAY 2012, 159.

<sup>21</sup> ÜNSAL 2020, 54.

<sup>22</sup> ÜNSAL 2020, 400.



Although we have listed the above examples, it is clear that Turkey, which has tried to shape its identity within the framework of Turkish-Islamic synthesis for many years, has been kept at a distant in establishing an identity connection with the pre-1071 (Malazgirt War) cultural heritage area. At least it didn't show our neighbor's desire and excesses on Makranisos Island<sup>23</sup>.

Today, the Trojan Museum of Troy, which was opened in 2018, provides an important opportunity in terms of re-establishing and consolidating bonds with the Trojan heritage. Museum Director Gölcük said, "For the first time, such, Turks have become a part of the Iliad and Troy. There is a strong sense of identity concerning Troy. This time, Iliad is re-read and re-interpreted with its Anatolian bonds<sup>24</sup>." Mr. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President of the Republic of Turkey, who participated in a program organized by the Museum on November 13, 2021, said "Troy is Anatolia." He strongly emphasised the identity bonds with Troy with his words: "Troy, like all the peoples who lived in Anatolia, is a symbol of the past that represents us<sup>25</sup>."

According to Halbwachs, collective memory is not found as a spontaneous fact, but something of constructed. When each group enters a process of change, it rebuilds its own memory. At the same time, the community organizes the present and the future while establishing the past<sup>26</sup>. It can be said that an important mission can be undertaken at the point where the Trojan Museum is located in terms of reestablishing memory, reminding and identity formation/selection. In this case, is it possible to open a new channel between Turkey and Italy through Aeneas and the meanings attributed to it? For example, can Aeneas provide a diplomatic opening between the two countries?

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<sup>23</sup> HAMİLAKİS 2020, 309-347.

<sup>24</sup> <https://www.kitaptansanattan.com/ridvan-golcuk-troya-muzesinin-hikayesini-anlatti/>.

<sup>25</sup> <https://www.milliyet.com.tr/gundem/aslan-cumhurbaskaninin-troya-anadoludur-tespiti-turk-arkeolojisi-acisindan-cok-onemli-6642953>.

<sup>26</sup> UYGAR 2009, 8.

## Diplomacy

The word diplomacy originated from the “diploma” in ancient Greek. In Ancient Greek the word diploma was used with the meaning of “to fold”. In the ancient Greek and Roman empires, all official documents belonging to the state were called diplomas due to the way they were folded in two pieces. During the centuries, professional clerks were required to protect, organize and decipher documents, and the concept of diplomacy started to be used in this way with the meaning of “the science of examining documents” until the century XVIII<sup>27</sup>.

Henry Kissinger refers to diplomacy as the art of controlling relations between states<sup>28</sup>. Ernest Satow described diplomacy as “the application of intelligence and tactics to official relations between the governments of independent states”. For Albert de Broglie, “diplomacy is only the best thing that civilization has created to prevent power from dominating interstate relations”. Edmund Burke’s definition is “diplomacy is skill and talent in international relations and negotiations”<sup>29</sup>.

This inflation in the definition of diplomacy reveals the change that the concept has undergone in the historical process, that is, in a sense, the changing needs and expectations<sup>30</sup>.

## Public Diplomacy

The increasing ambiguity of the line which separates domestic and foreign policy in the new century; the increase in the importance of the media, the emergence of new non-governmental actors in the field of international relations and the increase in their effects have greatly increased the importance of the public opinion factor in the field of diplomacy compared to the previous periods. The fact that public opinion has become so important has made it necessary for governments’ attitudes in foreign policy to be

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<sup>27</sup> From the BEGINNING 2016, 6.

<sup>28</sup> KISSINGER 2002, 3.

<sup>29</sup> İSKİT 2018, 3.

<sup>30</sup> GÖLCÜK 2020, 6.



4. Ascanius figure (on the right) (Ersoy, Koçer, Serin, 2022, 75)

supported by their own public opinion and their policies to be seen as legitimate in the eyes of their own people. In this new era, governments also had to strive to win the support of other countries' peoples and the public. All these situations have forced the change of classical diplomacy and the emergence of a new understanding of diplomacy<sup>31</sup>. Public diplomacy was needed as traditional diplomacy did not respond to the needs of the age<sup>32</sup>.

The concept of public diplomacy was first used during the Kennedy government in 1963 by Edward Murrow, Director of the US Information Agency (USIA) and a popular radio host. According to Murrow, public diplomacy is the process of sharing the views of non-governmental organizations such as governments and non-governmental organizations with foreign non-governmental organizations and public opinion<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> BAĞÇACI 2019, 11.

<sup>32</sup> GÖLCÜK 2020, 10.

<sup>33</sup> İNAN 2012, 63-64.



5. Embossment from Aphrodisias Sebasteion: Aeneas smuggling his family from Troy, while Aphrodite is looking at him (Photo by Aykan Özener)

Public diplomacy is simply a government's attempt to influence the people and intellectuals of another nation in order to turn this nation's policies to its advantage. In Hans Tuch's definition, "public diplomacy is the communication process of a government that aims to convey the thoughts and ideals of its own nation, its own institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and current policies to foreign peoples". In addition, public diplomacy should not be perceived as one-way. Gifford Malone emphasizes the importance of two-way structuring of this process as follows: "If

we want to explain our own society and policies, we must first learn the culture, history, psychology and especially the language of the people we want to communicate with”<sup>34</sup>.

## Cultural Diplomacy

According to the Dictionary of Cultural Diplomacy published by the Institute of Cultural Diplomacy, ‘cultural diplomacy’ is a tool for countries to raise their own cultural and political values to the whole world. The main idea of this is to ensure that people have transition to different perspectives and cultures to create dialogue and consensus. Former Romanian President and head of the Academy of Cultural Diplomacy at the Institute of Cultural Diplomacy, Dr. Emil Constantinescu describes cultural diplomacy as a blueprint for actions based on, and using the exchange of ideas, values, traditions and other aspects of culture or identity to strengthen relations, enhance socio-cultural cooperation, or enhance national interests<sup>35</sup>. American political scientist Milton C. Cummings defines cultural diplomacy as “the exchange of ideas, knowledge, art and other cultural elements within the mutual understanding relationship”<sup>36</sup>. According to Purtaş, cultural diplomacy is “the way of expressing oneself correctly by sharing ideas, thoughts, worldview, lifestyle, aesthetic understanding, tastes and tastes and getting to know the interlocutor correctly”<sup>37</sup>.

It is possible to list the general benefits of cultural diplomacy as follows<sup>38</sup>;

- It helps to “build trust” with other nations through political, economic and military agreements made by political makers.
- Encourages nations in various areas such as providing benefits and cooperation for country-specific policies.

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<sup>34</sup> AKÇADAĞ 2013, 1.

<sup>35</sup> WALUYO 2015, 16-17.

<sup>36</sup> ER 2018, 22.

<sup>37</sup> PURTAŞ 2013, 2.

<sup>38</sup> <http://mnnergiz.blogspot.com/2017/11/kultur-diplomasisinde-yeni-araclar-modeller-ve-insan-kaynaklari.html>



- It will enable nations to display their true values, not their misunderstood values.
- Improves relations with other nations, helps to go beyond exchange programs.
- It helps to reach effective members in other societies that cannot be reached with the traditional understanding of embassy.
- Despite policy differences, a positive agenda for cooperation can be achieved.
- Neutral environments can be created for human-to-human communication.

### **Soft Power**

From the perspective of international relations, power appears as “the capacity to directly influence and lead the decisions and actions of others”. In Holsti’s words, “the ability of a country to change the behavior of the other party in line with its own interests by using methods such as reward, punishment, persuasion and coercion”<sup>39</sup>. Robert Dahl defines power as the capacity of B to do what A would not do<sup>40</sup>. Steven Lukes, on the other hand, defined power by establishing a connection between power and interest in his work ‘Power: A Radical View’. According to Lukes, the fact that A uses force on B is directly connected to the fact that B’s actions goes against the interests of A and the effects that those actions have on A determine the use of force on B<sup>41</sup>.

The concept of soft power was first used by former US Deputy Secretary of Defense Joseph Nye in his book *Bound to Lead* in 1990<sup>42</sup>. According to Nye, soft power is the ability to get what you want through glamour rather than coercion or reward. Soft power arises from the attraction of a co-

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<sup>39</sup> MERT 2012, 7.

<sup>40</sup> DAHL 1957, 202-203.

<sup>41</sup> ER 2018, 16.

<sup>42</sup> NYE 1990.

untry's culture, political ideals and policies. When our policies are seen as legitimate by others, our soft power increases<sup>43</sup>.

According to Gölcük, the first known written data that draws attention to the issue of 'soft power' in Turkish history is Orkhon Monuments. He also pointed out the soft power of China by mentioning that you brought distant nations closer to them with the sweet word of the Chinese Nation and silk fabric on the southern front of the Monument of Cult and warned about this issue, which he saw as a threat. Considering the "sweet" and "soft" adjectives that characterize the word in the inscription, Orkhon inscriptions draw attention to the 'soft'

and 'sweet' aspects of power almost 1300 years before John Nye, who is said to have actually introduced the characterization of 'soft power' into the literature. Therefore, it can be thought that power is applied in all aspects in every age. Because using hard or soft force; trying to persuade or forcing it is a characteristic of human behavior. And with one of these choices, trying to achieve its goal is as old as human history. Gölcük states that John Nye's contribution in this case is to draw the framework of soft power, in which the first known written document, which draws attention politically to 'soft power' and is closest to its current conceptual framework, is the monument of cult<sup>44</sup>.



6. Nike, Aeneas and the Palladion in the middle (Louvre Museum, inv. MA 969)

<sup>43</sup> NYE 2017, 12.

<sup>44</sup> GÖLCÜK 2020, 99.

### ‘Aeneas Diplomacy’.

#### Is it possible?

Turkish-Italian relations date back to very ancient times, the contacts established with Venice and Genoese in the early periods of the Ottoman Empire, and commercial relations. Diplomatic relations between Turkey and Italy were established in 1856 and within this framework, the 150th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Türkiye and Italy was celebrated in 2006. Türkiye and Italy are two regional powers that have common interests

in the Mediterranean Basin and share common history and values. Relations between the two countries are defined as strategic partnerships. The two countries have the will to work cooperatively to find solutions to regional and global issues<sup>45</sup>. While there are more than 150 years of traditional diplomatic relations between the two countries, is there a need for diversification of diplomatic instruments and a new diplomatic initiative?

At this point, we think it may be useful to share examples that can be considered interesting in the history of world diplomacy. The first of these is “panda diplomacy”. China’s efforts to strengthen bilateral communication by sending panda to the states it wants to establish positive relations are called “panda diplomacy”. Based on this, panda diplomacy can be defined as the public diplomacy that China maintains in order to introduce itself to foreign countries with the aim of bringing its national image to the best point in the eyes of the public (nowadays also in the eyes of the media). According to Xing, an image of a reputable state emerges thanks to the global attractiveness of pandas as actors of China’s soft power, as an indicator of friendship and goodwill. In addition to being players and cute



7. Dardanelles coin. Emperor Caracalla holding the Palladium in his right hand (Münzkabinett Berlin, inv. 18222175)

<sup>45</sup> [https://tasam.org/tr-TR/Icerik/65896/turkiye\\_-\\_italya\\_stratejik\\_diyalogu\\_dusunce\\_diplomasisi\\_yeni\\_dunya\\_yeni\\_ufuklar](https://tasam.org/tr-TR/Icerik/65896/turkiye_-_italya_stratejik_diyalogu_dusunce_diplomasisi_yeni_dunya_yeni_ufuklar)



8. In Troy, Cassandra wrapped in the Palladium and tried to be dragged by Ajax in front of her father Priamus (Pompeii, Menander House)

creatures, pandas also provide a sympathetic state image due to the fact that they are not aggressive animals. Instead of the Dragon, known as one of the symbols of China, Chinese scholar Wang proposes to use the panda as an icon to create a softer image<sup>46</sup>.

Another practice of diplomacy was “Ping-Pong Diplomacy”. “Ping-Pong Diplomacy” is the process of providing the first official contacts between the USA and China by inviting the American Ping-Pong Team, which was present in Japan in 1971 for the World Table Tennis Championship, to China after establishing friendship relations with China’s National Ping-Pong

<sup>46</sup> YILDIRIM 2021, 48-86.



Team during the Detant Period after World War. At the tournament in Japan, friendships developed between American and Chinese athletes. Seeking to seize this opportunity, Chinese leadership and revolutionary leader Mao has invited the American Ping-Pong National Team to a demonstration match with China. This invitation was received positively by US authorities. This first official meeting in two different poles aroused great curiosity. On April 14, 1971, only seven Western journalists, mostly Ameri-



9. Aeneas escaped from Troy together with Anchises, Creusa and Ascanius (1530-1535, Johann Grüninger. Met Museum, inv. 45.60.3)



cans, received visas. The ping-pong teams have had demonstrative matches. Meanwhile, US President Nixon lifted the trade embargo on China, which has been embargoed for nearly 20 years. In fact, the Chinese population have been informed that they will obtain visas. Along with mutual political gestures, the first official contacts between the US and China during the Easing Period were made under the pretext of table tennis teams. After this, the People's Republic of China became a permanent member of the United Nations. A political move was made against Soviet Russia. Naturally, the US-China trade relations gained a great momentum<sup>47</sup>.

At this point, considering that the narration conveyed by mythological and historical sources has its starting point in Türkiye and the place where it ends is in Italy, considering the benefits between the two countries, we think that 'Aeneas Diplomacy' can be built as a new cultural diplomacy channel. However, in order for 'Aeneas Diplomacy' to be built, functional and long-term, the issue must be addressed by experts in collective memory on behalf of both societies before the dimension of diplomacy.

Collective memory is a theoretical concept that addresses abstract ideals, but it must be embodied and articulated through physical structures and cultural artifacts such as memorial rituals, monuments, historical museums, educational systems, the Internet, and more in order to become functional<sup>48</sup>. Considering that the figure we propose for 'Aeneas Diplomacy' is a mythical character, concretization is much more important at this point. However, when it comes to Aeneas, an important point has been reached in the materialization of collective memory from the historical process to the present day. Homer's *Iliad*, Vergilius' *Aeneid*; Lavinium Ancient City in Pratica di Mare (Italy), Troy and Dardanos Ancient Cities in Çanakkale (Türkiye); Antandros Ancient City in Balıkesir (Türkiye) and "Aeneas Route" certified by the Council of Europe they all provide the concretization of Aeneas and its narrative.

Although the examples we have listed above for the embodiment of collective memory about Aeneas are extremely important, it is thought that Aeneas heritage needs to be emphasized more in Troy, the city where Aeneas

<sup>47</sup> <http://www.sessizdate.net/2014/05/ping-pong-diplomacy.html>

<sup>48</sup> ORAL 2018, 17.

departs, and in the Troy Museum. It will be possible to overcome this deficiency with ceremonies to be shaped around the Palladium, for example.

Palladium is the name given to the mystic sculpture of Pallas Athena. This statue, which is closely connected to the history of the city of Troy, fell from the sky while the city of Troy was being established, this event was considered as a blessing of good and for this reason the Palladium was brought to the city and placed in the Athena temple. Mythographers describing this legend write that the Palladium is three inches tall, carrying a crow in its right hand and a spindle with a male in its left hand. According to a legend, Helenos Palladion, the oracle of the Trojans, declared that Troy could not be taken as long as the statue of Palladium remained in the city. According to other sources, when the statue of Palladium took refuge in Mount Ida during the burning of Troy, Aeneas took it with him and then brought it to Italy. The magic statue was thus brought to the Temple of Vesta in Rome and left there<sup>49</sup>.

A day could be determined every year in order to celebrate the memory of the foundation of the city of Troy. After the ceremonies, speeches and a dozen of events that could be organized during that day in the site of Troy, according to the tradition of the fall of the Palladium from the sky related to the foundation of Troy, the statue of the Palladium could be taken to the Troy Museum accompanied by participants and a reference can be made to the taking of the Palladium to Rome by Aeneas. The sculpture coming to the museum can be exhibited in the showcase where it is placed until the next year when the ceremony will be held. These regular repetitions to be made every year will ensure the establishment of a 'tradition' that relates to the past.

Another important initiative to be made in the Archaeological Site of Troy will be the "Point 0" monument to be erected in the city. With this monument, the process from the departure of Aeneas from Troy to the foundation of the Roman Empire will be emphasized. In this way, it will be possible to draw once again the attention to the cultural kinship between the two societies and this story can be shared with the visitors of the archaeological site.

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<sup>49</sup> ERHAT 2021, 233-235.



10. Trojan Museum (Trojan Museum archive, Osman Çapalov)

## Conclusion

In our study, we tried to make suggestions about the construction of the ‘Aeneas Diplomacy’, which can be used as a new diplomatic channel between Türkiye and Italy concerning the mythical identity of Aeneas. In the face of the fragility of traditional diplomacy, this new cultural diplomacy channel, named “Aeneas Diplomacy”, which will be built between Italy and Türkiye relatively far away from everyday policies and the tensions created by them, will be freed from the burden of the present and will create opportunities for both countries and their societies to come together again and solve problems with its fictionalized and negotiated form.

In order to create “Aeneas Diplomacy” and make it become permanent, it is necessary to review the collective memory about Aeneas on both sides. In the formation of collective memory, groups shape the narrative by creating a symbolic world of meaning called by Yeh “mnemonic engineering”.



11. Children in the Trojan Museum (Trojan Museum archive, Osman Çapalov)

According to Michael Schudson, narratives are not only established by conveying the events of the past, but also simplified versions of narratives are presented. Thus, while narratives also talk about the past as cultural tools, they create memory trails for the members of a group<sup>50</sup>. It cannot be expected that these “memory trails” can be created easily between two different societies at the beginning. First of all, it would be extremely beneficial for Turkey to take steps to shape this memory or to strengthen the steps taken so far in terms of collective memory on Aeneas. Çanakkale Mayor Ülgür Gökhan and Pomezia Mayor Stefano Zappalà on 28.06.2005 in Pomezia Municipality Building<sup>51</sup>, again between Intepe Municipality and Nemi Municipality, Antandros excavations conducted by Prof. Dr. The pioneering steps taken by Gürcan Polat and the initiatives of Edremit Mu-

<sup>50</sup> ORAL 2018, 19.

<sup>51</sup> <https://www.canakkale.bel.tr/tr/sayfa/1362-pomezia-italya/4021-kardes-kentimiz-pomezia>

nicipality on the “Aeneas Route” certified by the Council of Europe are extremely correct. However, some of these initiatives are not ongoing today and the contribution of unsustainable initiatives to collective memory will be limited. For this reason, the designed ceremonies and the reconstructed narrative, which take the Trojan Archaeological Site and the Trojan Museum of Troy as their center, will make a great contribution to shaping the collective memory. “Palladium Ceremony” and “Point 0 Monument” will become important tools of “Aeneas Diplomacy” as well as their contribution to memory.

It is necessary to strive to protect what exists as well as to build collective memory. It is a great contradiction that Frontex, the EU’s border security agency, named the operation to prevent irregular migration to Italy (Operation Aeneas) after Aeneas, who is an immigrant himself<sup>52</sup>. Giving the name of Aeneas to an operation against immigrants may erode his image in social memory from the past to the present.

Can historical or mythical characters always bring different societies and countries together? Not with Alexander the Great’s tensions between northern Macedonia and Greece. Macedonia, which declared its independence in 1991, issued the Vergina Sun symbol on its flag in 1995 under the pressure of Greece. Chipras demanded Greece to change the name of Macedonia and to change the names, plates and symbols that refer to the ancient period and Alexander the Great within six months. Because Greece’s view is based on the thesis that Alexander the Great and all Macedonians are Greek<sup>53</sup>. In the case of Alexander the Great, Alexander was not a unifying but a decomposing element of the two societies. Territorial nationalism and ethnic nationalism constitute the basis of this problem. However, the example of Aeneas has an ethnic or territorial problem for Italy and Türkiye. Aeneas is not a figure that triggers the current fault lines between the two societies.

It is thought that the Trojan Museum of Troy, which was opened in 2018, has an important chance to develop “Aeneas Diplomacy”. Shortly after its opening, the museum, which started to turn into a new icon in the story

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<sup>52</sup> YILDIZ 2021, 76.

<sup>53</sup> KONURALP, ADAŞ 2019, 311-339.





12. Trojan Archaeological site, western sanctuary (Trojan Museum Archive)

of Troy with both international and national awards, managed to create a new awareness about Troy<sup>54</sup>. At this point, the Trojan Museum has two great importance; the first of these will be the role it will play in the embodiment of collective memory. Türkiye has a new and strong institution to explain and embody the Aeneas cultural heritage. Another importance comes from the power of ‘discourse development’. Regarding a project on museum education, Museum Manager Gölçük said, “... the main goal is

<sup>54</sup> The Troya Museum won the “Most Successful Museum” award at the 2020 Atraction Star Awards, the European Museum of the Year Awards Special Commendations Award, the 2020/2021 European Museum Academy (EMA) Special Mention Award, the 2021 Homer Science, Culture and Art Award and the Special Mention Museums in Short 2021 (Video producer Emre Dörter) awards in the same year. The Troy Museum, the first and only Turkish Museum to receive all of these awards, made headlines in Europe under the name of “Europe’s Bounty Hunter” (<https://www.dailysabah.com/arts/troy-museum-europes-bounty-hunter-wins-short-video-contest/news>).

to make the heritage of the land the heritage of the society<sup>55</sup>.” In other words, the discourse carried out by the museum will also support the “Aeneas Diplomacy” so that the Trojan heritage can be the heritage of the society and be included in the collective memory of the society.

It is thought that it is possible to work on “Aeneas Diplomacy” and to open a new cultural diplomacy channel between Italy and Türkiye, and the practices to be developed this through Aeneas will make significant contributions to both countries. After the studies carried out by experts on collective memory, the first steps can be taken on Aeneas Diplomacy with the participation of institutions specialized in cultural diplomacy such as Yunus Emre Institute, Italian Cultural Center, General Directorate of International Promotion and Cultural Relations to the collaborations of institutions such as Troy Museum, Troy Excavation Presidency, Antandros Excavation Presidency, Lavinium Museum, Lavinium Foundation, Sapienza University.

As it is known, Vergilius died before completing his work called “Aeneid”. With this cultural brotherhood between Italy and Türkiye, “Aeneas Diplomacy” can seize new opportunities for cooperation, and this ‘epopeic’ can continue to be written from where Vergilus left off.

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<sup>55</sup> <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/turkiye/turkiyenin-ilk-ve-tek-muze-ve-oren-yer-iki-tanitildi-619533.html>

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Aytekin Yilmaz

## LITERATURE RESEARCH ABOUT THE ANCIENT CITY OF ANTANDROS

*“An ancient city waiting to be discovered: Antandros”*

### **Abstract**

The masterpiece called *Aeneis* (in Latin language) written by the Latin poet Virgil between 20-19 BC and composed of 12 books and 10 thousand lines which recalls the journey of the Trojan hero Aeneas, considered by the Romans the noble ancestors of their civilisation, remained unfinished due to the premature death of the poet. Virgil, who through his masterpiece reaches the level of the most famous Latin poet describes the struggle of the Trojans with the Latins taking example from Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, down to the one-on-one struggles of the heroes. The epic, which forms the basis of the Roman identity, by basing the history of the founders of Rome on Troy, it embraced the Anatolian heritage, by uniting and reconciling the East and the West, it also contributed positively to the growth of the Roman Empire. The legend of the hero Aeneas, who escaped from the city of Troy, begins in Antandros and this little-known archaeological site in the city of Edremit enriches the scientific and cultural importance of Balıkesir region. The natural and cultural value of Ida Mountain represents the most important heritage of our region, together with the Roman villa, the necropolis and some of the city walls which were unearthed during the excavation of the archaeological site of Antandros. This present comprehensive study aims to underline the findings of the archaeological excavations of City of Antandros deepening the mythological, cultural and historical importance of the site, mention as well the support given by the Turkish public institutions of the region to the cultural heritage in question.

**Keywords:** Antandros Ancient City, Aeneas, Aeneid, Cultural Routes

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## Introduction

Culture includes elements such as art, language, religion, history, architectural structure and lifestyle created in the process of historical and social development. Cultural tourism, on the other hand is an important element in the development of intercultural communication, the preservation and sharing of natural, historical and cultural heritage and transferring it to future generations<sup>1</sup>.

International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), explained the concept of cultural route and the monumental values of archaeological and industrial heritage as a system that should be interpreted within a route, in a way that will increase their value and their intangible cultural heritage elements. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) evaluated the concept of the cultural route as a part of the world heritage, and explained it through the concept of inheritance path. ÇEKÜL (Foundation for the Protection and Promotion of Environmental and Cultural Values) has defined the cultural route as national or international paths of connections that were alive in a certain period of history or that will be built in the near future, developed for different purposes and that bear the value of cultural and natural resources<sup>2</sup>. “European Cultural Routes” studies initiated by the Council of Europe in 1964 in order to better perceive the continent’s own cultural heritage gained momentum in 1987 when Spain proposed Santiago de Compostela as the first cultural route. The concept of cultural route gained an international dimension and became institutional in 1991 with the establishment of the International Committee on Cultural Routes Committee of International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS-CIIC) aimed to emphasize, define and develop the importance of cultural routes. In the final declaration of the experts meeting of UNESCO’s World Heritage Committee convened in Madrid in 1994, the criteria for the cultural route were determined<sup>3</sup>. Council of Europe Cultural Routes<sup>4</sup> are an invitation to travel and discover Europe’s rich and diverse heritage, bringing people and places together

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<sup>1</sup> ÖZTÜRK, İŞİNKARALAR, YILMAZ, İHTİYAR 2020.

