

Colonisation and the Feminine: Foundation Myths and Roman Identity in Vergil's *Aeneid*

by

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Author's Declaration:

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners. I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract:

In this paper, I explore how Indigenous women have historically been utilised within settler colonial frameworks, both ancient and modern. Interpreted through post-colonial theory and the lens of settler colonialism in colonial Canada, I examine how two ancient Indigenous Italian women—Camilla and Lavinia—are depicted and treated in Vergil’s *Aeneid*. Through their suitability and readiness for marriage, their representation, and their indigeneity and relationships to the Italian land, the text reveals how each woman is positioned within the Trojan colonialist agenda. Camilla, though possessing Roman traits, is constructed as an ‘Other’—a liminal and nonconforming Volscian warrior whose deep connection to the land renders her as an impediment and unassimilable to the Trojan colonialist programme. Therefore, she is erased. Lavinia, by contrast, embodies both Indigenous Italian identity and proto-Roman ideals associated with Augustan femininity. Thus, Lavinia is assimilable into the Trojan colonialist programme. Ultimately, this analysis underscores how gender and indigeneity intersect in literary narratives to reflect broader colonial strategies of erasure and assimilation.

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As a descendant of White settlers, I acknowledge that I work and live on the Territory of Mississauga, Odawa, and Anishinabewaki Peoples. In addition, the University of Waterloo is situated on the Haldimand Tract, the territory granted to the Six Nations that includes six miles on each side of the Grand River. Much of the work that the University of Waterloo contributes to takes place on the traditional territory of the Neutral, Anishinaabeg, and Haudenosaunee peoples. In researching the relationships between women and settler colonisation in one of the foundational pieces of literature from the Roman Empire, the harm and injustices of colonisation over millennia are clear and continuous.

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Introduction¹

Publius Vergilius Maro—identified conventionally by his *nomen gentilicium*, Vergil—was an ancient Roman poet of the Augustan era, a period that saw out the close of the Roman Republic as well as the seeding of the Empire. While Vergil was celebrated for both the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*, his *magnum opus* is the epic poem, the *Aeneid*. This foundational text, which quickly became an essential part of Roman education across the empire, narrates the journey of the Trojan prince, Aeneas, who flees the burning city of Troy, leading his fellow refugees to a land destined to be their new home.² The reader follows their many trials and tribulations, beginning with their flight from their destroyed Trojan homeland to their settlement in Italy. Contemporary scholarship, through the lenses of post-colonial theory and decolonisation, has reevaluated this text due to its “long history of being used as a justification of empire, and in particular to justify the ‘civilizing’ mission of imperial powers.”³

While this paper engages with the text as a tool of imperial justification, it will do so with a substantially narrowed focus. Interpreted through post-colonial theory and the lens of settler colonialism in colonial Canada, I will examine how two ancient Indigenous Italian women—Camilla and Lavinia—are depicted and treated in the *Aeneid*. Just as Indigenous women in colonial Canada were considered inferior to European settlers, sexualised, and depicted as impediments to

¹ I would like to acknowledge the approved use of artificial intelligence (A. I.) by my supervisor, Dr Christina Vester, in the completion of this paper. A. I. was utilised for the translation of academic works, that were neither in English nor French, to provide accurate academic support and referencing. In addition, A. I. was used for small grammatical changes and suggestions. The research and writing of this thesis are wholly my own work. All translations for this analysis have been taken from their associated editions in the ‘Bibliography.’ Ancient sources, for which there is no translator provided in the ‘Bibliography’, have been translated by me.

² Quintilian states that, while Homer is at the forefront of both Greek and Roman epic poets, Vergil is placed as a close second (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.85–6). Therefore, Quintilian suggests Homer and Vergil as a part of a young boy’s reading list (Quint. *Inst.* 1.8.4–6). For modern sources that discuss Roman education and/or Vergil’s use in Roman education, see Barrow 1976, Bloomer 2015, Bonner 2012, Franklin 1996, Gwynn 1964, Joyal et al. 2009, Marrou 1956, Narducci 2007: 382–7, Too 2001.

³ McMaster 2025: 206. For examples of recent scholarship on the *Aeneid* that focuses on decolonisation and post-colonial theory, see Brammall 2017, Fletcher 2014, Kallendorf 2007, McMaster 2025: 203–12. For recent Classical scholarship that focuses on decolonisation and post-colonial theory, see Akrigg and Blouin 2025.

colonisation through their connections to the land; so too is Camilla. While Camilla possesses some Roman traits, she often represents the ‘Other’.⁴ Camilla inverts traditional gender norms as the queen of the Volscians, for which she is often compared to other foreign queens, against the backdrop of the patriarchal Roman political system. She is associated with masculine traits, such as being a decisive warrior, pursuing war spoils, and leading military troops. In addition, while being of marital age, she pledges her maidenhood in perpetuity in honour of Diana. Thus, Camilla is both a liminal and nonconforming character. Furthermore, Camilla, as an Indigenous Volscian, is intrinsically linked to the land through her childhood, her connection to horses, and Vergil’s intentional connections between her virginal status and the land. Thus, Camilla cannot be harnessed for the Trojan colonialist programme. On the other hand, Lavinia, the Latin princess, both resembles an Indigenous Italian and a proto-Roman as she possesses similar qualities to an ideal Roman woman in the Augustan period. Like Camilla, she is of an age to be married. However, Lavinia is passive and lacks individuality in comparison to Camilla as she never speaks in the epic. While Lavinia listens to both her parents—demonstrating her filial piety—she ultimately listens to the instruction of her father, the *paterfamilias*, especially regarding her prophesised marriage. Thus, she also demonstrates her religious piety and respect for patriarchal structures. Through her connections to family and her domestic roles, Lavinia is associated with the household, an appropriate place for a Roman woman; she is not connected to the wilderness and the land like Camilla.

Thus, in the context of colonial Canada, Camilla and Lavinia are presented as women who, respectively, fail and succeed in serving to promote the colonialist programme of the *Aeneid* which

⁴ The *Dictionary of Gender Studies* defines ‘othering’ as “a process whereby individuals and groups are treated and marked as different and inferior from the dominant social group.” Often, the pronouns ‘us’ and ‘them’ are used to highlight this perceived difference. Any use of the present participle ‘othering,’ or other variations, such as ‘Other’, will utilise this definition.

portrays them as non-ideal and ideal Roman women, wives, and mothers.⁵ Lavinia, despite being an Indigenous Latin woman, conforms to Trojan mores and ideals, and is useful to the future of Rome as the prophesised wife of Aeneas and mother to Rome's first children. Thus, Lavinia's connection to the land and the Latin people could be fruitfully harnessed, while Camilla's connection to the land could not, and her resistance to the colonial programme required her erasure.

This paper proceeds as follows. First, terms like 'Indigenous' and 'colonialism' will be defined, followed by an outline of settler colonisation with its hallmarks. Ancient examples, such as in a Roman and Mediterranean contexts, and a brief overview of settler colonisation in what is now known as Canada will be described. This comparison underscores the ongoing nature of settler colonialism across time and space by directing attention to the similarities in colonial practices in the *Aeneid*. It is important to acknowledge, however, that settler colonialism in the *Aeneid* is discussed regarding two White, or southern Mediterranean Greco-Italic, European groups; settler colonialism, especially in the context of colonial Canada, often focuses on the actions of White Europeans against Indigenous peoples. Second, the roles of Indigenous women under settler colonisation will be investigated, contrasting their treatment with European settler women. Finally, the core analysis will be the depiction of Camilla and Lavinia through the motifs of readiness and suitability for marriage, representation through appearance and temperament, and their relationship to land as Volscian and Latin women, respectively.

From the beginning of the *Aeneid*, the importance of a woman in the colonisation of Hesperia as Aeneas' future wife and mother of Rome's first children, is consistently mentioned along with Aeneas' fate—to establish Rome. In recounting the fall of Troy, Aeneas details how the ghost of his Trojan wife, Creusa, declared his fate: *et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius*

⁵ While Vergil's *Aeneid* also focuses on Aeneas' relationships to Dido and Creusa, Creusa and Dido will only be included in relation to Camilla and Lavinia, and thus, not the key focuses of research.

*arva / inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris. / illic res laetae regnumque et regia coniunx / parta tibi.*⁶ Midway through the epic, Lavinia, the Latin princess, is revealed as Aeneas' destined bride.⁷ The text then proceeds to introduce Camilla, the Volscian queen, into the story. This raises an interesting question: what is the purpose of Camilla in this tale of the earliest founding of Rome? This paper argues that, in the context of settler colonisation, Camilla and Lavinia are used in similar ways to Indigenous women in colonial Canada by settler Europeans. In general, Indigenous Italian women in the *Aeneid* are judged and treated much like the Indigenous women were by their European colonisers in colonial Canada. In addition, the choice of wife in the *Aeneid* tells us a great deal about Roman identity and the ideal standing, behaviour, and family of a Roman woman. Ancient Indigenous women, such as Lavinia, who exemplify the characteristics of the coloniser, are acceptable as partners and mothers. Lavinia's ability to assimilate into the Trojan settler population enables the Trojans, through the marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia, to indigenise themselves to Italy. On the other hand, Camilla, while bearing some Roman qualities, is a representative of the 'Other' with whom a union would hinder colonialist strategies. Camilla's perpetual virginity, associations with foreign female characters and monarchies, 'masculine' traits, and strong connections to the land which cannot be harnessed by the coloniser, are an impediment

⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 2.781–4: “and you will come to the land Hesperia, where amid the rich fields of husbandmen the Lydian Tiber flows with gentle sweep. There in store for you are happy days, kingship, and a king's wife.” The word *parta*, from *pario*, means to “acquire, obtain, accomplish, bring about.” It often is used in connection with childbirth, such as “to beget, produce.” The verb here is *parta est*, thus indicating past tense. However, the future is often prophesied in the past tense. The passage thus indicates that fate already has produced a king's wife for Aeneas. In limiting Lavinia's status as the wife of the king, Vergil may be considered as sexist or misogynistic. For modern scholars that discuss Vergil and sexist or misogynistic views, see De Boer 2019, duBois 1976, Giusti and Rimell 2021, and Keith 2000.

⁷ Anchises, Aeneas' father, in the Underworld details the prophecy of Rome, Aeneas' familial descendants, and the future achievements of the Roman nation. Anchises specifically mentions Lavinia as Aeneas' future wife. For Lavinia's mention in the Underworld, see Verg. *Aen.* 6.756–807.

to both Aeneas and the Trojans, as well as Roman colonisation.⁸ Ancient Indigenous women, such as Camilla, who do not adhere to the ideals of Trojan/Roman femininity, are erased.⁹

1. Defining ‘Settler Colonisation’ and ‘Indigenous’

The term ‘colonialism’ derives from the Latin verb *colere*, meaning “to cultivate.”¹⁰ Other Latin words in the same word family share the same agricultural roots.¹¹ For example, the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* defines *colonus* as a “husbandman, a tiller of the soil; a farmer, one who cultivates another's land; and a colonist, an inhabitant of a colonial town.”¹² Therefore, the noun’s masculine gender and associations to societal roles for Roman men evoke themes of soil, farming, land appropriation, power, and masculinity. These themes are present in the modern definition of colonialism: “the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically.”¹³

In an article on the colonisation of the eastern Polish borderlands in the early twentieth-century, Christoph Mick differentiates between four types of colonialism: settler, exploitative, surrogate, and internal. Mick defines settler colonialism as when “large numbers of people from the centre emigrate to the colony with the intention of staying and cultivating the land.”¹⁴ Therefore, the associations between *colere* and settler colonisation are apparent across time and space. Furthermore, beyond cultivating the land, “successful settler colonies ‘tame’ a variety of

⁸ See s.v. Chapter 3: Indigenous Women and Settler Colonisation, where Indigenous women in the Canadian colonial context were considered impediments to the European colonial agenda.

⁹ See Keith 2000 which discusses the deaths of women in Latin epics.

¹⁰ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. “*colo, colere, colui, cultum*.” See also Veracini 2023: 7.

¹¹ Other examples of Latin words that share the Latin root *colo-* are *colonia*, -ae; *colonia*, -ae; *coloniarius*, -i; *colonicus*, -a, -um; *colens*, *colentis*; amongst others. All these terms share themes of agriculture, colonial settlement, and divine worship.

¹² *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. “*colonus*.”

¹³ *Oxford Dictionary of English*, 3rd ed. (2015), s.v. “colonialism.” The terms “colonialism” and “colonisation” will be used interchangeably in the remainder of this paper. To establish the similarities in the definition and root of these words, the *Oxford Dictionary of English* defines “colonization” as “the action or process of settling among and establishing control over the indigenous people of an area; appropriating a place or domain for one’s own use,” (s.v. “colonization”). This definition of “colonization” falls more in line with the definition of *colonus*.

¹⁴ Mick 2014: 126.

wildernesses, end up establishing independent nations, effectively repress, co-opt, and extinguish indigenous alterities, and productively manage ethnic diversity.”¹⁵ Patrick Wolfe defines this relationship as the “logic of elimination.”¹⁶ The “logic of elimination” has both positive and negative outcomes, which are dependent on who is the coloniser and the colonised. There are a variety of methods in which these goals can be accomplished by settlers: genocide, removal, erasure, and assimilation.¹⁷ The *Aeneid* is a story of settler colonisation that utilises several of these methods. Ultimately, settler colonisation is “a structure not an event,” in which its effects are felt long after its commencement.¹⁸

In addition to defining settler colonialism, it is also important to define the term ‘Indigenous.’ In modern contexts, it is difficult to encompass the distinct political, economic, cultural, and social practices of more than 476 million Indigenous people worldwide under a singular definition of ‘Indigenous’.¹⁹ According to the United Nations, Indigenous peoples “are the descendants ... of those who inhabited a country or a geographical region at the time when people of different cultures or ethnic origins arrived. The new arrivals later became dominant through conquest, occupation, settlement or other means.”²⁰ Thus, in global contexts, ‘Indigenous’ is used to describe Indigenous peoples collectively, or can be used to describe groups of Indigenous peoples separately.²¹ In a Canadian context, ‘Indigenous’ serves as an umbrella term for both status and non-status First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples.²²

¹⁵ Veracini 2011: 3.

¹⁶ Wolfe 2006: 387.

¹⁷ Ostler and Shoemaker 2019: 362.

¹⁸ Wolfe 2006: 388.

¹⁹ United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, n.d. This fact sheet seemingly provides an outdated number on the number of Indigenous peoples worldwide. For the updated figure of more than 476 million, see United Nations, n.d.

²⁰ United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, n.d.

²¹ Office of Indigenous Initiatives, n.d.

²² Office of Indigenous Initiatives, n.d.

However, as noted by Brent Shaw, utilising the term ‘Indigenous’ to describe both the inhabitants of North America before the introduction of European colonial powers, as well as all the communities subjected to the rule of the Roman Empire, is problematic.²³ However, in adopting Shaw’s approach, he uses the term ‘Indigenous’ to refer to groups whose autonomy, possession of technological capabilities and social and cultural structures, and location on the periphery of the Empire, often led the Romans to classify them broadly as *barbari* or “barbarians.”²⁴ However, as demonstrated by surviving literary evidence, Roman administrators also utilised terms such as *nationes*, *gentes*, and *populi* to describe these distinct groups within the Empire.²⁵

Various ancient authors have written about the early history of Rome and the ancient tribes of the Italic peninsula.²⁶ However, deciphering the earliest inhabitants of the land near Rome is challenging, as the authors’ conflicting accounts were written centuries after the events that they described. Livy aligns his *History of Rome* with the mythologised history of Vergil’s *Aeneid*, in that Aeneas and the Trojans, *cum praedam ex agris agerent, Latinus rex Aboriginesque, qui tum ea tenebant loca, ad arcendam vim advenarum armati ex urbe atque agris concurrunt*.²⁷ Thus, neither the Volscians nor the Latins are explicitly named by Livy in his pre-history of Rome, but rather grouped under the term *Aborigines*.²⁸ For the purposes of this paper, and in line with Livy’s account, I will be treating the Volscians, Latins, and the other groups named in the *Aeneid* as the

²³ Shaw 2024: 17–18.

²⁴ Shaw 2024: 18.

²⁵ Plin. *HN*. 3.24–8, 4.117–8. See also Shaw 2024: 18.

²⁶ See Forsythe 2005: 59–77 for a chronology of the Greek and Roman writers who documented the early history of Rome.

²⁷ Liv. 1.1.5–6: “were driving booty from the fields, when King Latinus and the Aborigines, who then occupied that country, rushed down from their city and their fields to repel with arms the violence of the invaders.”

²⁸ The term *aborigines* derives from the Latin *ab origine*, meaning “from the beginning.”

Indigenous Italic peoples.²⁹ Furthermore, the term ‘Indigenous’ will refer to both definitions discussed above, but only within their respective topics.

a. History of Settler Colonisation

Much of our modern understandings of the concepts of empire, imperialism, and hegemony, as well as settler colonisation are defined by the modern colonial period.³⁰ However, this period can be difficult to define. Lorenzo Veracini, a key contributor to the academic field of settler colonialism, suggests that the second half of the fifteenth century marked the beginning of this period due to the advancement and systemic creation of new technologies in which to dominate and colonise.³¹ Colonial conquests, such as the conquest of the Atlantic Islands and the Spanish conquest of the Canary Islands, mark some of the first instances of European settler colonisation in the modern colonial period.³² However, colonisation in the ancient world has influenced, and continues to influence, our modern discussions of the topic. While it is difficult to determine the earliest example of ancient colonisation, one of the earliest examples, accomplished through “a systematic process of settlement and resettlement designed to further an imperial program,” was that of the Neo-Assyrians beginning in the ninth century BCE.³³ Other examples of settler

²⁹ Strabo, in his later *Geography*, confirms Livy’s account and describes the Volsci as one of the original inhabitants of the land near Rome (Strab. 5.3.2). Strabo also lists the Aeci, also known as the Aequi, the Hernici, the Rutuli, and others. However, Dionysius counters Livy’s mythologised history, stating that the land which the Romans inhabited, was first populated by the Sicels, described as both βάρβαροι and ἔθνος ἀθηγενές (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.9.1). The *Aborigines* would later take this land from the Sicels, aided by the Pelasgians and other Greeks who colonised Italy, following a long war between the two nations (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.9.2). Dionysius then aligns his pre-history of Rome with Livy in that the *Aborigines* would later change their demonym to ‘Latins’ under the reign of King Latinus; ‘Romans’ following the founding of Rome by Romulus (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.10.3–4). What can be ascertained from these historical narratives is that the Volscians, whether called the Volscians or grouped into a generalised term such as the *Aborigines* as done by Livy, is likely to have lived on the land near Rome before it was established.

³⁰ Graham 2017: 11.

³¹ Veracini 2023: 10.

³² Adhikari 2017: 2 and Veracini 2023: 10.

³³ Graham 2017: 12.

colonisation in the ancient world were those of the Phoenicians, the Greeks, and the Romans.³⁴ Therefore, colonialism has been utilised for thousands of years. However, for the purposes of this paper, settler colonisation in colonial Canada will be the focus. The purpose of this case study, compared to the colonial ideals of Vergil's *Aeneid*, is to demonstrate the process of settler colonisation and its effects on Indigenous women across time and space. Through this case study, one can observe how Indigenous women, such as Camilla and Lavinia, fail or succeed in serving to promote the colonialist programme they engage with.