<sup>2</sup> ÖZTÜRK, İŞİNKARALAR, YILMAZ, İHTİYAR 2020.

<sup>3</sup> GÜL, YILMAZ 2020.

<sup>4</sup> About this topic: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/home>, 25.05.2022

in shared networks of history and heritage. Council of Europe, through the Cultural Routes Programme implements many values such as human rights, cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue, which are accepted as the common value of all humanity, through practices. The Council of Europe's more than 40 Cultural Routes provide a wealth of recreational and educational activities for all citizens in Europe and beyond and are essential resources for responsible tourism and sustainable development. They cover a range of different themes, from architecture and landscape, to religious influences, gastronomy and intangible heritage, to prominent figures of European art, music and literature.

The "Cultural Route of the Council of Europe" certificate is a guarantee of excellence. Networks implement innovative activities and projects related to the five main priority action areas as follows: cooperation in research and development; development of memory, history and European heritage; cultural and educational exchanges for young Europeans; contemporary cultural and artistic practice; cultural tourism and sustainable cultural development. Council of Europe offers a model for transnational culture and tourism management through its program and provides synergies between national, regional and local governments and a wide range of associations and socio-economic actors.

The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey became part of EPA Enlarged Partial Agreement on Cultural Routes on January 15, 2018, which is the legal basis for the implementation and standards of the European Cultural Routes programme of the Council of Europe. Every year, EPA gives "Council of Europe Cultural Route" certification to applicants who meet the criteria determined according to the resolution of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe (CM/Res/(2013) 67).

## I. Epic of Aeneid

It is the name of the verse epic (Latin *Aeneis*), written by the Latin poet Virgil, between 20-19 BC, with 12 books and 10 thousand lines of typography. although it is about the journey of the Trojan hero Aeneas, who will be considered the ancestor of the Romans, to Italy, the work was left unfinished with the death of the poet. In this work, which brought him to the level of the most famous Latin poet, Virgil took Homer's Iliad and Odyssey as an example, after a long journey, he described the struggle



of the Trojans with the Latins, down to the one-on-one struggles of the heroes<sup>5</sup>.

Aeneas, who survived the Trojan War sailing from Troy to Hesperia to find a new home, lost some of his ships near the Epirus due to the harpies. When he landed here, he encountered the Trojan Helenus and Hector's ex-wife Andromache. Helenus advised him to look for a white pig with 30 cubs. The hero encountered the Cyclops in Sicily, after been cast away on the North African coasts after a storm. There he fell in love with the queen of Carthage, Dido, and after many adventures, he arrived in Italy. The hero and his companions entered into a relentless struggle with Etruscans and Latins and these last events laid the foundations of the Roman Empire<sup>6</sup>.

This epopee, which forms the basis of the Roman identity basing the history of the founders of Rome on Troy, embraces the Anatolian heritage, and also contributes positively to the growth of the state by uniting and reconciling the East and the West. The Aeneid was so loved and embraced in its time because the emperor Augustus sincerely believed that his ancestors were the sons of Aeneas. The hero, who is mentioned as "Pius Aeneas" (respectful Aeneas) in the Aeneid, detached from the motif of the Homeric hero and is more adapted to the Roman values. In addition, the nationalist winds blowing in Europe in the 19th century which led European writers to write national epics based on fairy tales, legends and historical events in their own cultures, made the Aeneid of Virgil's a reason of inspiration. The Nibelungenlied, which was written anonymously in the 13th century, was unearthed in Germany during this period. The epics of Elias Lönnrot, Kalevala (1835-1836) in Finland, Kalevipoeg (1857-1861) by F.R. Kreutzwald in Estonia, and Lačplesis (1888) by Andrejs Pumpurs (1888) in Latvia were created to contribute to national consciousness<sup>7</sup>.

The mythical epopee of the Aeneid written by Virgil, which deals with the events of Aeneas, who played a major role in the defense of Troy against the Greeks is also one of Dante's sources of inspiration. Dante Alighieri and his work "The Divine Comedy" is a masterpiece created

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<sup>5</sup> ÖZTÜRK 2016.

<sup>6</sup> ÖZTÜRK 2016.

<sup>7</sup> ÖZTÜRK 2016.

under the influence of many philosophical, literary, theological and mythological sources. In addition to the extraordinary place descriptions in the work, this mythical epic, which is the source of mythical elements and depictions of life after death, combined with Dante's imagination, emerged a masterpiece of creative thinking<sup>8</sup>.

## **II. Antandros archaeological excavation, brief history and geographical location**

Antandros Ancient City is a city of the ancient region of Troad, located in Altinoluk, a town in the Edremit district in Balıkesir province. The city is located on the southern slopes of Mount Ida, which hosted the mythological episode that caused the Trojan War. The city, which is in a position able to control the road connecting Mysia and Aiolis to Troas, is located on the summit of Kaletaşı Hill and on its western slopes<sup>9</sup>.

Rescue excavations of the city were started by Bursa and Balıkesir museums in 1991, and continued at regular intervals until 1995. It has emerged, as a result of the studies, that the area was used as a necropolis area (Fig. 5) from the 7th century BC to the 2nd century BC. The survey of the city was carried out in 2000 by the Department of Archeology, Faculty of Letters of the University of the Aegean. This department conducted the scientific excavations of Antandros between the years 2001-2006<sup>10</sup>.

Antandros Ancient City is an important source of archaeological data. Excavations carried out since now are concentrated on two main sectors: settlement area and necropolis. The Roman villa (Roman house), city walls and necropolis area unearthed during the excavations are important cultural assets worth seeing. During the excavation and soil survey works carried out in the settlement area, it was determined that Antandros was founded in the late 8th century BC and it has been proven that it was inhabited uninterruptedly until the beginning of the 7th century AD. It was determined that the city was abandoned during the Arab Raids and its inhabitants moved to Şahinkale in Şahindere Canyon, located in the north

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<sup>8</sup> YILMAZ 2022.

<sup>9</sup> YILDIRIM ULUSOY, KILIÇ, AVCIKURT 2020.

<sup>10</sup> YILDIRIM ULUSOY, KILIÇ, AVCIKURT 2020.

of Altınoluk District. It was understood that Antandros was settled with a small population in the 10-11th century AD and that the city was completely abandoned after the 13th-14th century<sup>11</sup>.

### **III. Antandros throughout the testimonies of ancient historians**

Antandros, located on the southern slopes of Mount Ida, is reported to have different origins according to ancient sources. Virgil mentions Antandros as a Phrygian settlement, while Herodotos refers to the city as a Pelasgian settlement. Strabon, one of the ancient writers reported about Antandros in his book *Geographika*; Alkaïos, an ancient writer, states that Antandros was a Lelegian settlement. He mentions the words of Demetrius of Scepsis according to who the city was a Cilician establishment. Strabo also gives information about the geography features of Antandros. According to him the coast from Lekton to Kanaia is called Adramytteion bay. Gargara is located on the cape, which is the starting point of this bay. Next to Gargara, in the inner part of the region there is Antandros and the Alexandreia Mountain, where it is believed that the Judgment of Paris took place. In addition, also the harbour of Aspaneus where the timber of Ida Mount is traded, is also located here. In the near village of Astyra, is reported the presence of a sanctuary for "Artemis of Astyrene". Near Astyra there is the city of Adramytteion, colonized by the Athenians, which had a harbour and a naval base. Along with Strabo's geographical references, Stephanus of Byzantium states that the city had side names such as Edonis and Cimmeris. Aristoteles says that the city of Antandros was first named Hedonis because of the settlement of Hedones, a Thracian person, and that it was named Cimmeris because of the Cimmerian settlement that lasted for a century<sup>12</sup>.

### **IV. Brief information about the Roman villa, necropolis and walls unearthed**

One of the areas studied during the systematic excavations started in 2001 under the scientific responsibility of University of the Aegean and the su-

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<sup>11</sup> YILMAZ 2022.

<sup>12</sup> ÜNEY 2009



Fig. 1 - Antandros Archaeological Site, Roman villa; Portico (photo provided by Governorate of Balıkesir)



Fig. 2 - Antandros Archaeological Site, Roman villa; Triclinium (photo provided by Governorate of Balıkesir)

pervising of the presidency of Balıkesir Museum was the necropolis. The necropolis is approximately 400 meters to the west of Kaletaşı Hill, where the inhabitants' settlement is located and is more precisely situated in the width of 50 meters between the hill slopes and the plain areas on the coastline which extending parallel to it. The works were started at the eastern border of the modern residential site called Melis Site and since 2008 and amount of 277 graves have been identified. In the excavations previously carried out by the Bursa Museum, it was assumed that the necropolis was used uninterruptedly for about 500 years. Nevertheless, according to the recent excavations, it has been understood that the necropolis was used uninterruptedly from the early 7th century BC to the end of the Hellenistic period, for approximately 700 years. The reason why the necropolis could be used for so long is that the burial area is located on the slopes of the hill. The location of the necropolis allowed the new burials to be buried in a short time due to erosion which facilitated the construction of new burials sites. However, this situation caused the destruction of previous burials and the use of the same graves several times, especially during the construction of new burials in the upper layers<sup>13</sup>.

Excavation and restoration works continues in the Roman villa. It has been determined that the villa was built in the early 4th century AD and revealed by the studies that it was used with some modifications until the 6th-7th century AD. The villa, which has six main spaces with a view of the sea, shows the richness of the Roman period<sup>14</sup>.

Extending on a magnificent terrace overlooking the sea, the villa consists of numerous rooms arranged around an inner courtyard, and its walls are decorated with magnificent polychrome mosaics and frescoes (Fig. 1, Fig. 2). On the lower terrace, there is the villa's bath and cisterns.

**Room 1:** possibly the winter triclinium (dining room). On the walls of this large room of the villa enriched with frescoes, servants carrying trays of food are depicted between stylized columns. The floors of the room consist of an unusual and elegant polychrome mosaic. The edges of the mosaic decorated with meander, wave and weave motifs are the frame of a large circle covered with triangles; right in the middle there is a picture of two birds drinking water from a large golden vase (Fig. 3; Fig. 4).

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<sup>13</sup> YAĞIZ 2009.

<sup>14</sup> YILDIRIM ULUSOY, KILIÇ, AVCIKURT 2020.





Fig. 3 - Antandros Archaeological Site, Roman villa; Triclinium (photo provided by Governorate of Balıkesir)

**Room 3:** The entrance of this room, which opens to the portico overlooking the sea, is decorated with two columns. There is still a magnificent floor made with the technique of *opus sectile* (Fig. 5), (material such as marble, stone or glass on the floors by cutting them together in a special way); there are remains of marble coatings on the walls. It is to pass through a dressing room (apodyterium, n. 8), which is divided into two parts and covered with polychrome mosaics with geometric motifs, towards the entrance of the bath.



Fig. 4 - Antandros Archaeological Site, Roman villa; Triclinium mosaic detail (photo Irfan Kolçak; provided by Edremit Municipality)



Fig. 5 - Antandros Archaeological Site, Roman villa: opus sectile detail (photo provided by Governorate of Balıkesir)

In the middle of the apodyterium, there is an inscription in Greek, written in mosaic technique<sup>15</sup> (fig. 6).

With the excavations that have been going on since 2001, most of the wall that borders the north of the six rooms of the villa has been unearthed. There is no other wall connected from the north to this wall whose a section of approximately 30 m has been opened. Excavations were started in the northeast corner of the villa in order to understand how far this wall, which borders the villa from the north, continues and in order to determine the possible transition to an upper terrace. After the study, the zone number 6 of the villa was all exposed and its base consisted of roughly levelled bedrock. In the soil surveys carried out in front of the threshold stone of the area, it was seen that a thin channel obtained by carving the bedrock. The top of this channel was covered with “spolia” marble pieces. This situation revealed the late period renovations made on the floor of the above mentioned zone. This canal must also be related

<sup>15</sup> About the Greek inscription see the text by prof. Lavinio Del Monaco, *infra*.

to the fact that the spaces of the villa were partially destroyed by ground water infiltrations coming from the north as revealed in the previous studies. In fact the first construction phase of the villa revealing the intention of the architects to take into account the ground water problem and in order to prevent the damage caused by the infiltrations with small drain channels under the floors<sup>16</sup>.

#### **V. Brief description of the finds (coins, figurines, ceramic products, etc.) unearthed during the excavations and the Museums where they are preserved**

The excavations in the ancient city of Antandros carried out by Bursa Museum Directorate between the 1989-1995 years took place in the necropolis area (Fig. 7; Fig. 8). All of the artefacts found in this period were taken to the Bursa Museum Directorate. Some findings are preserved in the warehouses of Bursa Museum, while others are exhibited in the museum showcases. The artefacts unearthed in the excavations since 2001 were brought to the “Balıkesir Kuva-yi Milliye” Museum Directorate, some of them are preserved in storage and others are exhibited in showcases. The most numerous artefact comes from the necropolis (cemetery) area. These grave goods, mostly of terracotta, are figurines, fragrance bottles, pieces of



Fig. 6 - Antandros Archaeological Site, Roman villa; Apodyterium: detail of the mosaic inscription (photo provided by Governorate of Balıkesir)

<sup>16</sup> Ministry of Culture and Tourism - General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums, 30th Excavation Results Meeting, vol. 4, 39–61.





Fig. 7 - Antandros Archaeological Site, necropolis (photo provided by Governorate of Balıkesir)



Fig. 8 - Antandros Archaeological Site, necropolis (photo İrfan Kolçak, provided by Edremit Municipality)

jewellery, coins, and burial remains from the 4th and 5th centuries BC<sup>17</sup> (Fig. 9; Fig. 10).

## VI. Antandros Ancient City History

Antandros Ancient City is located within the boundaries of Altınoluk neighbourhood, on the northern shore of Edremit Gulf, 20km west of Edremit District. The city, which is located on the summit and western slopes of Kaletaşı Hill, with an altitude of 215 meters lying perpendicular to the sea facing the seaside on the Edremit-Çanakkale road<sup>18</sup>. The first studies conducted for the localisation of the city were made by Heinrich Kiepert, who visited the region in 1842. Kiepert determined



Fig. 9 - Antandros Archaeological Site, necropolis pithos (photo İrfan Kolçak, provided by Edremit Municipality)

the location of the city on the basis of on an inscription he found in Avcılar village. During his second visit to the region with Fabricius in 1881, following the same route of the previous expedition, Kiepert came across a second inscription in which the name Antandros was mentioned. This finding proved the correctness of his views on the localization of the city. The inscription in question was later seen by Schliemann. Antandros was later visited by John Manuel Cook twice, once in 1959 and once in 1968. Cook stated that as a result of his research, the settlement was located on the western slopes of the hill<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> YILMAZ 2022.

<sup>18</sup> YILMAZ 2022.

<sup>19</sup> COOK 1973.





Fig. 10 - Antandros Archaeological Site; necropolis excavation area (photo Irfan Kolçak, provided by Edremit Municipality)

The first studies on the determination of the necropolis were carried out by Walter Leaf<sup>20</sup>. Leaf, who learned that some graves were opened by the villagers who owned the fields in the western part of Kaletaşı Hill, concluded that the necropolis of the city was in this area. During the modern construction activities that started with the development of the region in 1989, graves were found in the area where the residential site called Melis is located today. Between 1991 and 1995, rescue excavations were carried out by the Museum of Bursa. These studies revealed that the necropolis had an uninterrupted use from the 7th century BC to the 2nd century BC<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> LEAF 1912.

<sup>21</sup> YAĞIZ 2009.

## **VII. Importance of recognition of Antandros Ancient City; affiliated projects (Aeneas Cultural Route) and the support of the public institutions of the Republic of Türkiye to the Ancient City**

Aeneas Cultural Route<sup>22</sup> can be considered mostly as a sea route. Nevertheless, even if almost 2/3 of the route is located outside the Anatolian lands, the homeland of the main theme of the project is the ancient cities of Troy and Antandros, the city where the hero spent his time for the construction of his ships. For this reason, the mythical journey of Aeneas starts from the Gulf of Edremit, in the northern part of the Aegean Sea. The gulf located within the provincial borders of Çanakkale and Balıkesir is situated at the intersection points of the regions called Troas, Mysia and Aeolis in the ancient times. Today, the borders of the gulf are Bababurnu in the north and the cape known as Lekton in antiquity; in the south, one of the islands of the Ayvalık district, the “Büyük Maden” Island, is bordered by Pyrgos, a part of the Hekatomnos Islands according to its ancient name. The specified geographical area is a very wide geography, which corresponds to approximately 80 km. in length and 30 km. in width. The region is bordered by Kaz Mountain (Ida Mountain) in the north and at north-east in the interior and Madra Mountain (Pindaros Mountain) in the south and southeast<sup>23</sup>.

As a result of the efficient cooperation with the municipalities and local institutions of Türkiye, Greece, Tunisia, Albania and Italy involved in the Project, Aeneas Route has been certified by the Council of Europe. Among the 45 certified Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe, Aeneas Route is the first one starting from Türkiye. As the official stakeholders of the project, the following institutions provided support to the project; Balıkesir Governorate, Balıkesir Provincial Directorate of Culture, Balıkesir Metropolitan Municipality, Edremit Municipality, Çanakkale Municipality, South Marmara Development Agency, Troy Archaeological Museum, Balıkesir University, 18 Mart Çanakkale University and Çanakkale Regional Tourist Guides Chamber (ÇARO).

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*Director of Balıkesir Kuva-yi Milliye Museum*

<sup>22</sup> [HTTPS://WWW.COE.INT/EN/WEB/CULTURAL-ROUTES/AENEAS-ROUTE-4](https://www.coe.int/en/web/cultural-routes/aeneas-route-4)

<sup>23</sup> SAKA 2017.

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## The mosaic inscription

The mosaic inscription made with black tiles on a white background and delimited by *tabula ansata*, also being with black tiles, is located *in situ* and represents the doorway of access to the *apodyterium*. The text consists of three lines of perfectly-aligned writing within the epigraphic field: the rows from 1-2 consist of 19 letters, the third of 13 letters slightly larger in height and width.

Αὔξει ὦ Ἀσταρεῖτα φιλά-  
 δελφε ὦ ἔτα τοῦ κτίστου  
 τῷ ἑῶνι εὐτυχῶς

*Grow, oh Astareita lover of brothers, oh relative of the founder, happily for the eternity.*

Both the shape of the letters (*epsilon*, *sigma*, *omega* square; note the *csi* of line 1, where the middle stroke is embellished with a small circle) and the rendering of some vowel elements, which reflect late phonetic characteristics (for example the monophthong of the diphthong AI in E, as can be seen from ἐῶνι = αἰῶνι), allow to date the epigraph to the 4th century AD, confirming the chronology established on an archaeological and numismatic basis for the entire building.

The text belongs to a typology widely diffused among the mosaic epigraphs, that is, the one containing a formula of good wishes for the prosperity of the house: the *incipit* with the verb Αὔξει (2nd singular person of the imperative of αὐξέω, the late form from αὐξάνω) refers precisely to the “growth” of a woman (little girl?) named Ἀσταρεῖτα, invoked immediately after, that obviously evokes the whole family, and therefore the same house. Ἀσταρεῖτα is connoted first with an adjective (φιλά | δελφε, “lover of brothers”), then with the expression ἔτα τοῦ κτίστου; the vocative ἔτα derives from the former Homeric noun ἑτης (“relative”, “family”, “allied”) and is specified by the genitive τοῦ κτίστου. The latter, of whom Ἀσταρεῖτα is a relative (daughter? granddaughter?), is the one who “founded” the house, that is, the owner. In fact, the term κτίστης is similar to the Latin *conditor* which in the epigraphic lexicon can



indicate the constructor of a building, for example the house or the baths, as two epigraphs from Rome attest: in CIL VI 1490 *Q(uintus) Pompeius Falco Sosius Priscus*, consul in 193 AD, lays a dedication to his *proavus* indicating it as *domus suae conditor*, while in CIL VI 31916 *Naeratius Cerealis*, consul in 358 AD, is called *conditor balnearum*.

As a whole, the mosaic epigraph reveals the excellent relations between the members of the family, moreover expressed through terms of poetic ancestry, in the name of that harmony which is the necessary premise for the prosperity of the house. In fact, the serenity of the present is projected into the future thanks to the typical good wish formulas  $\tau\tilde{\omega}\ \epsilon\tilde{\omega}\nu\iota$  ("for eternity") and  $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\chi\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$  ("happily") which can be read in line 3.

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Mario Lentano

## TO DESERVE ONE'S DESCENDANTS. ANCHISES, AENEAS AND THE FUTURE OF ROME IN VIRGIL

### Abstract

As soon as he arrives on the coasts of Italy, Aeneas must face an unexpected stage of his long journey: the descent into the kingdom of the dead where he will meet his father Anchises. Here he will be shown the protagonists of the future history of Rome, from his direct descendants to the farthest, Augustus, for the moment, the soul still waiting to incarnate. In the verses in which he recounts this junction of the myth, Virgil thus takes up, on the one hand, the great model of the *Odyssey*, which had in turn seen the protagonist of the poem descend into Hades, on the other hand, a characterizing aspect of Roman culture, the procession of deceased family members accompanying the coffin on the occasion of the aristocratic funerals. The perspective of the Trojan hero, however, is reversed: if Roman nobles are asked above all to resemble their ancestors, Aeneas must rather deserve his descendants.

**Keywords:** Virgil, Aeneas, afterlife, aristocratic funerals.

### 1. From one afterlife to another

For the ancients, the afterlife is not located in an unreachable elsewhere: on the contrary, the kingdom of the dead is connected through a series of accesses and passages to the space of the living, and these latter, at least in some exceptional cases, have the possibility of descending in it and to establish contact with the bloodless figures who inhabit it and even with the dark divinities who govern it<sup>1</sup>. This is the case, among the characters

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<sup>1</sup> Here I resume some considerations that I have developed more fully in BETTINI, LENTANO 2013, 76-80 and in LENTANO 2020, 150-161, where you can also find a selection of the previous bibliography. I also recommend two recent volumes on the representation of the afterlife in ancient cultures, such as FABIANO 2019 and DANESI, SANTUCCI, TORINO 2020.

of the myth, of the cantor Orpheus in the story made famous by Virgil, who wants him to descend into Hades to bring back his beloved Eurydice, who died prematurely, and above all that of heroes like Heracles, whose famous efforts also include the challenge of snatching the three-headed dog Cerberus from the afterlife, or like the Athenian king Theseus, who accompanies the inseparable Pirithous in a crazy attempt to kidnap Persephone, wife of Pluto and queen of the underworld, of which his friend fell in love, or like Pollux, who «shared his brother's death» and for this reason «often / took his place in Hell»<sup>2</sup>. There were also decidedly darker figures such as that of Sisyphus, of whom it was said that he had managed to return from the afterlife, albeit for a short time, making fun of Death itself, even if his arrogance had been punished with the famous torture of the boulder that pushed laboriously up to the top of a hill rolled back downstream in an endless cycle<sup>3</sup>.

In addition to these people, Odysseus had also landed in the world of the dead, in a highly suggestive page of the poem of which he is the protagonist. When his ship goes as far as to the land of the Cimmerians, at the extreme limit of the Ocean, oppressed by an eternal shadow and constantly adorned by the fog, the hero first digs a pit, then, following the instructions previously received by Circe, let the blood of the sacrificed animals drip into the bowels of the earth, so that the souls of the dead drink the vital humour that restores them, even if for a moment, a shred of lost humanity: in the story that Odysseus tells of it at the court of Alcinous,

The spirits came  
up out of Erebus and gathered round.  
Teenagers, girls and boys, the old who suffered  
for many years, and fresh young brides whom labor  
destroyed in youth; and many men cut down  
in battle by bronze spears, still dressed in armor

<sup>2</sup> All these cases are remembered by Aeneas in conversation with the Cumaean Sibyl (in particular, we have cited Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6, 121-122, here and always in this contribution in the translation of Shadi Bartsch), in a passage that also has a clear metaliterary value: the poet is signalling to his user which is the tradition in which the protagonist of his masterpiece is inserted.

<sup>3</sup> On the myth of Sisyphus, cf. lastly CAMEROTTO 2018. On the tradition of punishments for the great cursed cf. PETTENÒ 2004.

stained with their blood. From every side they crowded  
around the pit, with eerie cries. Pale fear  
took hold of me<sup>4</sup>.

The purpose of Odysseus, as we know, is to question the Theban soothsayer Tiresias, the only one who, due to a singular divine privilege, keeps his own sense intact even among the dead and therefore the only one who can give the hero information on his arrival in Ithaca and above all on the events that will follow it. It will be from him that Odysseus will learn, among other things, of the new journey that will lead him to the ends of the world, where a community who has never known the sea will interpret the oar that the hero carries on his shoulder as a winnowing fan, before the second and final return home: a journey that Homer has never told and about which, precisely for this reason, the poets of the following millennia fantasized, from Dante to Tennyson to Pascoli. After having met Tiresias, moreover, Odysseus talks with other characters – Achilles, Ajax, Agamemnon – and in particular with his mother Anticlea, who the hero left alive at the moment of his departure and of which only now he learns of the disappearance, linked to the consumption of an unbearable wait over time: she herself will tell her son about her own death, in addition to providing him with a series of information relating to Penelope, Telemachus and the old Laertes<sup>5</sup>.