In *Colonialism: A Global History*, Lorenzo Veracini states that colonialism is predicated on both displacement and violence. Without violence, the displacement of individuals could be considered a different relationship, such as host and guest.³⁵ Both the ancient Greeks and Romans had formal guest-host relationships known as *proxenia* and *hospitium*, respectively, which were ritualised bonds of hospitality and reciprocity between men of elite status, but were considered

³⁴ Graham 2017: 11–21. For modern sources that discuss the settler colonisation of Phoenicians, see Aubet 2001, Delgado and Ferrer 2012, Dietler and López-Ruiz 2009, Hodos 2006, and Semmler 2019. For modern sources that discuss the settler colonisation of the Greeks, see Bradley and Wilson 2006, Dougherty 1993, Osborne 2009, Roller 2006, Tsetskhladze 2006 and 2008. For modern sources that discuss the settler colonisation of the Romans, see Bradley and Wilson 2006, Brunt 2001, Salmon 1970. The settler colonisation of these great empires was reflected in ancient literature. In Book 9 of Homer's *Odyssey*, written in the mid-eighth century BCE, Odysseus describes to the Phaeacians one of his many diversions on his journey home, from Troy to Ithaca. Odysseus and his men arrive to the land of the Cyclopes, where Odysseus describes them as, ὑπερφιάλων ἀθεμίστων ἰκόμεθ' ... τοῖσιν δ' οὔτ' ἀγοραί βουλευφόροι οὔτε θέμιστες. Translation: "insolent and lawless ... neither assemblies for council have they, nor appointed laws," (Hom. *Od.* 9.106–7, 112). In addition, the island itself is described as unsown and untilled, but well-wooded, containing a natural harbour, and fertile with wheat, barley, wine, and wild goat herds (Hom. *Od.* 9.109–21). In the period of Greek colonisation, encompassing the period of Homer, colonisation was the avenue to reach civilisation; thus, the Cyclopes represented the antithesis of such an idea. Vergil's *Aeneid* describes the Phoenician colonisation of Byrsa, which would eventually be called Carthage, led by Dido (Verg. *Aen.* 1.361–9). The legend states that the Phoenicians purchased land from the Indigenous population living in Byrsa, as much land as one bull's hide could cover. However, the Phoenicians deceived the Indigenous people by cutting the bull's hide into strips and encircling a large tract of land (Verg. *Aen.* 1.365–9, see fn. 12 for the legend of the bull's hide). Following this, the Phoenicians installed a political system similar to that of the Romans. The narrator, likely Vergil, notes that, following the placement of the bull's hide, the Phoenicians chose *iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum*. Translation: "laws and magistrates, and an august senate," (Verg. *Aen.* 1.369). So too in Vergil's *Aeneid* does the narrator describe, in Book 7, Aeneas digging his first settlement in Italy with a trench and battlements for war, prior to his men meeting King Latinus (Verg. *Aen.* 7.157–61).

³⁵ Veracini 2023: 1.

foreigners or strangers as they belonged to different social groups.³⁶ In the context of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas shares the relationship of *hospitium* with Acestes, king of Segesta; Evander, king of Arcadia; and even Dido, queen of Carthage.³⁷ However, within the framework of settler colonialism, violence creates the structural inequality between the coloniser and the colonised.³⁸ Furthermore, settlers are “founders of political orders and carry their sovereignty with them.”³⁹ Settlers then “exert that sovereignty over Indigenous peoples or settlers of other origins.”⁴⁰

Matheson et al. suggest that the Indigenous population in pre-colonised Canada was estimated between 350,000 and 500,000, with some estimates reaching upwards of two million people.⁴¹ Prior to 1534, trading between local Indigenous groups and Europeans—Bretons, English, Basques, and others who lived on the Atlantic coast—was well established in Canada for decades.⁴² However, settler colonisation began as early as the first half of the sixteenth century with the arrival of the French navigator, Jacques Cartier.⁴³ In 1534, during Cartier’s first voyage, Cartier erected a thirty-foot wooden cross, decorated with the French coat-of-arms and the phrase “VIVE LE ROI DE FRANCE,” at the entrance of Gaspé Harbour.⁴⁴ This act by Cartier demonstrated the movement of Christian sovereignty by French navigators to Canada. Following

³⁶ For ancient Greek sources that discuss the practice of *proxenia*, see Hom. *Il.* 6.119–236; Pl. *Leg.* 952–3. For modern sources on *proxenia*, see Herman 1987, Powell 2021, Strootman 2014: 145–64, and Žbontar 2013: 19–32. For ancient Roman sources on *hospitium*, see Liv. 29.23.3; Sen. *Ben.* 4.37.2–4. For modern sources on *hospitium*, see Gibson 1999: 184–202 and Nicols 2016: 180–192.

³⁷ The *hospitium* between Aeneas and King Evander will be further expounded upon in relation to settler colonisation in the *Aeneid*. See p. 19–21. For references of *hospes* in relation to Acestes, see Verg. *Aen.* 5.63, 630; Evander, see 8.123, 188, 364, 532; Dido, see 1.753, 4.10, 323.

³⁸ Veracini 2023: 1.

³⁹ Veracini 2024: 5.

⁴⁰ Reid and Peace 2017: 80.

⁴¹ Matheson et al. 2022: 4.

⁴² Cook 2013: xxi.

⁴³ Evidence exists of previous European contact in Canada, before the arrival of French navigators in Québec in 1534. The arrival of the Norse from Scandinavia, led by Leif Erikson and his companions, approximately in the year 1000 is noted in L’Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland and Labrador (Conrad 2022: 39). However, the settlement of the Norse in this area was neither long-term nor permanent. Other voyages to Canada by Europeans include the voyages of John Cabot in 1497, amongst others (Axtell 1988: 145–7). Thus, previous instances of non-permanent European contact in Canada are not considered in this investigation.

⁴⁴ Cook 2013: xxiii.

this, Chief Donnacona, of the Iroquoian village of Stadacona in present-day Québec City, and other Iroquoian leaders protested the action. Despite the language barrier, Cartier remarks that Donnacona communicated physically that the land belonged to him and that the French did not seek permission to erect the cross.⁴⁵ Under the guise of a barter to reconcile for their actions, the French captured Chief Donnacona and the other Iroquoian leaders and took them across the Atlantic to France.⁴⁶ Thus, a precedent was established by Cartier and his men that Europeans had a right to explore Canada, set up crosses like those set up by the French, kidnap Indigenous people, and return to claim possession of the land.⁴⁷

In addition, legal precedents were established to support the settler colonisation of the New World, including Canada, by Europeans.⁴⁸ The Doctrine of Discovery was an international law that “justified their [European] claims to sovereignty and governmental and property rights over these territories and the Indigenous inhabitants.”⁴⁹ The principle of *terra nullius* or *vacuum domicilium*, developed by the English, further justified their assumed rights to Indigenous lands.⁵⁰ The planting of national flags or religious symbols, such as Cartier’s erecting of the cross at Gaspé Harbour, was a part of the legal procedure recognised under the Doctrine of Discovery to stake a

⁴⁵ Cook 2013: xxiv.

⁴⁶ Cook 2013: xxv–vi.

⁴⁷ Cook 2013: xxvi. Cartier erected other crosses along his travels. For example, Cartier erected other crosses, including one without decoration, one month prior to the instance at Gaspé Harbour, in St Servan’s Harbour (Cook 2013: xxiv).

⁴⁸ For the early history of the Doctrine of Discovery, see Miller et al. 2010: 9–25.

⁴⁹ Miller et al. 2010: 2.

⁵⁰ Miller et al. 2010: 21. Miller defines *vacuum domicilium* as “an empty, vacant, or unoccupied house or domicile.” While Miller also defines *terra nullius* as “a land or earth that is null or void,” I suggest a more accurate translation of “nobody’s land,” or “land belonging to no one.” The purpose for this updated translation is that many pre-colonial Indigenous peoples in Canada held different views about land use and ownership in comparison to the settler Europeans. For example, the Anishinabek see the Earth as a living being that provides the necessities of life (Borrows 2010: 242). In addition, some parts of the Earth cannot be owned, allocated, or controlled without her consent (Borrows 2010: 245). European views of land ownership, which have sustained into modern Canadian views, see land ownership as a commodity or possession. The Latin adjective *nullius*, being in the genitive case, suggests possession; thus, ownership.

religious, legal, and political claim over the “newly discovered” lands and its peoples.⁵¹ Therefore, in addition to the movement of Christian sovereignty to Canada, the colonisers—whether French, English, or Dutch, amongst others—established legal and political orders in which to create division through the structural hierarchies associated with colonialism.⁵²

In addition to the structural hierarchies created by new legal and political orders, violence between the coloniser and the colonised creates structural inequalities, as a means to accomplish the goals of colonialism.⁵³ The first inequality that colonialism asserts is between the coloniser and the colonised. Other inequalities that are created are polarities of both race and gender.⁵⁴ For example, in the fifth-century BCE, in response to the rising Persian empire and heightened Hellenic self-consciousness, the use of the term *barbaros* by the ancient Greeks transitioned from denoting differences in language to encapsulating the entire non-Greek world.⁵⁵ The term *Hellenes*, referring to the entire Greek world, carried a sense of superiority; thus, *barbaros*, reflecting a sense of inferiority.⁵⁶ Examples of polarities in modern colonial North America are “male and female, White and nonwhite, civil and savage.”⁵⁷ Therefore, the use of polarities to create distinction is consistent across time and space. The use of these polarities in colonial Canada furthers the settler’s agenda—to civilise—while simultaneously distancing themselves from Indigenous populations.⁵⁸

⁵¹ Miller et al. 2010: 2.

⁵² Miller et al. 2010: 21.

⁵³ Veracini 2023: 1.

⁵⁴ Jordan 2021: 273.

⁵⁵ Fifth-century BCE Greek tragedy, particularly Aeschylus’ *Persae* in 472 BCE, emphasised the ‘barbarian’ or *barbaros* when referring to the Persians. However, due to the scale of the Persian Empire during the Persian wars, the term was utilised generically to denote all non-Greek speaking people (Hall 1989: 9–12).

⁵⁶ Hall 1989: 9–12.

⁵⁷ For the quote, see Jordan 2021: 273. See also Morgensen 2012: 9.

⁵⁸ The Canadian government utilised various legislations to support their attempts to ‘civilise’ Indigenous Peoples in Canada. For example, the Gradual Civilization Act of 1857 sought to “encourage the progress of civilization among the Indian Tribes in this province, and the gradual removal of all legal distinctions between them and Her Majesty’s other Canadian subjects...,” (Canada 1857, § Preamble, 1–4). Other legislations include the Bagot Commission Report

2. Settler Colonisation in Vergil's *Aeneid*

When this framework of settler colonialism is applied to the relationship between the Trojans, led by Aeneas, and the Indigenous Italians in Vergil's *Aeneid*, similarities between the two emerge in this piece of late-Republican and Imperial Roman literature.

a. Divine Destiny

The prophecy directing the Trojans to Italy is consistently recalled by various characters or the narrator throughout the *Aeneid*.⁵⁹ However, the ordained destiny of the Trojans is not stated in the same manner each time. Each character or the narrator delivers their divine destiny in a distinctive way that reflects different aspects of the prophecy and establishes their authority for which to share this knowledge. For example, in the opening lines of the epic, the audience learns that a man, persecuted and long-suffering, is leading a group of Trojan exiles to Italy to found the city that will eventually become Rome:

Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
Italiam fato profugus Lavinaque venit
litora—multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
vi superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram,
multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem
inferretque deos Latio; genus unde Latinum
Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.

Arms and the man I sing, who first from the coasts of Troy,
exiled by fate, came to Italy and Lavine shores; much buffeted
on sea and land by violence from above, through
cruel Juno's unforgiving wrath, and much enduring in war
also, till he should build a city and bring his gods to Latium;
whence came the Latin race, the lords of Alba, and the
lofty walls of Rome. (1.1–7)

(1845), the Indian Act (1876), amongst others. In creating polarities in colonial Canada, the Indian Act defines an "Indian," an Indigenous individual, as being separate from a "person," who is any individual not considered an "Indian," (Canada 1876, s.v. Ch. 18, § Indians [p. 22], § Person [p. 26]).

⁵⁹ For recollections of the prophecy by the narrator, see Verg. *Aen.* 1.1–7; by Jupiter and Venus, see 1.227–96; by Hector, see 2.289–97; by Creusa, see 2.775–89; by Apollo, see 3.94–8, 3.154–71, 6.83–97; by Jupiter, see 4.223–37; by Anchises, see 6.756–807; by Faunus, see 7.96–101.

The narrator uses the epic convention of the first-person verb *cano*, drawing attention to his invocation of the Muses seven lines later.⁶⁰ As was done in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and in subsequent epics, the narrator calls upon all the Muses, or a specific one, to acknowledge the gift of creating poetry, and to lay claim to divine authority.⁶¹ The following narrative about centuries of Roman history is thus presented through an omniscient lens and gives force to the narrator's attempt to standardise this history.⁶² Aware of his own fate, Aeneas later declares, in his speech to his Trojan companions on the Libyan shores, that the Trojan kingdom and its power will rise again in the newly founded Roman Empire.⁶³ Thus, the Trojans, in a similar manner to the French navigators, utilise divine authority as justification for their colonisation of a foreign land. The actions of Jacques Cartier and his fellow French navigators highlight the movement of Christian sovereignty by planting the cross in Gaspé Harbour. In the context of the Trojans, the Penates—the Trojan/Roman household gods—are often described as being brought with Aeneas to Italy.⁶⁴ Both the Trojans and the Europeans utilise this divine authority to stake their claim, whether literal or metaphorical, for dominance of the foreign land. Their divine authority and perceived dominance repress the Indigenous populations—in ancient Italy or colonial Canada—who might contradict the colonial agenda or oppose the colonial state. Moreover, the colonisers exploit their dominance to establish new political orders and other colonial hierarchies and structures. Later in the *Aeneid*, Jupiter, the King of the gods, utilises his divine authority to declare the future of

⁶⁰ For *cano*, see Verg. *Aen.* 1.1.

⁶¹ For the invocation of the Muse in the *Iliad*, see Hom. *Il.* 1.1–7. For the invocation of the Muse in the *Odyssey*, see Hom. *Od.* 1.1–10.

⁶² See Seider 2013: 124–58.

⁶³ Verg. *Aen.* 1. 204–7.

⁶⁴ For Aeneas bringing the Penates, the household gods, from Troy to Italy, see Verg. *Aen.* 1.68, 378; 2.293; 3.15, 148; 4.598; 5.632; 7.121. Other characters described as holding the Penates are Priam, prior to his death (2.514); Anchises, while Aeneas carries him out of burning Troy (2.717), and returns to Troy for Creusa (2.747). It is important to note that Vergil will also use the word Penates to describe one's home or hearth, including those that are not Trojan, in accordance with its Latin translation as "home, dwelling." For examples, see Verg. *Aen.* 1.527, 704; 4.21.

Aeneas: *bellum ingens geret Italia populosque feroces / contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet*.⁶⁵ Furthermore, Jupiter asserts that, through his divine proclamation: *his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono; / imperium sine fine dedi*.⁶⁶

b. Perceived Rights of the Coloniser and Narratological Misrepresentation

The purpose for the Trojans' movement to Italy was to establish a new home following the destruction of Troy by the Achaeans. This movement was ordered by fate and the gods to establish a new nation, which the Trojans obey. The Trojans' actions suggest that they see the will of the gods as sufficient to begin settling down permanent—and defensible—roots in Italy. This is demonstrated by Aeneas, shortly after the Trojan arrival in Italy. Aeneas begins to dig the Trojan settlement in Italy, prior to the Trojan embassy arriving to meet with Latinus, King of the Latins, and asking for a, *sedem exiguum patriis litusque ... / innocuum et cunctis undamque auramque patentem*.⁶⁷ The Trojans' seemingly innocent request of Latinus is contradicted by two factors. First, the settlement, dug by Aeneas, is designed in a similar nature to a *castrum*, or Roman military fortress; thus, indicating the prophesised violence and bloodshed.⁶⁸ Second, the Trojan men are already aware of the prophecy of Rome before making the request of Latinus, as they have been told on a variety of occasions.⁶⁹ Therefore, this request of Latinus does not reflect the prophecy of Rome, which is known by the Trojans upon their arrival to Italy. The Trojans mislead their hosts—the Latins—regarding their intentions and justify their actions to establish their new home in Italy

⁶⁵ Verg. *Aen.* 1.263–4: “[he] shall wage a great war in Italy, shall crush proud nations, and for his people shall set up laws and city’s walls”

⁶⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 1. 278–9: “I set no bounds in space or time; but have given empire without end.”

⁶⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 7.229–30: “a scant home for our country’s gods, a harmless landing place, and air and water free to all.” For Aeneas’ digging of the new settlement, see Verg. *Aen.* 7.157–9. For the entire passage regarding the Trojan embassy that meets with King Latinus, see Verg. *Aen.* 7.228–33.

⁶⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 7.159.

⁶⁹ Aeneas tells his remaining Trojan companions the prophecy of Rome, following their arrival on the shores of Libya (Verg. *Aen.* 1.205). Ilioneus, in his plea to Dido for refuge, states the prophecy of Rome in the company of the remaining Trojans (1.557). Aeneas recites the prophecy of Rome reasserted by the Penates, in his recounting of their travels to Carthage in the company of Dido and the other Trojan men (3.161). See also Horsfall 2000: 178.

with the prophecy of Rome and through violence. One can draw similarities between the actions of the Trojans to the actions of Jacques Cartier and the French navigators. The perception of the coloniser's 'right' to the land remains consistent. Both the Trojans and the French feel justified in not consulting with their hosts prior to the declaration of their 'right' to the land. Aeneas establishes his *castrum* prior to discussions with King Latinus as he is supported in his colonial efforts through the prophecy of Rome and the gods. The French navigators perceived their 'right' to the land and staked their claim using the cross at Gaspé Harbour. While the reactions of the Iroquoians differed from that of the Latins regarding their 'right' to the land—disagreement versus acceptance—both somewhat misled their hosts about their intentions for the land. Furthermore, the French navigators extended their 'rights' to the land to include ownership of all things in that foreign land, including Chief Donnacona and the other Iroquoian leaders, who were captured and taken across the Atlantic to France.⁷⁰

Another example of the Trojans' misrepresentation of their goals in Italy can be seen in the interactions between the Trojans and the Arcadians in Book 8. While Turnus assembles his troops in the fight against the Trojans, Aeneas and his companions sail to Arcadia, to speak with King Evander and gather allies. While the Arcadians, from the Greek Peloponnese, may appear to be an unlikely ally to the Trojans due to the Greek sacking of Troy, Aeneas and Evander share a *hospitium* together—a Roman guest-host relationship.⁷¹ Moreover, Aeneas speaks to Evander about their shared ancestor, Atlas.⁷² Thus, Aeneas' relationship with Evander is not based on a structural hierarchy or predicated by violence. While Aeneas makes connections between Troy and Arcadia, he makes his case to Evander and offers the Arcadians a partnership against a

⁷⁰ Cook 2013: xxv–vi.

⁷¹ Verg. *Aen.* 8.123: *hospes*. Pallas, the son of Evander, requests that Aeneas speak to Evander as a guest under their roof.

⁷² Verg. *Aen.* 8.126–51.

common enemy—the Rutulians.⁷³ However, Aeneas’ request for a partnership is founded on a false narrative.⁷⁴ Aeneas asserts that the Rutulians are, in fact, the aggressors in this dynamic:⁷⁵

gens eadem, quae te, crudeli Daunia bello
insequitur; nos si pellant nihil afore credunt
quin omnem Hesperiam penitus sua sub iuga mittant,
et mare quod supra teneant quodque adluit infra.

The same Daunian race pursues us, as you, in cruel war;
if they drive us forth, they deem that nothing will keep them
from laying all Hesperia utterly beneath their yoke,
and from holding the seas that wash her above and below. (8.146–9)

Aeneas rewrites the narrative and neither mentions his betrothal to Lavinia nor the imperial destiny of Rome.⁷⁶ In Book 7, prior to Aeneas’ diplomatic meeting with the Arcadians, Lavinia’s father—Latinus, King of the Latins—received a prophecy from his father Faunus that Lavinia should not marry Turnus, a Rutulian, but instead marry Aeneas, who will create both a familial and imperial foundation for the Latins.⁷⁷ Instead, Aeneas’ practice of diplomacy treats the embellishment of facts and the assignment of intentions as standard tools.⁷⁸ Furthermore, despite presenting himself as anti-imperialist, Aeneas’ diplomacy sets a model for Rome’s future imperial strategy.⁷⁹ Rather than waiting for his marriage to Lavinia to occur—a symbol of Trojan integration and royal succession from the Latins to the Trojans—Aeneas forges ahead. Moreover, Rome will expand not

⁷³ For Aeneas’ case, see Verg. *Aen.* 8.146–51. Aeneas calls the Rutulians the “Daunian race,” and utilises the personal pronouns *te* and *nos*, in lines 146 and 147 respectively, to continue to emphasise the relationship between the Trojans and the Arcadians (Fratantuono and Alden Smith 2018: 273). The Daunian race refers to the Rutulians through Turnus’ father Daunus. See Verg. *Aen.* 10.615, 688; 12.22, 90, 723, 934.

⁷⁴ Fordyce 1977: 221.

⁷⁵ The phrase *sub iuga mittant* (8.148) holds meaning for the Romans. The practice of *sub iuga mittere* was thought to be an act of humiliation by a military victor towards the vanquished. The most poignant example of this practice was in the Roman defeat at Caudine Forks in 320 BCE by the Samnites. See Liv. 9.2–6 for the Roman defeat at Caudine Forks. See Caes. *BGall.* 1.7, 12 for other examples of *sub iuga mittere*, specifically the slain Lucius Cassius Longinus and his army in 107 BCE. The defeat of Longinus and his army is the reason that Caesar did not allow the Helvetii to move about in the Roman province. For modern sources which discuss *sub iuga mittere*, see de Cazanove 2023: 185–201 and Salmon 1967.

⁷⁶ Fratantuono and Alden Smith 2018: 273.

⁷⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 7.96–101.

⁷⁸ Conington and Nettleship 1871: 97 and Fratantuono and Alden Smith 2018: 273.

⁷⁹ Fratantuono and Alden Smith 2018: 274.

only through defeating its enemies, but also through absorbing its allies, like the Arcadians, into its growing sphere of influence.⁸⁰

c. Mythological Allegories and the ‘Other’

Following Aeneas’ request for partnership, Evander invites Aeneas to join the festival celebrating Hercules, as a part of the *hospitium* that they share.⁸¹ Following the meal, Evander shares the myth of Hercules’ victory against Cacus, the fire-breathing son of the god Vulcan, after he stole Hercules’ cattle.⁸² James J. O’Hara notes the etymology of Evander’s name in Greek (Εὐανδρος) means “good man,” while Cacus’ name in Greek (Κακός) means “bad man.”⁸³ While Vergil does not seem to indicate this connection between these two characters, as noted by some scholars, the polarity of their names suggests an inequality between the two.⁸⁴ The contrast between Evander and Cacus resembles the use of polarities between the coloniser and the colonised. In the dichotomy of Evander and Cacus, the suggested polarities of “good” versus “bad” present differences in morality and behaviour. Evander, as King of Arcadia, is presented as a civilising force due to his allyship with the Trojans. On the other hand, Cacus, a fire-breathing monster, is presented as a cultural outsider—an ‘Other’.⁸⁵ This is displayed in Cacus’ actions—stealing the cattle of Hercules. In monster theory, mythological monsters symbolise the anxieties of a given society.⁸⁶ As an ‘Other,’ Cacus can be seen as fundamentally different to Hercules—the Roman equivalent of the Greek hero Herakles. In addition, the myth of Hercules and Cacus is rooted in both Greek mythology and Indigenous folklore.⁸⁷ Therefore, due to the Greek origins of the

⁸⁰ Alvis 1995: 240 and Fratantuono and Alden Smith 2018: 273.

⁸¹ For the festival celebrating Heracles, see Verg. *Aen.* 8.102–6. For Evander’s invitation, see Verg. *Aen.* 8.172–83.

⁸² For the full myth of Hercules vs. Cacus, see Verg. *Aen.* 8.184–305.

⁸³ O’Hara 2017: 204.

⁸⁴ O’Hara 2017: 204 and Fratantuono and Alden Smith 2018: 18.

⁸⁵ Felton 2024: 2–3.

⁸⁶ Felton 2024: 1 and Gloyn 2020: 10–1.

⁸⁷ Fratantuono and Alden Smith 2018: 16.

Arcadians, this difference between Cacus and Hercules can be extended to the Evander—the one telling the story—the Arcadians, and their Trojan/Roman allies.⁸⁸ In the *Aeneid*, Vergil utilises the triumph of Hercules over Cacus as an allegorical interpretation regarding the conflict between Aeneas and Turnus.⁸⁹ In addition, for the ancient Mediterranean and the Near East, monsters in mythology, such as Cacus, symbolised unconscious fears—the triumph of the irrational over reason, chaos over order, female over male, and nature over human civilisation. Thus, the monsters are consistently defeated by gods and men who represent the forces of reason, order, civilisation, and patriarchy.⁹⁰ However, the myth of Hercules and Cacus in the *Aeneid* raises an inherent hypocrisy. In Greek mythology, Hercules is required, for his tenth Labour, to steal the cattle of the three-headed giant Geryon from the island of Erytheia.⁹¹ Hercules was successful in his labour and drove the cattle to King Eurystheus. In completing his Twelve Labours, Hercules safeguarded humanity by overthrowing many female and chthonic deities, which resided in remote locations considered “barbaric, alien, and monstrous.”⁹² Thus, while Cacus may be seen as monstrous for stealing Hercules’ cattle, Hercules stealing Geryon’s cattle could be seen as a civilising act by the Greeks.

In comparison, polarities in modern colonial North America were “male and female, White and nonwhite, civil and savage.”⁹³ Therefore, the use of polarities to create distinction is consistent across time and space. In addition, the polarities used in ancient myth are similar to those used by European colonisers. The use of these polarities in colonial Canada furthers the settler’s agenda—

⁸⁸ Felton 2024: 2.

⁸⁹ Fratantuono and Alden Smith 2018: 16.

⁹⁰ Felton 2013: 103 and 2024: 2.

⁹¹ Hes. *Theog.* 287–94.

⁹² Felton 2013: 116–7.

⁹³ For the quote, see Jordan 2021: 273. See also Morgensen 2012: 9.

to civilise—while simultaneously distancing themselves from the Indigenous populations. Settlers utilised these polarities to justify their control over Indigenous lands, minds, and bodies.⁹⁴

3. Indigenous Women and Settler Colonisation

Beyond cultivating the land, as previously discussed, “successful settler colonies ‘tame’ a variety of wildernesses, end up establishing independent nations, effectively repress, co-opt, and extinguish indigenous alterities, and productively manage ethnic diversity.”⁹⁵ The division of the coloniser and the colonised, as well as using other polarities, is one example of the ways in which Indigenous peoples, especially Indigenous women, were repressed in colonial Canada. The use of polarities and structural hierarchies in colonial Canada furthers the settler’s agenda—to civilise—while simultaneously distancing themselves from the Indigenous populations.

a. Indigenous Women, the Land, and their Sexualisation

Indigenous women maintained strong connections to the land through ceremonial practices in honour of Mother Earth, as well as similar but varied creation stories that centred around female protagonists, such as Sky Woman, Original Woman, and Grandmother Moon.⁹⁶ In addition, Indigenous societies were often women-centred and matriarchal, while European societies were patriarchal.⁹⁷ Thus, Indigenous women’s connection to the land, the matrilineal structure of Indigenous societies, and Indigenous women’s reproductivity, to produce Indigenous children, were impediments to colonial ideals to seize and cultivate the land in their own European image.⁹⁸ Furthermore, Indigenous presence on the land contradicted the Doctrine of Discovery and the legal principle of *terra nullius*—the land was, in fact, not no one’s. Consequently, the oppression and

⁹⁴ Jordan 2021: 273.

⁹⁵ Veracini 2011: 3.

⁹⁶ McGuire-Adams 2020: 32, Anderson 2011: 183, and Anderson 2016: 176–84.

⁹⁷ McGuire-Adams 2020: 33–4 and Anderson 2011: 167.

⁹⁸ Jordan 2021: 271 and Smith 2015: 79.

subordination of Indigenous women by European settlers was required for the colonisation of the land as they were intrinsically linked.⁹⁹ While Indigenous men were often portrayed in relation to their physicality, Indigenous women were portrayed in relation to their sexuality.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, the “settlers’ sense of entitlement to Indigenous land ... [extended to] their sense of entitlement to Indigenous women’s bodies.”¹⁰¹ The violence against Indigenous women, their bodies, and fertility included sexual violence, policing of bodies, sterilisation, ill health, and even death.¹⁰²

While settler colonialism seized and cultivated the lands of Indigenous people, the settlers also sought to indigenise themselves. Anna Johnston and Alan Lawson call this the “doubled goal,” in the traditional settler narrative.¹⁰³ With the indigenisation of settlers came the naturalisation of European values, such as “White belonging, the English language, the nuclear family, and binarized gender roles.”¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, the indigenisation of settlers, specifically male settlers, relied on the arrival of European women, who promoted the settlement of North America through the establishment of familial units.¹⁰⁵ While Indigenous women were depicted in terms of their sexuality, settler women’s bodies were reserved for procreation.¹⁰⁶ The procreative abilities of settler women had both economic and social value, as it cemented their social status as a member of the landed gentry and increased their power in a “male-dominated gender system.”¹⁰⁷ Moreover, while the identities of settler nations began to transition to a White identity, the rise of maternalism

⁹⁹ McGuire-Adams 2020: 33–4.

¹⁰⁰ Barman 2010: 92.

¹⁰¹ McGuire-Adams 2020: 36.

¹⁰² For sexual violence and the policing of Indigenous women’s bodies, see Jordan 2021: 273. For sterilisation, see McGuire-Adams 2020: 38 and Stote 2016. For ill health, see McGuire-Adams 2020: 39–40 and Bourassa et al. 2004. For death, see McGuire-Adams 2020: 36–7 and Simpson 2016.

¹⁰³ Johnston and Lawson 2005: 369. See also Veracini 2024: 107.

¹⁰⁴ Jordan 2021: 275 and Morgensen 2012: 2–22.

¹⁰⁵ Jacobs 2009: 22 and Jordan 2021: 275.

¹⁰⁶ For the association between Indigenous women and their sexuality, often portrayed negatively and counter to European-Christian cultural norms, see Brownlie 2005: 162–6. For settler women and the procreation of settler families, see Allen 2020: 380–2 and Jordan 2021: 275.

¹⁰⁷ Jordan 2021: 275.

in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries framed motherhood as a sacred duty, uniquely suited for White women.¹⁰⁸ At the same time, the violation of Indigenous women's reproductive autonomy through sterilisation, coupled with the removal of Indigenous children from their cultural and familial environments, was common in British settler colonies.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, settler women, through the tenets of manifest destiny and exceptionalism, wielded both ideological and physical force to secure their dominance within the emerging settler nation.¹¹⁰

One exception to the polarities between Indigenous and settler women was the colonial stereotype of the 'Indian princess'. One of the best-known examples of the Indian princess in colonial American media was Pocahontas. Born Matoaka in the sixteenth century, she was the daughter of the Powhatan chief, Wahunsenacawh. The fame of Pocahontas derived from the fictitious work of John Smith, titled *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*. Smith described Pocahontas as having saved him from the actions of her father and the other Powhatans: "being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, Pocahontas the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne vpon his to saue him from death."¹¹¹ Pocahontas, as the Indian princess, was seen as wanting to help White settlers "in their campaign to overcome her people and seize their lands."¹¹² In media, she was depicted as the ideal Indigenous woman, possessing youthful beauty and dignity, with the affection of a mother and the softness of a settler woman.¹¹³ Thus, Pocahontas, in the early days

¹⁰⁸ Jordan 2021: 275 and Jacobs 2009: 88–9.

¹⁰⁹ Jordan 2021: 275. For sterilisation, see McGuire-Adams 2020: 38 and Stote 2016. For the removal of Indigenous children, see Jacobs 2014. Many scholarly and public works exist regarding the removal of Indigenous children, from their homes, in Canada. See Angel 2022, MacDonald 2019, Miller 2017, amongst others. One of the most recent and well-known works is the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, whose purpose was to document the experiences of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples, their families, and their communities in relation to residential schools.

¹¹⁰ Jordan 2021: 275.

¹¹¹ Smith 1982: Book 3, Chap. 2.

¹¹² Riley 2004: 41.

¹¹³ Coward 2014: 74.

of the American republic, became a prominent symbol of the emerging American identity and was viewed as an “intermediary between American Indians and Europeans.”¹¹⁴ Pocahontas eventually married a settler man named John Rolfe, converted to Christianity, and took a Christian name—Rebecca—symbolising her role as the “mother of two nations,” who was considered to be divinely favoured.¹¹⁵ Thus, the depiction of Pocahontas as the Indian princess and an exemplary Indigenous woman supported the settler colonial agenda. Pocahontas, having married a settler man and converted to Christianity, was seen to embody the idealised settler virtues and became ‘civilised’. Therefore, Indigenous women in colonial North America were sorted along polarities of civilised and savage, sexualised and idealised, all to further the settler’s agenda—to civilise—while simultaneously distancing themselves from the Indigenous populations.

b. Indigenous Enfranchisement in Colonial Canada

One of the practices in the settler’s agenda was focused on ‘civilising’ Indigenous peoples, and it did so using the above-mentioned polarities and structural hierarchies. Legal precedents—the Doctrine of Discovery, *terra nullius*, and *vacuum domicilium*—were established to support the settler colonisation of Canada, by Europeans.¹¹⁶ In addition to these legal precedents, the Canadian government utilised various legislations, such as the Gradual Civilization Act of 1857, to support their attempts to ‘civilise’ Indigenous Peoples in Canada. The Gradual Civilization Act of 1857 sought to “encourage the progress of civilization among the Indian Tribes in this province, and the gradual removal of all legal distinctions between them and Her Majesty’s other Canadian

¹¹⁴ Coward 2014: 73 and Trachtenberg 2004: 23.

¹¹⁵ Coward 2014: 73 and Tilton 1994: 131. Rebecca, from the Book of Genesis (25–7), was “mother of two nations,” through the births of her twin sons, Jacob and Esau. Jacob would become the ancestor of the Israelites; Esau, the Edomites. Rebecca’s marriage to Isaac, the son of Abraham, was considered divinely ordained. Abraham sent his servant to his homeland to find a wife for his son, Isaac (Gen. 24:1–4). The servant prayed for a divine sign, that the woman who offered him and his camels water would be the future wife of Isaac (10–2). Rebecca offered water from the well to the servant and the camels (15–21). Rebecca and her family consented to the marriage (54–9) and she then went with the servant to be married to Isaac (65–7).

¹¹⁶ For the early history of the Doctrine of Discovery, see Miller et al. 2010: 9–25.

subjects....”¹¹⁷ Future legislations, such as the Gradual Enfranchisement Act of 1869 and the first iteration of the Indian Act in 1876, furthered these efforts through the process of enfranchisement, which provided a legal basis in which to revoke Indigenous peoples’ Indian status. One example of the use of enfranchisement against Indigenous peoples was through the narrowing of the definition of ‘Indian’ through gender-based criteria.¹¹⁸ While women and children were previously seen as separate individuals, the Indian Act asserted that Indian status was established through male ancestry only, and women and children were subsumed under the patriarch.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, Indian women who married non-treaty Indians or non-Indian men had their legal statuses, as well as the legal statuses for their children and all future descendants, removed.¹²⁰ Thus, the legal definition of an Indian reflected the dominance of men over women and children, systemically excluded families that were led by non-Indigenous men, and moved away from traditional Indigenous values which focused on kinship and community relations.¹²¹ The enfranchisement of Indigenous peoples could happen voluntarily—by choice, through an application—or involuntarily—forced due to educational or professional advancement as defined in the legislation. Due to the patriarchal nature of these pieces of legislation, enfranchisement affected all members of the family. If an Indian man was enfranchised, so too was his wife, children, and all their future descendants. Enfranchisement led to breaks in Indigenous familial structures and the erosion of links in Indigenous communities.¹²² Therefore, this is just one example of what Patrick Wolfe defines as the “logic of elimination.”¹²³ While there are a variety of ways in which settler colonies

¹¹⁷ Canada 1857, § Preamble, 1–4.

¹¹⁸ Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs, n.d.

¹¹⁹ Canada 1857, § Indians: “The term ‘Indian’ means: *First*. Any male person of Indian blood reputed to belong to a particular band; *Secondly*. Any child of such person; *Thirdly*. Any woman who is or was lawfully married to such person.” See also Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs, n.d.

¹²⁰ Canada 1857, § Woman marrying other than an Indian; Marrying non-treaty Indians; As to half-breeds.

¹²¹ Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs, n.d.

¹²² Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs, n.d.

¹²³ Wolfe 2006: 387.

can successfully colonise, the repression and elimination of Indigenous peoples and the managing of ethnic diversity were used in the enfranchisement of Indigenous peoples in colonial Canada as a means to assimilate them into the settler society.¹²⁴

4. Indigenous Women and Settler Colonisation in Vergil's *Aeneid*

Like the destiny of the Trojans, which is consistently expressed, so too is the role of Aeneas' future wife. Creusa states to Aeneas, in her postmortem speech, that he will find in Hesperia a *regia coniunx*, "a king's wife."¹²⁵ This recollection of the prophecy represents her role as Aeneas' first Trojan wife prophesising his second wife, with divine approval.¹²⁶ In the various recollections of the Roman prophecy, Aeneas' descendants are mentioned, deriving from an Italian bride, a *hospita coniunx ... externique thalami*.¹²⁷ These allusions to a future wife for Aeneas culminate in the explicit description of Lavinia by Anchises in the Underworld, while the future of the city of Rome and the Roman Empire is explained to Aeneas.¹²⁸ The invocation of the Roman prophecy by Faunus—the ancient pre-Roman, Italian god—supported the indigenisation of the Trojan settlers and the assimilation of the Latins into the emerging settler nation.

a. Faunus' Prophecy and Indigenous-Latin Participation in Colonisation

In Book 7, Aeneas and the Trojans arrive in Italy. Prior to the meeting between King Latinus and the Trojan embassy, Latinus received a prophecy from his father Faunus:

¹²⁴ Veracini 2011: 3.