It is probably on the basis of this prestigious literary model that Virgil decided to include in the long journey that leads Aeneas from the Troad to the mouth of the Tiber a stage in the world of the dead, which I would like to deal with briefly in the following pages. As it is well known, the story of this experience – which in all probability represents a Virgilian innovation in the long history of the myth of Aeneas – occupies almost the entire sixth book of the *Aeneid*: a book that represents at the same time an absolute apex of literary creativity and an all-out reflection on the nature of the soul and on the order of the universe, as such, an unavoidable

<sup>4</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, 11, 36-43 (translation of Emily Wilson): αἱ δ' ἀγέροντο / ψυχὰι ὑπὲξ Ἑρέβους νεκύων κατατεθνηώτων. / Νύμφαι τ' ἡίθεοί τε πολύτλητοί τε γέροντες / παρθενικαί τ' ἀταλαὶ νεοπενθέα θυμὸν ἔχουσαι, / πολλοὶ δ' οὐτάμενοι χαλκίῃ ῥοσιν ἐγχείῃσιν, / ἄνδρες ἀρηίφατοι βεβροτωμένα τεύχε' ἔχοντες: / οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ βόθρον ἐφοίτων ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος / θεσπεσίῃ ἰαχῇ: ἐμὲ δὲ χλωρὸν δέος ἦρει.

<sup>5</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, 11, 139-224.



test bed for Virgilian interpreters of all time. Not surprisingly, in introducing this section of the poem, Servius's great late-antique commentary notes that if «the entire Virgilian work is full of knowledge», this characteristic in the sixth book «is expressed at its highest degree»<sup>6</sup>. Above all, while Homer does not present a real description of Hades except for short lines, since Odysseus limits himself to recalling its shadows and making them emerge to the surface through the offering of blood, in Virgil, on the contrary, Aeneas descends in the first person into the subterranean realm and passes through it for a long time. This forces the Latin poet to elaborate a topography of the underworld that his predecessor did not need, an architecture of the world of the dead made up of rivers and swamps, walls and towers, shadows and trees, but also of a sound landscape populated by tears and cries, laments, shouts or prayers, both destined to be deeply imprinted in the imagination of Western culture<sup>7</sup>.

What we have just mentioned remains a significant difference, but all in all just a literary one. More interesting is that the sixth book is also the most explicitly political one of the entire *Aeneid*, the one that announces the future greatness of Rome and identifies in the age of Augustus the ultimate horizon and the point of arrival of his entire historical parable. And it is precisely this latter aspect that marks the point of greatest separation between the Virgilian poem and its Greek model, mirroring a more general distance between two very different cultures such as the one reflected in the Homeric poems and the Roman one of the late Republican age: if, in fact, the protagonist of the *Odyssey* derives from the contact with the world of the dead, whether it is the soothsayer Tiresias or the mother Anticlea, a series of information that exclusively concerns his personal story, the dangers he will have to guard himself against in the palace of Ithaca and the final outcome of his existential adventure, in Virgil Aeneas certainly receives news from

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<sup>6</sup> Servius, *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid*, 6, *Preface*: *Totus quidem Vergilius scientia plenus est, in qua hic liber possidet principatum*. Among the moderns, the classic and still in many ways precious commentary on the sixth book of NORDEN 1927<sup>3</sup> has now been joined by the monumental two-volume work of HORSEFALL 2013.

<sup>7</sup> Within the vast bibliography on the relationship between Odysseus' and Aeneas' catabasis, I limit myself here to pointing out the classic work of SOLMSEN 1972 and the more recent HERRERO DE JAUREGUI 2015, open to investigate the *Aeneid*'s relationship with the tradition of "catabatic" literature as a whole.

Anchises of the wars and difficulties that still await him in Italy, but what opens up before him is above all the luminous perspective of a collective history, which involves an entire community and far transcends his individual fortunes. That story passes through Aeneas, but at the same time it goes beyond him, because it concerns the future of Rome and therefore the destiny of the whole world. The difference between the cultural horizon of the Greek Homer and that of the Roman Virgil could hardly stand out with greater clarity<sup>8</sup>.

## 2. A history lesson in the Elysian Fields

Of Aeneas' long journey, described by Virgil with extraordinary inventive power, we can here examine only the final segment, the one that leads the Trojan hero to meet his father Anchises, according to the instructions that the latter had given him in a dream<sup>9</sup>.

Finally reached the light-flooded meadows of the Elysian Fields, where those who have led a pure and honest life enjoy eternal bliss – priests, poets, warriors who offered their youth for their homeland, inventors of arts useful to humanity and so on –, Aeneas catches sights of the old Trojan in the distance while,

Deep in that lush valley, Father Anchises  
made a careful count of gathered souls  
as they waited for the light above. He happened  
to be tallying his family, his dear  
grandsons' fates and fortunes, natures and great deeds<sup>10</sup>.

With these words begins the famous section relating to the parade of heroes, the protagonists of Roman history to come who await the moment to rise to the light near the flows of Lethe<sup>11</sup>. In fact, it is his

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<sup>8</sup> On the difference between Virgilian Aeneas and Homeric heroes PADUANO 2020<sup>3</sup> wrote enlightening pages.

<sup>9</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 5, 722-742.

<sup>10</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6, 679-683: *At pater Anchises penitus convalle virenti / inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras / lustrabat studio recolens omnemque suorum / forte recensebat numerum carosve nepotes / fataque fortunasque virum moresque manusque.*

<sup>11</sup> The bibliography on this page of the *Aeneid* is naturally immense, due to the numerous

offspring that his father is contemplating and that will shortly be shown to Aeneas himself: souls whose time will come after many centuries, but who are already there, actors waiting to enter the scene to recite a script already written for them *ab aeterno*. Passing under the eyes of the two spectators is the Dardanian offspring, therefore the direct descendants of Anchises himself, the pure Trojan blood of which Aeneas is the bearer, and together with it the *Itala de gente nepotes*, the descendants of the Italic peoples, that is, those who will be born once that the survivors of the great war, finally settled in Italy, will mix their blood with that of the peoples of Latium:

«Come», he said, «I'll reveal the future glory  
of our Trojan lineage, and the Italians  
who wait for us, splendid souls who'll take our name.  
I'll teach you your destiny»<sup>12</sup>.

After this brief introduction, the actual parade begins: a dizzying perspective on a millennium of history, which from the remote regions of the myth reaches in uninterrupted continuity up to the contemporary events of Virgil. To Aeneas are shown in the first place the kings of Alba Longa, from the "posthumous" Silvius, son of the hero's Italic wife and destined to be born after the death of his father, up to Numitor and the usurper Amulius, then the founders of the city, from the small villages of Latium to Rome itself, voted to dominate over all lands. Later on, with a chronological leap, Anchises mentions the «Romans of Aeneas», his lineage in the strictest sense: Caesar, to whom only a quick mention is dedicated here, then Augustus, celebrated as the man who will bring back the golden age, but also as the conqueror of the eastern lands, already trembling at the prospect of future defeat. Then we go back and the inspection resumes with the kings of Rome, from Numa to Tarquinius,

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problems it poses under the most diverse profiles; here I limit myself to pointing out the two opposite readings given by FEENEY 1986 and WEST 1993; more in the two overall monographs on Aeneas mentioned above, note 1.

<sup>12</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6, 756-759: *Nunc age, Dardaniam prolem quae deinde sequatur / gloria, qui maneat Itala de gente nepotes, / inlustris animas nostrumque in nomen ituras, / expediam dictis et te tua fata docebo*. For the distinction introduced here by Anchises between the two different branches of ancestry and its possible meaning for the purposes of the interpretation of the *Aeneid*, I refer to the considerations of BETTINI 2009.

then with Brutus the first consul and the leaders who made the empire great, from the Decii to Camillus, from the conquerors of Greece to the Scipiones, lightnings of war and terror of Carthage, from Cato to the Gracchi to the Fabii to still others, not without an allusion to the bloody rivalry between Caesar and Pompey, whose names are not mentioned.

The overwhelming list is finally closed, with an abrupt *décalage*, by the painful evocation of Marcellus, grandson, son-in-law and heir-apparent of Augustus, who disappeared *ante diem* just as Virgil was composing the *Aeneid* and for this reason evoked in heartfelt tones by Anchises as a promise too soon frustrated by death.

It is therefore a real lesson in Roman history oriented to the future that is taught to Aeneas: not surprisingly, Anchises uses an expression like *docebo*, properly «I will teach you», while his son is asked to take on the complementary role of pupil and to «learn» from him, *discere*<sup>13</sup>. Together with the *virī*, moreover, the old Trojan promises to illustrate to his exceptional listener also the *mores*, the customs of Rome, what we could define its culture, the peculiar traits that characterize and define its identity<sup>14</sup>. Aeneas must be aware of these aspects too, so that he can adequately carry out the task that awaits him: messenger and prophet of a future to come, Anchises illustrates to his son a complex of models and values that do not yet exist anywhere, just as the Romans called to incarnate them do not yet exist, but at the same time are prefigured in Aeneas himself, who already realizes in himself, as is required of every ancestor, the paradigms of behaviour that his father places before him.

Finally, Anchises's speech culminates in the famous (and notorious) verses which oppose the excellence of the Greeks in the field of art, speech and

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<sup>13</sup> *Docebo* appears in verse 759, cited above, note 12, while *discere* is used in verses 752-755, in which Anchises guides his son to a hill so that he can embrace the *longus ordo* of his descendants with an overall look and recognize (but the verb used is precisely *discere*) their outward features. Already in the previous book, moreover, on the occasion of the dream apparition in which he pressed Aeneas to join him in the kingdom of the dead, Anchises concluded his appeal with the words *Tum genus omne tuum et quae dentur moenia disces* (5, 737), as well as at the end of the sixth the last instructions on the future awaiting Aeneas in Italy are expressed by Virgil again in the form of *docere* (6, 891-892: *Laurentisque docet populos urbemque Latini / et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem*).

<sup>14</sup> As can be seen from 6, 679-683, quoted above, note 10.

selfless research to the world domination as a specific task of the Romans, as their particular vocation:

Others, I believe, will beat out bronze that seems  
to breathe and chisel living faces out of marble.  
They'll excel in pleading lawsuits, and they'll trace  
the heavens' paths and chart the rising stars.  
You, Roman, remember your own arts: to rule  
the world with law, impose your ways on peace,  
grant the conquered clemency, and crush the proud in war<sup>15</sup>.

The imperial destiny of Rome is thus announced by an authoritative speaker, in a particularly solemn context and with an oracular tone that inscribes that destiny in the drawings of fate, moreover already anticipated by Jupiter when, faced with the protests of Venus for the storm that once more was keeping her son away from the coasts of Italy, he reassured the goddess by promising to the descendants of Aeneas an empire without limits of space or time<sup>16</sup>. With the consequence, among other things, that anyone who opposes those designs is not simply an opponent to be defeated, but a proud one to be crushed, or even more an impious one, someone whose actions are placed in direct contrast with the will of the gods.

But the parade of souls that Anchises illustrates to his son also presents other reasons of interest, which lead us to the heart of our discourse. That impressive spectacle, as has long been observed, could not fail to evoke something that was very familiar to the contemporary readers of Virgil: the solemn procession that took place in Rome on the occasion of the funeral of the great aristocratic families<sup>17</sup>. It is known that on that occasion

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<sup>15</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6, 847-853: *Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera / (credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore vultus, / orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus / describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent: / tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento / (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem, / parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.*

<sup>16</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1, 261-277. It is interesting that, also in this case, the illustration of the future destinies of Rome takes place in the context of an interaction with a father (Venus is presented as the daughter of Jupiter in the verses preceding those just mentioned, cf. 1, 256).

<sup>17</sup> The largest study on this peculiar Roman *mos* remains that of FLOWER 1996; for its influence on Virgil cf. among others the pages of BURKE 1979, then BETTINI 1986, 153-160. Finally, I am pleased to mention one of the latest works by a distinguished Virgilian scholar such as Nicholas Horsfall (HORSFALL 2015).



the so-called *imagines maiorum*, the wax masks which reproduced the features of the ancestors and which were normally kept in the atrium of the noble residences, were removed from the display cases that contained them and worn by figures who reproduced the physical appearance of the ancestors themselves and carried the clothes and *insignia* of the magistrates that they had covered in life; the procession then accompanied the coffin on its way through the public places of the city to the Forum, where the discourse of praise for the deceased was held, forming a *tableau vivant* whose extraordinary visual impact is not difficult to imagine<sup>18</sup>.

Over a century before Virgil, that impressive spectacle had produced a very strong impression on the Greek historian Polybius, who arrived in Rome as a hostage in the aftermath of the Third Macedonian War and here quickly entered into collaborative relationships or real friendship with some exponents of prominent elite: it is to him that we owe the most ancient and intelligent description of the singular funeral rite, in the framework of that real anthropological report represented by the sixth book of the *Histories*. In this context, Polybius was particularly attentive to investigating the mechanisms of construction and reproduction of Roman civic ethics, in which he rightly identified one of the keys to Rome's success. It is from this perspective, therefore, that the historian looks at the aristocratic funerals and it is for this reason that it is not only the performance of the rite that arouses his interest, but above all the reactions it aroused in younger observers: the most important aspect of the whole in fact, Polybius points out, it is precisely the fact that the latter «are encouraged to endure anything for the good of the state, to achieve the glory that accompanies men of valour»<sup>19</sup>. For Polybius, in other words, that show was able to trigger an active process of emulation in those who watched it, to solicit a series of behaviours aimed at equalling the challenges of the ancestors, to standardize their actions to the exemplary paradigm of a past which was proposed again and again – also thanks to a representation such as that of the funeral – as a perpetually valid model.

<sup>18</sup> Among the numerous studies on the subject, I refer to BLASI 2010 and BETTINI 2015, as well as to some pages of great significance by PUCCI 2014, 366-369.

<sup>19</sup> Polybius, *Histories*, 6, 54, 3: τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, οἱ νέοι παρορμῶνται πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ὑπομένειν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων χάριν τοῦ τυχεῖν τῆς συνακολουθούσης τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν εὐκλείας.

About a century later, very similar considerations are advanced by the historian Sallust in the opening pages of the *Jugurthine War*:

I have often heard that in the past Q. Maximus, P. Scipio, and other eminent men of our state, used to say that their soul was most irresistibly fired to accomplish acts of manly virtues when they gazed upon the wax images of their ancestors. To be sure, it was not the wax or the image that had such power in itself but the memory of things done that nourished the flame in the breast of extraordinary men, and that flame did not die down until their manly virtue had equalled that fame and glory<sup>20</sup>.

Among other things, it is worth noting that if Polybius speaks generically of young generations encouraged to consecrate themselves to the service of the State, Sallust, as a good Roman, underlines how this solicitation acted primarily and with particular force on the members of the same family the images belonged to, members on whom the obligation to resemble fathers weighed as an expectation shared both by the directly interested and by the civic community as a whole<sup>21</sup>.

To these testimonies on the impact exerted by images on Roman culture, we can finally add those, particularly illuminating, relating to the story of the cesaricide Brutus<sup>22</sup>. The ancient sources are in fact unanimous in believing that Brutus' adhesion to the conspiracy of the Ides of March was

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<sup>20</sup> Sallust, *The Jugurthine War*, 4, 5-6 (translation of W. W. Batstone): *Nam saepe ego audiui Q. Maximum, P. Scipionem, alios praeterea civitatis nostrae praeclaros viros solitos ita dicere, quom maiorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissime sibi animum ad virtutem adendi. Scilicet non ceram illam neque figuram tantam vim in sese habere, sed memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere neque prius sedari quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adaequaverit.*

<sup>21</sup> Much has been written on the modeling role of ancestors in recent years, also due to the flourishing of studies on the theme of family memory and its transmission; here I limit myself to referring to the beautiful work of BAROIN 2010. Instructive on this aspect of Roman culture, even if without a specific reference to the *imagines*, the observations of Cicero, *For Rabirius* 2: *hoc generi hominum prope natura datum ut, si qua in familia laus aliqua forte floruerit, hanc fere qui sint eius stirpis, quod sermone hominum ac memoria patrum virtutes celebrantur, cupidissime persequantur, si quidem non modo in gloria rei militaris Paulum Scipio et Maximus filii, sed etiam in devotione vitae et in ipso genere mortis imitatus est P. Decium filius.*

<sup>22</sup> In this regard, for a broader discussion, I refer to LENTANO 2008, where the previously cited passages by Polybius and Sallust are also discussed.

propitiated in a decisive way precisely by the public statue and at the same time by the wax mask of the most prestigious of his ancestors, the legendary Lucius Iunius, sort of father of the aristocratic republic as an implacable adversary of the Tarquinii and consul in the year of the debut of the new-born regime: the first of those images made a fine show of itself on the Capitolium, side by side with the statues of the ancient kings, while the second one was the object of daily visual interaction for Brutus, as it was kept, together with the other ancestral masks, in the private residence of the Iunii<sup>23</sup>. In this context we do not have the opportunity to dwell on the well-known story of the graffiti affixed during the night, which in the weeks preceding the conspiracy made their appearance in large numbers both on the seat reserved for Brutus as praetor in office and on the simulacrum of the ancient founder of the republic, graffiti in which anonymous hands expressed the hope that the remote descendant would show himself to the height of his glorious ancestor and above all that he would reproduce the heroic gesture for which the latter had entered the legend, the driving out of the tyrant: a story to which all ancient sources give great prominence and which had also struck the imagination of William Shakespeare, who does not fail to recognize it due importance in his admirable *Julius Caesar*<sup>24</sup>.

On the other hand, a page of great interest from the *Philippics* cannot be left out in which Cicero, committed to defending himself from the accusation of being a sort of occult instigator of the anti-Caesarian conspiracy, a bad teacher who had armed the hand of the conspirators while remaining prudently in the shadow, explains how the images of his ancestors, capable of exerting a much more effective push on Brutus than that which Cicero himself could have given, had carried out the task of real *auctores ad liberandam patriam* for the cesaricide:

For if advisers were wanted for the liberation of the country when those men were actors, should I incite the Brutuses, of whom the one saw every day the bust of Lucius Brutus, the other that of Ahala also? Should these men then, with such a lineage as this, seek

<sup>23</sup> The existence of this effigy is attested by various sources, in particular Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 33, 9; Plutarch, *Brutus*, 1, 1; Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 43, 45, 3-4.

<sup>24</sup> W. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, respectively I, II, 313-317 and I, III, 142-146. It is presumed that the English playwright derived his information from Plutarch's biography of Brutus.

counsel from strangers rather than from their own kin, and abroad rather than at home? Again: Caius Cassius, a man born of a family that could not endure, I do not say sovereignty, but even the superior power of any man, wanted me, I suppose, as an adviser<sup>25</sup>.

As one can see, Cicero's speech is carried out in the plural, because next to Marcus Brutus the name of Decimus is also mentioned, one of the supporting actors of the conspiracy, the man who on the morning of the Ides of March 44 had taken on the dirty work to persuade a reluctant Caesar to go to the Senate, where his assassins awaited him. There is no doubt, however, that in the specific case of the first Brutus the network of images became even more dense, as the effigies of the paternal branch, which dated back to the founder of the republic, were joined by those of the maternal branch, the *gens Servilia*: the latter in fact included in its family tree another implacable opponent of tyranny, albeit less blazoned, that Gaius Servilius Ahala who in 439 BCE, according to the annalistic tradition, had killed the rich knight Spurius Melius precisely with the accusation of aspiring to kingdom<sup>26</sup>. On the other hand, things were not different with regard to the second leader of the conspiracy, Gaius Cassius Longinus: about him, Cicero remembers how he, in turn, came from a family that celebrated among its ancestors a father who had sentenced his son to death, Spurius Cassius, despite the three consulates he covered, also in this case because of his tyrannical ambitions<sup>27</sup>.

Both conspirators therefore did not need a stranger to ask for advice, and even the stature of a Cicero: to carry out this task, evidently considered crucial in determining choices even of vital importance such as adherence to a disruptive and risky political project, the respective deceased ancestors were enough, whose images were there to repeat, as a silent but uninterrupted and extremely effective warning, which actions were required of those who wanted to be worthy descendants.

<sup>25</sup> Cicero, *Philippics*, 2, 26 (translation of W. C. A. Ker): *etenim si auctores ad liberandam patriam desiderarentur illis actoribus, Brutos ego impellerem, quorum uterque L. Bruti imaginem cotidie videret, alter etiam Ahalae? Hi igitur his maioribus ab alienis potius consilium peterent quam a suis et foris potius quam domo? Quid? C. Cassius in ea familia natus quae non modo dominatum, sed ne potentiam quidem cuiusquam ferre potuit, me auctorem, credo, desideravit.*

<sup>26</sup> The episode is told, among others, by Livy, *History of Rome*, 4, 13-16.

<sup>27</sup> Also for this story I refer to the canonical version of Livy, *History of Rome*, 2, 41.

### 3. At the service of the future

This substantial Roman reflection on the power of the *imagines maiorum*, both in their daily presence within the aristocratic residences and when they invaded the urban space on the occasion of aristocratic, constitutes the keystone to understand not only the overall setting that Virgil intended to give in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, but also the reaction that the parade of heroes arouses – or is expected to arouse – in its privileged spectator: that of feeding Aeneas the thirst for glory and of cancelling in advance any uncertainty regarding the difficult trials that still await him in Italy. Not surprisingly, after pointing out to him the image of Augustus and the other great protagonists of future history, Anchises urges his son with a question that certainly is rhetorical in the intentions of the one who asks it:

Will we hesitate to put our courage  
to the test? Does fear keep us from our home  
in Italy?<sup>28</sup>

Then, when the review is finally completed, it is Anchises again who comments with his son on what they both saw «and fired his spirit with a love of future glory»<sup>29</sup>. In the latter context, moreover, Virgil's use of a term such as fire is significant: the emotional response that the old Trojan intends to provoke in Aeneas is therefore the same that the sight of the images of the ancestors induced in the descendants of the great aristocratic families, that of inflaming the soul of those who look at them and to push them to face any risk in order to obtain a reputation worthy of their ancestors.

It is no chance, therefore, that Sallust too, as we have seen, used the same metaphor, expressed in that case by the verb *adcondere* (set on fire) and taken up by the noun *flamma* (flame), pertaining to the same semantic field. Anchises believes that after having reviewed the future heroes of Rome, Aeneas is now ready to bear the dangers that await him once he

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<sup>28</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6, 806-807: *et dubitamus adhuc virtute extendere vires, / aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra?* Servius's comment paraphrases: *cum tibi sit tanta ex Romanis et praecipue ex Augusto praeparata posteritas, dubitas virtutem factis extendere, id est gloriam?* (the paraphrase shows that Servius was reading a different text here, in which the second hemistich of v. 806 bore *virtutem extendere factis*, but the overall meaning of Anchises's question does not change).

<sup>29</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6, 889: *incenditque animum famae venientis amore*.



arrives in Latium and of these dangers in fact only at that moment does he inform his son, above all by hurrying up in just three verses what Virgil will tell in the next six songs of the poem<sup>30</sup>.

It is understood that between the procession that took place in Rome on the occasion of the aristocratic funeral and the parade of which Aeneas is a spectator in the kingdom of the dead, there are some important differences: starting from the fact that in that procession usually only the eminent members of the family to which the deceased belonged paraded, or at most of those to which he was related through marriages and adoptions, and not those of an entire people, as happens instead in the page of the *Aeneid*<sup>31</sup>. Yet, in the passage from the republic to the empire, with the ascent of Augustus to the top of the institutional system, this rule had perhaps already begun to be aware of some exceptions. Some scholars, in particular, went so far as to hypothesize that Virgil had conceived his procession of heroes under the suggestion of a real circumstance, the solemn funeral of the aforementioned Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who died early in 23 BCE, of which the poet had been perhaps an eyewitness and that in fact the *Aeneid* recalls in the same context of the sixth book, evoking the immense competition of crowd that had characterized them. It is in fact possible that already on that occasion, as it will happen in subsequent years for other exponents of the imperial *domus*, the funeral rite saw not only the wax masks of the Claudii, the birth family of the young and unfortunate prince, but also those of the *gens Iulia*, to whom his wife belonged, and together with them those of the great protagonists of the history of Rome<sup>32</sup>. In any case, this solution was adopted for the funeral of Augustus himself: according to the detailed account of Cassius Dio, on the occasion of the solemn ceremony in his honour, three different images of the prince were carried in procession, including a wax statue in triumphant dress;

Behind these came the images of his ancestors and of his deceased relatives (except that of Caesar, because he had been numbered

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<sup>30</sup> Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6, 890-892.

<sup>31</sup> Noted by BETTINI 1986, p. 157.

<sup>32</sup> I refer to the influential contribution of SKARD 1965, in particular p. 64. The reference to the funeral ceremony for Marcellus appears in 6, 872-874; it should be remembered, moreover, that Marcellus, although belonging by birth to the *gens Claudia*, was buried in the mausoleum of Augustus.

among the demigods), and those of other Romans who had been prominent in any way, beginnings with Romulus himself<sup>33</sup>.

The reason that justifies a similar choice is not specified by the historian, but it is not difficult to imagine: what the script of the funeral intended to suggest was that the entire historical event of Rome, from the origins of the city, was summarized in the figure of the *princeps*, or, better still, that Augustus, as father of the country – a title that had been officially conferred on him since 2 BCE –, he had become a sort of meta-parent of the entire civic body, a collective ancestor with whom every citizen could and should feel related<sup>34</sup>.

At the opposite side of history with respect to Augustus, Aeneas is in turn a special ancestor, with a double status. In fact, the Trojan hero is at the same time the ancestor of the family that was directly descended from him, the *gens Iulia*, and that of the Romans as a whole: *pater Aeneas, Romanae stirpis origo*, as Virgil defines it in another context<sup>35</sup>. This is why when Anchises invites his son to look at the great of future history he points to them as «this *gens*... your Romans»; and it is no coincidence that he uses a term such as *gens*, to indicate how the Romans as a whole are the family of Aeneas, those same Romans who could define themselves as *Aeneadae*, sons of Aeneas<sup>36</sup>. They are all of them who form the lineage of the Trojan hero, and therefore it is all of them that the latter must look to. A similar double genealogical value of Aeneas, moreover, met very well Virgil's intentions: already Suetonius, in a passage of the biography he had dedicated to the poet, noted how the narrative plan he had chosen for the *Aeneid* allowed him to treat at the same time the origin of Rome and that of Augustus. The family dimension and the collective horizon

<sup>33</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 56, 34, 2 (translation of E. Cary): καὶ μετὰ ταύτας αἱ τε τῶν προπατόρων αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τῶν ἄλλων συγγενῶν τῶν τεθνηκότων, πλὴν τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὅτι ἐς τοὺς ἥρωας ἐσεγγράφητο, αἱ τε τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων τῶν καὶ καθ' ὁτιοῦν πρωτεύσάντων, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου ἀρξάμεναι, ἐφέροντο. On the passage, I refer to the interesting observations of RICHARD 1966.

<sup>34</sup> On the great men of the Roman past as collective ancestors we should read the fine work by MENCACCI 2001, which presents, among other things (on p. 433), a significant reference to the funeral of Augustus.

<sup>35</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 12, 166.

<sup>36</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6, 788-789: *Huc geminas nunc flecte acies, hanc aspice gentem / Romanosque tuos.*

could thus combine without frictions, avoiding at the Virgilian epic the risk of getting stuck in a purely familial celebration and giving it the “national” breath that was inherent in the statute of that literary genre<sup>37</sup>.

It is understood, however, that in the case of Aeneas what «fired his spirit», what pushed the exercise of virtue and the search for glory, is not the vision of his *ancestors*, as happens on the occasion of an elite funeral or when one admires the images exhibited in a private residence, but that of his *descendants*: from the hero's exceptional point of view, the usual chronological perspective is therefore overturned, as it is oriented to the future rather than the past. Yet, even in this reversed temporal dislocation – *hindsight as foresight*, according to the famous expression of Wystan Hugh Auden –, the effect produced by viewing one's own *lignée* is completely analogous to what Polybius, Sallust or Cicero perceived in the spectators placed in front of the images of their families<sup>38</sup>.

As a rule, the Roman fathers admonished their children to prove themselves worthy of the ancestors from whom they descended; only Aeneas found himself in the situation of someone who is urged by his father to deserve his descendants. Now the second part of the *Aeneid* can finally begin<sup>39</sup>.

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<sup>37</sup> As is known, the biography has been transmitted through the reworking made of it in the mid-fourth century CE by Aelius Donatus, so that the Suetonian matrix of the information preserved by the subsequent grammarian is always a matter of opinion; in our case, however, it is probable that the observation we refer to in the text (21, 27-28 BRUGNOLI-STOK: *Novissime Aeneidem inchoavit, argumentum [...] in quo, quod maxime studebat, Romanae simul urbis et Augusti origo contineretur*) remounted to Suetonius, who devotes particular attention to the relations between writers and political power also in *De vita Caesarum*.

<sup>38</sup> I refer to the opening lines of *Secondary epic*, written in 1959: «No, Virgil, no: / not even the first of the Romans can learn / his Roman history in the future tense. / Not even to serve your political turn; / hindsight as foresight makes no sense». Cfr. KIRCHWEY 2010, 475-476.

<sup>39</sup> I intend to express my gratitude to the promoters of the conference on the occasion of which it was presented, and in particular to Dr. Sandra Gatti for the impeccable organization and generously-given care in the creation of the volume that collects the proceedings.

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Alessandro Maria Jaia

## AENEAS AND THE TROIAN TOPOGRAPHY OF LAVINIUM

### Abstract

In the article, the "Trojan geography" of Lavinium is briefly outlined as defined by the comparison between the ancient sources and the results of the excavations and research conducted by the archaeological mission of the Sapienza University of Rome in the area of today's village of Pratica di Mare (Pomezia - Rome). These excavations have contributed to deepen the archaeological themes connected to the Trojan myth, but above all, they have returned the complex image of a Latin community, from its origins, to Romanization, up to the profound transformations of the imperial age.

**Keywords:** Lavinium, Sol Indiges, Numicus, Minerva.

The Virgilian epic of the landing of Aeneas in Lazio is only the latest and most celebrated elaboration of a series of strands of the myth-historical tradition relating to the origins of Rome<sup>1</sup>. Between the Archaic age and the Middle Republican Age, these different traditions saw the involvement of several coastal towns in Lazio such as *Lavinium* and Ardea, with Etruscan contributions, in particular of *Veii*, and Greeks. Modern historiography has much debated between the "romanocentric" vision of the construction of the myth of the Trojan origins of *Lavinium* and the indigenous, independent aspiration, to the claim of a noble mythic origin, Greek or Trojan, by the different centres (fig. 1).

In this regard, there is no doubt that, beyond the multiple readings of the sources relating to the most ancient periods, the moment of the definitive crystallization of the myth of Aeneas as the founder of Lavinium is permeated with Roman interests.

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<sup>1</sup> In the immense bibliography on the myth of Aeneas, see the original readings and elaborations of the recent one BETTINI, LENTANO 2013.



This moment, which is crucial for the Roman religious history, and more generally for ancient Lazio, sees the Greek historians as leading players, who, in their work of myth-historical reconstruction of the Trojan diaspora, also highlight the geographical and environmental similarities between the Trojan landscape and that of the Latium coast, coming to assign to *Lavinium* the role of the ancestor city of the new lineage of Aeneas<sup>2</sup>. In particular, a decisive role seems to have been played by the work of a Sicilian historian, Timaeus of Tauromenion, who was active around 300 BC<sup>3</sup>.

The narration of the events following the landing of Aeneas is based on a sort of Trojan geography of *Lavinium*, which has been defined more and more precisely from an archaeological point of view thanks to sixty years of research and excavations by Università di Roma la Sapienza at Pratica di Mare<sup>4</sup>. This undertaking, of course, has not only contributed to identifying and deepening the archaeological themes connected to the aspects of the Trojan myth, but also, above all, has returned the complex image of a Latin community, from its origins to Romanization, up to the profound transformations of the imperial age.

The Trojan topography of Lavinium is chronologically articulated as follows (fig. 2):

The city of *Lavinium*, the Trojan foundation;

The sanctuary of *Sol Indiges*, the place where Aeneas landed;

The sanctuary of Minerva, connected to the simulacrum of Palladium;

The temple of Vesta and the Penates, directly connected with the Penates of Rome;

The *Numicus* river, the place where the episode of Aeneas' disappearance is set during the battle with Mezentius;

The *Heroon* of Aeneas, tomb - cenotaph of the founder.

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<sup>2</sup> For the relationship between the Trojan foundations of the West and the Trojan landscape it remains fundamental: MUSTI 1981.

<sup>3</sup> For the identification of Lavinium with today's Pratica di Mare (Pomezia - Rome), the history of the studies including the first research on the ground and the reasoned analysis of ancient sources see CASTAGNOLI 1972. A bibliographic update on all the topics about Lavinium in FENELLI 1990.

<sup>4</sup> A brief summary of the excavations of the archaeological mission *Lavinium* in JAIA 2017b.

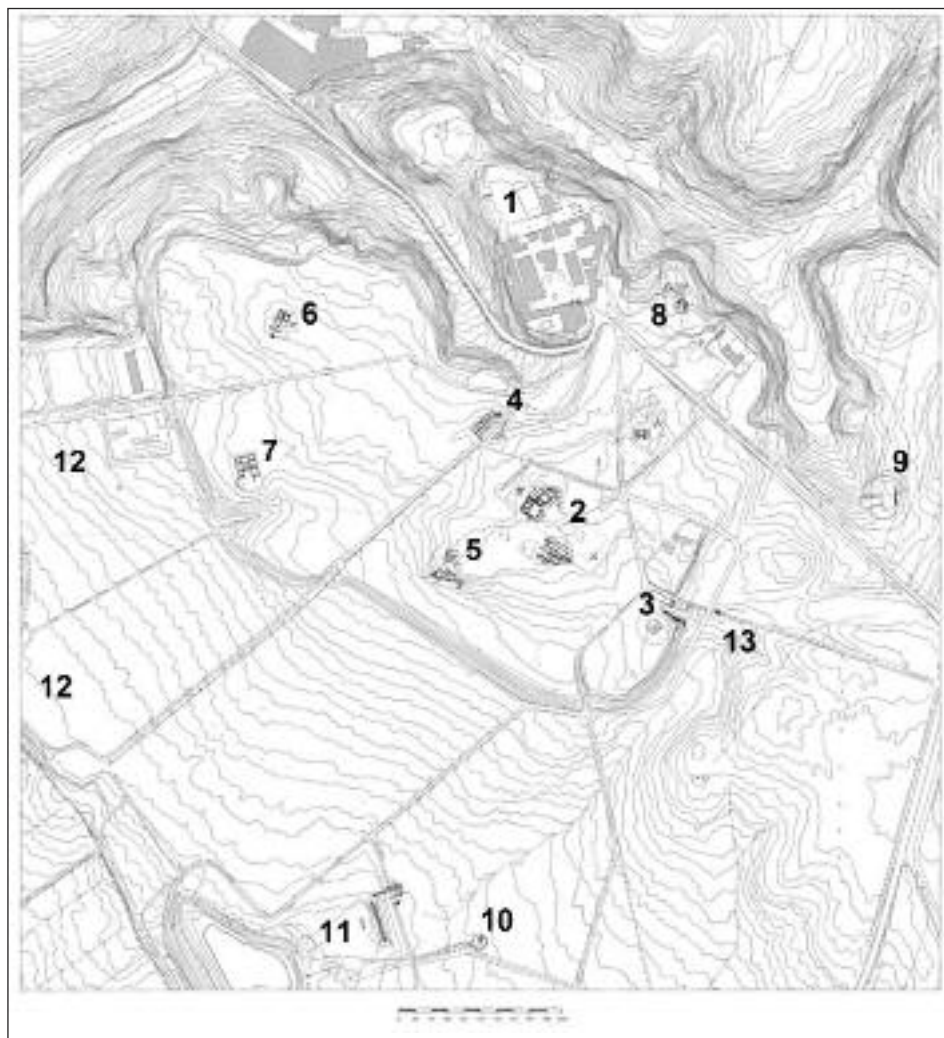


Fig. 2 - Lavinium. Main excavations in the urban area: 1. Acropolis; 2. Forum; 3. Gate to Ardea; 4. Seat of the College of Dendrophori; 5. Public baths; 6. Productive area; 7. Constantinian Baths; 8. The inhabited area of the Iron Age. Excavations in the suburbs: 9. Votive area of the Sanctuary of Minerva; 10. Heroon of Aeneas; 11. Sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars.

With the exception of the temple of Vesta and the Penates, which has never been traced, all the other places have been identified and, in part, archaeologically investigated.



### The *Sol Indiges* sanctuary

As it is known, the myth narrates that Aeneas and his companions, exhausted by hunger and thirst, landed on the coasts of Latium. Here, having even consumed the tables of bread on which the food was served, they were able to quench their thirst thanks to a miraculous event that caused a spring, rich in water, to flow from the ground. In the mythical tale, then follows the famous episode of Aeneas' attempt to sacrifice a sow as a token of thanks, which the Trojan hero will chase up to a height where he will finally succeed in his intent. Here he will establish *Lavinium*. Two altars will be dedicated on the landing site.

In 1965, based on the description of the places deduced from the sources, in particular from Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>5</sup> and Strabo<sup>6</sup>, and following a short excavation campaign conducted in the coastal dunes of Torvaianica also on the basis of a note by Th. Ashby, F. Castagnoli identified *Locus Solis Indigetis*, the sanctuary near the historic port of Lavinium, indicated by sources as the place of the mythical landing of Aeneas in Latium<sup>7</sup>. The excavation was then systematically resumed in the years 2005-2012 (Fig. 3).

The sanctuary is located along the banks of a vast lagoon, now reclaimed, at the point where the waters found their way to the sea. In general, the description of the place of worship outlined by Dionysius of Halicarnassus reflects a common arrangement of several sanctuaries connected to the ports of Latium and Etruria (e.g., in Latium: *Castrum Inui*, port of Ardea; in Etruria: *Pyrgi*, port of Caere and, in part, *Gravisca* port of Tarquinia). These are places of exchange, with the possibility of water supply, open to foreigners, to whom the right of hospitality is guaranteed. The access to these areas will, since the Archaic age, be regulated by treaties, as it is well clarified in the first Roman - Carthaginian treaty. In particular, the description of Dionysius is undoubtedly related to the sanctuary of *Sol Indiges*.

Recent excavations have made it possible to identify the cult building in its remaking from the Middle Republican age. It is a temple probably of the peripterus sine postico type, surrounded by colonnades with the exception of the rear side. The identified variant is unique in its kind,

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<sup>5</sup> Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, I, 53-56.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, 5, 3, 2.

<sup>7</sup> CASTAGNOLI 1967. History of studies and bibliography in JAlA 2009a.

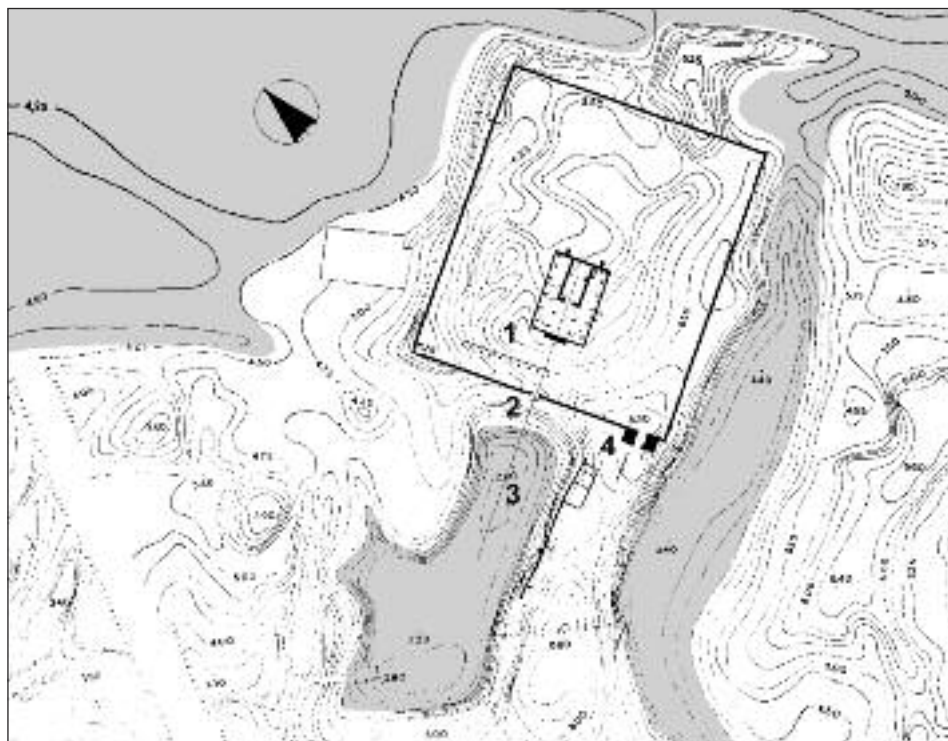


Fig. 3 - Sol Indiges Sanctuary: 1. Temple; 2. Pedestrian gate; 3. Source (hollow place sacred to the Sun); 4. Carriageable gate of the middle-republican wall circuit. The areas occupied by water (lagoon, river, source) are in grey

because two doors in correspondence with the side arcades had to open in the back wall, as demonstrated by the presence of two narrow stairs leaning against the rear of the podium<sup>8</sup>.

Earliest building phases of the temple, dating from the last twenty-five years of the sixth to the first half of the fifth century BC, are attested by a series of fragments relating to the terracotta decoration. Among these, many fragments of acroterial statues which preserve a rich polychromy (fig. 4)<sup>9</sup>.

Simultaneously with the rebuilding of the temple, dated to the second twenty-five years of the third century BC, the sanctuary was surrounded

<sup>8</sup> JAIA 2009b, JAIA 2017a, 268-270.

<sup>9</sup> JAIA 2011.

by a defensive wall circuit that enclosed a quadrangular area. This arrangement transformed the ancient place of worship located on the mythical place of Aeneas' landing into a fortress, intended to protect the port of the city from feared attacks by the sea, in particular by the Carthaginians. This is not an isolated operation, but a coordinated action in the broader project of building a defensive system that would block all accesses to the ports of Latium and Campania. This system includes the foundations of the first citizens colonies, the *coloniae maritimae*: Ostia, Antium (338

BC), Terracina (329 BC), Minturnae and Sinuessa (296 BC). These are flanked by Formia and Fundi (*civitas sine suffragio* in 334 BC) and Circeii, a *prisca* Latin colony. In particular, where the urban entity is not located on the sea but in the immediate hinterland, a new coastal foundation is not used but the fortification of the sanctuary located near the port (*Lavinium*, Ardea, probably Astura)<sup>10</sup>.

In the case of the Sanctuary of Sol Indiges, the problem arose of combining the defensive aspects with the practice of rituals linked to the primitive place of worship, identifiable in a large rectangular hollow (basin) placed in front of the temple, which should correspond to the source which miraculously appeared to the thirsty Trojans, the "hollow place" sacred to the Sun described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. This hollow is located immediately in the west of the line of the walls and remains separate from the rest of the place of worship (fig. 3.3). The solution adopted was to open a monumental pedestrian door, aligned with the median of the temple, and to create a small arcaded square in the area in front of the

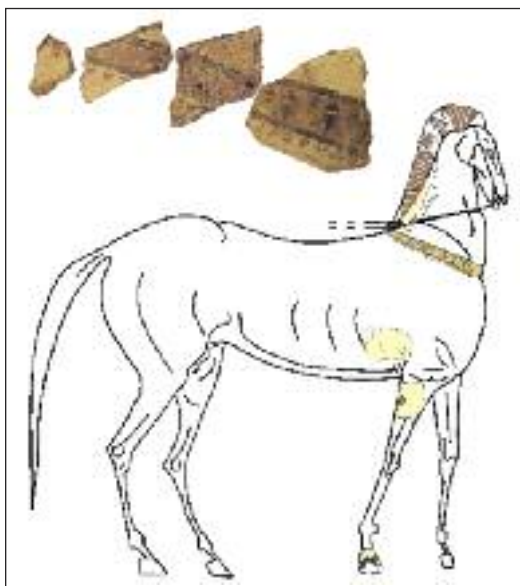


Fig. 4 - Sanctuary of Sol Indiges: Fragments of a horse statue in terracotta with preserved polychromy (end of the 6th century BC)

<sup>10</sup> JAIA 2013 and JAIA, MOLINARI 2011.

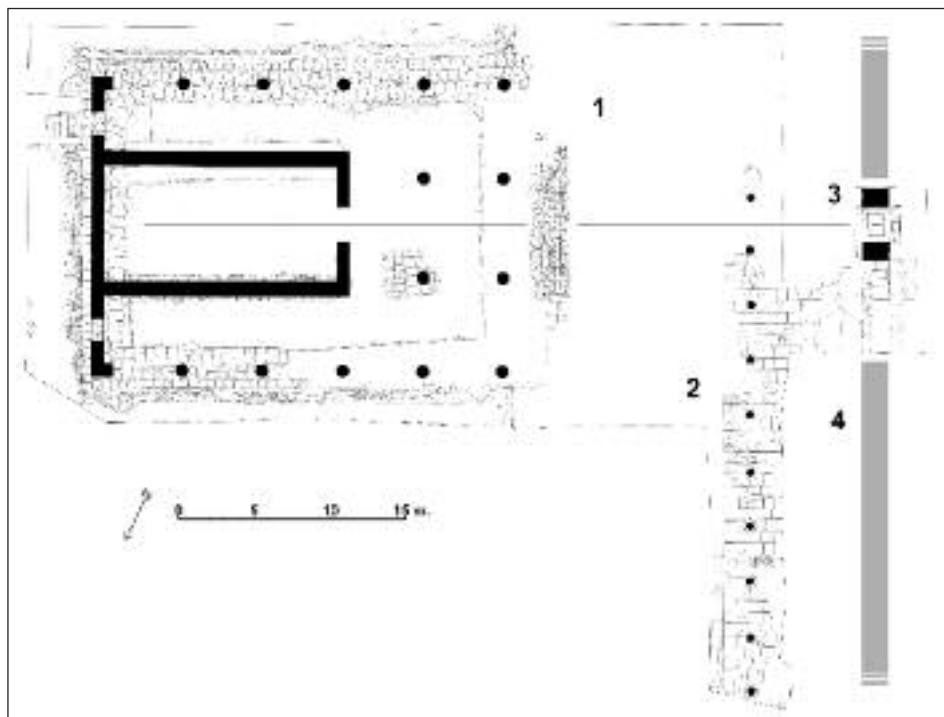


Fig. 5 - Sol Indiges Sanctuary: 1. Temple (periptero sine postico); 2. Portico of the square in front of the temple; 3. Pedestrian gate; 4. Defensive walls (second quarter of the third century BC)

building of worship (fig. 3.2 and fig. 5). In this way, the contact between the primitive place of worship and sanctuary was maintained, even in a narrowness of spaces that forced the gates to be opened on the back wall of the side porticos of the temple to allow the flow of the faithful<sup>11</sup>.

### ***Lavinium and the Numicus River***

The identification of Lavinium with today's village of Pratica di Mare (Pomezia) is due to Pirro Ligorio in the second half of the sixteenth century, but only a century later, the centre appears precisely located in the Lazio Map by I. Mattei (1666). Subsequently, the area was the subject of explorations by the most important topography scholars of

<sup>11</sup> JAIA 2013.

Rome and Lazio: Antonio Nibby, Rodolfo Lanciani, Giuseppe Tomassetti, Thomas Ashby. The first explorations within the Borghese estate in Pratica di Mare were conducted in May 1955 by Ferdinando Castagnoli and Lucos Cozza. In 1957, excavations which brought to light the suburban Sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars and the archaeological mission of the Institute of Ancient Topography of Sapienza in Lavinium began.

The scientific implications of the explorations conducted in the area of the city have been of great scientific importance and can only be partially summarized through this historical and topographical profile.

The oldest settlement was located in the area of the northern extension of the hill of the Borgo di Pratica di Mare, the so-called Little Acropolis, and it can be dated from an advanced phase of the Middle Bronze Age, with testimonies for the Recent Bronze Age and more widespread presences of the Late Bronze Age<sup>12</sup> (fig. 2.1). Thirteen burials identified below the levels of the forensic area probably refer to this first settlement (fig. 2.2). These are the cremation tombs dated between a middle phase (2-3) and the lowest end of the Late Bronze Age (phase 3)<sup>13</sup>.

The contemporaneity between the most recent tomb in the Forum and the oldest one in the southern extra-urban necropolis, the famous Tomb 21 with a hut-shaped urn and a miniaturized panoply of weapons, has led to the hypothesis that this is the moment in which a “proto-urban” reality is defined, in a very similar way to what seems to happen in the case of the large communities of southern Etruria (fig. 2. 12 and fig. 6)<sup>14</sup>.

The community of Lavinium develops during the Iron Age in a similar way to the other communities of archaic Latium. This is evidenced by the productive presences in the central area (furnaces of the VIII century BC), by a sector of the inhabited area formed by numerous huts of different typologies (IX-VII century BC) and by the first fortifications (late VIII-VII century BC) (fig. 2.8). The eastern necropolis is characterized by rich burials of the recent Orientalising (7th-early-6th century BC) (fig. 2.13).

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<sup>12</sup> SOMMELLA 1969.

<sup>13</sup> GUAITOLI 1995, 551-557; JAIA 2007.

<sup>14</sup> GUIDI 2010.



Fig. 6 - Lavinium, western protohistoric necropolis. Panoply of the miniaturized weapons of Tomb 21 (10th century BC)

The first testimonies of places of worship appear, materialized in the typical miniaturist hand-crafted votive jars.

The archaic age, and in particular the second half of the sixth century, seems to mark the peak of the urban development of the city as an independent reality. On the Forum square (fig. 2.2), now defined as the central public area, and two articulated and complex structures are built, with a plinth in tuff blocks and elevation of the wall in half-timbered style, probably intended for non-residential use only (*atria publica*)<sup>15</sup>; in the eastern sector of the town, however, a building with a tiled roof replacing the huts. This area will soon be transformed into a defensive bastion following the construction of a new wall in tuff blocks. In the sanctuaries, the presence of abundant ceramics imported from Greece stands out. In the eastern necropolis, immediately outside the gateway to Ardea, a chamber tomb with a mound was built which would have a continuity of use until the fourth century BC (fig. 2.13). On the register of a large nikos-thenic amphora in bucchero, found in connection with the oldest burial in

<sup>15</sup> For the forensic area of the city and more generally for the excavations in the urban area, see FENELLI 1984, FENELLI, GUAITOLI 1990 e FENELLI 1995.



the tomb, an inscription in Etruscan is engraved: *mini m[ulu] vanice mamar.ce: a.puniie* - given to me by Mamarce Apunie (Fig. 7)<sup>16</sup>. The same character is known from another identical inscription engraved on the handle of a bucchero vase, found in the sanctuary of Apollo di Portonaccio in Veii. This is a rare testimony of the complex intertwining of noble-type relationships between Lavinium, the other communities of Latium and Etruria in the age of the *Tarquinius*.