¹²⁵ Verg. *Aen.* 2.783.

¹²⁶ Further characters recall the Roman prophecy and maintain an authority for which to recall it. The recollection of the prophecy by the gods directly or through a prophetic mouthpiece in the plot, such as the Sibyl, represents their divine authority. The recollection of the prophecy by Hector represents his assent for Aeneas to flee Troy, with Aeneas having done his duty to both king and country.

¹²⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 6.93–4: "an alien bride ... and a foreign marriage."

¹²⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 6.756–66: "Now then, the glory henceforth to attend the Trojan race, what children of Italian stock are held in store by fate, glorious souls waiting to inherit our name, this shall I reveal in speech and inform you of your destiny. The youth you see leaning on an untipped spear holds by lot of life the most immediate place: he first shall rise into the upper air with Italian blood in his veins, Silvius of Alban name, last-born of your children, whom late in your old age your wife Lavinia shall rear in the woodlands, a king and father of kings, with whom our race shall hold sway in Alba Longa."

ne pete conubiis natam sociare Latinis,
 o mea progenies, thalamis neu crede paratis;
 externi venient generi, qui sanguine nostrum
 nomen in astra ferant, quorumque a stirpe nepotes
 omnia sub pedibus, qua sol utrumque recurrens
 aspicit Oceanum, vertique regique videbunt.

Seek not, my son, to ally your daughter in Latin wedlock,
 and put no faith in the bridal chamber that is ready at hand.
 Strangers shall come, to be your sons, whose blood shall exalt our
 name to the stars, and the children of whose race shall behold,
 where the circling sun looks on each ocean,
 the whole world roll obedient beneath their feet. (7.96–101)

The god Faunus is associated with oracles, as highlighted by his relaying of the prophecy of Rome to Latinus. In addition, his name's etymological origins in Latin verbs and nouns relating to diction, prophecies, and oracles supports this association.¹²⁹ The relaying of the prophecy by Faunus models its previous iterations, by patriarchal figures, focusing on Roman imperial domination. Jupiter, the King of the gods, emphasises the imperial outcomes of the prophecy.¹³⁰ In Book 6, Anchises, the *paterfamilias* of Aeneas, details the lineage of Aeneas and the future greatness of Rome through the expansion of the Roman Empire under the Julio-Claudians.¹³¹ Prior to Faunus' oracle, Vergil details in Book 7 the male ancestors of Latinus—Saturn, Picus, and Faunus.¹³² In addition, the loss of Latinus' young son and future heir places Lavinia—his daughter and only

¹²⁹ Verg. *Aen.* 7.96–101. See also Fratantuono 2020: 2 which describes Faunus' name being rooted in *for*, *fari*, *fatus* *sum* and *fatidici*.

¹³⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 1.227–96.

¹³¹ Verg. *Aen.* 6.756–807. See specifically 6.788–97: *Huc geminas nunc flecte acies, hanc aspice gentem / Romanosque tuos. hic Caesar et omnis Iuli / progenies magnum caeli ventura sub axem. / hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis, / Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet / saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva / Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos / proferet imperium; iacet extra sidera tellus, / extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas / axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.* Translation: “Turn hither now your two-eyed gaze, and behold this nation, the Romans that are yours. Here is Caesar and all the seed of Iulus destined to pass under heaven's spacious sphere. And this in truth is he whom you so often hear promised you, Augustus Caesar, son of a god, who will again establish a golden age in Latium amid fields once ruled by Saturn; he will advance his empire beyond the Garamants and Indians to a land which lies beyond our stars, beyond the path of year and sun, where sky-bearing Atlas wheels on his shoulders the blazing star-studded sphere.”

¹³² For Latinus' male ancestors, see Verg. *Aen.* 7.46–9.

remaining child—at a critical crossroad for Latinus’ familial line.¹³³ The marriage of Lavinia is of the utmost importance, which is reflected in Faunus’ oracle about the future bloodline of the Latins.¹³⁴ Vergil highlights the lineage of Faunus, marking each expanding generation, through an ascending tricolon—*natam, mea progenies*, and *nepotes omnia*. The descendants of Faunus will ultimately hold imperial power over the Earth, which aligns with the previous prophecies of Jupiter and Anchises. Furthermore, when Latinus later offers Lavinia to Aeneas in marriage, Vergil weaves back into the narrative Faunus’ prophecy, especially that *generos externis adfore ab oris ... qui sanguine nostrum nomen in astra ferant*.¹³⁵ Latinus honours his father’s prophecy and thus venerates both his father and the gods. Therefore, one can see that Vergil emphasises the importance of patriarchal structures in the *Aeneid*. Both the Trojans and the Latins stress the importance of men in familial relations. Just as Aeneas listens and honours his father Anchises, so too does Latinus in relation to his father Faunus. While women are noted in the familial lines of the Trojans and the Latins—for example, Creusa, the first wife of Aeneas, and the nymph Marica, the mother of Latinus—they are often mentioned in respect to their roles as mothers or wives.¹³⁶ In addition, the religious structures of the Trojans and the Latins highlight the importance of men, as highlighted by Jupiter’s role as King of the gods. If we recall the goals of settler colonisation—genocide, removal, erasure, and assimilation—the similarity in cultural values allows for the Latins to be assimilated into Trojan/Roman society. Furthermore, to some extent, Vergil emphasises the role that Latinus and Faunus play in the participation of settler colonialism. Faunus notes that the marriage of Lavinia to one of the *externi ... generi*—Aeneas—will *nostrum nomen in astra ferant*.

¹³³ For the loss of Latinus’ son, see Verg. *Aen.* 7.50–1.

¹³⁴ Horsfall 2000: 107 and Fratantuono 2020: 2.

¹³⁵ Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7.98–9, 270–2.

¹³⁶ Creusa is often described as a *coniunx*. For all mentions of Creusa as *coniunx* in the *Aeneid*, see Verg. *Aen.* 2.597, 651, 711, 738. For Marica, see Verg. *Aen.* 7.48.

The use of the first-person plural adjective, *nostrum*, is thus inclusive of both the Latins and the Trojans in the Roman colonial expansion. Faunus also considers the marriage to be an allyship—*sociare*. In Roman history, the *socii*, also known as the allies of Rome, were a series of bilateral military alliances between individual, Indigenous Italian communities and Rome. These military alliances were an important aspect of Rome’s conquest of Italy in the late-fourth to early-third centuries, until the Social War of 91–89 BCE.¹³⁷ Thus, in the absence of a male heir for Faunus’ and Latinus’ familial line, Faunus confirms that the marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia will benefit both the Trojans and the Latins. Furthermore, when Latinus offers Lavinia to Aeneas in marriage, honouring his father’s prophecy, he states: *et opto*.¹³⁸ Thus, both Latinus and Faunus play a role in the participation of settler colonialism.

In comparing the Latin participation in colonial agenda of the Trojans to the enfranchisement of Indigenous peoples in colonial Canada, these two examples of settler colonialism highlight how marriage and procreation were utilised as tools to ‘encourage’ the assimilation of Indigenous peoples into settler society and further the colonial programme. It is important to note that government legislation that disenfranchised Indigenous peoples of their Indian status in colonial Canada, in no way, insinuates their active support or participation in settler colonialism. However, the enfranchisement of Indigenous peoples was used as a tool to assimilate them into settler society, driven by efforts to repress Indigenous communities and manage ethnic diversity.¹³⁹ Furthermore, the enfranchisement of one Indigenous person could affect an entire familial line. This is similar to Vergil’s marking of each generation of Faunus’ familial line who will be impacted by the union of Lavinia and Aeneas. However, through Faunus’ oracle, his

¹³⁷ See Armstrong 2020 for more on the increased use of the *socii* relations during Rome’s conquest of Italy.

¹³⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 7.273: “I wish it too.”

¹³⁹ Veracini 2011: 3.

descendants will ultimately hold imperial power over the Earth, while Indigenous peoples in colonial Canada had their rights stripped away.

In returning to Faunus' prophecy, Faunus is also associated with wild, uncultivated land, as he is described as wild and rustic in Ovid.¹⁴⁰ In the *Aeneid*, Vergil makes two associations with Faunus. First, Vergil associates Faunus with King Latinus as his father to establish the Latins as the Indigenous population of Italy.¹⁴¹ Through the union of Aeneas and Lavinia, the Trojans can claim an Indigenous identity. Similarly to pre-European colonisation, settlers within the framework of colonisation often sought to indigenise themselves as a part of their traditional narrative.¹⁴² Once settlers became indigenised, so too did the naturalisation of their values, which aided in the establishment of their colonial programme. Second, as noted by Servius the Grammarian, Faunus has other associations to other gods and attributes, beyond being Latinus' father:

id est Panos, qui illic colitur.
Inuus autem latine appellatur, graece Πάν:
item Ἐφιάλτης graece, latine Incubo ...
dicitur autem Inuus ab ineundo passim cum
omnibus animalibus, unde et Incubo dicitur.

It is Pan who is worshipped there.
He is also called Inuus in Latin, Pan in Greek:
likewise, Ἐφιάλτης in Greek, *Incubo* in Latin ...
Moreover, he is called Inuus, on account of entering here and there
with all animals, whence he is also called *Incubo*. (Serv. Aen. 6.775)¹⁴³

Thus, one can see a relationship between the uncultivated land and high sexuality, represented through the pre-Roman god. The indigenisation of the Trojans/Romans through the union of

¹⁴⁰ Fantham 2009: 9. See also Verg. *Aen.* 10.551 for Faunus' epithet *silvicolae*. See Ov. *Fast.* 2.193 for the adjective *agrestis* used to describe Faunus.

¹⁴¹ Fratantuono 2020: 2.

¹⁴² Johnston and Lawson 2005: 369. See also Veracini 2024: 107.

¹⁴³ See also Jones 1996: 31–2 which discusses the sexual nature of *ineundo*.

Lavinia and Aeneas allows for their colonisation of the uncultivated, highly sexualised Italian land. Once the settlers developed a “sense of entitlement to Indigenous land ... [it was extended to] their sense of entitlement to Indigenous women’s bodies.”¹⁴⁴ However, settler women’s bodies were reserved for procreation.¹⁴⁵ Motherhood was framed as a sacred duty, uniquely suited for White, settler women.¹⁴⁶ It is through this lens that I will examine how two women in the *Aeneid*—Camilla and Lavinia—are depicted and treated against the modern practices of settler colonialism in colonial Canada.

Camilla and Lavinia are presented as women who, respectively, fail and succeed in serving to promote the colonialist programme of the *Aeneid* by portraying them as non-ideal and ideal Roman women, wives, and mothers. Camilla and Lavinia will be surveyed regarding their readiness and suitability for marriage, appearance and temperament, and their relationship to the land as a Volscian and Latin, respectively. While Camilla possesses some Roman traits, she often represents the ‘Other’. Camilla inverts traditional gender norms as the queen of the Volscians, for which she is often compared to other foreign queens, against the backdrop of the patriarchal Roman political system. She is associated with masculine traits, such as being a decisive warrior, pursuing war spoils, and leading military troops. In addition, while being of marital age, she pledges her maidenhood in perpetuity in honour of Diana. Thus, Camilla is both a liminal and nonconforming character. Furthermore, Camilla, as an Indigenous Volscian, is intrinsically linked to the land through her childhood, her connection to horses, and Vergil’s intentional connections between her virginal status and the land. Thus, Camilla cannot be harnessed for the Trojan colonialist

¹⁴⁴ McGuire-Adams 2020: 36.

¹⁴⁵ For the association between Indigenous women and their sexuality, often portrayed negatively and counter to European-Christian cultural norms, see Brownlie 2005: 162–6. For settler women and the procreation of settler families, see Allen 2020: 380–2 and Jordan 2021: 275.

¹⁴⁶ Jordan 2021: 275 and Jacobs 2009: 88–9.

programme. She is aligned with foreign ideals and individuals and thus does not fulfill the ideal for Roman women. Therefore, Camilla neither aligns with nor supports the prophecy of the founding of Rome. She is an impediment to both Aeneas and the Trojans, as well as the foundation of Rome as she is an opponent to Roman ideals and identity during the imperial period. Since Camilla cannot be assimilated into the Trojan/Roman settler society, she must be erased.¹⁴⁷ Through her erasure, Camilla is sexualised and depicted as an impediment to colonisation, like Indigenous women in colonial Canada.

On the other hand, Lavinia, the Latin princess, both resembles an Indigenous Italian and a proto-Roman as she possesses similar qualities to an ideal Roman woman in the Augustan period. Like Camilla, she is of an age to be married. However, Lavinia is passive and lacks individuality in comparison to Camilla as she never speaks in the epic. While Lavinia listens to both her parents—demonstrating her filial piety—she ultimately listens to the instruction of her father, the *paterfamilias*, especially regarding her prophesised marriage. Thus, she also demonstrates her religious piety and respect for patriarchal structures. Through her connections to family and her domestic roles, Lavinia is associated with the household, an appropriate place for a Roman woman; she is not connected to the wilderness and the land like Camilla. Thus, Lavinia's connection to the land and the Latin people could be fruitfully harnessed. In the context of the colonisation of Canada, Lavinia is portrayed as both an Indigenous woman and a European settler woman. She conforms to Trojan mores and ideals and is useful to the future of Rome as the prophesised wife of Aeneas and mother to Rome's first children. Thus, Lavinia can be assimilated into the Trojan/Roman settler society.

¹⁴⁷ See Keith 2000 which discusses the deaths of women in Latin epics.

5. Camilla, Lavinia, and the Roman Colonial Programme

In Book 7 of the *Aeneid*, both Camilla and Lavinia are formally introduced; thus, the sorting of the two women commences.¹⁴⁸ Camilla, at first glance, could be interpreted as a viable candidate for marriage to Aeneas. She is Indigenous to Italy, young, and her name links her to Roman religious rites connected to cultural standing and marriage ritual. However, a closer read directs attention to her distinct unsuitability for marriage to Aeneas and as the mother of Rome's earliest citizens. In addition, an Augustan national identity is being asserted with the *Aeneid*'s construction of these two women. From their introductions in Book 7 until the conclusion of the epic poem, the depiction of Camilla—as a Volscian queen and warrior maiden—equally aligns her with indigeneity and non-conformity to the colonial undertaking of the Trojans and seeding of future Rome.¹⁴⁹ Lavinia, on the other hand, is clearly aligned with Trojan/Roman mores and customs. Her Indigenous identity as a Latin is subordinated to the greater glory that came with the Trojans and that would rise with the Romans. Thus, in the context of colonial Canada, Camilla and Lavinia are portrayed as women who, respectively, hinder and advance the colonialist agenda of the *Aeneid*.

a. Camilla: Readiness and Suitability for Marriage

Camilla, the Volscian queen and warrior maiden, is introduced in Book 7 at the end of the catalogue of the Italian forces:

Hos super advenit Volsca de gente Camilla
agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas,
bellatrix, non illa colo calathisque Minervae
femineas adsueta manus, sed proelia virgo
dura pati cursuque pedum praevertere ventos.
illa vel intactae segetis per summa volaret

¹⁴⁸ While Lavinia is mentioned directly in Book 6 of the *Aeneid* in Anchises' speech about Aeneas' lineage and the future of Rome (6.764), she makes her formal entrance in Book 7 (7.52–3). For Camilla's entrance, see Verg. *Aen.* 7.803–17.

¹⁴⁹ Camilla is only directly linked to the Volscians in Vergil's *Aeneid*. Other mentions of the character Camilla in Latin literature are in relationship to her father Metabus, the once tyrannical ruler of the Volscians (Macrob. *Sat.* 3.8.6; Pac. fr. 247).

gramina nec teneras cursu laeisset aristas,
 vel mare per medium fluctu suspensa tument
 ferret iter celeris nec tingeret aequare plantas.
 illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa iuventus
 turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem,
 attonitis inhians animis ut regius ostro
 velet honos levis umeros, ut fibula crinem
 auro internectat, Lyciam ut gerat ipsa pharetram
 et pastorem praefixa cuspide myrtum.

To crown the array comes Camilla, of Volscian race,
 leading her troop of horse, and squadrons gay with brass—
 a warrior maid, never having trained her woman's hands to Minerva's
 distaff or basket of wool, but hardy to bear the brunt of battle
 and in speed of foot to outstrip the winds.
 She might have flown over the topmost blades of unmown
 corn, and not bruised the tender ears in her course;
 or sped her way over mid sea, poised above the swelling wave,
 and not dipped her swift feet in the flood.
 All the youth, streaming from house and field,
 and thronging matrons marvel, and gaze at her as she goes;
 agape with wonder at how the glory of royal purple
 drapes her smooth shoulders, how the clasp entwines her hair with
 gold, how her own hands bear a Lycian quiver and the pastoral myrtle
 tipped with steel. (7.803–17)

Camilla and Lavinia share similar qualities—Camilla, too, is regal, an Indigenous Italian, and desired as a wife and daughter-in-law by other Indigenous Italians. In the first line of Camilla's introduction, her name is emphasised with its placement at the end of the line. The Latin noun *camilla* can be defined as “a maiden of unblemished birth and character.”¹⁵⁰ Three lines later, Camilla is described as a *virgo*.¹⁵¹ Vergil places *virgo*, similarly to Camilla's own name, at the end of the line for emphasis. Vergil connects Camilla to the Latin noun *camilla*, as her maidenhood parallels its nomenclature. In addition, Camilla's name has further connections to Roman religious and marital traditions. Varro and Macrobius note that *camillus* and *camilla* were “boys and girls

¹⁵⁰ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. “*camilla*.”

¹⁵¹ Verg. *Aen.* 7.806. See *Pocket Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (2012), s.v. “*virgo*,”: “a girl of marriageable age; virgin.”

under the age of puberty who serve as attendants of the flamens [*Flamen Dialis*] and their wives.”¹⁵² Varro asserts that the *camilla* was often involved in more secretive matters, while the *camillus* served a role in Roman weddings, often carrying a box with the bride’s belongings, as suggested by Roland G. Kent.¹⁵³ Thus, these roles reinforce Camilla’s link to Roman marriage, particularly as a potential marital partner for Aeneas. Moreover, Vergil names Camilla’s mother Casmilla, thus strengthening the association between their names and the roles of noble Roman youth.¹⁵⁴ Vergil also signals to the audience that Camilla, similarly to Lavinia, is of marriageable age in the Augustan Roman period.

In the Augustan period, the marital age for Roman girls was between their mid- to late-teens, with the lowest age estimated around twelve years.¹⁵⁵ At this age, Roman girls were thought to be *viripotentes*, or of an age to bear children in respect to their fertility.¹⁵⁶ Marriage was a social obligation—not for love—and was arranged for the purposes of bearing children.¹⁵⁷ This social obligation was reinforced into law by the Augustan regime, *ca* 18–7 BCE, specifically through the Julian Laws.¹⁵⁸ Through the Julian Laws, Augustus desired to strengthen family structures by implementing a system of incentives and penalties aimed at encouraging marriages, increasing legitimate childbirths, and forbidding adultery.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, the social legislations enacted by

¹⁵² Macrob. *Sat.* 3.8.7.

¹⁵³ See Varro, *Ling.* 7.34, and fn. C. See also McGill 2020: 197.

¹⁵⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 11.543.