After this flourishing period, the city does not seem to stand up to comparison, especially economically, with the neighbours, more dynamic realities, especially between the second half of the fifth and fourth centuries BC. In fact, the Lavinium's statal structure, from a certain point of view, already presents some elements of weakness when the conflict between Rome and the Latin communities, which succumbed in 338 BC, develops. Entering the Roman orbit involves, at first, a rebirth of the city, although this probably comes at the cost of replacing the urban élite. The city becomes a municipality early. The walls are partly rebuilt and partly completed in the sections where the defences were previously natural<sup>17</sup>. As for the internal roads within the urban area, there are



Fig. 7 - Lavinium, eastern necropolis. Nikosthenic amphora in bucchero with Etruscan inscription (second quarter of the 6th century BC)

signs of rectification of the routes, a fact suggesting extensive renovations which also involve the definitive layout of the forensic area.<sup>18</sup> The relocation to Lavinium and its territory of a large group of settlers or

<sup>16</sup> GUAITOLI 1995, 557-562.

<sup>17</sup> JAIA 2016, 207-211.

<sup>18</sup> JAIA 2016, 207.



Fig. 8 - Lavinium, forensic area. Architectural facing slab with the representation of Hercules with the Nemean lion (Augustan age)

citizens from the Roman area is evidenced in the sanctuaries and necropolises by the large amounts of black-glazed ceramic materials, even over-painted, of Roman production or inspiration. The type of votives is typical of the Republican middle age. The sanctuary of Sol Indiges, as we have seen, becomes a fortress, and the mound tomb identified with the Heroon of Aeneas is monumentalized.

This propulsive period ends around the second twenty-five years of the second century BC,

when the expansionist horizon of Rome has shifted from Italy to the Mediterranean. The archaeological evidence for the second and first centuries BC is scarce, particularly those relating to material culture. The ancient shrines of the city are abandoned. The only significant urban intervention is the reconstruction, in *opus incertum*, of the large temple that occupies the short northern side of the Forum. The urban history of Lavinium in the imperial age has yet to be written or, better said, something escapes in the definition of the real structure of the city. Lavinium remains a *municipium*; the forensic area is certainly the subject of interventions and renovations. In the Augustan age, the terracotta decoration of the temple of the Forum was replaced with the insertion of slabs from the cycle of the labours of Hercules (Fig. 8). Slabs made with the same matrix will form part of the new decoration of the temple of the coastal sanctuary of *Sol Indiges*<sup>19</sup>.

The colonnades that delineated the sides of the forensic square are from the late Flavian period. In the rooms on the western side of the forum, there is a sacellum probably dedicated to Isis and the seat of the imperial cult, the Caesareum, with portraits of Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius (Fig. 9)<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> FENELLI, JAIA 2007.

<sup>20</sup> FENELLI 2019.

The public baths of the Severian age are positioned to the north-west of the forum. To the north-east of the forensic area there is a rectangular building with an internal arcaded courtyard which was identified thanks to the relevant corpus of inscriptions found, with the seat of the college of Dendrophores<sup>21</sup>. However, the impression is that, apart from the central area,



Fig. 9 - Lavinium, forensic area. Portrait head of Augustus

the rest of the city does not see a continuity of consistent occupation with the previous urban design, but that the spaces are occupied by articulated private residences which are more similar to the many villas that characterize the landscape of the coastal Latium in this period.

However, the bond of *civitas religiosa* with Rome remains strong: the consuls will continue to sacrifice with the water of the Numicus river, identified by Ferdinando Castagnoli with the current Fosso di Pratica. The sanctuary of Sol Indiges, located on the site of the mythical landing of Aeneas, is still mentioned in the Liber Pontificalis with the toponym of *Digitus Solis*<sup>22</sup>.

## The sanctuary of Minerva

One of the most relevant aspects of the exploration of Lavinium is that relating to places of cult<sup>23</sup>. Among these, the extra-urban sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars and the unloading of votive material referable to a place

<sup>21</sup> On the corpus of the inscriptions please see NONNIS 1999.

<sup>22</sup> DUCHESNE 1886, 184: (under the pontificate of Sylvester 314-335 AD) “*possessiones omnes maritimas usque ad Digitum Solis, praest. sol. DCLV; possessio Grecorum, in the Ardeatine territory, praest. sol. LXXX*”. The indication does not relate to the Ostiensis area as for example Tomassetti believed, but indicates “*possessiones omnes*” of the Laurentian coastal territory “*up to*” *Digitum Solis*, clear decomposition for Sol Indiges, followed by possessions in the Ardea territory.

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of the cults in *Lavinium* please see FENELLI 1989-1990.



Fig. 10 - Lavinium, Sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars (VI-III century BC)

of worship, not localized, relating to Minerva, play a prominent place in the history of the archaeology of the sacred<sup>24</sup>.

The sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars is located along the road that led from the city to the coastal lagoon and its physiognomy is unique in the panorama of places of worship in central Italy. A series of altars, facing east is placed on a single alignment, the number of which was enlarged up to a total of twelve working at the same time (Fig. 10). The religious activity is attested from the mid-sixth to the entire third century BC; immediately north-east of the altars was a support building for worship practices, with evidence of productive activities consisting of kilns and concentrations of weights for frames<sup>25</sup>.

The identification of the titular divinity of the sanctuary is much discussed: the Aphrodisium, common sanctuary of the Latins known from the sources (Alföldi<sup>26</sup>, Torelli<sup>27</sup> etc.) or the sanctuary of Indiges, a local

<sup>24</sup> In-depth reflections on some aspects of the archaic Latin religion, based on the sacred contexts purified in TORELLI 1984.

<sup>25</sup> For the excavation of the sanctuary see CASTAGNOLI *et alii* 1975 and GIULIANI 1981.

<sup>26</sup> ALFÖLDI 1965.

<sup>27</sup> TORELLI 1984, 157-173.



Fig. 11 - Lavinium. Sanctuary of Minerva: statue of a young offerer (third quarter of the 5th century BC)



Fig. 12 - Lavinium. Sanctuary of Minerva: statue of an adult "capite velato" (late 4th century BC)

primordial divinity, in connection with the nearby necropolis areas and with the *Heroon* of Aeneas<sup>28</sup>.

In 1977, a periodic inspection carried out in an area where a brief excavation test had been conducted in 1960 at a building with materials attributable to a cult area led to the discovery, in an extra-urban sector, of the votive area of the sanctuary of Minerva.

The presence of a worship of Minerva in *Lavinium* materializes the tradition of Palladium saved by Aeneas together with the Trojan Penates. However, from an archaeological point of view, the extraordinary element of the complex is represented by the main core of the votive area, consisting of more than one hundred terracotta statues, mostly donors, dating back to between the 5th and 3rd centuries BC (Figs. 11-12). The large statue of Minerva *Ilias*, currently exhibited with the other materials

<sup>28</sup> Zevi 1993.





Fig. 13 - Lavinium. Sanctuary of Minerva: statue of Athena Iliàs with reproductions in terracotta and plaster (first half of the 5th century BC)



in the Civic Archaeological Museum *Lavinium* in Pomezia, probably constitutes the cult statue (Fig. 13)<sup>29</sup>.

It is the largest complex of terracotta statues found in Italy. The study and reconstruction of this deposit is still in progress, but the ideas for research are really infinite: the manufacturing technique, the chronological stylistic seriation of the statues, the correlations between the different shops, the type of jewels, the hairstyles, footwear, etc.

### The Heroon of Aeneas

In 1967-1968, in an area not far from the Sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars, the tumulus tomb identified by Paolo Sommella with the *Heroon* of Aeneas, cenotaph of the founding hero, was unearthed. This is a unique find of its kind due to the particularity of the phases identified<sup>30</sup>. The actual and typical burial is made up of a large square pit with, in the centre, a box made up of slabs of friable tuff. The tomb, datable to around the middle of the 7th century BC, is covered by a mound. It is a typical tomb of princely rank from the Orientalizing period, with dozens of vases, andirons, pikes and elements of an iron chariot, bronze weapons, etc. (Fig. 14).

In the first half of the sixth century BC, the burial was reopened and some bucchero vases were placed inside. At the end of the IV - beginning of the III century BC, when *Lavinium* had already entered the Roman orbit, the mound was monumentalized with the insertion of a tuff door, preceded by a mixed entrance floor delimited by tuff blocks. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (I, 64, 4-5) reports that he saw a tumulus in *Lavinium*, crowned by trees, on which there was an inscription dedicated to the Pater Indiges, which was believed to be the tomb of Aeneas (Fig. 15).

The identification of the mound with the tomb that was pointed out to Dionysius of Halicarnassus as that of Aeneas is discussed; however, those who rejected this interpretation have not, so far, provided a convincing

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<sup>29</sup> For the sanctuary of Minerva see FENELLI *et alii* 1981, FENELLI 1989-1990 and FENELLI 2012.

<sup>30</sup> On the excavation of the tumulus tomb and the identification of Aeneas' Heroon, see SOMMELLA 1971-72 and SOMMELLA 1974.



Fig. 14 - Lavinium. Heroon of Aeneas (mid-7th - late 4th century BC)

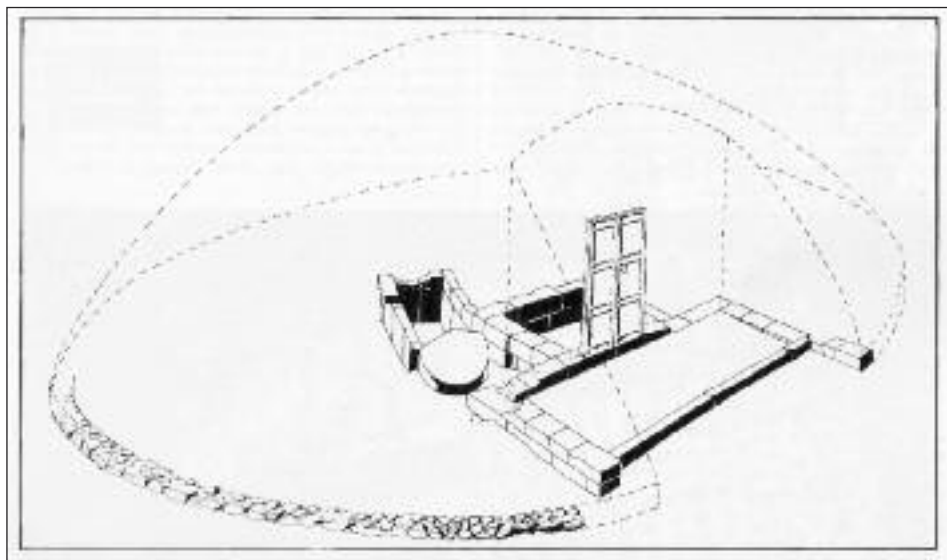


Fig. 15 - Lavinium. Heroon of Aeneas. Reconstructive hypothesis of the mound at the end of the 4th century BC

critical reading of the unusual phases of reopening and, subsequently, of monumentalizing the deposition.

Among those who recognize the burial as the *Heroon* of Aeneas, however, the dynamics by which the identification of the person buried during the Orientalizing age (a prince or king in flesh and blood) with Aeneas was much discussed (a divinized semi-human) and with the *Pater Indiges* (a divinity), because this operation appears scarcely consistent with the Latin religious tradition between the sixth and fourth centuries BC.

For some scholars, this process can only be justified if it presupposes the collective removal of the identity of the person really buried in the tomb, first as a function of identification with Aeneas, who must have maintained, at least in part, human characters, and with subsequent assimilation of the deceased to the progenitor *Indiges* (Castagnoli, Sommella).

On the other hand, the chronological series of events (reopening and subsequent monumentalization) seem to set precisely the stages of a completely new process within the Latin world: in a first phase (6th century), after an examination one would say “autoptic “ of the burial (Torelli), an eminent citizen personality,” a founder “, to be understood in a general sense as an architect of urban unity (one can think, for example, of the builder of the first walls), is identified, about a century after his death, with the most important supernatural entity of the Lavinates, the *Pater Indiges*, the ancestor Father. In a second phase, probably immediately after the Roman conquest, the recognition of the founder of *Lavinium* in the figure of Aeneas by Rome through the mediation, in particular of the Greek historians, allows to attribute to the Trojan hero the idolized burial of the founder - Indiges.

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Sandra Gatti

## THE PLACES OF AENEAS IN LAZIO BETWEEN MYTH AND ARCHAEOLOGY

### **Abstract**

The myth of Aeneas is confirmed in Lazio both by the ancient literary tradition and by the archaeological documentation, but these two sources of information do not always seem to agree. Apart from Lavinium and Rome, according to the stories, one of them was founded by Aeneas and the other one by the descendants of his lineage, the existence of the Trojan myth is also confirmed in other places in present-day Lazio, both in Etruria, in particular in Veii, where there is no lack of evidence of a veneration of the Trojan hero, and in the ancient Latium Vetus inhabited by the Latins. Here, especially in Ardea, archaeological research has brought to light an extraordinary sacred complex in which the deified cult of Aeneas was probably also present. The contribution offers a synthesis of knowledge on this complex aspect.

**Keywords:** Lavinium, Ardea, Lanuvium, Veii, Latium, Aeneas.

In ancient times, many different traditions of the legend of Aeneas overlap, handed down by Greek authors (such as Hellanicus of Lesbos, Damastes of Sigeum, Timaeus of Tauromenion) and Latins authors (Fabius Pictor, Cato, Varro, etc.), from which mostly vague echoes have reached us<sup>1</sup>: “there are

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<sup>1</sup> Among the immense bibliography on the myth of Aeneas in Italy, we point out only some of the main studies: GALINSKY 1969, 43-143; ZEVI 1981; CASTAGNOLI 1982; POU CET 1989; ZEVI 1989; GRUEN 1992, 6-51; ERSKINE 2001, 131-156; NELIS 2001; GRANDAZZI 2008; BETTINI, LENTANO 2013, in part. 132-189; LENTANO 2020; especially for Lazio AMPOLO 1992; for a summary of the various mythographic fields connected with the cities of ancient Lazio see PALOMBI 2010 e PALOMBI 2018, with previous bibl. On the traditions of the myth of Aeneas prior to Virgil, compare MICCO 2016; lastly, on the relevance of the figure of Aeneas, CORDANO 2021.

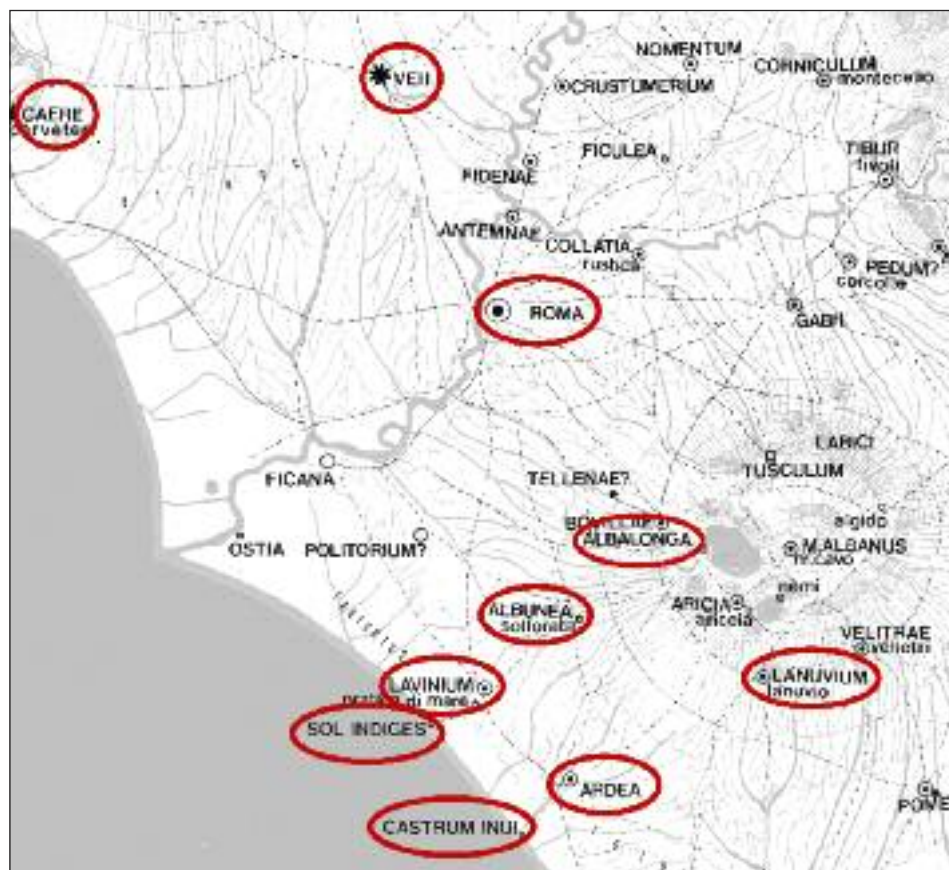


Fig. 1 – Map of Lazio with the places mentioned in the text (drawing from Quilici 1975, re-elaborated)

many journeys of Aeneas”, in the words of Mario Lentano<sup>2</sup>. Only two narratives are complete: that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, very articulated, and that of Virgil, which do not always comply, evidently because they are derived from different sources, or, in Virgil’s case, because it is the result of a free poetic reworking. The different versions also concern the story of the arrival of Aeneas with his companions in Latium (fig. 1).

In the tale of Dionysius<sup>3</sup> the Trojans arrive on the coast in the Laurentian territory, in a place called Troy, where Aeneas makes a sacrifice to

<sup>2</sup> LENTANO 2020, 105 and, more generally on this aspect, 86-121; furthermore CASALI 2010.

<sup>3</sup> Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, I, 64. On the story of Dionysius of Halicarnassus compare VANOTTI 1995.

Sol Indiges. Here, the wonders that the oracles consulted had indicated during their journeys as a sign of the achieved goal occur. First to quench their thirst, springs suddenly pour out (near which the Greek historian remembers two altars, one oriented to the east and the other to the west, which he defines as “Trojan structures”); then, very hungry, Aeneas and his companions even eat the “*mensae*”, the tables (flat bread) on which they had arranged the food; finally the pregnant sow they are about to sacrifice to the gods in a ritual sacrifice of thanksgiving manages to escape.

Aeneas, with some of his own, chases her because he understands that the animal is the one indicated by the prophecy, the one that would show him the place where to establish his new city. After a run of 24 stadiums (about 4,400 meters) towards the interior, the sow stops to give birth to thirty pigs: a divine voice suggests to Aeneas that this is the destined place, the end of his journey, and that after as many years as the number of new puppies, a second city, even bigger and more prosperous (the future Alba Longa), will be founded by his lineage. Aeneas then sacrifices the sow and the little ones and starts the construction of the city to which he will give the name of Lavinium: the walls, buildings and temples. The sacred building in which the Penates (the homeland gods brought from Troy) are deposited is described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the highest place of the city and in the appearance of a hut (*kaliàs*): therefore, probably a round building located on the acropolis. Those lands are inhabited by the Aboriginal people: their king, Latinus, is alarmed upon their arrival, but in a dream a god appears to him inviting him to welcome foreigners. Trojans and Aborigines thus stipulate a pact of mutual respect and alliance, and together they fight against the Rutuli of the nearby city of Ardea, led by their king Turnus. Latinus gives his daughter Lavinia in marriage to Aeneas, from which the name of the new city will derive. The two populations unite customs, laws and rites, and call themselves with the common name of Latins. On the death of Latinus, Aeneas becomes the king and must again face the Rutuli, who were allied with the Etruscans whose king is Mezentius. Aeneas disappears during the battle, and since his body is no longer found, he is believed to have been taken among the gods, or perished in the Numicus river, and the Latins erected a monument in honor of him.

To the detriment of geographic coherence, Virgil, on the other hand, brings Aeneas to the mouth of the Tiber<sup>4</sup> to introduce a variant to the myth functional to highlight the link between Aeneas, Lavinium and Rome: in the tale of the Aeneid, Rome does not exist yet, but it is prefigured by the village of the mythical Arcadian king Evander, located on the Palatine Hill, whose name derives from Pallantium, a city of Arcadia. Once off the ships, the tired and hungry Trojans even eat bread used as tables of food and Aeneas then realizes that their journey is at the end, because the prophecy of the Harpy Celaeno has come true, according to which they would arrive in the land destined for them by the Fate, just when they would eat the tables. From the mouth of the Tiber Aeneas sends an embassy to the Latin king in the Laurentian territory<sup>5</sup>, who offers hospitality to foreigners, accepts their gifts and promises his daughter Lavinia in marriage to Aeneas. In the Virgilian poem the foundation of Lavinium, mentioned by many other sources, is announced several times, but it remains a future event, which will follow the end of the war against the Rutuli and the death of Turnus, the episode with which the Aeneid ends<sup>6</sup>.

The site of the city of Lavinium, identified since the sixteenth century, starting from the 1950s has been the subject of a dense archaeological exploration that has brought to light various sectors of the urban area, necropolis, sanctuaries and monuments, some of which gave substance to the myth of its foundation by the Trojan hero, including, above all, the archaeological area with the sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars (VI-III century BC); the large tumulus in which the heroon of Aeneas was recognized - the symbolic tomb (cenotaph) of the Trojan hero; the sanctuary of Minerva, the Minerva Tritonia remembered by Virgil, which led to the discovery of hundreds of terracotta statues of offerings<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> On the literary aspect of the landing at the mouth of the Tiber, see DEL VIGO 2021.

<sup>5</sup> No ancient author provides information on the location of the city of the Latin king: Titus Livius (I, 1) speaks of the Laurentinum territory (*in agrum Laurentinum*), while Virgil indicates it as *urbs Laurens*: as suggested by Ferdinando Castagnoli (*Enea nel Lazio* 1981, 157) the city of Latin "is an imaginary city, without a name, introduced for narrative reasons".

<sup>6</sup> Vergilius, *Aen.*, I, 1-7; I, 258-260; II, 293-295; XI, 130-131; XII, 193-194.

<sup>7</sup> There is a vast bibliography on Lavinium: for a summary, see here the contribution of Alessandro Jaia in this volume.



The place where Aeneas landed on the Laurentian coast is described in some elements by the Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus (I, 55, 1-2):

*“For while their flee lay at anchor off Laurentum and they had set their tents near the shore, in the first place, when the men were oppressed with thirst and there was no water in the place (what I say I had from the inhabitants), springs of the sweetest water were seen rising out of the earth spontaneously, of which all the army drank and the place was flooded as the stream ran down to the sea from the springs. Today, however, the springs are no longer so full as to overflow, but there is a little water collected in a hollow place and the inhabitants say it is sacred to the Sun; and near it two altars are pointed out, one facing to the east, the other to the west, both of them Trojan structures, upon which, the story goes, Aeneas offered up his first sacrifice to the god as a thank-offering for the water”<sup>8</sup>.*

This place where the Trojans make the sacrifice to the god Sol Indiges, has been unanimously recognized in a place, located on the ancient coast line, near the mouth of the Numico torrent, in the port area of Lavinium, where the excavations of the last years carried out by Sapienza University of Rome led to the discovery of a temple dating back to the end of the sixth century BC, which in the third century BC was enclosed within a large fortified enclosure, becoming a military stronghold in the defence of the coast<sup>9</sup>.

But in recent years, after the important findings near Ardea, about 10 km south of Lavinium, a different topographical reconstruction has been hypothesized, which has opened up new scenarios on the spread of the cult of Aeneas and on the places of myth in Lazio.

Ardea<sup>10</sup> was the most important city of the Rutuli people, who, in the story of the Aeneid, fight a bloody war against the Trojans of Aeneas who arrived in Latium, since their king Turnus was the promised husband of Lavinia

<sup>8</sup> Translation by Earnest Cary, 1937.

<sup>9</sup> JAIA 2009a; JAIA 2009b; JAIA 2017b, 268-270; see also the contribution of the same author in this volume.

<sup>10</sup> From the extensive bibliography on the city, only the main works or the most recent works are pointed out: TORTORICI, MORSELLI 1981; MORSELLI 1982; ARDEA 1983; BOURDIN 2005; MANCA DI MORES 2017; MARRONI 2017.

and the heir to the throne of the Latins. The city, thanks to its strategic position on the Latium coast and its port, had to play a leading role in the trade of mid-Tyrrhenian Italy since the archaic period<sup>11</sup> and probably precisely this determined the foundation in Ardea, by Rome, of a colony of Latin law as early as 442 BC, in order to romanize the territory and acquire control of the maritime traffic of which the city was the fulcrum<sup>12</sup>.

To Ardea is attributed a very ancient origin, as according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>13</sup> it was founded by Ardeias, son of Ulysses and Circe, while a particularly important role is also assigned to it in the narratives connected with the myth of Aeneas and with the origins of Rome<sup>14</sup>. In fact, it is at the same time the city of the Rutuli, whose king, Turnus, is the antagonist of Aeneas; but it is a “Trojan”<sup>15</sup> city also because, according to some ancient authors, in Ardea there was a sanctuary of Aphrodite, the divine mother of Aeneas<sup>16</sup>.

About Ardea’s connection with the Aeneas saga, there are now new archaeological clues.

Just outside the city, along the ancient coast line, at the mouth of the Fosso dell’Incastro, the excavation campaigns promoted by the Territorial Superintendency of the Ministry of Culture have led to the discovery of an archaeological site of extraordinary interest, where *Castrum Inui* was recognized<sup>17</sup>, the town remembered by many ancient authors, including Vir-

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<sup>11</sup> As attested by the Greek historian Polybius (III, 22), Ardea is in fact mentioned in the text of the first treaty between Rome and Carthage, dating back to 509 BC, in which the respective areas of maritime dominion of the two cities in the Tyrrhenian Sea were established.

<sup>12</sup> MARRONI 2017, 128; ZEVİ 1995, 139.

<sup>13</sup> Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* I, 72

<sup>14</sup> See *Enea nel Lazio* 1981, 11.

<sup>15</sup> Ov., *Met.*, XIV, 571-580, links the origin of the name of the city to the Trojan saga.

<sup>16</sup> Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, III, 5, 56, remembers on the Latium coast only the sanctuary of Aphrodite of Ardea; Strabo, *Geogr.*, V, 3, 5, on the other hand, mentions in the same passage two Aphrodisia of the Latins, one near Ardea, later destroyed by Samnites, and another at Lavinium, under the care of the Ardeates. On this topic, compare COLONNA 1995; TORELLI 2011, 231-234; ZEVİ 1989, 254-256, with previous bibliography; MARRONI 2017, 130. DI MARIO 2007, 101-112, recognizes the Aphrodisium in the sanctuary of *Castrum Inui*.

<sup>17</sup> About *Castrum Inui*: DI MARIO 2007; DI MARIO 2009; DI MARIO 2012; DI MARIO 2016a; DI MARIO 2016b; TORELLI 2011; TORELLI 2012; TORELLI 2016a; TORELLI, MARRONI (eds.) 2018; DI MARIO, RONCHI 2018.

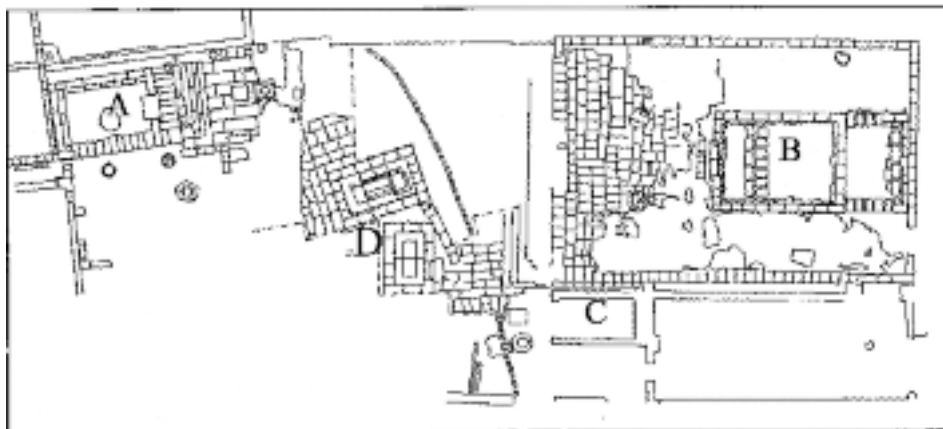


Fig. 2 - Sacred area of Castrum Inui. A) republican temple; B) late archaic temple; C) sacellum of Aesculapius; D) altars (drawing from Di Mario 2012, re-elaborated)

gil himself: it is in fact mentioned in the *Aeneid* by Anchises, whom Aeneas meets in Hades, in the long prophecy on the future glories of the Trojan lineage<sup>18</sup>. The vast area (fig. 2) includes two distinct sectors in terms of chronology and functions: a landing port dating back to the 1st century BC and III century AD and an important place of worship, whose life lasts from the mid-6th to the 1st century BC. Inside the latter, surrounded by a quadrangular fortification typical of a *castrum*, various sacred buildings and altars enclosed in a mighty enclosure (*temenos*) have been brought to light. Temple B (fig. 3), the most impressive temple, is dated to 480-470 BC and it was dedicated to *Inuus*, a mysterious and ancestral local divinity of the Rutuli in the archaic age<sup>19</sup>. Inside it, excavations have highlighted the presence of an older, smaller temple dating from 540-530 BC (fig. 4). Next to the podium of the temple there is a cistern, obliterated in the second century BC from the construction of building C. In addition, on the north side of the stairway of the temple, a well was discovered, dating back to the first phase of the building, from which a rather small source flows<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Verg., *Aen.*, VI, 775: Anchises illustrates to his son the glorious future of his descendants, who will be protagonists of great enterprises and of the construction of many cities of Latium; among these - besides Rome - he also names *Castrum Inui*.

<sup>19</sup> The ancient name of the place would derive from the name of this ancient divinity (*Castrum Inui* = fortified camp of Inuus). For bibliographic references, see note 12.

<sup>20</sup> DI MARIO 2016a.

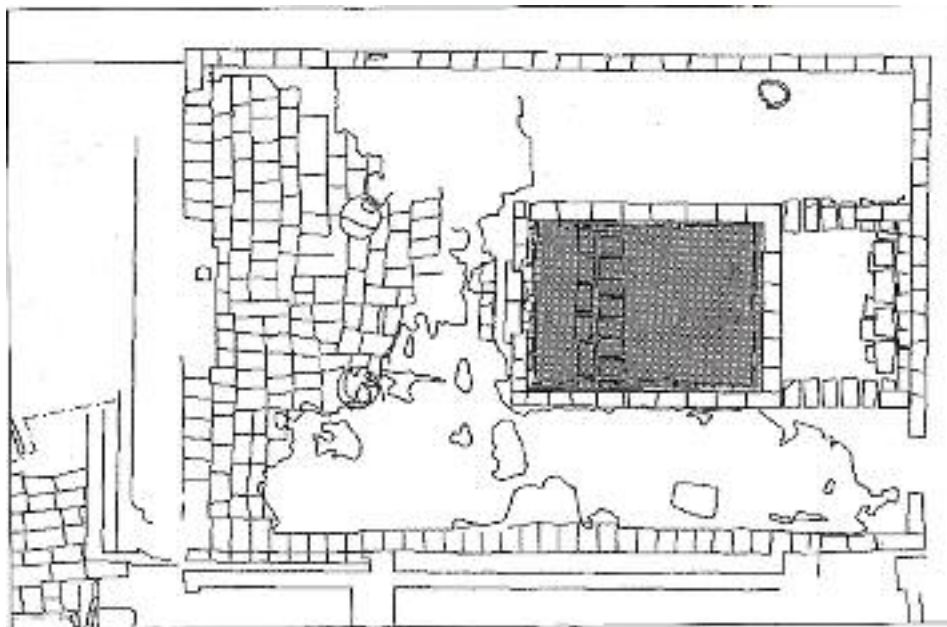


Fig. 3 – Castrum Inui, plan of temple B. In dark grey the archaic oikos (from Di Mario 2012)



Fig. 4 – Castrum Inui. The podium of Temple B (Author photo)

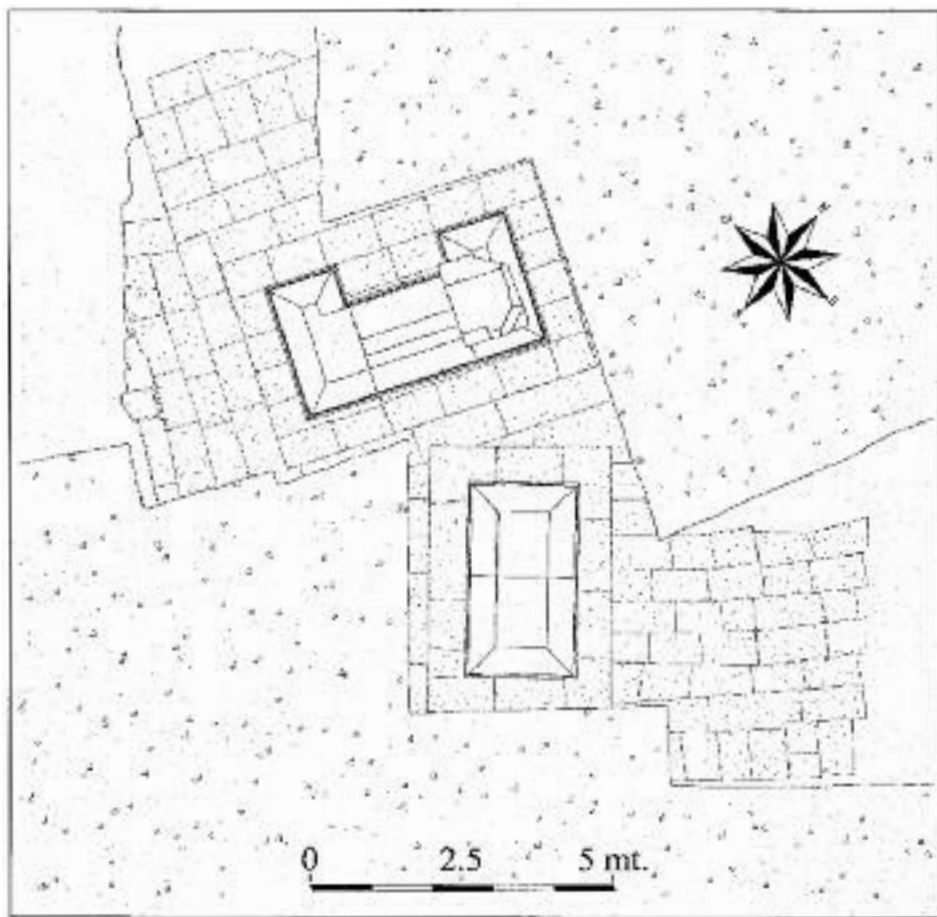


Fig. 5 – Castrum Inui. Plan of the altars in front of Temple B (from Di Mario 2012)

In the area in front of temple B there two altars were built in the fourth century BC facing east and west respectively, with opposing “cushion” profiles, very similar to those of Lavinium (fig. 5; fig. 6). In front of temple B there is a second building, temple A (fig. 7), built in the first half of the second century BC, facing north-east, initially attributed to the god Veiovis<sup>21</sup>, later identified with a place of heroic worship reserved for the deified Aeneas, Aeneas Indiges, ancestral forefather<sup>22</sup>. In this building the Trojan

<sup>21</sup> TORELLI 2012, 485-486.

<sup>22</sup> TORELLI 2016b, 638.





Fig. 6 – Castrum Inui. The altar without lateral projecting parts in front of temple B (Author photo)



Fig. 7 – Castrum Inui. Temple A (Author photo)



hero would in fact be depicted in the decoration of the pediment, where, among the terracotta statues of a series of divinities (Dionysus, Hercules, Minerva and Venus), there is a half-naked male figure in the center, larger than the others, in which Aeneas should be recognized, welcomed into Olympus as an idealized hero. The excavation also brought to light the ritual foundation pit of the temple, in which the remains of the sacrifices of a large number of oxen and pigs were laid down and this element was read as confirmation of the building's consecration to a heroic cult, that of Aeneas<sup>23</sup>.

The sanctuary also includes a little temple dating back to the Augustan age (building C; fig. 2), which must have been dedicated to the god Aesculapius, as indicated by the discovery of a small cult statue of this divinity inside the cell; the building stands on a large vaulted cistern.

In order to understand this important site, that passage from Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentioned above has been recalled by some scholars (in particular Mario Torelli)<sup>24</sup>. His description of the landing place could actually conform to many landing places on the Tyrrhenian coast, with similar characteristics, characterized by an environmental context with springs, ponds and lagoons and by the presence of a sanctuary dedicated to the Sun<sup>25</sup>: among these, therefore, in addition to the sanctuary of Sol Indiges at Lavinium, also the sanctuary of Castrum Inui. In favor of the recognition of this second site with the place indicated by the locals at Dionysius of Halicarnassus as the point of Aeneas' landing, not only the two altars facing one east and the other west would be decisive, but also the fact that the god Inuus, whose etymology would be related to that of Indiges, is actually an ancestral divinity identifiable with the Sun god; the epithet of Indiges, moreover, always associated with Aeneas (except in rare cases), would be the Latin equivalent of the Greek ἥρωας (hero)<sup>26</sup>. Further evidence would be represented both by the well discovered next to the stairway of the temple from which water flows, precisely the miracu-

<sup>23</sup> TORELLI 2016a, 200.

<sup>24</sup> Compare DI MARIO 2007; DI MARIO 2009; especially TORELLI 2011; TORELLI 2014.

<sup>25</sup> TORELLI 2012, 479.

<sup>26</sup> DI MARIO 2007, 104; TORELLI 2012; TORELLI 2016b, 639-640. Identification with the god Sun is based on a passage from Macrobius, *Sat.*, I, 22.2.

lously poured spring that quenched the thirst of the Trojans as soon as they landed, and by the cistern below the shrine of Aesculapius, to be identified precisely with the “cavity” seen by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in which the waters of the spring would have collected (ὀλίγον ὕδωρ ἐν κοίλῳ χωρίῳ). According to this hypothesis, therefore, a part of the ancient tradition had to recognize *Castrum Inui* as the place where Aeneas landed. However, there were some highlighted significant elements<sup>27</sup> that may contrast with this reconstruction, such as the fact that the orientation of the altars to the east and west is also common to other sanctuaries dedicated to solar deities, such as Apollo. Furthermore, Pliny the Elder<sup>28</sup>, describing the Latium coast from north to south, names Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, then Laurentum, then the sanctuary of Sol Indiges and immediately after the Numicus river, finally Ardea. Therefore, the sanctuary of the landing of Aeneas would be located near Lavinium, and not in Ardea, which is obviously a different and more southern place. Another element that does not seem to be underestimated is that the text of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, referred to several times, explicitly indicates “Laurentum” as the landing place<sup>29</sup>: this was not a city, but a territory that revolved right around Lavinium<sup>30</sup>, while Ardea, which was the main center of the territory of the Rutuli, would actually have been at its limit, right on the southern border.

Another place in ancient Latium vetus connected with the myth of Aeneas is the Solforata area (Tor Tignosa)<sup>31</sup> (fig. 8), a site characterized by sulphurous springs and lakes, located about 8 km from Lavinium along the very ancient road that from the coastal landing to the mouth of the Numicus, after Lavinium, reached the Alban Hills, where the main sanctuary of the Latin people, dedicated to Iuppiter Latiaris, was found. At the Solforata since the fifth century BC there was a place of worship connected with the

<sup>27</sup> LA REGINA 2014a; also compare JAIA 2009b; JAIA 2013.

<sup>28</sup> Plin., *Nat.Hist.* III, 56-57.

<sup>29</sup> Livy (*Ab Urbe Condita* I, 1, 4) also writes that Aeneas landed in the Laurentian territory and that this place is also called Troy (“ad Laurentum agrum tenuisse. Troia et huic nomen est”). Thus, also Festus, 504 L, and Appian, fragm., I, 1. On the subject see CASTAGNOLI 1967. On the toponym Troy, common to various places, see MUSTI 1981.

<sup>30</sup> CASTAGNOLI 1967, 237.

<sup>31</sup> On the site compare QUILICI 1996; GRANINO CECERE 1992, 127-129.



Fig. 8 – View of the Solfatara at Pomezia (Roma)

sulphurous waters, documented by architectural terracottas, votive objects and an altar<sup>32</sup>, in which it was proposed to recognize the locality of *Albunea* mentioned by Virgil<sup>33</sup>, the wood with mephitic springs seat of the oracle of the god Faunus, which predicts to the king Latinus the arrival of Aeneas, the one predestined to become the husband of his daughter. Three tuff stones with inscriptions also come from the site, dated to the end of the IV-beginning of the III century BC, reminiscent of female divinities: *Neuna*, *Neuna Fata* (perhaps the same goddess with the attribute of *Fata*: “she who spoke”) and *Pauca Martia*: dark Latin divinities, perhaps oracular (*Tria Fata*: the three destinies) whose identification with the Fates was proposed. A fourth block (fig. 9), perhaps a small altar, bears a controversial inscription that is not easy to read, interpreted by most<sup>34</sup> as *Lare Aineia d(onom)*. It would therefore be a dedication to Aeneas, qualified as Lar and therefore intended as a deified (and beneficial) soul of an exceptional character. The document would prove that Aeneas was venerated in the sanctuary of Solforata as the heroised ancestor of the Roman people. Other authoritative

<sup>32</sup> CASTAGNOLI 1984; POCETTI 1998, 84.

<sup>33</sup> Verg. *Aen.* VII, 81-89.

<sup>34</sup> GUARDUCCI 1956; GUARDUCCI 1971; NONNIS 2012.

archaeologists<sup>35</sup>, however, re-examining the inscription have formulated a different reading, *Lare(bus) A. Venia. Q. f.*: it would therefore be a dedication to the Lares gods by a private woman, moreover datable two centuries later.

Some brief mention also to the presence of the myth of Aeneas - and to the archaeological documentation connected to it - in Etruscan territory.

In the narration of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, after the death of the king Latinus and the marriage with Lavinia, Aeneas becomes king and must again face the Rutuli, who have allied themselves with the Etruscans led by the king of Caere (Cerveteri) Mezentius.

He is a character who appears in numerous sources. The historian Cato was the first to talk about him, at the beginning of the second century BC, about the Latin feast of the *Vinalia priora* (April 23, opening of the new wine<sup>36</sup>), on the occasion of which a very ancient mythical episode was remembered: the "tyrant" (*tyrannus*) Mezentius, with an act of cruelty, would have imposed on the Latins as a tribute the dedication and delivery of the first fruits of the wine produced by them, actually destined for Jupiter, so as to be able to enjoy an honor equal to a divinity; Aeneas would be able to get it back. The story, ignored by Virgil, was well known and often resurfaces, even if with some variations, in the antiquarian tradition:



Fig. 9 – Tufa stone inscribed from Tor Tignosa (from Nonnis 2012)

<sup>35</sup> KOLBE 1970, but later above all LA REGINA 2014a; LA REGINA 2014b, with previous bibliography.

<sup>36</sup> SCHILLING 1954; MARCATTILI 2017, 429-438.

according to Cato Mezentius helps Turnus, who is defeated by Aeneas<sup>37</sup>; after the death of this Mezentius he is killed by Ascanius. In Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>38</sup> after the death of Aeneas Mezentius besieges the Latins, but then surrenders and becomes their ally. According to Titus Livius<sup>39</sup> he is defeated by the Latins, but survives Aeneas. According to Virgil<sup>40</sup>, on the other hand, Mezentius, defined as a “contempt for the gods”, is a king in exile and Aeneas kills both him and Turnus.

These are the stories of the ancient authors. But the historicity of the figure of a character named Mezentius seems to be carved by an inscription in the Etruscan language, engraved on an impasto vase (fig. 10), dated to 680-640 BC. and probably coming from Cerveteri, now in the Louvre Museum in Paris, whose text is: *mi Laucies Mezenties* (“I am of Laucius Mezentius”), which documents this very rare noble with an Italic



Fig. 10 – Cup of impasto from Cerveteri with engraved inscription. VII sec. BC (Paris, Louvre Museum)

roots<sup>41</sup>. Virgil, therefore, by inserting the figure of Mezentius, killed by Aeneas into the Aeneid, in some way draws on a very ancient historical reality, in which precisely in Caere, in the seventh century BC, there is a gens *Mezentie* (of Italic or perhaps Latin origin), belonging to the ruling class, which has the same name as the Etruscan king linked to the myth of Aeneas.

In the Etruscan territory the myth of Aeneas is also present in Veii. Located only about 15 km north of Rome, it was the Etruscan city most intensely and

<sup>37</sup> Cato, fr. 9 P apud Serv. ad Aen. I, 267; fr. 10 P apud Serv. ad Aen. IV, 620; fr. 11 P apud Serv. ad Aen. VI, 760.

<sup>38</sup> Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, I, 64.

<sup>39</sup> Liv., *Ab Urbe cond.*, I, 3.

<sup>40</sup> Verg. Aen. VII; VIII, 481-495; X, 762-908.

<sup>41</sup> GAULTIER 1989. For the linguistic aspect, see DE SIMONE 1991.



from very ancient times in relation to Rome, to which it contested the dominion of the lower Tiber, where the landing from the sea and the salt pans were located. However, it was precisely this proximity that meant that over time Veii, unlike the other important Etruscan cities, developed a consonance, and almost an overlap, culturally and religiously, with both Rome and the other Latins.

In Veii, some terracotta statuettes depicting Aeneas with Anchises on his shoulders (fig. 11) were found in various places of worship in the city, some dating back to the 5th century BC. Also, in the large sanctuary in loc. Campetti, north-west of the urban center, of a “thermal-therapeutic” character, a very particular fragment of a clay statue (32 cm long) was discovered, dating back to the end of the 6th - first half of the 5th century (fig. 12). BC. It is a sort of “bundle” that depicts a folded cloth wrapped around something rigid, fastened by ribbons, which was carried on the head by a character of which only the two hands remain, painted red and therefore male, according to the archaic figurative convention<sup>42</sup>. This object was reconstructed as part of the wrapping in which Anchises, holding it on the head with both hands, while sitting on



Fig. 11 – Terracotta statuette depicting Aeneas and Anchises. From Veii, sanctuary of Portonaccio. Second half of the 5th century BC (Roma, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia)

<sup>42</sup> For an in-depth analysis, see COLONNA 2009, to whom we owe the following considerations and hypotheses on Veii.



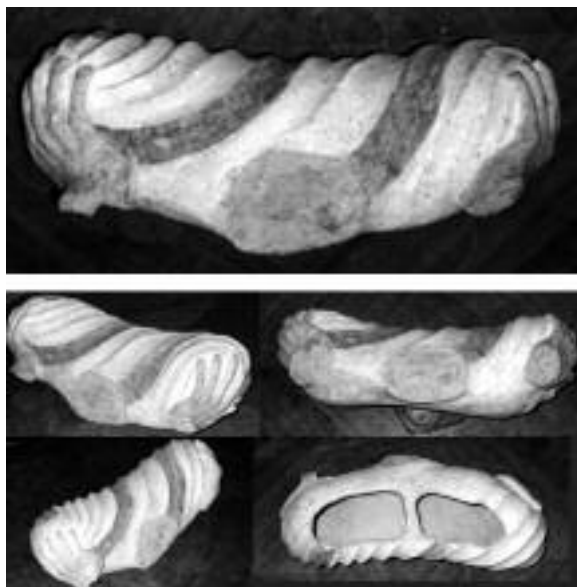


Fig.12 – Fragment of a clay statue from Veii, loc. Campetti (from Colonna 2009)



Fig. 13 – Reconstruction of the clay group depicting Aeneas and Anchises from Veii, loc. Campetti (from Colonna 2009)

the shoulders of Aeneas, would have transported the sacred objects (the *sacra*, according to the ancient authors “the images of the homeland gods wrapped in *pepli*”, hence the Penates) carried away from Troy in flames (fig. 13)<sup>43</sup>. It is the same pose (of very ancient tradition) that will be adopted in the Augustan age for the group of Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius that was in the place of honour of the left exedra of the Forum of Augustus in Rome. These findings - the statue of Anchises, perhaps in a group with Aeneas and Ascanius, and the small votive statuettes of Aeneas with Anchises on his shoulders<sup>44</sup> - have therefore suggested the existence of a cult of Aeneas in Veii (unique among all the Etruscan cities) and of a bond with the Trojan hero on the most remote origin of their city, of which he was

<sup>43</sup> Licofr., *Aléxandra*, verses 1262-1266: see COLONNA 2009, 59.

<sup>44</sup> Other scholars (such as Mario Torelli) have argued that the statuette cannot be prior to the fourth century BC and therefore the re-enactment and cult of Aeneas in Veii should be inserted in the Roman phase of the city, brought by the Roman colonists sent to the Veii territory, perhaps as a symbol of “exile”. For the discussion on this topic and the related bibliography see COLONNA 2009, 63, and particularly note 70; MARRONI 2017, 136.

perhaps considered the distant founder, just like in Rome and thanks to the intense cultural exchange that Veii had both with Rome and with the Latins. The tradition would have established itself in the Etruscan city at the beginning of the fifth century BC, at the time of the most severe conflict with Rome, which would later lead to the conquest of Veii in 396 BC.

The cult would have arrived in Veii from Lavinium: of the relations between the aristocracies of the two cities, already in the archaic period, there is archaeological evidence in two inscriptions of a gift, one found in Veii in the sanctuary of Apollo, the other in Lavinium in an aristocratic tomb, with identical text, which bears the name of the same person as the author of the gift (*Mamarce Apunie*). These documents testify to an exchange of gifts, with probable friendships, between the family of Lavinium, owner of the tomb, and the Etruscan *Apunies* family <sup>45</sup>.

In Lazio we also have a case in which archaeological discoveries open new and broader horizons than those told by ancient authors. This is the Latin city of Lanuvium (today Lanuvio), located on the Alban hills, famous for its important sanctuary of Iuno Sospita (= propitious) Lanuvina, characterized by a goat skin on the head.