¹⁵⁵ For the correlation between marital age and fertility, with an acceptable age for marriage deemed as young as twelve, see Just. *Cod.* 5.60.3: *quemadmodum feminae post impletos duodecim annos omnimodo pubescere iudicantur....* Translation: “Just as women, after completing twelve years, are determined to reach maturity in all circumstances.” For an ancient source that mentions that age twelve is the marital age for girls, see Dio. Cass. 54.16.7. For modern scholarship that discusses the marital age of Roman girls, see Treggiari 1991: 39, 400. See also Caldwell 2014, Shaw 1987.

¹⁵⁶ Translation: “fit for a husband.” For a Roman girl being *viripotentes*, see Just. *Inst.* 1.10, pr. For the definition of *viripotentes*, see *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. “*viripotens* (2).” See also Treggiari 1991: 39–42.

¹⁵⁷ Glazebrook and Olson 2014: 80.

¹⁵⁸ Henry and James 2012: 93.

¹⁵⁹ Liveley and Shaw 2020: 245–6. The Julian Laws, *Leges Iuliae*, were comprised of two laws. The first, the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus*, was related to encouraging marriages and legitimate childbirths; the second, the *Lex Iulia de*

Augustus echoed the traditions of the *mos maiorum*, which were represented by Roman ancestral figures like Aeneas.¹⁶⁰ The issuing of the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* in 18 BCE gave economic and social privileges to those who both married and had children.¹⁶¹ Therefore, a marriage was often arranged between families of the same social class to create what they deemed to be a suitable match—a *digna condicio*—based upon birth, rank, and wealth.¹⁶² In Camilla’s introduction, she is described as Volscian and leading a troop of cavalrymen.¹⁶³ Not until Book 11 does Vergil reveal Camilla’s familial connection to Metabus, the former King of the Volscians.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, as the final character listed in the catalogue of Italian troops, she is listed with the Italian and Greek kings and heroes; therefore, Camilla’s association to high rank and regality is credible. In addition, Vergil describes Camilla passing by the Italian youths and mothers: *illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa iuventus / turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem*.¹⁶⁵ Similarities can be drawn between Camilla’s entrance and Dido’s entrance in Book 1. Just as the youth and their mothers stand in amazement when Camilla passes by, desired as a wife and daughter-in-law; so too is Aeneas amazed by Dido, who is followed by a crowd of youths.¹⁶⁶ In Book 1, Dido is described as *forma pulcherrima* and identified as a queen.¹⁶⁷ Prior to Dido’s entrance, the reader is made aware of the death of Dido’s husband Sychaeus; thus, indicating that

adulteriis coercendis, was related to forbidding adultery. For ancient authors that discuss the Julian Laws, see Suet. *Aug.* 34 and *Aug. RG.* 8.

¹⁶⁰ Translation: “custom of the ancestors.” Liveley and Shaw 2020: 250 and Milnor 2005: 148.

¹⁶¹ Hunter 2008: 585.

¹⁶² Treggiari 1991: 83–4.

¹⁶³ Verg. *Aen.* 7.803–4.

¹⁶⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 11.539–43.

¹⁶⁵ Verg. *Aen.* 7.812–3. This thread is picked up again by Vergil in Book 11 (11.581–4), following Diana’s description of Camilla’s childhood: *multae illam frustra Tyrrhena per oppida matres / optavere nurum; sola contenta Diana / aeternum telorum et virginitatis amorem / intemerata colit*. Translation: “Many a mother in Tyrrhene towers longed in vain for her as daughter; content with Diana alone, she cherishes unsullied a lifelong love for her weapons and her maidenhood.”

¹⁶⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 1.494–7.

¹⁶⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 1.496.

Dido is also available for a partner.¹⁶⁸ In Book 4, Aeneas and Dido do marry, in the eyes of Dido, the Roman reader, and before the gods.¹⁶⁹ While Dido was previously married and Camilla has never married, Camilla is also distinguished as a queen who is of an age to marry. Therefore, Camilla's distinction as a young maiden, of marriageable age, who is the daughter of the former Volscian king, theoretically fulfills the prophecy that Creusa gave to Aeneas, in that he will find a *regia coniunx*.¹⁷⁰ Furthermore, Camilla possesses some qualities that would align herself with Augustan Roman culture.

However, Camilla's liminal and nonconforming qualities in the catalogue of Italian troops outweigh her Roman qualities; thus, she is seen as more of an Indigenous 'Other' than a Roman. The use of Camilla's name, in the first line of her introduction, was an atypical practice for Roman women in the Augustan period. Roman men in the late-Republic and early Empire had *tria nomina*—a *praenomen*, a *nomen*, and a *cognomen*.¹⁷¹ The *praenomen* was a personal name that could be used as an identifier in a family. The *nomen*, also known as the *nomen gentilicium*, was used to distinguish an individual's *gens*. The *cognomen* was used to distinguish a particular family within the *gens* or could be a nickname which indicated personal qualities of the individual. However, in the same period, Roman women's names were often formed from the *nomen gentilicium* of their father or from their husband's name.¹⁷² In addition, women did not often bear their father's *cognomen*.¹⁷³ Simply, a Roman woman had neither a *praenomen* nor a *cognomen*, and was known through her associations to the *paterfamilias* of her family, whether that family

¹⁶⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 1.344–52.

¹⁶⁹ For the gods' discussion of the marriage of Dido and Aeneas, see Verg. *Aen.* 4.90–128. For the marriage scene of Dido and Aeneas, see Verg. *Aen.* 4.160–97.

¹⁷⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 2.783.

¹⁷¹ Salway 1994: 124.

¹⁷² Salway 1994: 126.

¹⁷³ Salway 1994: 127.

was headed by her father or husband.¹⁷⁴ Therefore, Camilla's introduction, with her *praenomen*-like name and no onomastic association to her father, Metabus, stands in contrast to the Roman onomastic traditions for women of the period.¹⁷⁵ Camilla is likened more to a Roman male who was given a *praenomen* than the patronymic naming of a Roman woman.¹⁷⁶

The passage in which Camilla is introduced has been described as the catalogue of Italian forces against Aeneas and the Trojans. Camilla and her Volscian troops are the last of the assemblies mentioned.¹⁷⁷ The catalogue of the Italian forces in the *Aeneid* serves a two-fold purpose. It serves, primarily, as a review of the "prehistory of Rome, without themselves being Roman in any historical sense."¹⁷⁸ In addition, the Italian forces are not only identified as the enemies of Aeneas and the Trojans, but they are identified as the enemy of progress towards a new Roman national identity and Roman civilization. Therefore, "only through [the] defeat of these forces ... [can] a new national identity ... be forged."¹⁷⁹ Camilla's placement at the end of the catalogue can be compared to other catalogues in which female warriors are presented last. For example, Artemisia was the female ruler of Cos, Calydnos, Halicarnassus, and Nisyrus, under the suzerainty of Xerxes during the Persian Wars.¹⁸⁰ Artemisia caps off the catalogue of the Persian

¹⁷⁴ Gallivan 1992: 58–60 and Salway 1994: 125–7.

¹⁷⁵ For Camillus' introduction in Book 6, see Verg. *Aen.* 6.825. While the narrative of Marcus Furius Camillus, the Roman politician of the fifth–fourth centuries BCE, in Book 6 may be picked up again by Vergil when Camilla was introduced in Book 7; he fought on behalf of Rome against the Volscians, the Latins, and the Aequi, amongst others, as detailed by Livy and Plutarch.

¹⁷⁶ An example of Roman onomastic traditions can be shown through the *Julii Caesares* family. While Gaius Julius Caesar had the markings of a Roman citizen with the *tria nomina*, his daughter was simply named Julia, which was formed from the *nomen gentilicium* of her father. At other times, she was called Julia Caesaris, or "Caesar's Julia," which utilised the singular genitive case, denoting possession. If there were more than one daughter in a family, such as the elder and younger half-sisters of Augustus, they were called Octavia Maior and Octavia Minor, or "Octavia the Elder" and "Octavia the Younger."

¹⁷⁷ For Camilla's introduction, see Verg. *Aen.* 7.803–17. For scholarship that describes Camilla's entrance as a part of a catalogue, see Weiden Boyd 1992: 213–5.

¹⁷⁸ Weiden Boyd 1992: 214.

¹⁷⁹ Weiden Boyd 1992: 214.

¹⁸⁰ For the catalogue of forces, see Hdt. 7.61–99. Artemisia can specifically be found in Hdt. 7.99.

and allied forces before the Battle of Salamis in 480 BCE.¹⁸¹ In the fifth century BCE, in response to the rising Persian empire and heightened Hellenic self-consciousness, the use of the term *barbaros* by the ancient Greeks reflected a sense of inferiority and difference.¹⁸² Both catalogues, Vergil's and Herodotus', list Camilla and Artemisia as amongst the enemies of the respective Trojans and Greeks. However, Herodotus claims that even Xerxes saw Artemisia as an inversion of traditional masculine norms: 'Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγónασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες.' ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἰπεῖν.¹⁸³ Herodotus creates a sense of inversion and contrast by describing the "unnatural" behaviours of non-Greeks, especially non-Greek women.¹⁸⁴ In the example of Artemisia, it is "unnatural" for Greeks to have women in positions of power or dominance, as well as to be visible in the company of men.¹⁸⁵ Greek women or women who are allied to the Greeks are frequently depicted as passive or as victims of sexual violence.¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, while Camilla is connected to Dido in terms of her regality and availability for marriage, Dido is also representative of foreignness, as a foreign queen, framed against a Roman patriarchal political system. Dido is often compared to Cleopatra VII.¹⁸⁷ This can be seen in Dido's entrance in Book 1: she, as Queen of Carthage, gives out laws and ordinances, divides tasks equally amongst her people, all while seated in her throne, overseeing her rising kingdom.¹⁸⁸ She prevents Aeneas from achieving his fate to found Rome and embodies a hostile adversary to Rome due to the curse she

¹⁸¹ Courtney 1988: 6 and Weiden Boyd 1992: 214.

¹⁸² Hall 1989: 9–12. For the discussion of polarities and the term *barbaros*, see p. 15.

¹⁸³ Hdt. 8.88: "“My men have become women, and my women men”; such, they say, were Xerxes' words.”

¹⁸⁴ Weiden Boyd 1992: 215.

¹⁸⁵ Weiden Boyd 1992: 215.

¹⁸⁶ Weiden Boyd 1992: 216. See also Dewald 1981 and Walcot 1978.

¹⁸⁷ Keith 2000: 119.

¹⁸⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 1.503–8.

declares upon her death bed.¹⁸⁹ Thus, in a similar manner to Artemisia and Dido, Camilla is also portrayed as unnatural, un-Roman, and a cultural ‘Other’.

While Camilla is a *virgo*, she is also described as a *bellatrix*.¹⁹⁰ It is important to note that Minerva, the Roman goddess of warfare, is also referred to as a *bellatrix* and is a virgin goddess.¹⁹¹ However, Minerva is also associated with wool spinning and weaving, which is often considered a traditional feminine pursuit.¹⁹² The evocation of Minerva’s association with wool spinning in Camilla’s introduction contrasts her lack of training in this activity: *non illa colo calathisque Minervae / femineas adsueta manus*.¹⁹³ Suetonius describes in his *Lives of the Caesars* that Augustus oversaw the education of his children and grandchildren, training the men in administrative duties, and *filiam et neptes ita instituit, ut etiam lanificio assuefaceret*.¹⁹⁴ While it is unlikely that the daughters and granddaughters of Augustus would have been tasked to make their own clothing through spinning and weaving due to their positions in Roman society, the public display of their traditional feminine skills would have reinforced gender norms of the period. Therefore, Camilla’s incompetence in wool spinning would have starkly contrasted these feminine gender norms for the Roman audience. Instead, Camilla, as a more masculine character, but a *virgo*: *agmen agens equitum ... / dura pati cursuque pedum praevertere ventos*.¹⁹⁵ Vergil utilises the phrase

¹⁸⁹ For Aeneas’ straying from his fate, see Verg. *Aen.* 4.259–78. For Dido’s curse, see Verg. *Aen.* 4.621–9. See also Ramsby 2010: 13.

¹⁹⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 7.805.

¹⁹¹ Minerva and the city of Rome have also been described as a *bellatrix*. See Ov. *Tr.* 1.5.76 for Minerva’s association with *bellatrix*. See Ov. *Tr.* 2.1.321 for Rome’s association with *bellatrix*.

¹⁹² For Greek examples of the relationship between women and wool spinning, see Hom. *Od.* 2.85–110 for Penelope’s trickery of the suitors through the weaving and unweaving of a burial shroud for Laertes. See also Amasis Painter, ca 550–30 BCE. For Roman examples of the relationship between women and wool spinning, see the funerary epitaphs in Lefkowitz and Fant 2016: 27–30, particularly those of Claudia (*CIL* I².1211), Amyone (*CIL* VI.11602), Murdia (*CIL* VI.10230), and Allia Potestas (*CIL* VI.37965).

¹⁹³ Verg. *Aen.* 7.805–6: “her feminine hands are unaccustomed with the spinning and wicker baskets of Minerva.”

¹⁹⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 2.64.1–2: “In bringing up his daughter and his granddaughters he even had them taught spinning and weaving.”

¹⁹⁵ Verg. *Aen.* 7.804–7: “leading the troop of cavalymen ... she endures the cruel battles and outruns the winds, with the speed of her feet.”

agmen agens in the *Aeneid* to describe the actions of prominent Roman politicians.¹⁹⁶ These qualities of Camilla are recalled by Vergil in Book 11, especially before Diana describes Camilla's upbringing in the woods by her father Metabus.¹⁹⁷ Therefore, Camilla is associated with warfare, such as leading cavalymen and enduring battles, which are traditional activities of Roman men. Moreover, she is unequipped for traditional feminine activities of Roman women.

Another character who is called a *bellatrix* in the *Aeneid* is Penthesilea, who is depicted in Vergil's ecphrasis of the walls of Juno's temple with her *Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis*.¹⁹⁸ In Book 11, Vergil directly compares Camilla to Penthesilea: *At medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon / unum exserta latus pugnae, pharetrata Camilla*.¹⁹⁹ One of the most commonly associated attributes of the Amazons was that one of their breasts was removed so that it would not impede their use of bows or javelins in battle.²⁰⁰ In addition, Vergil compares the female companions of Camilla—the maidens Larina, Tulla, and Tarpeia—to the maiden Amazonian troop of Penthesilea.²⁰¹ Therefore, one can see similarities between the characters of Penthesilea and Camilla. Both are formidable female warriors and royalty amongst their people. They invert the traditional feminine norms of the patriarchal societies which wrote about them—the Greeks and

¹⁹⁶ Attus Clausus was a Sabine, who was one of the heads of the Claudian tribe in Rome and was later enrolled in the Roman senate under the name Appius Claudius (Verg. *Aen.* 7.706–9). Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa was Roman politician and consul in 37 BCE, who oversaw the naval campaign against Sextus Pompeius (Verg. *Aen.* 8.682–4).

¹⁹⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 7.803–4: *Hos super advenit Volsca de gente Camilla / agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas....* Verg. *Aen.* 11.432–3: *est et Volscorum egregia de gente Camilla agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas*. Translation: “We have Camilla too, of the glorious Volscian race, leading her troop of horse and squadrons bright with bronze.”

¹⁹⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 1.490–3: “crescent-shielded ranks of the Amazons.” See also Verg. *Aen.* 5.311 for the second prize in a contest being an Amazonian quiver. Camilla also uses a quiver; thus, another connection between Camilla and Penthesilea, the Amazonian queen.

¹⁹⁹ Verg. *Aen.* 11.648–9: “But in the heart of the slaughter, like an Amazon, one breast bared for the fray, and girt with a quiver, rages Camilla.” Penthesilea is not the only direct comparison that Vergil makes in this section. Vergil also compares Camilla to Hippolytus (11.661). Hippolytus is the son of an Amazon and Theseus, the King of Athens. While both characters do not adhere to gender expectations, Camilla is a suppliant of Diana and does not forsake other gods. Hippolytus, however, only honours Artemis, and explicitly and adamantly forsakes the honouring of other gods, like Aphrodite (Eur. *Hipp.* 88–113).

²⁰⁰ See Mayor 2014: 84–94 for discussion on whether this attribute of the Amazons has any historical truth.

²⁰¹ For Camilla's companions, see Verg. *Aen.* 11. 655–6. For Penthesilea's companions, see Verg. *Aen.* 11.662–3. See also Quint. Smyrn. 1.41–7 which directly names some of the companions of Penthesilea.

the Romans. Both Camilla and Penthesilea lead their troops; Camilla leads her troop of chosen female companions and the Volscian cavalry, while Penthesilea leads a troop of Amazonian women.²⁰² Furthermore, according to Diodorus Siculus, Penthesilea, τοῖς δ' ἀνδράσι προσνεῖμαι τὰς ταλασιουργίας καὶ τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν κατ' οἴκους ἐργασίας.²⁰³ Despite the Amazonian participation in motherhood, in comparison to Camilla who is not a mother, the removal of the breast by Amazonian women eliminates a symbol of femininity and motherhood for the purpose of warfare. Moreover, while Amazonian women moulded their girls into warriors, boys, τοὺς μὲν ἄρρενας ἐπήρουν τὰ τε σκέλη καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας, ἀχρήστους κατασκευάζοντες πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας.²⁰⁴ Therefore, while Camilla is an Indigenous Volscian queen, who is of marriageable age, she inverts the traditional gender norms of Roman women. Camilla, like Artemisia, Penthesilea, and Dido, is more aligned with male pursuits, such as warfare, and has no experience in feminine pursuits. Thus, she cannot assimilate into the colonialist programme of the Trojans/Romans. Camilla is ultimately killed in battle by a Trojan ally named Arruns, similar to Penthesilea, who is killed in the Trojan War by Achilles.²⁰⁵ In the framework of settler colonisation, divisions between the coloniser and the colonised were essential to the colonial agenda. Indigenous societies were often women-centred and matriarchal, while settler societies were patriarchal.²⁰⁶ Thus, the matrilineal structures of Indigenous societies were considered impediments to the patriarchal, colonialist programme. Consequently, the oppression and subordination of Indigenous women by European

²⁰² For Penthesilea's troop of women, see Diod. Sic. 2.45.1–3.

²⁰³ Diod. Sic. 2.45.2: “but to the men she assigned the spinning of wool and such other domestic duties as belong to women.”

²⁰⁴ Diod. Sic. 2.45.2: “they mutilated both the legs and the arms of the males, incapacitating them in this way for the demands of war.”

²⁰⁵ For Penthesilea's death, see Apollod. *Epit.* 5.1–2. See also Quint. Smyrn. 1.1–830 for the arrival and later death of Penthesilea. For Camilla's death, see Verg. *Aen.* 11.759–831.