According to the historian Appian (born in Alexandria in Egypt under the reign of Emperor Trajan)<sup>46</sup> the city was founded by Diomedes<sup>47</sup>, the mythical king of Argos who fights with all the other Greeks in the Trojan war and then, together with Ulysses, steals the Palladium; according to the legend, he also arrives in the West in Daunia, in present-day Puglia in southern Italy, where established three cities. Instead, an extraordinary archaeological discovery traces the foundation of Lanuvium back to the arrival of Aeneas' Trojans in Lazio. In Sicily, in Taormina, some fragments of the plaster that covered the recesses intended to house the scrolls of the library, probably from the city's gymnasium, were found, on which short captions are painted on the authors and on the content of the works that were present in the shelves<sup>48</sup>. On one of these fragments there is a text relating to the Roman historian Fabius Pictor, who lived in the second half

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<sup>45</sup> COLONNA 2009, 69; BIELLA, MICHETTI 2018.

<sup>46</sup> *Bell.Civ.* II, 20.

<sup>47</sup> Compare PASQUALINI 1998.

<sup>48</sup> On this topic, refer to MANGANARO 1974.

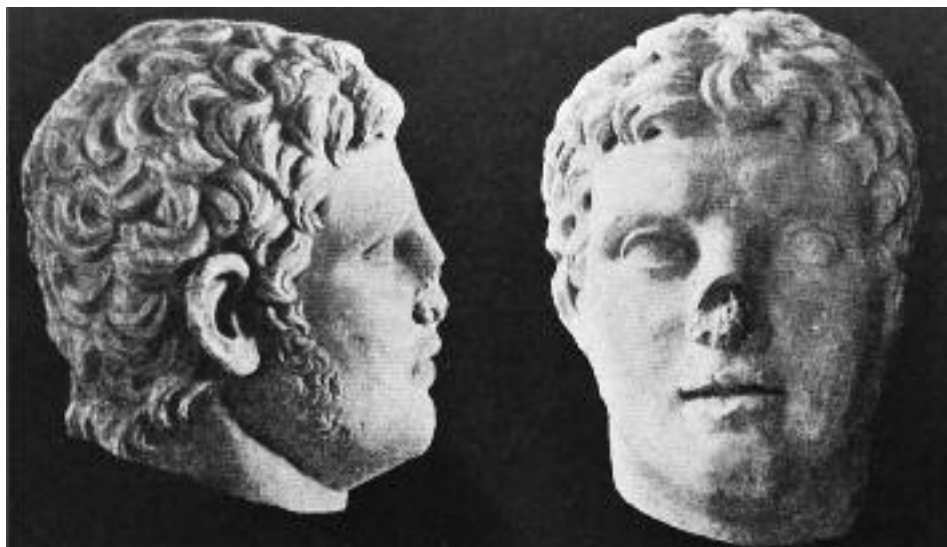


Fig. 14 – Male head in marble from Centuripe (Sicilia) (from Patané 2016)

of the third century BC, considered the father of Roman annalist historiography. His work, unfortunately lost, was written in Greek and narrated the arrival of Heracles in Italy and the journey of Lanoios, a native of Centuripe in Sicily, an “ally” of Aeneas, who would accompany him to Latium and establish Lanuvium. A marble head, identified with this character, was found in Centuripe<sup>49</sup> (fig. 14). A further element, which seems to confirm this story about Lanoios, is represented by an inscription which preserves part of a decree that renewed a treaty of friendship between Centuripe and Lanuvio, based on the “blood relation” between the two cities (συγγένεια)<sup>50</sup>. We do not know why, among all the cities of ancient Latium, Lanuvium itself had this singular mythical tradition, so far unknown to the other nearby cities: in any case it is a very important epigraphic documentation, which sheds an unexpected light on a chapter of ancient history, not remembered in any other way by the sources and of which otherwise we would never have known anything<sup>51</sup>. Certainly, this tradition of ancient origins from a companion of Aeneas, even if Sicilian

<sup>49</sup> Compare PATANÉ 2016.

<sup>50</sup> MANGANARO 2006.

<sup>51</sup> On the subject BRIQUEL 2001.

and not Trojan, somehow unites Lanuvium with Rome, also linked to the lineage of the Virgilian hero<sup>52</sup>.

But the presence of Aeneas in Lazio does not stop at the cities where he is directly involved in mythical tales, but it also extends to other cities where he is indirectly summoned on, through descendants that have perpetuated themselves in Alba Longa, the city that was established by his son Ascanius on the Alban Hills and which, in the literary tradition, would become the motherland of a number of other cities in Lazio and, generations later, the homeland of Romulus, the founder of Rome<sup>53</sup>.

Archaeological research has so far failed to identify the site. Schliemann himself, who managed to locate Troy, tried to find the city<sup>54</sup>, so much so that for this purpose he obtained from the General Directorate of Antiquities an authorization to “dig in search of Alba Longa”, but without success, perhaps because Alba never became a real “city” in the classic sense of the word. According to tradition, in fact, when it was still a system of small villages it would have been destroyed by the third king of Rome, Tullus Hostilius (672-640 BC of the traditional chronology), who would have transferred the Albanian population to Rome with its *Penates*, those in which was recognized as the *nomen latinum*, unifying the two peoples<sup>55</sup>.

The tradition which was commonly accepted and disseminated by ancient writers therefore attributes the foundation of Lavinium to Aeneas, the foundation of Alba Longa to his son Ascanius and to Romulus and Remus, descendants of the dynasty of the Latin kings of Alba, the foundation of Rome<sup>56</sup>. Through various adjustments, the main of which is attributed to Virgil, Ascanius was then identified with *Iulus*, the ancestor of the gens *Iulia*, so that Julius Caesar and his adopted son Octavian, later emperor Augustus, could boast a prestigious descent from the dynasty semi-divine

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<sup>52</sup> ZEVI 2011.

<sup>53</sup> On Alba Longa, refer to PASQUALINI (edited by) 1997, PASQUALINI 2013; PASQUALINI 2016; GRANDAZZI 2008 with previous bibliography; ZIOLKOWSKI 2009.

<sup>54</sup> DE ROSSI 1875; MEYER 1969, 248-249 and 395; GRANDAZZI 2008, 235-238.

<sup>55</sup> PASQUALINI 2016.

<sup>56</sup> For the places of Aeneas in Rome and the related archaeological documentation, see the contribution of Alfonsina Russo in this volume.

of Anchises and Aeneas, son of Venus. The continuity between Aeneas and Augustus, and the importance of Actium's victory, as the crowning achievement of the mission assigned to the lineage born from the merger of Trojans and Latins, was the subject of Virgil's work.

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Alfonsina Russo

## THE PLACES OF AENEAS IN ROME

### Abstract

The places in Rome associated with the mythical figure of Aeneas and his Romulan progeny are quite numerous and all cluster around the original settlement on the Palatine. In fact, the literary tradition and the archaeological documentation give us a historical palimpsest of exceptional value for the topographical and architectural reconstruction of the places of the myth, still intact in the Republican age, renewed under the principate of Augustus and always present in the collective memory of the Roman people, until the end of the ancient age. The fundamental source is Book VIII of Virgil's *Aeneid*, which allows us to reconstruct, step by step, the places that Aeneas saw on his arrival in Rome, welcomed by the arcade Evander. The present communication, focuses on the recent findings on the Palatine Hill, discussing how there is an exceptional connection between written sources and archaeological documentation, despite the due differences.

**Keywords:** Aeneas, Rome, Palatine, Romulus

As it is known, reading the *Aeneid*, and in particular the passage concerning the prayer dedicated to Cybele recited by Aeneas (Book III, vv. 19-120), we learn that Aeneas' journey to the west begins under the auspices of the Great Mother of the Gods, at the sacred cave of the goddess at Mount Ida where he takes refuge after leaving Troy in flames<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>Although the iconographic theme of the escape of Aeneas from Troy is already present in the vase painting of the 6th and 5th centuries BC in Greece and Etruria, for the representation of the epilogue of the journey in a Roman environment, it will be necessary to wait for the end of the Republican age when the narration of the achievements of the Trojan hero will also be linked to the Romulean myth of the foundation of Rome, as in the case of the famous and discussed cycle of frescoes in the Tomb of the Statilii. For a complete repertoire of the iconography of the myth, compare Dardenay 2012.

The hero's journey will not only be across places, but also across time, and his final arrival at the landing below the Cermalus is the basis of the myth of the Trojan origins of Rome<sup>2</sup>.

The tradition that attributes the Roman lineage to the action of Aeneas could date back to the end of the sixth century BC. with the first mention in Stesichorus (6th century BC) of a journey by Aeneas to the west. More evident is the tale in Hellanicus<sup>3</sup>, accepted, treated and reinterpreted by Latin historians such as Naevius, Fabius Pictor, Ennius, Cato<sup>4</sup>. The Roman annals, written in Greek, dating back to the second half of the third century BC, seem in fact to incorporate the lessons of Greek historians or lyricists such as Hellanicus of Lesbos and Damastes of Sigeus of the final years from the fifth century BC<sup>5</sup>, later merged into the works of Timaeus of Tauromenion or Licophron of Chalcis, both from the fourth century BC<sup>6</sup>. It is evident how much the acceptance of a common origin of the Greeks and Romans was more or less instrumental to the representation of Rome in a context of expansion and consolidation of the aristocracies of the city. It is in this cultural context, therefore, that Trojan myth-historical line of the origin of Rome which acts as a counterpart and addition to the most ancient tradition of the Latin myth would have spread.

On the level of the story that merged in the Aeneid, perhaps through the lesson of Stesichorus as documented in the *Tabula Iliaca* preserved

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<sup>2</sup> LENTANO 2020.

<sup>3</sup> For an extensive discussion of the issue, see DE LUNA 2012 with the previous bibliography.

<sup>4</sup> Compare MORA 1999.

<sup>5</sup> DE LUNA 2012.

<sup>6</sup> While the version of Aeneas founder of Rome had a wide echo in Greek writers, the Sicilian historian Timaeus of Tauromenion, who wrote around 300 BC and after him Lycophron of Chalcis show that they know the Penates of Lavinium and their direct Trojan origin and attest to the existence of the legend in the Latin city (as reported in his book I of him by Dionysius of Halicarnassus). An examination of the literary sources therefore leads us to believe that while the legend of Aeneas as the founder of Rome is most likely an autonomous Greek invention dating back to the fifth century BC, the legend of Aeneas in Lavinium instead seems to be a creation that develops from the beginning of the third century BC.

in the Capitoline Museums in Rome<sup>7</sup>, it is not by chance that there is full agreement between the Virgilian places of the origins of Rome according to the Romulean myth and those in which Aeneas is welcomed<sup>8</sup>.

After the landing on the river bank, the meeting between Aeneas and Evander takes place: the exile from Arcadia, mythical son of the nymph Carmenta, establishes the city of Pallanteum (name later transformed into Palatine Hill) in the places where Rome will rise. Evander and his son Pallas welcome the Trojan hero in the landing place, the future port in the Foro Boario. They then tell Aeneas about the clash between the monster Cacus and Hercules which took place in the area, and they show him the Ara Maxima, the place of worship dedicated to Hercules, now archaeologically identified with a large tuff slab found under the apsis of the Church of S. Maria in Cosmedin<sup>9</sup>. Furthermore Aeneas admires the Carmentalis Gate<sup>10</sup>, dedicated to the divine mother of Evander, and the immense forest linked to the name of Romulus and again he is shown the Lupercal, the cave at the foot of the Cermalus/Palatine town dedicated to the Latin divinity of Faunus Lupercus; finally, the sacred forests between the Palatine Hill and the Capitoline Hill (fig. 1)<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> As it is known, the *Tabulae Iliacae* are stone tablets carved with the figurative narration of Homeric poems. Of them nineteen replicas are known, among which the most complete and best preserved is the *Tabula Capitolina*, at the center of which are represented the scenes from *Ilioupersis* accompanied by the relevant inscriptions; a long inscription proposes the summary of the books VII-XXIV of the poem.

Other depictions are scenes from the *Iliad*, while at the base of the central panel two other friezes narrate episodes from the *Little Iliad* and the *Ethiopian*. Inscriptions accompany the scenes and, again in the central panel, the topics covered are specified (Homer's *Iliad*, the *Ethiopian* of Arctinus of Miletus and the *Little Iliad* of Lesches of Pyrrha) and the reference sources, in particular Stesichorus. The name of Theódoros, the craftsman considered the author of the relief, completes the detailed information (for a detailed description of the depictions of the *Tabula Capitolina*, see FIORINI 2006). The dating of these documents varies from the first century BC to the 1st century AD, just as the sources of reference appear to be variable (compare SCAFOGLIO 2005).

<sup>8</sup> The author sacrifices the correct chronology of events to the reader's ability to place those same events in the geographical space, thereby providing credibility to the myth.

<sup>9</sup> On the altar dedicated to the cult of Hercules Invictus in the Foro Boario, see COARELLI 1996; more details in COARELLI 1988, in part. 61-77.

<sup>10</sup> Regarding the topographical location and the hypothetical reconstruction of the city gate that opened in the circuit of the Servian walls, see COARELLI 1996a.

<sup>11</sup> Verg., *Aen.* 8.102. On the Virgil's description of the way of Aeneas's visit under the guide of Evander, see CARANDINI 2003, in part. vol. II, 523-524.



Fig. 1 – Rome. The Palatine Hill

The story, as well as for the myth of the origins of Rome linked to the two twins (fig. 2), once again takes place in the valley between Capitoline and Palatine hills, in the Velabro area and at the foot of Cermalus, where the sources place the Lupercal<sup>12</sup>. A representation of these places is in the well-known Pompeian panel with the origins of Rome from the house of M. Fabius Secundus (V, 4,13)<sup>13</sup>, in which the story unfolds on several records from the moment of the seduction of the young vestal Rhea Silvia by the god Mars until the epilogue of the story in front of the Lupercal cave, where the she-wolf breast-feeds the divine twins. The recent discovery of a circular hypogeum room with a richly decorated vault (fig. 3), located at the foot of the Palatine in axis with the Augustan complex, has allowed to hypothesize its identification

<sup>12</sup> On Lupercal and the cult of the Luperci see CARAFA 2006, with previous bibliography.

<sup>13</sup> BRAGANTINI 1991; CAPPELLI 2000.





Fig. 2 - Fresco from the House of M. Fabius Secundus in Pompeii with a depiction of the myth of Rome: from the seduction of Rhea Silvia (top) to the arrival of the twins in the Lupercal cave Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. (da Cappelli 2000, fig. 15)

with the Lupercal in the monumental arrangement operated by Augustus (*Res Gestae*, 19)<sup>14</sup>.

In the same Virgilian narrative, Aeneas would have introduced the cult of Athena to Rome, taking with him in the Escape from Troy in flames the Palladium, the *xoanon* of Athena Pallas which resided in the most important temple of Troy, rescued by the hero from the fury of destruction<sup>15</sup>.

Sources, such as Cicero (*pro Scauro*, 48), recall that since the royal age the Palladium in Rome was kept in the temple of Vesta in the Forum, therefore

<sup>14</sup> The underground environment located at the foot of the Augustan complex has also been variously interpreted as a nymphaeum and, although still unexplored, the photographic recordings carried out in remote control have allowed a preliminary publication of the decorative apparatus of the vault: compare BOLDRIGHINI 2019.

<sup>15</sup> On the entwined versions of the sacred Trojans saved by Aeneas, see LAGIOIA 2006.



Fig. 3 - Ceiling of the circular hypogeum of the Augustan age hypothetically identified with the Lupercal.

included among the sacred objects dating back to Romulus, such as the lituus and the spear thrown in the place where the city would have originated<sup>16</sup>. Although only hypothetically, an image of the Palladium is perhaps in the fragment of an insular Greek marble head belonging to a statue of armed Athena smaller than life-size, perhaps found from the area of the Palatine Hill and now preserved in the Palatine Museum (fig. 4)<sup>17</sup>. Further in Rome and the inhabited area of the Palatine/Cermalus with its acropolis, important testimonies of the myth of Aeneas are to be referred

<sup>16</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant.Rom.* XIV 2, 5) regarding the Gallic fire of 390 BC: *In Rome a certain sacred hut of Mars, set up near the summit of the Palatine, was burned to the ground along with the houses around it; but when the sites were being cleared for rebuilding it preserved intact, in the middle of the burned ashes all around, the symbol of the foundation of the city - a staff curved at one end, such as herdsmen and shepherds use* (trans. in T.P. Wiseman 2015, 108).

<sup>17</sup> Compare PARIBENI 1963; PARIBENI 1964. It is a fragment of an original archaic sculpture depicting an Athena Promachos, now exhibited in the Antiquarium of the Palatine Hill (inv. 475881).

to the city of Lavinium which has restored a particularly rich documentation.

The mythological panorama recalled up to now finds a stimulating suggestion in the archaeological evidence of the two final stages of Aeneas' journey. As it is known in the settlements of Rome and Lavinium, an important number of archaeological remains of necropolis and referable settlements at the phases of the Lazio culture ranging from the late Bronze to the entire Iron Age (XI-X/VI century BC), and already in the VII/VI century.

B.C., for Lavinium the attendance of places, such as the *Templum Solis Indigetis* located at the mouth of the Numicus river, or the so-called Heroon of Aeneas is witnessed<sup>18</sup>.

Equally complex is the protohistoric panorama that seems to emerge from the examination of the data coming from the most recent archaeological investigations in the sector under consideration.

In partial confirmation of the sources and of what must still have been present and perceptible in the urban fabric of Rome in the Augustan age, the numerous archaeological findings that occurred, in particular on that part of the Palatine hill, show for this area a continuity of settlement and a sacred vocation of the places since the earliest times<sup>19</sup>. The controversial Vaglieri excavations of 1907 on Cermalus brought to light the evidence of settlements and burials near the Caci Stairs, including a sacellum interpreted as a place of memory of the so-called Casa Romuli, that



Fig. 4 - Fragment of a statue of Athena Pallas in the Palatine Museum

<sup>18</sup> On the subject, see the contribution of Alessandro Maria Jaia in this volume.

<sup>19</sup> Evidence in this sense is obtained from the results of the twenty-year excavations of the Sapienza University in the area of the complex of the Temple of Vittoria and Sanctuary of the Magna Mater, where the presence of sacred buildings is witnessed, without interruption, at least from the VI-V centuries B.C. (compare *Scavi del Palatino* 1).



Fig. 5 - Remains of the huts in the area between the *Scalae Caci* and the *Clivus of Victory* (image Davico – 1948)

is the hut that already symbolized in ancient times the place where the shepherd Faustulus would have welcomed the twins Romulus and Remus (fig. 5). Associated with it, it is a pit variously interpreted as a tomb by Vaglieri, or rather as a foundation pit in connection with the hut itself (fig. 6)<sup>20</sup>. Confirming the sacral significance of the place, the hut/sacellum has always been respected by the new constructions (fig. 7), both in the construction of the temple of Victoria (296-294 BC) and subsequently in the

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<sup>20</sup>For the events and controversies surrounding Vaglieri's discoveries, see GUIDI, SALVATORI 2014. A rereading of the archaeological evidence of the protohistoric phase in the light of a re-examination of the excavation data of Vaglieri and Puglisi in ANGELELLI, FALZONE 2001.





Fig. 6 - Cermalus, south-west area of the Palatine. Place of worship identified as the Casa Romuli (9/8th century BC) built in opus quadratum at the beginning of the 3rd century BC.

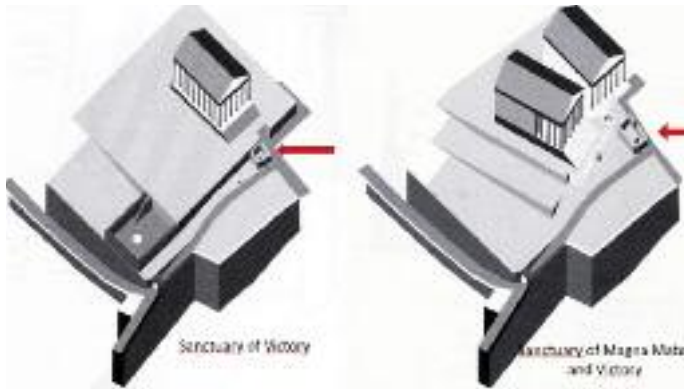


Fig. 7 - Cermalus South-West area of the Palatine. Casa Romuli Axonometric reconstruction of the place of worship and its relation to the Temple of Victory (296-294 BC) and the Temple of Magna Mater (204-191 BC)

great stalls of the sanctuary of the Magna Mater (204-191 BC)<sup>21</sup>. The large circular hut measuring approximately 20 square meters, brought to light in the excavations of the early 1900s, is of particular importance; moreover, its

<sup>21</sup> Compare *Scavi del Palatino 2*.



Fig. 8 - Palatine - House of Livia: burial of the 2 Phase Latial Culture (10-9th century BC) found in the below levels of the eastern sector of the house, preserved by early imperial structures (in the Palatine Museum)

function seems to combine the liturgical-cultic one of a sacellum dedicated to a female divinity and parent of the Latin pantheon (Ops, Vica Pota, Fauna) to the residence of the head in his position as *rex sacrorum*. The presence of high-ranking individuals in this area of the Palatine/Cermalus is testified by an incineration found in 1954 in the excavations carried out by Gianfilippo Carettoni under the levels of the house of Livia. The burial dates back to the beginning of the Iron Age (Latial phase IIA - 10th century BC). The presence of a very rich grave goods, currently on display in the Palatine Museum, has allowed us to hypothesize the burial of a high-ranking male figure, perhaps a priest or a political leader (fig. 8)<sup>22</sup>.

For this period, the Palatine seems to be configured as a series of scattered nucleuses of huts that extend from the plateau to the east and north-east slopes of the hill, perhaps skimmed by the watercourse that in prehistoric times marked the valley between Celio and Palatine. The excavations carried out in recent years by the Sapienza University of Rome (fig. 9) on the north-eastern side of the hill, have brought to light the remains of terraces along the palatine slope and of huts belonging to two distinct chronologies, which can be classified respectively in II and in the third phase in Latium region (referable to the 9th century BC) placed directly in contact with the geological bank and immediately below the levels of the imperial building commonly known as the Baths of Elagabalus (fig. 10)<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> DE SANTIS 2001; DE SANTIS 2014.

<sup>23</sup> QUONDAM 2011.





Fig. 9 - Northeastern slopes of the Palatine. Archaeological surveys "Sapienza" University of Rome



Fig. 10 - Northeastern slopes of the Palatine. Remains of hut (post holes, hearth) from the late Iron Age in one of the rooms of the Severian horreum (image "Sapienza")



Fig. 11 - Cermalus South-West area of the Palatine. Village of huts under the levels of the south side of the Magna Mater Temple. Phase III A-B of Latium culture (770-730 BC). So-called Romulean phase

It is probable that the high grounds of the Palatine and the Capitoline hills were frequented since XIII-XII century BC for their strategic importance as a place of control of the Tiber River route that was connected to the sea. Moreover, the Capitoline settlement has an uninterrupted continuity of life from the 13th century BC and is also characterized by the presence of fragments of Mycenaean pottery and metallurgical activity, as evidenced by the important traces documented in the levels below the Protomoteca of the Palazzo Senatorio<sup>24</sup>.

In the subsequent phases, it is worth to say that, during the period III A and A/B of the Latial culture (770-730 and 730-700 BC), the intensification of the built-up area on the northern slope of the Palatine and a structuring in proto-urban forms, with a wall of which an urban gate has been hypothesized to be recognized as the Porta Mugonia, that is the access to the inhabited area from the “via delle Carinae” which connected the Palatine to the Esquiline, is reported<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> LUGLI, ROSA 2001.

<sup>25</sup> Compare CARAFA *et al.* 2014; for the findings from the excavations of the Sapienza University along the northern slope of the Palatine, see *Santuario di Vesta* 2017.



Fig. 12 - Cermalus, South-West slope of the Palatine. Terracing with huts



Fig. 13 - Cermalus, South-West slope of the Palatine. Nucleus of Huts recently brought to light

Returning to the Cermalus/Palatine hill, in the area of the so-called Casa Romuli<sup>26</sup>, the ancient circular hut dating from the early 9th century, was replaced during the 8th century BC from three smaller rectangular huts (fig. 11). An emblematic case is represented by the huts recently found at the southwestern end of the Cermalus (fig. 12). Below these structures, excavated in the virgin soil on the side of the hill, an articulated system of

<sup>26</sup> PENSABENE 1993.



underground tunnels with wells was intercepted, interpreted by some scholars as a sacred place dedicated to underworld divinities (*templum sub terra*) (fig. 13). In communication with the three-armed tunnel is a small circular space, in which the *mundus* (that is, the foundation pit of the city, symbolic center and meeting place between heaven, earth and the underground world) was recognized (fig. 14)<sup>27</sup>. These underground corridors were connected with the surface by means of various vertical conduits that could be functional to accommodate the libatory sacrifices. For the entire complex, identification with the temple of Pales was improved, the ancient protohistoric divinity protector of herds and pastoral activities that summed up both the characteristics of



Fig.14 - Cermalus, South-West slope of the Palatine. Worship area: the huts above it so-called area of the sanctuary of Pales

the female gender and those of the male gender, venerated in historical times the April 21, the date on which the feasts of the Palilia began (date on which the birth of Rome is still celebrated today).

Pales is the eponymous divinity from which the name of the hill where it was venerated, the Palatine Hill, derives. In this phase, the built-up area of the Palatine, in its proto-urban form, as already mentioned, has now

<sup>27</sup> Compare COLETTI *et al.* 2008.

extended to the northern slopes of the hill up to the valley of the Forum. It is at this moment that the mythical figure of the founder enters, which symbolically sanctions the unification of the towns under a single head or founder, to whom tradition has attributed the name of Romulus. To him, in fact, the foundations of the Roman monarchical state in which the king is joined by an assembly of aristocratic peers, the division of the people into curia, that is a sort of administrative districts, and the institution of primitive cults are traced back. The immediately following kings will be an expression of the conquered communities: Numa, of Sabine origin, is the initiator of cults founding the Roman religion such as that of Vesta; Tullus Hostilius, of Roman descent, and Ancus Marcius, Sabine who extended the power of the city to the sea. These first kings will be followed by the dynasties of the Etruscan kings of Corinthian-Tarquinian origin, after which, following an aristocratic revolution, the republican regime, which will last for six centuries, will be established.