²⁰⁶ McGuire-Adams 2020: 33–4 and Anderson 2011: 167.

settlers was required for the colonisation of land, and the death of Indigenous women was one of the avenues in which to achieve that goal.²⁰⁷

Following the death of Penthesilea, it is said that Achilles: ἀλίσστον ἔῳ ἐνὶ τείρετο θυμῷ,
/ οὔνεκά μιν κατέπεφνε καὶ οὐκ ἄγε δῖαν ἄκοιτιν / Φθίην εἰς εὐπωλον, ἐπεὶ μέγεθός τε καὶ εἶδος /
ἔπλετ' ἀμώμητός τε καὶ ἀθανάτησιν ὁμοίη.²⁰⁸ Achilles' desire to make Penthesilea his ἄκοιτιν, following her death, presents an interesting conundrum: why is Penthesilea only considered desirable once she has died? Alison Keith in *Engendering Rome* states that while the Homeric epics tended to focus more on the Trojan War, and the heroism and deaths of male soldiers within them, Roman epics focused more on dead and dying women.²⁰⁹ The rape or death of a beautiful woman often led to the establishment of the essential political systems of Rome.²¹⁰ Furthermore, Roman epic consistently sexualises female death.²¹¹ It is clear that, in the *Aeneid*, Camilla will neither be the wife of Aeneas nor the mother of his future children. However, Camilla's associations to Penthesilea present a tension between eroticism and sexual abstention for the Roman audience. Camilla's perpetual maidenhood and her associations to the goddess Diana problematise her status as a *virgo*.

In the *Aeneid*, Camilla's maidenhood is first associated with Diana—the perpetual virgin. Diana, like her Greek predecessor Artemis, is associated with young girls, the transition of young

²⁰⁷ McGuire-Adams 2020: 33–4. For the death of Indigenous women, see McGuire-Adams 2020: 36–7 and Simpson 2016.

²⁰⁸ Quint. Smyrn. 1.671–4: “continued sore at heart because he had killed her instead of taking her back to Phthia, land of horses, as his wife, so perfectly beautiful was she, and in appearance so like a goddess.”

²⁰⁹ Keith 2000: 101–2.

²¹⁰ Keith 2000: 102. Another example of a woman's death that led to the establishment of Roman political systems is the death of Lucretia. The rape of Lucretia by Sextus, the son of the last Roman king Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, led to the expulsion of the Tarquins from Rome and the establishment of the Roman Republic. For the death of Lucretia, see Liv. 1.58.

²¹¹ Keith 2000: 104.

girls into women, and childbirth.²¹² In Camilla's introduction, Vergil underscores Camilla's commitment to her maidenhood through intentional associations to other maidens or the virginal environment. *Intactae* serves as a thematic allusion to both Camilla and the grain field in which Camilla seemingly flies over the top of.²¹³ Both the grain field and Camilla are represented as untouched and virginal. Vergil utilises *intactae* in other parts of the *Aeneid*, such as to describe Dido, a young maiden being yoked in marriage to Sychaeus.²¹⁴ In addition, the separation of Camilla and the grain field alludes to one of the goals of Diana and her sacred band—to be secluded from society and a part of the wilderness. Vergil compares Dido and her crowd of youths to Diana, her sacred band, and one thousand mountain nymphs called the Oreads, congregating near Mount Cynthus or the Eurotas river.²¹⁵ The adjective *teneras*, describing *gramina ... teneras ... aristas*, is recalled later in Book 11 to describe Camilla's tender lips and hands in Diana's description of her upbringing.²¹⁶ Vergil employs the same adjective to describe the tender hands of Cassandra, a virgin priestess of Apollo, which are bound when she is taken captive in the siege of Troy.²¹⁷ Thus, Vergil makes consistent connections between tenderness and women, particularly maidens. However, Camilla is pledged as a suppliant of Diana, and serves as a member of Diana's sacred band, as noted in the narrative of her upbringing in Book 11.²¹⁸ Thus, Vergil suggests to the reader

²¹² See Catull. 34 for his *Hymn to Diana* which states Diana's associations to chaste Roman girls and boys, as well as her relationship to the wilderness. Catullus refers to Diana by other names, such as Trivia and Moon due to her association to the lunar cycle and thus women's menstrual cycles. However, Catullus evokes the name Juno Lucina in relation to childbirth, which is related to the queen of the gods, Juno. However, Cicero in his *De Natura Deorum* notes that both goddesses play a role in childbirth; Diana is evoked during the period of gestation, which can last between seven to nine lunar cycles (Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.68–9).

²¹³ Verg. *Aen.* 7.808: "untouched."

²¹⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 1.345–6.

²¹⁵ Verg. *Aen.* 1.494–504.

²¹⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 7.809; 11.572–8.

²¹⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 2.406.

²¹⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 11.539–66.

that she is not an ideal candidate for marriage or motherhood.²¹⁹ Despite Diana's support for the transition of young Roman girls into their married lives through childbirth, Camilla is pledged to serve Diana and thus remains a perpetual virgin in a similar manner. Jay Oliver suggests that Metabus, while not a traditional Roman *paterfamilias* but a father who maintains his parental authority, gives his daughter *cum manu* to Diana, rather than to a husband.²²⁰ The role of the *paterfamilias* in Roman marriages will be discussed later regarding Lavinia.²²¹ Thus, Camilla never transitions into the traditional role of an ideal Roman woman through marriage and procreation.

As an Indigenous Volscian, Camilla's death is sexualised like the sexualisation of Indigenous women in colonial Canada.²²² Alison Keith in *Engendering Rome* asserts that Roman epics focused more on dead and dying women, which are often sexualised.²²³ The rape or death of a beautiful woman often led to the establishment of the essential political systems of Rome.²²⁴ While differences exist between Dido's and Camilla's deaths, they both share common elements.²²⁵ First, the women's deaths are foreshadowed by the narrator. For example, during the wedding of Dido and Aeneas, Vergil uses the verb *ulularunt* to describe the Nymphs' wedding songs.²²⁶ While wedding songs were customary at Roman weddings, this verb recalls the ancient

²¹⁹ Diana, and her Greek equivalent Artemis, held certain associations with warfare, particularly for the Athenians and the Spartans. For ancient Greek scholars who discuss sacrifice in the name of Artemis Agrotera, see Ael. *VH.* 2.25, Ar. *Eq.* 658–62, Plut. *Mor. DHM.* 862c, Xen. *An.* 3.2.12, who all recall the annual sacrifice of goats in honour of the vow made to Artemis before the Battle of Marathon. See Plut. *Mor. DHM.* 862a and Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.20 for emphasis on the Spartan association with Artemis Agrotera.

²²⁰ Oliver 2024: 241.

²²¹ For Lavinia and the role of the *paterfamilias* in Roman marriages, see pp. 50–3.

²²² For the sexualisation of Indigenous women, see pp. 23–5.

²²³ Keith 2000: 101–4.

²²⁴ Keith 2000: 102.

²²⁵ Some of the differences between Dido's and Camilla's deaths are Dido's death is self-inflicted (4.663–71) compared to Camilla's death at the hands of Arruns (11.794–835), Dido's death possesses more language and imagery akin to Latin love elegy. For Latin love elegy and Dido, see Cairns 1989: 129–50, Gutting 2006, and Papaioannou 2023.

²²⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 4.168.

Greek use of ululation—ὄλολυγή—a wailing sound used to express joy and thanksgiving, during sacrifice or to call upon the gods, but also pain.²²⁷ The practice of ululation is most often associated with the cries of the Bacchic maenads.²²⁸ Thus, the shrieking of the Nymphs equally creates a sense of joy due to its use in the occasion of a wedding, but also foreboding, for the eventual downfall and death of Dido.²²⁹ Vergil uses the same verb to describe the joyous shrieks of Camilla’s female companions prior to her death.²³⁰ Second, the prolonged and detailed description of the suffering of Dido and Camilla highlights what Keith describes as the “aesthetic premium” of these deaths by the male poet for the male audience.²³¹ Whereas male epic heroes, who perish in battle, die quickly and without pain, Dido and Camilla especially, are framed as beautiful women who die as the “erotic and aesthetic object of his [Vergil’s] readers’ prolonged gaze.”²³² The male gaze of both the poet and the reader bookends the arrival and departure of both Dido and Camilla.²³³ Due to Camilla’s perpetual virginity and consequent inability to transition into the role of a Roman mother, Camilla cannot assimilate into the colonialist programme of the Trojans/Romans. Therefore, she is sexualised and erased, through her death in Book 11.²³⁴

While Roman women in the Augustan period were not necessarily killed for their unmarried status, the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* penalised both men and women who were unmarried

²²⁷ For Roman wedding songs, see Hersch 2012: 232–42, 248–9. For uses of ὄλολυγή in relation to joy and thanksgiving, see Callim. *Hymn* 5. 139. For sacrifice or to call upon the gods, see Ar. *Lys.* 239–40; Hom. *Il.* 6.301; *Od.* 3.450, 4.767; Hom. *Hymn Aph.* 5.19. For pain, see Eur. *Med.* 1176.

²²⁸ Eur. *Bacch.* 24, 67–8, 690. See also Dillon 2002: 143–8.

²²⁹ This foreboding is reinforced in Verg. *Aen.* 4.169–70.

²³⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 11.662.

²³¹ Keith 2000: 117.

²³² Heuzé 1985: 119 and Keith 2000: 117.

²³³ For Dido’s entrance, see Verg. *Aen.* 1.494–6: *Haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda videntur, / dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno, / regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido, incessit.* Translation: “While these wondrous sights are seen by Dardan Aeneas, while in amazement he hangs rapt in one fixed gaze, the queen, Dido, moved towards the temple, of surpassing beauty.” For Camilla’s entrance, see Verg. *Aen.* 7.803–4. The entire passage of Camilla’s entrance, including a translation, can be found above on p. 34–5.

²³⁴ For Camilla’s death, see Verg. *Aen.* 11.794–835.

and therefore had no legitimate children.²³⁵ This stands in contrast to those who were married, and how they were offered rewards for their marriages and the creation of legitimate children.²³⁶ Some of the penalties for unmarried and childless men and women included financial penalties, their inability to attend certain public events and “inherit under a will unless they satisfied certain stringent conditions.”²³⁷ Thus, remaining unmarried, as a woman, was not only seen as a negative quality, but impacted their financial and social standing in society.

In relation to Indigenous women in colonial Canada, their reproductive systems and matriarchal societal structures threatened European colonisation, as impediments for settlers to seize and cultivate the land in their own image.²³⁸ Indigenous women were often portrayed in relation to their sexuality which resulted in violence against them, their bodies, and their fertility, including death. However, the indigenisation of settlers, specifically male settlers, relied on the arrival of European women, who promoted the settlement of North America through the establishment of familial units.²³⁹ Through marriage and the creation of familial units, the naturalisation of settler values followed soon after. While Camilla does display some Roman qualities, however, she is, in fact, a representative of the ‘Other’. Camilla, as a perpetual virgin and a woman in a position of power, is a departure from the patriarchal settler society of the Trojans/Romans. Motherhood is not the singular defining purpose of Camilla’s existence. Rather, she remains steadfast in her status as a perpetual *virgo* and is associated with foreign, female characters and monarchies. In addition, Camilla, the *bellatrix*, is associated with ‘masculine’

²³⁵ Dio. Cass. 54.16.1–2. Priestesses, such as the Vestal Virgins, were not considered a part of the category of ‘unmarried’ women due to their vows of chastity as a part of their service. Vestal Virgins were killed if they broke that vow of chastity, known as *crimen incesti*. See Baudoin 2021 for the Vestal Virgins’ vows and when they were broken.

²³⁶ Dio. Cass. 54.16.1–2.

²³⁷ Liveley and Shaw 2020: 247.

²³⁸ Jordan 2021: 271 and Smith 2015: 79.

²³⁹ Jacobs 2009: 22 and Jordan 2021: 275.

activities, such as leading men into battle, on horseback, and in a military arrangement. She occupies space beyond the boundaries of the home, which was atypical for the traditional Roman woman. Instead, she maintains a connection to the land around her. However, in death, Camilla becomes the erotic object of Vergil's and Roman audience's gaze. Therefore, one can see the connection between Camilla and Indigenous women in colonial Canada. For both the Trojans and the Europeans, indigenisation was critical to the establishment of their new nation. However, Camilla, like Indigenous women in colonial Canada, represented distinct cultural structures with whom a union would hinder colonialist strategies. In the *Aeneid*, Camilla is an impediment to both Aeneas and the Trojans, as well as Roman colonisation. Therefore, when assimilation is not possible, the sexualisation of Indigenous women and their subsequent erasure is the common outcome.

b. Lavinia: Readiness and Suitability for Marriage

In Lavinia's formal entrance in Book 7, she is described as *matura viro*:

Rex arva Latinus et urbes
iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat.
hunc Fauno et nympha genitum Laurente Marica
accipimus; Fauno Picus pater, isque parentem
te, Saturne, refert, tu sanguinis ultimus auctor.
filius huic fato divum prolesque virilis
nulla fuit, primaque oriens erepta iuventa est.
sola domum et tantas servabat filia sedes
iam matura viro, iam plenis nubilis annis.

King Latinus, now old, ruled over lands
and towns in the calm of a long peace.
He was sprung of Faunus, we are told, and the Laurentine nymph, Marica.
Faunus' sire was Picus, and he boasts
you, Saturn, as his father; you are the first founder of the line.
By Heaven's decree his son, his male descent, was no more,
but had been cut off in the spring of early youth.
Alone, to preserve the house and noble home,
was a daughter, now ripe for a husband, now of full age to be a bride. (7.46–53)

This is similar language to that used in the Augustan period for Roman girls who would be, in their mid- to late-teens, *viripotentēs*, “fit for a husband.”²⁴⁰ Marriage was a social obligation, arranged for the purposes of bearing children and reinforced by the Julian Laws.²⁴¹ Through the Julian Laws, Augustus desired to strengthen family structures through the implementation of a system of incentives and penalties aimed at encouraging marriages, increasing legitimate childbirths, and forbidding adultery.²⁴² Furthermore, the social legislations enacted by Augustus echoed the traditions of the *mos maiorum*, which were represented by Roman ancestral figures like Aeneas.²⁴³ The issuing of the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* in 18 BCE gave economic and social privileges to those who both married and had children.²⁴⁴ Therefore, a marriage was often arranged between families of the same social class to create what they deemed to be a suitable match—a *digna condicio*—based upon birth, rank, and wealth.²⁴⁵ Thus, Lavinia, like Camilla, is of marriageable age, as Lavinia also described as a *virgo*.²⁴⁶ The use of hyperbaton to describe Lavinia in this passage not only emphasises her current age but also supports her unique position in the plot.²⁴⁷ In Lavinia’s entrance, following the premature death of Latinus’ male heir, she, *domum et tantas servabat ... sedes*.²⁴⁸ Fordyce suggests that *servabat* in this passage symbolises more than just the ideals of a Roman matron, but that Lavinia serves as a regent, to a certain degree, until a new male heir arrives.²⁴⁹ However, it is important to note that Lavinia is not named in this passage. Vergil lists Lavinia’s patrilineal descent, with Marica as the one exception, similarly to

²⁴⁰ See Just. *Inst.* 1.10, pr. and Treggiari 1991: 39–42.

²⁴¹ Glazebrook and Olson 2014: 80 and Henry and James 2012: 93.

²⁴² Liveley and Shaw 2020: 245–6.

²⁴³ Liveley and Shaw 2020: 250 and Milnor 2005: 148.

²⁴⁴ Hunter 2008: 585.

²⁴⁵ Treggiari 1991: 83–4.

²⁴⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 7.72; 11.479; 12.69. See Verg. *Aen.* 12.70 where Lavinia is also described by the narrator as a *virgine*.

²⁴⁷ Horsfall 2000: 80.

²⁴⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 7.52: “preserves the house and noble home.”

²⁴⁹ Fordyce 1977: 69. For the ideals of the Roman matron preserving a home, see Buecheler, *Carm. Epigr.* 52.

Faunus' oracle—the nymph is mentioned in respect to her role as Latinus' mother and Faunus' wife. In addition, Vergil states Lavinia's present position as, *filia ... iam matura viro, iam plenis nubilis annis*.²⁵⁰ She is later named, and her *virgo* status emphasised in a similar manner to Camilla, when she stands next to her father Latinus.²⁵¹ Vergil utilises this delayed naming for other female characters, such as Amata, Lavinia's mother, and Juturna, Turnus' sister.²⁵² Thus, it is Lavinia's unique role that seemingly matters more than her name. Furthermore, Lavinia, while ultimately marrying Aeneas and becoming the mother of Rome's future children, neither speaks in the epic nor has a distinct individuality in comparison to Camilla.²⁵³ In fact, the prophecy of Rome, relayed by Creusa in her postmortem speech, describes Aeneas' future wife as *regia coniunx*, “a king's wife.”²⁵⁴ Lavinia's role is limited and recognised only through her future marriage to Aeneas. Later in Book 7, after receiving Faunus' prophecy, Latinus offers Lavinia to Aeneas in marriage, thus, fulfilling a critical part of the prophecy.²⁵⁵ In recalling the onomastic traditions of the ancient Romans, while Lavinia is ultimately given a *praenomen* similarly to Camilla, her name is not listed in the first line of her introduction.²⁵⁶ Rather, she is prominently associated with her patrilineal descent, similar to how Roman women's names were often formed from the *nomen gentilicium* of their father's or their husband's name.²⁵⁷ A Roman woman was known through her associations to the *paterfamilias* of her family.²⁵⁸ Therefore, Lavinia and the Roman women of the Augustan

²⁵⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 7.52–3.

²⁵¹ For Lavinia's name and *virgo* status, see Verg. *Aen.* 7.72. Similar to Camilla, *virgo* stands at the end of the line when her name is first introduced. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7.806. This does not include her naming in the prophecy of Rome by Anchises in the Underworld.

²⁵² For Amata, see her entrance in Verg. *Aen.* 7.56 and her naming at 7.343. For Juturna, see her entrance at 10.439 and her naming at 12.146.

²⁵³ Cairns 1989: 151.

²⁵⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 2.783–4. For modern scholars that discuss Vergil and sexist or misogynistic views, see De Boer 2019, duBois 1976, Giusti and Rimell 2021, and Keith 2000.

²⁵⁵ Verg. *Aen.* 7.268–73.

²⁵⁶ For the onomastic traditions of the Romans, see pp. 38–9.

²⁵⁷ Salway 1994: 126.

²⁵⁸ Gallivan 1992: 58–60 and Salway 1994: 125–7.

period share commonalities. Lavinia, like other Roman women, is not seen as distinct individual, but rather as an extension of an extended patrilineal ancestry. She is distinguished for her current role as Latinus' daughter, and future role as the wife of Aeneas and mother to Rome's first children. In addition, as the future wife of Aeneas and the mother of Rome's first children, Lavinia epitomises the goals of the Julian Laws, which Augustus enacted to echo the traditions of the *mos maiorum*. Thus, in the *Aeneid*, Lavinia is portrayed as both an Indigenous Latin and a proto-Roman. In relation to the goals of settler colonisation, settlers seek to “repress, co-opt, and extinguish indigenous alterities,” for which there are a variety of methods in which these goals can be accomplished—genocide, removal, erasure, and assimilation.²⁵⁹ Due to Lavinia's embodiment of the goals of the Augustan regime and her alignment with the patriarchal traditions of Rome, Lavinia is an Indigenous woman who can be easily assimilated into the customs and traditions of Trojan/Roman society in the *Aeneid*.

The union of Lavinia and Aeneas conforms to the conventions of traditional Roman marriage and thus illustrates that their marriage reinforced the settlers' social and cultural values, similar to those of the European settlers in colonial Canada.²⁶⁰ In addition, as an Indigenous Latin, Lavinia provides Aeneas, the settler Trojan, with an opportunity to indigenise himself to the land of Italy. In terms of Roman marital traditions, first, both the groom and the bride must have *ius conubii*.²⁶¹ Gaius' *Institutes* states: *si ciues Romanas uxores duxerint, uel etiam Latinas*

²⁵⁹ Ostler and Shoemaker 2019: 362 and Veracini 2011: 3.

²⁶⁰ Vergil uses other Greek words to symbolise marriage. For example, the ὑμέναιος is an ancient Greek wedding song, often sung by the bride's maids when the bride is being processed to the groom's house. Hymen (Ἵμῆν), the god of marriage is often addressed in these songs. Hymen and the *hymenaeus* are adopted by the Romans as noted in Catull. 61.4–5, Plaut. *Cas.* 798–9, Ter. *Ad.* 905–10. Vergil uses the term *hymenaeus* in the *Aeneid* for the weddings of Paris and Helen (1.651), Aeneas and Dido (4.99, 127, 316), Turnus and Lavinia (7.344, 398), and Aeneas and Lavinia (7.358). Karen Hersch notes that the mention of the *hymenaeus* often signalled imminent danger (p. 239).

²⁶¹ Translation: “the right to marry.” A literal translation of this phrase would be “the right of marriage,” which acknowledges the genitive singular case of *conubium*. Some liberties have been taken with this translation for the sake of succinctness.

peregrinasue cum quibus conubium habeant.²⁶² The Latin phrase *ducere uxorem*, “to lead a wife,” is used to indicate the marriage of a Roman man.²⁶³ *Conubium* was reserved for free-born Roman citizens and select foreigners who had received specific privileges.²⁶⁴ Aeneas and Lavinia have dual statuses as a proto-Roman, as well as maintaining their statuses as Trojan and Latin, respectively.²⁶⁵ Thus, Lavinia, a Latin princess, would be a *digna condicio* for Aeneas, the Trojan prince; in the eyes of the Roman audience, they would have possessed *ius conubii*. Second, if either the bride or groom was under the control (*potestas*) of their respective fathers, the fathers’ consent of the marriage was required.²⁶⁶ Third, a Roman marriage could be given *cum manu* or *sine manu*. In a *cum manu* marriage, the Roman woman would be transferred from the *potestas* of her father to that of her husband; thus, she would become a part of her husband’s family.²⁶⁷ In a *sine manu* marriage, the Roman woman would remain under the *potestas* of her father.²⁶⁸ Latinus holds the *potestas* over Lavinia’s marital arrangements, and offers his daughter to Aeneas, following the instruction of his father Faunus.²⁶⁹ Due to Lavinia’s prophesised role as a *regia coniunx*, it can be assumed that she is given to Aeneas *cum manu*. Therefore, despite her depiction as a proto-Roman, Lavinia, through her union to Aeneas, becomes a Roman and ceases to be a Latin. Lavinia’s father consents to this assimilation, as was seen in Faunus’ oracle. In addition to Augustus’ oversight of the education of his children and grandchildren, he also strictly managed their marriages as the *paterfamilias* of his family.²⁷⁰ Thus, Latinus conforms with the traditional role of the Roman

²⁶² G. 1.56: “If Roman citizens were to lead Roman wives, or likewise Latin or foreign, with whom they would have a marriage.”

²⁶³ Hersch 2012: 141–2.

²⁶⁴ Mousourakis 2012: 98.

²⁶⁵ See Verg. *Aen.* 6.851 where Anchises refers to his son Aeneas as a Roman.

²⁶⁶ Mousourakis 2012: 100.

²⁶⁷ Mousourakis 2012: 88, 90–1.

²⁶⁸ Mousourakis 2012: 103.

²⁶⁹ Verg. *Aen.* 7.268–73.

²⁷⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 2.63.

paterfamilias and, in effect, aligns his daughter, an Indigenous Latin woman, with Roman marital traditions. Fourth, when Lavinia is first named in Book 7, Vergil states that while Lavinia stands next to her father, Latinus, *castis adolet ... altaria taedis*.²⁷¹ Besides this occurrence, *taedae*, or pine torches, are often employed in the *Aeneid* to describe both marriages and funerals.²⁷² *Taedae* or *faces*—another term for torches—were often used as metonyms for marriage ceremonies.²⁷³ *Taedae* were used in the bride's procession to the groom's house, as well as to decorate the interior of the groom's house.²⁷⁴ Following the Greek literary tradition, the comparison of marital and funereal torches seemingly bookended the adult lives of ancient Romans.²⁷⁵ Thus, Latinus using torches to light the sacrificial altars has a threefold meaning. First, it recalls the marital and funereal torches of Dido.²⁷⁶ Second, it relays a tension about impending death and war, such as the burning of Troy.²⁷⁷ Third, it supports an image of religious piety through its associations to the Roman practice of religious sacrifice, in which a small portion of an animal offering was burnt on the altar for a divine recipient.²⁷⁸ In standing next to her father during this moment, Lavinia displays her piety, both religious and filial. Lavinia also displays her religious piety through her participation

²⁷¹ Verg. *Aen.* 7.71: "with hallowed torch he kindles the altars."

²⁷² For Dido's desire to be married to Aeneas, see Verg. *Aen.* 4.18. For Aeneas' response to Dido that they were never married, see 4.339. For Amata's abduction of Lavinia to delay the wedding of her daughter to Aeneas, see 7.388. For Dido's funeral pyre, see 4.505. For the funeral of Misenus, see 6.214. For the recollection of Salmoneus' death, see 6.593. For Juno's speech about Aeneas bringing a funeral torch to the new Troy, see 7.322. For Allecto awaking Turnus, bringing war and death, see 7.457.

²⁷³ Hersch 2012: 165. For example, Valerius Maximus (Val. Max. 7.1.1) tells us about the many events in which Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus was fortunate enough to witness in life: *tot partus, tot incunabula, tot viriles togae, tam multae nuptiales faces*.... Translation: "So many births, so many cradles, so many manly gowns, so many marriage torches...."

²⁷⁴ Hersch 2012: 165.

²⁷⁵ Cornelia, in Propertius (Prop. 4.11.46), as a post-mortem speech to her husband, reflecting on her life, states: *viximus insignes inter utramque facem*. Translation: "I lived with honour between torch of marriage and torch of death." See also Hersch 2012: 165.

²⁷⁶ For Dido's desire to be married to Aeneas, see Verg. *Aen.* 4.18. For Aeneas' response to Dido that they were never married, see 4.339. For Dido's funeral pyre, see 4.505.

²⁷⁷ For Dido's funeral pyre, see 4.505. For the funeral of Misenus, see 6.214. For the recollection of Salmoneus' death, see 6.593. For Juno's speech about Aeneas bringing a funeral torch to the new Troy, see 7.322. For Allecto awaking Turnus, bringing war and death, see 7.457.

²⁷⁸ For modern sources on Roman sacrificial practices, see Ekroth 2014 and Rives 2024.

in the procession of the Latin mothers to the temple of Pallas. She stands at her mother's side in a similar fashion to when she stands next to her father in her introduction.²⁷⁹ While Amata abducts Lavinia to delay the marriage between her daughter and Aeneas as she does not support it, Lavinia, representative of a good Roman daughter, reacts passively to this.²⁸⁰ However, despite Amata's objections, Lavinia obeys the prophecy that is relayed by her father and honours her union with Aeneas; thus displaying her piety and her respect for her *paterfamilias*.²⁸¹

Therefore, in Lavinia's formal introduction in Book 7, Vergil demonstrates that the marriage of Lavinia will dictate the fate of the Latin people. Latinus' familial line, comprised of four generations of male gods, rests solely on Lavinia—*sola filia*—due to the untimely death of Latinus' male heir. However, as a *regia coniunx*, Lavinia does not inherit the throne of her father. Rather, it will be given to her future husband. Thus, through the union of Aeneas and Lavinia, Aeneas inherits the throne and the power over the Latin people and, by extension, the land. As noted by Faunus in his prophecy, his descendants will ultimately hold imperial power over the Earth, but they will cease to be called Latins and become Romans. Thus, Lavinia's connection to the land and the Latin people could be fruitfully harnessed. While settler colonialism seized and cultivated the lands of Indigenous people, the settlers also sought to indigenise themselves. The union of Lavinia and Aeneas conforms to the conventions of traditional Roman marriage and reflects the marriage and childbearing legislations during the Augustan period. In settler nations, marriages and childbearing between settler men and women established familial units and reinforced European social and cultural values.²⁸² Thus, the marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia

²⁷⁹ For Lavinia standing at her mother's side: *iuxtaque comes Lavinia virgo* (11.479). For Lavinia standing at her father's side: *iuxta genitorem astat Lavinia virgo* (7.72).

²⁸⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 7.385–405.

²⁸¹ For Amata's objections to the pairing of Lavinia with Aeneas, see 7.341–5; 12.54–63.

²⁸² Jordan 2021: 275 and Morgensen 2012: 2–22.

reinforces social and cultural values of the settlers—the Trojans—similar to those of the European settlers in colonial Canada. In addition, as an Indigenous Latin, Lavinia provides Aeneas, the settler Trojan, with an opportunity to indigenise himself to the land of Italy. While Indigenous women in colonial Canada were depicted in terms of their sexuality, settler women’s bodies were reserved for procreation.²⁸³ Motherhood was framed as a sacred duty, uniquely suited for female colonisers rather than Indigenous women. However, in the *Aeneid* Lavinia is portrayed as a proto-Roman and an Indigenous Latin. She is also prophesied by the gods and Anchises in the Underworld, to become the wife of Aeneas and birth Rome’s future children.²⁸⁴ Thus, ancient Indigenous women, such as Lavinia, who also embody the characteristics of the coloniser, are acceptable as partners and mothers. While Lavinia is a Latin princess, she *domum et tantas servabat ... sedes*, for a male heir.²⁸⁵ Therefore, detailing the patrilineal descent of Lavinia and the male inheritance of the Latin throne aligns with Roman patriarchal society. In colonial Canada, European societies were patriarchal, while Indigenous societies were often women-centred and matriarchal.²⁸⁶ Thus, both ancient and modern Indigenous women were often co-opted or repressed within a “male-dominated gender system.”²⁸⁷ Lavinia also represents traditional Roman values—religious and filial piety, respect for the *paterfamilias*, and modesty. Thus, the marriage and procreation between Aeneas and Lavinia represents the unification of the coloniser and the colonised. Lavinia can be assimilated into the settler population—the Trojans/Romans—as she is portrayed as both an Indigenous and a settler woman.

²⁸³ For the association between Indigenous women and their sexuality, often portrayed negatively and counter to European-Christian cultural norms, see Brownlie 2005: 162–6. For settler women and the procreation of settler families, see Allen 2020: 380–2 and Jordan 2021: 275.

²⁸⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 6.756–807.

²⁸⁵ Verg. *Aen.* 7.52: “preserves the house and noble home.”

²⁸⁶ McGuire-Adams 2020: 33–4 and Anderson 2011: 167.

²⁸⁷ Jordan 2021: 275.

c. Camilla: Representing the ‘Other’

In addition to Camilla’s and Lavinia’s suitability and readiness for marriage, or lack thereof, Vergil directs the attention of the reader to their appearance. The author’s depiction differentiates between the two, clearly characterising Camilla and Lavinia as women who, respectively, fail and succeed in serving to promote the colonialist programme of the *Aeneid*. The measure by which they are judged is that of the ideal Roman woman, wife, and mother. Representation in this investigation would include facets of appearance, such as dress, physical features, and temperament. In a similar manner to her unsuitability and disinclination for marriage, Camilla is considered an ‘Other’, ‘masculine’, and possessing an independence of thought by the colonisers, despite her possession of some Roman qualities. In the *Aeneid*, Camilla is an impediment to both Aeneas and the Trojans, as well as Roman colonisation. Therefore, when assimilation is not possible and she cannot be fruitfully harnessed by the Trojans, Camilla is erased.

i. Purple and Gold

The wearing of purple and gold is persistent throughout the *Aeneid*.²⁸⁸ In Camilla’s introduction, Vergil describes how the gathered youths and mothers watch Camilla pass by and admire her attire: *ut regius ostro / velet honos levis umeros, ut fibula crinem / auro internectat*.²⁸⁹ In Book 11, when Diana recounts Camilla’s childhood, she describes that while Camilla wore a tiger skin as a child, she will eventually wear a golden hair comb and another garment in her adulthood: *pro longae tegmine pallae*....²⁹⁰ The *palla*—the cloak worn by married Roman women for outdoor use—

²⁸⁸ Vergil utilises the colour purple to distinguish the rank and luxury of characters or items in the *Aeneid*. For these uses, see Verg. *Aen.* 1.639, 700; 4.133–9, 261–3; 5.109–12, 132–3, 250–1, 268–70; 6.220–1, 883–4; 7.251–2; 9.162–3, 435–6, 614–6; 10.722–3; 11.72–5, 772; 12.125–6, 413–4, 602–3. There are nearly one hundred uses of the colour gold to distinguish rank and luxury in the *Aeneid*. For a selection of these uses from Book 1 alone, see 1.343, 349, 359, 364, 484, 492, 593, 640, 648, 655, 698, 726, 728, 739.

²⁸⁹ Verg. *Aen.* 7.814–6: “how the regal honour veils her shoulders with purple, how the brooch intertwines her hair with gold.”

²⁹⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 11.576: “in place of the long trailing robe”

distinguished both their societal rank and modesty.²⁹¹ Therefore, similarly to her suitability and readiness for marriage, Camilla is presented as adhering to Roman dress norms. Outfitted in both purple and gold, Camilla's wealth and status as a queen is emphasised, as is her modesty by wearing the *palla*.

The making and use of purple dye, derived from sea snails within the *murex* genus, was a very labour-intensive process; thus, it was seen as a luxury and used to distinguish those of a certain social, political, or sacerdotal rank.²⁹² While the public display of wealth was important to aristocratic Roman men and women alike, it was of greater importance to Roman women as a means of achieving recognition or status.²⁹³ Thus, wealthy men and women utilised purple garments to symbolise their affluence in public settings.²⁹⁴ A variety of individuals in the Roman state were distinguished with the colour purple, from the late Republic into the first century CE—consuls, upper-class Roman children, senators, priests, and the *equites*, to name a few.²⁹⁵ Thus, the use of purple dye in Roman dress, for men and women, distinguished the wealth and rank of aristocratic Romans. However, in the case of Camilla, she dons both purple and gold to emphasise her wealth and status; she wears the *palla* to display her modesty.

In addition, Camilla wears a golden *fibula* and hair comb, respectively, in her introduction in Book 7 and in Book 11. As in the late Republic, so too did women in the first century CE prefer

²⁹¹ See Varro, *Ling.* 5.131 for a definition of the *palla*. For the *palla* as a symbol for modesty, see Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.94–100, and Val. Max. 6.3.10.

²⁹² In Latin, the noun *murex* is synonymously used to describe both the snail as well as the purple dye that was famously produced from it. See Verg. *Aen.* 4.262 where Vergil describes the Tyrian purple cloak around Aeneas' neck; the sea snail is not mentioned. For ancient sources on the *murex* snail industry, see Plin. *HN.* 9.125–41. For modern sources on the *murex* snail industry, see Elliott 2008, Susmann 2020. For associations with luxury and rank in ancient literature, see Ov. *Pont.* 3.4.24, Hor. *Carm.* 2.16.36; in modern scholarship, see Reinhold 1970: 8 and Susmann 2020.

²⁹³ Hemelrijk 1987: 223. See also Valerius' speech in Livy which spoke in favour of repealing the *Lex Oppia* (Liv. 34.7.8–9). While Valerius' speech is generally viewed as patronising to Roman women, it equates the public achievements of Roman men to the adornment and dress of Roman women as a means of achieving status.

²⁹⁴ Reinhold 1970: 54–5.

²⁹⁵ Plin. *HN.* 9.127. For example, the *toga praetexta* with its purple hem was worn by Roman consuls, curule magistrates, augurs, priests when sacrificing, and aristocratic Roman children, amongst others.

gold jewellery, such as singular gold necklaces with either a pendant or jewels, as well as simple earring designs.²⁹⁶ Wealthy Roman women could also adorn their heads with golden ornaments, such as crowns, hair combs and pins.²⁹⁷ Therefore, Camilla's adornment in gold seemingly fits within Roman dress standards from the late Republic into the first century CE, especially those of aristocratic Roman women.

However, Camilla's introduction is a clear example of Vergil's ability to utilise description to create ambiguity. In Book 7, it is unclear what purple garment Camilla is wearing. In Book 11, Camilla is described to eventually wear the *palla*.²⁹⁸ However, Camilla's *palla* is not described as purple. In addition, the *palla* is often secured at the shoulders, using two brooches.²⁹⁹ In Camilla's introduction, her garment is secured with a singular brooch (*fibula*).³⁰⁰ Thus, despite Vergil's clear description of the garment in Book 7—its colour, how it veils her body, and the golden accents of the brooch—it is not clear what this garment is. Due to the militaristic nature of Camilla's entrance, one could surmise that the garment that Camilla is wearing is the *paludamentum*. Varro describes in his *On the Latin Language* those who wear the *paludamentum* and its purpose:

Paluda a paludamentis. Haec insignia atque
 ornamenta militaria: ideo ad bellum cum exit
 imperator ac lictores mutarunt vestem et signa
 incinuerunt, paludatus dicitur proficisci; quae
 propter quod conspiciuntur qui ea habent ac fiunt
 palam, paludamenta dicta.

Paluda is from *paludamenta*, which are distinguishing garments and adornments in the army; therefore when the general goes forth to war and the lictors have changed their garb and have sounded the signals, he is said to set forth *paludatus* 'wearing the *paludamentum*.' The reason why these garments are called *paludamenta* is that those

²⁹⁶ Stout 2001: 78. See also *Mummy-portrait*, 55–70 CE.

²⁹⁷ Radicke 2023: 456.

²⁹⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 11.576.

²⁹⁹ Radicke 2023: 286.

³⁰⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 7.815.

who wear them are on account of them conspicuous and
are made *palam* ‘plainly’ visible. (7.37)

Camilla is introduced in the catalogue of Italian forces against Aeneas and the Trojans. Camilla and her Volscian troops are the last of the assemblies mentioned.³⁰¹ As in her death, so in her entrance, is Camilla framed as beautiful woman who serves as the “erotic and aesthetic object of his [Vergil’s] readers’ prolonged gaze.”³⁰² Consequently, the use of the *paludamentum* seems fitting with how Camilla is portrayed—a warrior, who is meant to be seen, heading into battle.³⁰³ Therefore, similar to Camilla’s status as a *virgo*, her Roman qualities are double-edged. Like Camilla’s previous tension between eroticism and sexual abstention for the Roman audience, so too does Vergil present a tension between Camilla’s traditional, feminine qualities and her masculine, non-traditional qualities, displayed through dress.³⁰⁴ Camilla wears a golden hair comb and the *palla*, which distinguishes her societal rank, wealth, and modesty like other Roman women in the Augustan period.³⁰⁵ However, the likelihood of Camilla wearing the *paludamentum* reinforces her inversion of Roman gender norms by associating herself with traditionally masculine roles—leading a group of cavalrymen into battle. Thus, Camilla’s dress makes her both a liminal and nonconforming character in the *Aeneid*.

³⁰¹ For Camilla’s introduction, see Verg. *Aen.* 7.803–17. For scholarship that describes Camilla’s entrance as a part of a catalogue, see Weiden Boyd 1992: 213–5.

³⁰² Heuzé 1985: 119 and Keith 2000: 117.