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Daniele Fortuna

## THE ICONOGRAPHY OF AENEAS' ESCAPE FROM TROY IN THE EUROPEAN FIGURATIVE CULTURE

*These were his words. But now the fire roars  
across the walls; the tide of lame flows nearer.  
"Come then, dear father, mount upon my neck;  
I'll bear you on my shoulders. That is not  
too much for me. Whatever waits for us,  
we both shall share one danger, one salvation.  
Let young Iulus come with me, and let  
my wife Creusa follow at a distance."*

(transl. by Allen Mandelbaum)

Thus Virgil, in the second book of the Aeneid (verses 705-711), describes the escape from Troy, building an image full of meaning, emblematic of filial piety, a symbol of rebirth which could be defined as identity value. The escape of Aeneas from Troy is, in fact, the Virgilian theme that has enjoyed the greatest success in European figurative arts: through the various eras we find it painted on Greek vases, modelled on terracotta oil lamps, frescoed on the walls of Pompeii and represented in Roman sculptures, outlined by the fine brush of medieval miniatures, protagonist of cycles of frescoes, paintings and sculptures from the Renaissance to the present day. The fortune of the theme lies in the importance of the figure of Aeneas, the emblem of the human, civil and religious virtues, which are the basis of the origin of the greatness of Rome and depends on the variations, in terms of popularity and diffusion, that the Virgilian poem has gone through over the centuries.

The Aeneid is a text that has always met with success and popularity over the course of the various eras; however, in the Middle Ages, the figure of Virgil progressively loses its precise historical characteristics and fades into a mythical figure, wrapped in an aura of occult knowledge and magic. The figurative representations of the Aeneid deviate from the

classical model and disappear almost completely from the major arts, remaining alive exclusively in the field of book illustration. In this period, little use is made of the iconography of the escape from Troy, rare representations appear in the illustrated codes of the Aeneid or the 'Romanzo d'Enea', a chivalric narrative composition born in France around 1160, read and translated throughout Europe. The story of Aeneas is revisited in a courtly key and other moments and topics are preferred to the Hero's Escape, such as love with Dido.

The Virgilian iconographies, once again, became the protagonists of the major arts around the sixties of the fifteenth century in Florence, on the impulse of Cristoforo Landino. The renewed Virgilian interests of the humanists influence the literary and artistic production, in particular the works of Apollonio di Giovanni, a painter identified as the main channel of spreading the themes drawn from the Aeneid in the Florentine artistic environment<sup>1</sup>, while remaining tied to a language that is still near the courtly fable. However, it will be an antithetical interpretation, in a Nordic and strongly actualizing key, to dominate the Virgilian iconography of the early decades of the sixteenth century: in 1502 in Strasbourg, the publication of the works of Virgil edited by the humanist Sebastian Brant, accompanied by an imposing set of illustrations.

The true iconographic success of the stories of Aeneas, and the theme of his escape with his father on his shoulders, a symbol of filial love, however, culminates in the Renaissance. In various Italian artistic centers during the first decade of the sixteenth century, a growing and solid interest in Virgilian themes can be observed.

In Siena, Gerolamo Genga, a student of Perugino and Signorelli, an artist whose style was also influenced by Raphael, creates a cycle of frescoes, now detached and partly lost, to decorate Palazzo Petrucci. The subject of a fragment of these paintings, now preserved in the Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena, is precisely the *Fuga di Enea da Troia incendiata* (Escape of Aeneas from Troy on Fire), datable between 1508 and 1512 (fig. 1). The fresco presents a faithful elaboration of the Virgilian theme, the protagonists are divided into two groups: on one side are Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius, a few steps back, as if already about to lose track of her husband, is depicted Creusa who seems to be swallowed by earth, to allude to her disappearance.

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<sup>1</sup> CALLMANN 1974.



Fig. 1 - Gerolamo Genga, *Fuga di Enea da Troia incendiata*, 1508-1512, Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena

In Ferrara, around 1520, Dosso Dossi and his brother Battista painted 10 canvases on the story of Aeneas, commissioned by Alfonso d'Este to decorate a frieze of the Small Rooms (Camerini). Those paintings were originally exhibited on the upper part of the walls, creating an uninterrupted series of literary stories. A few years later, their possession was transferred to Cardinal Scipione Borghese, the nephew of Pope Paul V. Dosso's paintings remained in the Borghese collection until the early nineteenth century and then passed into the collection of José de Madrazo, a Spanish neoclassical painter, who stayed in Rome between 1803 and 1819 and later took them to Madrid: later the paintings were lost.



From the inventory of the Spanish painter dated 1856: we know that there must have been a painting depicting The Fire of Troy (Aeneid, book II, not traced).<sup>2</sup> In the same period, in Rome, with Raffaello Sanzio, a new approach was born, coherently historical-archaeological, in the illustration of the classical theme and therefore of the myth of Aeneas.

In the third room of the Apostolic Palaces there is the *Incendio di Borgo* (Fire in Borgo), a work created by the painter from Urbino, together with some of his best assistants, in 1514. This is the first fresco that Raf-



Fig. 2 - Raffaello Sanzio, *Incendio di Borgo* (part.), 1514, Musei Vaticani, Città del Vaticano (from *Michelangelo e Raffaello in Vaticano*, Città del Vaticano 2012, 182)

faello completed on behalf of the new Pope Leo X who had ascended to the Seat of San Pietro in March 1513, succeeding Pope Julius II. The fresco describes a legendary event according to which Pope Leo IV miraculously stopped the flames that were destroying the Roman district of Borgo, near the ancient Cathedral of San Pietro.

On the left of the fresco, which is striking for its theatricality, a young man carries an older man on his shoulders; beside him there is boy and a woman who follows him. In the representation we recognize the Escape from Troy (fig. 2). Raffaello quotes Virgil<sup>3</sup>. It is from a tragedy, from an exodus of a population on the run, that Rome is born. The Trojan hero escapes from a burning city, but does not lose his humanity. It is from the

<sup>2</sup> HUMFREY 2020.

<sup>3</sup> MARTINA 2004.



family, from fathers and mothers, from the cult of the ancestors, from the *pietas* that civilization is founded. The destiny will lead Aeneas to establish the city of Rome from which an Empire will be born, a Kingdom that will dominate the world over the centuries. Each literary and figurative source is exploited by Raffaello and his collaborators to give back to the stories of Aeneas a strictly classical aspect, and at the same time, an absolutely current allegorical reading: Aeneas fully regains the Virgilian roles of the spotless hero, from the “exemplary *pietas*”.

The engravings produced in the second and third decade of the sixteenth century by the followers of Raffaello first of all Marcantonio Raimondi, but also Jacopo Caraglio, will constitute the most authoritative response on the Italian side to Brant's “Gothic” Aeneid. The iconographic invention proposed by Raffaello of the Aeneas-Anchises couple, thanks to the circulation in print, became the dominant model throughout Italy but also in Europe<sup>4</sup>.

Starting from the fourth decade of the sixteenth century, especially in central-northern Italy, the custom of setting up monumental narrative cycles of the events of the Trojan hero within stately palaces is asserted<sup>5</sup>. The frescoes painted by Nicolò dell'Abate for the Boiardo Fortress in Scandiano - later detached and now kept in the Galleria Estense in Modena - constitute one of the oldest known pictorial representations of the Aeneid stories. The artist, assisted by his collaborators, around the middle of the sixteenth century, takes up the same theme in the decorative scheme of Palazzo Leoni in Bologna. There are two frescoed rooms: the antechamber, with the stories of the fourth book divided into twelve sections, alternating with female figures; and the Hall, where, on the upper part of the walls, there are sixteen panels - eighteen originally - separated with puttos and lions, with stories taken from the second book of the Aeneid. The last of the episodes depicted is *Fuga da Troia* (Escape from Troy). In the scene, dominated by the group Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius, the youngest member of the family is represented in the act of raising a torch, a symbolic allusion to the future of the Trojan civilization and their transfer

<sup>4</sup> WOOD 1988.

<sup>5</sup> For an in-depth study of the first Italian pictorial cycles depicting events drawn from the Aeneid compare DE JONG 1990.

to Italy. On the left, in front of the high walls, once impregnable, of the burning city of Troy, is depicted the goddess Cybele, with a turreted headdress, sitting on the chariot pulled by lions, who welcomes Creusa in the Korybantes procession<sup>6</sup>.

In 1584 Count Filippo Fava entrusted the decoration of the entire noble floor of his palace, in Bologna, to the brothers Annibale and Agostino Carracci and to their cousin Ludovico: it was the first test of the young artists, who gave proof of their talent by creating two series of paintings, that of Giasone and Medea and that of Aeneas, absolute jewels of Bolognese and Italian art<sup>7</sup>.

With this important commission, the Carracci revolutionized the decorative system of the frieze, in use until then, clearly separating the narrative parts from the decorated partitions consisting of admirable sculptures of divinities in *trompe-l'oeil* in illusive dialogue with the real architecture of the room.

In the scene *Enea fugge da Troia in fiamme* (Aeneas escapes from Troy in flames), is presented an unusual depiction of the protagonists - Aeneas and Anchises - who are portrayed with their backs to the viewer. This compositional solution, which suggests the idea of excited movement and action and which emphasizes the narrative characteristics of the frieze, where each scene constitutes the snapshot of a broader and more articulated story, is certainly the result of a careful reflection on adherence to the nature, pursued through careful studies from life, which will distinguish the Baroque painting from the artificiality of the Late Mannerism. The Aeneas-Anchises group divides the pictorial space in two: on the one hand in the background flames, devastation and death, on the other a blooming rural landscape towards which they seem to be heading, the prophesy of a dawn of rebirth.

The fragment of a detached fresco, which is preserved in a room of Palazzo Ratta in Bologna, can be traced back to the same artistic climate (fig. 3). Recently identified with the *Escape* by Ludovico Carracci of which the seventeenth-century sources speak, the painting probably used to decorate the fireplace in another room in the same building. It is a work of the artist's early maturity (dating back to 1586) which already reveals his

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<sup>6</sup> LANDI 2018.

<sup>7</sup> EMILIANI 1984.



Fig. 3 - Ludovico Carracci, *Fuga da Troia* (part.), 1586-1587, Palazzo Ratta, Bologna (from E. PANIZON, "Ascanio e Creusa nelle rappresentazioni pittoriche della Fuga di Enea: il caso dell'affresco di Ludovico Carracci in Palazzo Ratta", *Pan. Rivista di filologia latina*, VIII (2019), 130)

narrative talent and refinement in investigating the emotions of the characters. The painted scene, which we must imagine backlit by the glow of the fire lit in the fireplace, is one of the most dramatic versions of this theme: while Aeneas walks with great strides carrying his father on one shoulder, little Ascanius and his mother exchange desperate a final greeting, because Creusa is dragged away by an armed man<sup>8</sup>.

The fresco fragment presents an unconventional iconography compared to Virgil's story: Creusa was not lost, she was kidnapped.

The same image is shown in several works including a mid-sixteenth-century Urbino majolica plate painted on a drawing by Battista Franco, now preserved in the Museo Civico of Pesaro. On one side it shows the family of Aeneas on the way and Creusa kidnapped, on the other it bears the inscription 'I Coribanti a Enea rapir Creusa'<sup>9</sup>. So, Creusa was kidnapped by the Korybantes, the followers of Cybele, and not by the Achaean soldiers. In some comments of the humanistic times, including that of Cristoforo Landino, the goddess Cybele pitied by the sad destiny of Creusa, sent her ministers, the Korybantes, to kidnap her so that she would remain in Phrygia as her priestess. The work of Ludovico Carracci, well supported by literary sources, seems to be a personal interpretation of the painter who, attentive to the representation of human emotions,

<sup>8</sup> PANIZON 2019.

<sup>9</sup> FAGILIO 1981.

pays particular attention to the heartbreaking farewell between Ascanius and Creusa.

Even the depiction of Ascanius often differs from the iconography described by Virgil in the *Aeneid*. Already with Raffaello in the Vatican, the youngest member of the group leaves his father's hand, but in numerous pictorial representations starting from the second half of the sixteenth century, Ascanius is presented in the role of leader of the Trojan family. For example, in the painting by Bonifacio de 'Pitati, which was part of a series of eight works with an ancient theme that made up the decorative frieze of a room in Palazzo Pisani in Santo Stefano in Venice<sup>10</sup>, Ascanius takes a few steps ahead of the rest of the family, where Creusa no longer appears, and he points the way and lights it with a lamp<sup>11</sup>. At the center of the composition, there is a tree with a severed trunk in correspondence with the representation of the city in flames, an allegory of death, and a leafy one on the other side, representing the resurrection, that is the rebirth of the Trojan nation, with Ascanius indicating the way of salvation. In the painting *Fuga di Enea da Troia* (Escape of Aeneas from Troy), preserved in the Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena, the work of Paolo Farinati, another painter from Verona, like Bonifacio de 'Pitati, Ascanius precedes the group carrying a large torch. In the fragment of a detached fresco created by Guercino, now preserved in the Pinacoteca Civica of Cento, which originally decorated a chimney at the Pannini's house<sup>12</sup>, Ascanius precedes the group continuing his run without taking his eyes off the city he leaves behind, perhaps in the hollow hope to see the face of the mother. In the work, the painter, still young, adheres to a representation of the body that descends directly from Michelangelo's ways and from the subsequent exasperations deriving from early mannerism: muscles, twists, exaltation of the drapery. All these elements emphasize the drama of the depicted scene. A common source of inspiration for this iconographic variant could be the woodcut illustrating the Escape in the Strasbourg edition of the *Aeneid* edited by Sebastian Brant (1502), an edition that had great success throughout Europe: here the little Ascanius is held by the hand by Aeneas but he anticipates

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<sup>10</sup> The location of the painting is unknown today.

<sup>11</sup> PAVANELLO 2006.

<sup>12</sup> BAGNI 1984.



Fig. 4 - Federico Barocci, *Fuga di Enea da Troia*, 1598, Galleria Borghese, Rome (from M. Barbanera, A. Capodiferro, *La forza delle rovine*, Exhibiton Catalog (Rome, 8 October 2015 - 31 January 2016), 152)

his father by a few steps and shows the way with his free hand. These works certainly offer an interpretative key to the story: Ascanius personifies the future of the Trojan nation and by opening the way to the rest of the family, he anticipates the final destiny of Aeneas' progeny.

Around the end of the sixteenth century another important artist painted the same theme; it is Federico Barocci, author of an extraordinary interpretation of Aeneas' Escape from Troy, preserved at the Galleria Borghese in Rome (fig. 4). The representation of this historical episode is a *unicum* the production of this painter from Urbino, constantly engaged on religious themes or portraits. The first version of the work, now lost, was made between 1586 and 1589 for Rudolf II, probably to pay homage to the House of Habsburg which claimed to be a descendant of Aeneas.

The reprise of the same subject promoted by the Borghese family, who commissioned the second version, is probably attributable to a Christian interpretation of the *pietas* of Aeneas, of which the represented episode is

exemplifying, or an allusion to the founding myths of Rome, of which the Borgheses were influential representatives. Barocci sets the scene inside a classical building. From the window on the left and in the center you can see the flames, on the ground are accumulated ruins, weapons and military banners, symbolizing the fall of the city. Ascanius' gesture of protecting his ears evokes the deafening uproar of the ongoing devastation. The dark nocturnal atmosphere is interrupted by the gaudy tones of the complexions and above all of the clothes of the protagonists in search of escape. The figures are distributed to form two distinct groups, Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius on one side, Creusa, who in the position recalls an Annunciation of the Madonna, not far away, according to an iconography faithful to the Virgilian tale, inspired by the fresco of the same subject by Genga<sup>13</sup>, a compatriot and relative of the painter. Some compositional ideas and background details are instead taken from Raffaello's fresco of the *Incendio di Borgo* (Fire in Borgo) in the Vatican<sup>14</sup>. In the background of the painting, you can see some buildings that reproduce real architecture of the city of Rome: the circular temple is the one that Bramante, also from Urbino, built in San Pietro in Montorio, the column is that of Trajan. Ancient Rome and modern Rome are therefore represented, a prophecy of the foundation of the city. What is remarkable is the ability to render the affections of the protagonists of the painting and the effective restitution of the excitement of the staged events. From a critical point of view, it is one of Federico Barocci's works with the most marked proto-baroque qualities, a forerunner of the painting of the following century.

The critical success of the work is partly due to an engraving by Agostino Carracci. Probably derived from a preparatory drawing by Barocci, the engraving, dating 1595, was widely distributed throughout Europe<sup>15</sup>. Several years after the entry of the Barocci's canvas into the Borghese collections, Cardinal Scipione commissioned a sculptural group of the same subject to a very young Gian Lorenzo Bernini. Made between 1618 and 1619 the sculpture is also still in the Galleria Borghese (fig. 5). The episode, described in the second book of the Virgilian Aeneid, offered the cue to

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<sup>13</sup> VERSTEGEN 2015.

<sup>14</sup> WALTERS 1978.

<sup>15</sup> TOSINI 2009.



convey a historical-theological and celebratory significance of the client: the *imperium*, transferred from Troy to Rome through Aeneas, would then pass to the Church and to the Pontiff and would be exercised thanks to the support of the young cardinal nephew Scipio.

This work had to be placed in the same environment, perhaps the will of the client was to create a comparison between the two works, thus creating a virtuous competition between the painting and the sculpture which since the Renaissance was the subject of interest and debate among theorists, art lovers and artists<sup>16</sup>. Bernini, while remaining faithful to the Virgilian text, interprets the subject with personal ideas and the profundity of thought. A dynamic spiral ascending composition, linked to Mannerist forms, includes three figures:

Aeneas carries on his shoulders the old father Anchises, paralyzed in the legs and with a curved back, holding the vase with the ashes of his ancestors in his hand; Ascanius follows the group holding in his hand the eternal fire kept in the temple of Vesta that will ignite the new life of Rome. The same moods give life to the sculpted faces: Anchises, although fearful, is optimistic and lovingly holds up the symbol of the abandoned homeland; Aeneas is marked by a virile resignation, and by the prophecies that want him to be



Fig. 5 - Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Enea, Anchise e Ascanio*, 1619, Galleria Borghese, Rome

<sup>16</sup> PREIMESBERGER 1998.

the founder of the new Roman civilization, while the curly-haired Ascanius is frightened and yet hopeful, just like his grandfather Anchises. The different ages of the three protagonists are rendered through the differentiation of the skin in the sculpted surfaces: the soft skin of the child, the tight skin of the adult and the wrinkled and withered skin of the elderly<sup>17</sup>.

A series of works that deal with the intimate theme of filial piety date back to the seventeenth century.

In a painting dated 1615, now preserved in the Musée du Louvre, the author, Lionello Spada represents a moment of great tension: the preparation for escape. Aeneas bends down to take his father upon himself, Creusa turns to Anchises to entrust him with the Lares, and little Ascanius points the way to the hero. The dramatism and the strong chiaroscuro effects are counterbalanced by the expression of the characters, who seem to keep their calm firmly, by the light colors, by the balanced setting of the composition, by the classic features of the protagonists. The dramatic composure of the work is rendered in the typical style of this Bolognese artist who developed a way that synthesized the Caravaggesque drama with the Carracci measure.

The same subject is treated by Simon Vouet in the painting *Aeneas and His Father Abandon Ilius* dated around 1635, now preserved at the San Diego Museum of Art. The chiaroscuro is less accentuated, but the painting is pervaded by the baroque pathos that is manifested above all in the exchange of glances and in the aching expression of Anchises.

A small masterpiece by Carlo Bononi is the panel *Enea fugge da Troia in fiamme con Anchise e Ascanio* (Aeneas escapes from Troy in flames with Anchises and Ascanius) (1615-18) from the Grimaldi Fava Collection. The meticulously didactic approach employed, despite the small format, is typical of reasoning according to models still partly from the late sixteenth century: the old Anchise holds tightly to himself the penates that he did not want to abandon; the city of Troy is identified by the wooden horse, which in comparison with the small figures at its feet, reveals its colossal dimensions, the swinging ornaments of Aeneas's robes, as well as his exhibited muscularity, recall the mighty figures of the late Bolognese Mannerist season.

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<sup>17</sup> PINTON 2009.



Fig. 6 - Mattia Preti, *Fuga da Troia*, 1640-1645, Galleria Nazionale di Palazzo Corsini, Rome

In Mattia Preti's painting *Fuga da Troia* (Escape from Troy) which is preserved in the Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica - Palazzo Corsini and dating back to the first half of the 1740s, Aeneas supports on his back all the weight of his father Anchises, which is represented resting on the helmet of his son while he is holding the statue of the Penates Gods, tutelary deities of the family (fig. 6). In the background, his wife Creusa can be distinguished, and to precede the group almost leading the way, his son Ascanius, half naked like a cupid. Between the family and the battlefield, Aeneas chooses the

former. He will leave for the beaches of Lazio, where his descendants will establish the city of Rome<sup>18</sup>.

The peculiarity of the work is that Aeneas and Anchises stand on a sort of pedestal carved in bas-relief as if they were a statuary group. In this sense, the canvas seems to establish a distant dialogue with Bernini's famous sculpture of an analogous subject, entering the discussion on the comparison between the arts, which Mattia Preti obviously resolves in favor of painting.

A century later, the theme of Aeneas' Escape was confronted by Pompeo Girolamo Batoni, a painter from Lucca. There are two canvases that depict the same subject in a completely different way. The first canvas, *Enea in partenza da Troia* (Aeneas departing from Troy), dated 1745, now preserved

<sup>18</sup> MOCHI ONORI, VODRET 2008.

in the Musei Reali di Torino - Galleria Sabauda; the second version, *Enea e Anchise in fuga da Troia in fiamme* (Aeneas and Anchises escaping from Troy in flames), painted in 1748, preserved in the Museo del Monastero delle Orsoline in Calvi dell'Umbria, although similar in characters and mythological narration, is certainly more successful, in particular for the quality of the painting and the balance of composition. In few years the artist seems to have acquired a mastery of the scenic construction and of the remarkable glimpses of light, which combined with a more fluid brushstroke, succeed to render the intense historiographical drama and enhance the movement of the characters. Classicism is mitigated by Mannerist reminiscences in the anatomy of Aeneas, but above all, in the movement of the drapery rendered with a thousand floating folds; the bodies are represented tense and

frightened, flames all around, the strong but dark colors at the same time blend into a canvas that is unique in its beauty.

Carlo Angelini Paolucci of Urbino and Placido Lazzarini of Pesaro are the authors of the Stories of Aeneas painted in tempera from 1781 to 1786 on the vaults of the six rooms that overlook the gallery of Palazzo Pianetti in Jesi. The most representative image of the pictorial complex, also due to the high symbolic value with which it is loaded, is the central scene of the third room: Aeneas is forced to flee from Troy in flames, reminiscent of the destroyed civilization, with Anchises on his shoulders, allegory of the past, his son Ascanius by the hand, to represent the future, while his wife Creusa, who symbolizes family feelings, is about to be killed by the soldiers. Aeneas is the *pius* par excellence. The adhe-



Fig. 7 - Sandro Chia, *Enea*, 2005





Fig. 8 - Agostino Iacurci, *L'Antiporta*, 2021 Ugo Tognazzi Library of the Municipality of Pomezia

sion of the two artists to neoclassical poetics justifies and explains the renunciation of dramatic tones, excited feelings and passions.

There is no shortage of examples of contemporary art works inspired by the figure of Aeneas, his history and his mythical journey. For the 135th year of the establishment of the Province of Rome, in 2005, two bronze statues were commissioned to the artist Sandro Chia to be exhibited in front of Palazzo Valentini, the seat of the Province of Rome. One represents Europe, the other represents Aeneas with his father Anchises and his son Ascanius (fig. 7). Aeneas is still today a source of inspiration for his virtues and is a bearer of supreme moral values. Quoting the words of the then president of the Province Enrico Gasbarra: "Aeneas represents for us the myth that becomes history, but above all it will be the example that every administrator must follow, that is to operate by preserving and supporting those who preceded us and, at the same time, to build a better future for those who will come later, regardless of skin color, language and political and religious beliefs".

An interesting public art intervention dates back to 2021 in order to strengthen the relationship between history and territory and to modernise the importance of the figure of Aeneas (fig. 8). The Municipal Library of Pomezia, a city in the south of Rome near the ancient *Lavinium*, houses a large mural work by the *street artist* Agostino Iacurci, which runs along the entire perimeter of the building and tells episodes of Aeneas' journey through the reinterpretation of iconographic elements present in the Virgilian account: from ships to the golden branch. The inspiration comes above all from the sixth book of the Aeneid, in which the hero meets a sorcerer, the Cumaean Sibyl, in a cave with a hundred doors that open in unison at the moment of the response.

L'Antiporta of Iacurci - this is the name of the intervention, curated by Marcello Smarrelli and supported by the Municipality of Pomezia - was created as a part of the *Sol Indiges* project, which provides for the use of urban art as a tool to enhance the city, reconnecting its contemporary history to the myths of its origins.

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