³⁰³ Another garment that was worn in military contexts was the *toga picta*—an entirely dyed purple garment, accented with gold threaded stars—was worn by victorious Roman military commanders, especially during the Roman triumph. The triumph was a procession, through Rome, which celebrated the military successes and the colonial expansion of Rome. Often, generals, who led the Roman military to victory, were honoured and their spoils were displayed to the public. The triple triumph of Julius Caesar in 29 BCE is vividly described in the shield ecphrasis of Book 8 of the *Aeneid*, for his military successes in the battles of Dalmatia, Actium, and Alexandria (Verg. *Aen.* 8.714–31). The triumph of Lucius Mummius Achaicus is also alluded to in the *Aeneid*, for his sack of the Corinth and the defeat of the Achaean League in the second century BCE; hence his agnomen (6.836–7). However, the frequency of the Roman triumph declined in the Augustan era, and after 19 BCE, only the emperor or members of his family triumphed. The last person who triumphed in Rome was Lucius Cornelius Balbus in 19 BCE. For Balbus, see Degraffi 1954: 110. For ancient sources that discuss the *toga picta*, see Plin. *HN.* 9.127. For modern sources that discuss the *toga picta*, see Beard 2007: 228 and Brøns et al. 2017: 57–8. For modern sources that discuss the triumph, see Beard 2007.

³⁰⁴ For the tension between eroticism and sexual abstention, see pp. 44–6.

³⁰⁵ For the *palla* as a symbol for modesty, see Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.94–100, and Val. Max. 6.3.10.

Camilla is also presented as an ‘Other’ in her introduction with respect to her attire. Besides Camilla, one notable character who consistently dresses in purple and gold in the *Aeneid* is Dido, the Queen of Carthage.³⁰⁶ In particular, Dido’s entrance before the hunt draws parallels to Camilla’s entrance in Book 7:

reginam thalamo cunctantem ad limina primi
Poenorum exspectant, ostroque insignis et auro
stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.
tandem progreditur magna stipante caterva,
Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo.
cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,
aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.

As the queen lingers in her bower, the Punic princes
await her at the doorway; her prancing steed stands brilliant in purple and gold,
and proudly champs the foaming bit.
At last she comes forth, attended by a mighty throng,
and clad in a Sidonian robe with embroidered border.
Her quiver is of gold, her tresses are knotted into gold,
a buckle of gold clasps her purple cloak. (4.133–9)

Common elements between Dido’s and Camilla’s entrances in Books 4 and 7 are the wearing of purple and gold, the riding of horses amongst groups of young men, and the carrying of quivers. Dido is also described as having golden hair in this passage, a descriptor that is reiterated at the end of Book 4.³⁰⁷

While the wearing of purple in the Augustan period was seen as a luxury and used to distinguish those of a certain social, political, or sacerdotal rank; all purple dyes sold to consumers in the Augustan period were not created equal. There were three main types or groups of purple dye sold in the Roman market—“true” or “real” purple dye, regional varieties like “Tyrian purple,”

³⁰⁶ See Verg. *Aen.* 1.639, 697–700; 4.133–9, 261–4.

³⁰⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 4.589–90: *terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum / flaventisque abscissa comas*. Translation: “thrice and four times she struck her comely breast with her hand, and tearing her golden hair.”

and imitation purple dyes.³⁰⁸ Due to the invention of the purple-dying industry in Tyre, some have suggested that “Tyrian purple” was also considered the “true” or “real” dye.³⁰⁹ Therefore, the creation of true, regional, and imitation purple dyes reinforced the hierarchy of its use in Roman society. In the first invocation of the Muse in the *Aeneid*, while Vergil describes the principal conflict in the epic, he notes that the residents of Carthage are Tyrian colonists: *Urbs antiqua fuit (Tyrrii tenuere coloni) / Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe / ostia, dives opum studiisque asperrima belli*.³¹⁰ Later in Book 4, Aeneas wears a Tyrian purple cloak, a gift from Dido.³¹¹ Therefore, Vergil establishes a connection between Carthage, Tyrian purple, and wealth, with Dido serving as the embodiment of this hierarchy. While Aeneas was assisting Dido in the expansion of her empire in Carthage, he forgot his divine destiny—to found Rome. Later, upon Aeneas’ departure from Carthage, Dido curses Aeneas’ future lineage and her own so that they will always be hostile towards each other; thus, she is the instigator of the future combative relationship between Rome and Carthage during the Punic Wars.³¹² In terms of Roman women wearing purple and gold, the *Lex Oppia*, enacted in 215 BCE during the Second Punic War, prohibited women from wearing the colour purple as an “emergency frugality measure,” and restricted the amount of gold jewellery a Roman woman could wear to half an ounce.³¹³ The Punic Wars were fought

³⁰⁸ Susmann 2020: 159–60. For “true” or “real” purple dye, see Rupprecht 1977: 11.075.11: πλουμαρικὸν ἀληθινοπόρφυρον. For some ancient sources referencing “Tyrian purple,” see Cic. *Flac.* 71; Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.146; Mart. *Ep.* 8.10; Ov. *Ars am.* 3.169–70; Ov. *Fast.* 2.107; Ov. *Her.* 12.179; Ov. *Met.* 6.61–2, 222, 10.211, 11.166; Ov. *Rem. am.* 708; Strab. 16.2.23; Tib. 2.4.27–8; Verg. *G.* 3.17–8, 307. The alternate name for the city of Tyre was Sarra. Thus, ancient sources utilise the term Sarra in place of Tyrian. See Aus. *Ephem.* 8.20; Sid. *Apoll. Carm.* 2.6–7; Verg. *G.* 2.506. For imitation purple dyes, see under Hunt 1910, P.Oxy. VII 1051.15: ψευδοπόρφυρον. See also Susmann 2020: 160.

³⁰⁹ See Brøns and Droß-Krüpe 2018: 30, Forbes 1964: 141, Susmann 2020: 159–60.

³¹⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 1.12–4: “There was an ancient city, the home of Tyrian settlers, Carthage, over against Italy and the Tiber’s mouths afar, rich in wealth and stern in war’s pursuits.”

³¹¹ Verg. *Aen.* 4.259–64.

³¹² Verg. *Aen.* 4.621–9.

³¹³ Edmondson 2008: 28 and Stout 2001: 77. Livy argues through the tribune L. Valerius in his *History of Rome* in favour of the repealing of the *Lex Oppia*, acknowledging the hypocrisies of allowing citizen men to continue to wear purple, while their wives cannot. Similar sentiments are shared regarding the wearing of gold (Liv. 34.7.1–4). For the year that the *Lex Oppia* was repealed, see Liv. 34.8.3.

between Rome and Carthage from 264–146 BCE for dominance over the western Mediterranean. However, the introduction of the *Lex Oppia*, as a measure to alleviate the financial pressures of the Roman state, has been questioned.³¹⁴ It has been suggested that the implementation of the *Lex Oppia* was used to suppress women's displays of wealth.³¹⁵ Livy's *History of Rome* describes two speeches, one by Cato the Elder and the other by Valerius, which provide their respective reasons to maintain or repeal the *Lex Oppia* in 195 BCE.³¹⁶ In Rome, the traditional virtues of married women were "chastity, frugality, domesticity, industry and loyalty to her husband and family."³¹⁷ In Cato's speech, he argues that repealing the law would undermine male authority, encourage female extravagance which was not in line with traditional Roman feminine virtues, and ultimately allow women to usurp men's power in politics and destabilise society. This perceived destabilisation was seen in women's growing political lobbying regarding the *Lex Oppia*.³¹⁸ Thus, Dido, in some respects, represents the significant fears of Cato the Elder during the Punic Wars. As the Queen of Carthage, Vergil uses purple to display her wealth and influence, which stand counter to the traditional Roman virtues for women. Therefore, Dido, similarly to Camilla, is presented as an impediment to both Aeneas and the Trojans, as well as Roman colonisation through her wearing of both purple and gold as a woman in a position of authority.

While purple represented wealth and rank in the Augustan period, it also had associations with monarchies, especially foreign monarchies. Dido is presented as foreign queen who prohibits the colonialist programme of the Trojans/Romans in Italy. However, one of the most notable examples of the association between purple and foreign monarchies in the Augustan period was

³¹⁴ Hemelrijk 1987: 220. Often, the private donation of aristocratic women's gold or money to the war effort is explicitly recorded in ancient sources. See Liv. 24.18.12–4; 26.36.

³¹⁵ Culham 1982: 790–1.

³¹⁶ For Cato's speech, see Liv. 34.2–4. For Valerius' speech, see Liv. 34.5–7.

³¹⁷ Hemelrijk 1987: 217.

³¹⁸ Liv. 34.2–4.

Cleopatra VII. Prior to the Augustan regime, Cleopatra maintained friendly relations with Rome, in part due to the debts her father owed to Julius Caesar.³¹⁹ However, Cleopatra's relationship with Rome changed following the assassination of Caesar. Following the creation of the Second Triumvirate and the defeat of Caesar's assassins at the Battle of Philippi, Marcus Antonius travelled east, which ultimately led him to begin his relationship with Cleopatra.³²⁰ When Cleopatra met Antonius in Tarsus, she is described to have sailed up the river Cydnus: ἐν πορθμείῳ χρυσοπρύμνῳ, τῶν μὲν ιστίων ἀλουργῶν ἐκπεπετασμένων, τῆς δὲ εἰρεσίας ἀργυραῖς κώπαις ἀναφερομένης πρὸς αὐλὸν ἅμα σύριγξι καὶ κιθάραις συνηρμοσμένον. αὐτὴ δὲ κατέκειτο μὲν ὑπὸ σκιάδι χρυσοπάστῳ κεκοσμημένη γραφικῶς ὥσπερ Ἀφροδίτη.³²¹ Roman sources, like Plutarch's *Life of Antony*, portray Cleopatra as the conqueror of Antonius: ἀλίσκεται δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον.³²² Cassius Dio emphasises that Antonius, τῇ τε Αἰγυπτίᾳ ἐδούλευε καὶ τῷ ἐκείνης ἔρωτι ἐσχόλαζε.³²³ Cleopatra's meeting with Antonius in Tarsus is not the only occasion in which she uses purple sails. Pliny the Elder states that the ship in which Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony arrived in at the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE, and subsequently fled in, had purple sails. Following this battle, a purple sail was adopted by Augustus as the symbol for the emperor's ship.³²⁴ Meyer Reinhold described this adoption of the purple sail by Augustus as the "empty cliché in the model of a Roman national image contrasted with the Oriental display of affluence."³²⁵ Cleopatra is thus portrayed, in the eyes of the Romans, as a woman in power, who conquers and enslaves men, and displays her wealth and luxurious lifestyle with purple and golden decorations. During his winter in Alexandria, Antonius

³¹⁹ Roller 2010: 57.

³²⁰ Tatum 2023: 190–1, 194, 197–227.

³²¹ Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 26.1–2: "in a barge with gilded poop, its sails spread purple, its rowers urging it on with silver oars to the sound of the flute blended with pipes and lutes. She herself reclined beneath a canopy spangled with gold, adorned like Aphrodite in a painting."

³²² Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 25.1: "And he was taken captive in this manner."

³²³ Dio. Cass. 48.24.2: "became the Egyptian woman's slave and devoted his time to his passion for her."

³²⁴ Plin. *HN.* 19.22.

³²⁵ Reinhold 1970: 48.

was said to have been influenced by Cleopatra and the Egyptians and, τῇ τε Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις συνετρώφα, μέχρις οὗ παντελῶς κατελύθη.³²⁶ Thus, as an ‘Other’, Cleopatra is seen as a woman who directly contrasts the Roman ideals of moderation. Similarly to monster theory, Cleopatra symbolised an unconscious fear for the Romans—the triumph of the irrational over reason, chaos over order, and female over male. She is villainised, and eventually, she and Antonius took their own lives once Augustus entered Alexandria. Thus, they were defeated by the Romans who represented, in their eyes, the forces of reason, order, civilisation, and patriarchy.³²⁷

In relation to other foreign monarchies in the Augustan period, Horace describes the Parthian kings as *purpurei ... tyranni*, or “purple-clad tyrants,” and directly connects the colour purple to the Sidonians.³²⁸ In the *Aeneid*, one of Dido’s common epithets is Sidonian, which notes her upbringing in Sidon and her Phoenician origins.³²⁹ There are other associations between the colour purple and tyrannical rule in the *Aeneid*. While Camilla wears purple in her introduction, it is later revealed in Book 11 that her father Metabus is exiled by the Volscians for his oppressive, tyrannical rule.³³⁰ In his exile, Metabus raises his daughter, as both mother and father, in the woods.³³¹ Therefore, Camilla may have inherited the traits of her father. The term *rex* held weight for the ancient Romans. While the period of the monarchy began with Romulus, the founder of Rome who established the Roman constitution, it ended bitterly with the banishment of the seventh

³²⁶ Dio. Cass. 48.27.2–3: “joined Cleopatra and the Egyptians in general in their life of luxurious ease until he was entirely demoralized.”

³²⁷ Felton 2013: 103 and 2024: 2.

³²⁸ For the Parthian kings, see Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.12. For Horace’s associations between purple and the Sidonians, see Hor. *Carm.* 3.1.42: *nec purpurarum Sidone clarior*. Translation: “or the wearing of clothes brighter than Sidon’s purple.” See also Hor. *Carm.* 2.18.5–8 where he criticises the actions of the wealthy, while utilising the symbols of wealth, to compare what he does not have: *neque Attali ignotus heres regiam occupavi, nec Laconicas mihi trahunt honestae purpuras clientae*. Translation: “I have not come into possession of a palace as a long-lost heir of Attalus; nor do I have wellborn lady clients trailing robes of Laconian purple.”

³²⁹ For the use of Dido’s epithet Sidonian, see Verg. *Aen.* 1.446, 613; 11. 72–5. For Dido’s upbringing in Sidon, see Verg. *Aen.* 1.619–22. For Dido’s epithet Phoenician, see Verg. *Aen.* 1.670, 714; 6.450. For the relationship between Dido and her foreign wealth, see Verg. *Aen.* 4.75, 136–9; 5.571.

³³⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 11.539–41.

³³¹ See Verg. *Aen.* 11.544, 570–2.

and final king, Lucius Tarquinius Superbus.³³² Cicero asserts that the Romans: *sic pulso Tarquinio nomen regis audire non poterat*.³³³ While King Latinus is referred to as a *rex* in Lavinia's formal entrance in Book 7, he: *arva ... et urbes / iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat*.³³⁴ Therefore, Latinus and Metabus, in some respects, could be compared to Romulus and Tarquinius, respectively. Despite both Latinus and Metabus serving as *reges*, *Tyrannus ... a rege factis distat, non nomine*.³³⁵ Furthermore, Latinus participates in the settler colonialism of the Trojans/Romans by listening to Faunus' prophecy and offering Lavinia's hand in marriage to Aeneas. Therefore, Vergil establishes a triadic relationship between Camilla, Dido, and Cleopatra. While the Romans incorporated purple and gold into their dress to symbolise wealth and rank, Vergil utilises purple and gold in the *Aeneid* to embody foreign, potentially tyrannical, monarchies, especially those helmed by women, who consumed purple and gold in excess.

ii. The Hunting of Chloereus

While Camilla displays excess through her purple and gold attire, she also embodies excess in her hunting of Chloereus. In Book 11, Vergil recalls certain descriptors that were applied to both Dido and Camilla in their entrances in Books 4 and 7—the wearing of purple and gold, the riding of horses, and the carrying of quivers.³³⁶ Horsfall suggests the similarity of dress between Camilla and Chloereus serves as a 'bait' for Camilla, within the hunting scene.³³⁷ Vergil describes Camilla in her pursuit of Chloereus:

hunc virgo, sive ut templis praefigeret arma
Troia, captivo sive ut se ferret in auro
venatrix, unum ex omni certamine pugnae
caeca sequebatur totumque incauta per agmen

³³² Cic. *Rep.* 2.52–3; Liv. 2.1.1–8.

³³³ Cic. *Rep.* 2.52: “after the banishment of Tarquinius, they could not bear even to hear the title of king mentioned.”

³³⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 7.46–7: “now old, ruled over lands and towns in the calm of a long peace.”

³³⁵ Sen. *Clem.* 1.12.1: “the difference between a tyrant and a king is one of deeds, not in name.”

³³⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 11.768–777.

³³⁷ Horsfall 2003: 411.

femineo praedae et spoliolum ardebat amore.

Whether hoping to fasten up Trojan arms in a temple
or to flaunt herself in golden spoil,
the maiden singled him out from all the battle fray and like
a huntress was blindly pursuing him, recklessly raging through all the ranks with
a woman's passion for booty and spoil. (11.778–82)

Camilla's descriptors—*caeca* and *incauta*—and Vergil's employment of an anastrophe in line 781 highlight her passionate pursuit of Chloereus, which seemingly lacks thought or precaution.³³⁸ While Camilla wears purple and gold, her associations to foreign female-led monarchies and her display of excessive consumption in this passage contrasts the traditional Roman values of moderation, thus, establishing her as a cultural 'Other'. While Camilla displays her military prowess and masculine desires for the spoils of war, Vergil suggests Camilla's desire is driven by her feminine nature, "with a love for pretty things."³³⁹ The inherent misogyny in the *Aeneid*, discussed previously in this paper regarding Lavinia's role as *regia coniunx*, is likewise present in this passage.³⁴⁰ In the final line of the passage, Vergil problematises Camilla's desire for war spoils. The pursuit and stripping of armour in a military context is often described in Homer's *Iliad* amongst heroes in the pursuit of glory.³⁴¹ However, in this passage, Vergil describes the blinding desire for war spoils as inherently feminine, despite its association to male Greek heroes and Camilla's participation in 'masculine' activities in the *Aeneid*. Moreover, in the *Aeneid*, those who

³³⁸ Gildenhard and Henderson 2018: 530–1.

³³⁹ Horsfall 2003: 418. See also McManus 1997: 106.

³⁴⁰ See fn. 6 regarding the sexist and misogynistic views of Vergil.

³⁴¹ For the practice of stripping of armour in the *Iliad*, see Hom. *Il.* 17.120–7 which describes Hector stripping Achilles' armour from the body of Patroclus. In the *Iliad*, the value of golden armour is greater than that of bronze; hence, why it is pursued by soldiers. The *proxenia* relationship between Diomedes and Glaucus demonstrates the value of gold armour over bronze. See Hom. *Il.* 6.234–6: ἐνθ' αὖτε Γλαῦκος Κρονίδης φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεὺς, / ὃς πρὸς Τυδείδην Διομήδεα τέχε' ἄμειβε / χρύσεια χαλκείων, ἑκατόμβοι' ἐννεαβοίων. Translation: "And then from Glaucus did Zeus, son of Cronos, take away his senses, in that he made exchange of armor with Diomedes, son of Tydeus, giving golden for bronze, the worth of one hundred oxen for the worth of nine."

wore the armour of a fallen foe, such as Euryalus and Turnus, were often met with a tragic end.³⁴² While Camilla does not kill Chloreus, she desires to wear his armour and ultimately meets her tragic end. Thus, Vergil presents a paradox regarding the nature of *virtus* and Homeric heroism.³⁴³ In addition, the use of the verb *ardebat* and the noun *amore* evoke similar language used in Latin love elegy. Thus, Camilla's state of perpetual chastity is at odds with her feelings of desire. The passion of Camilla, in this passage, is both feminine and fatal.³⁴⁴ Like Dido, the blind, heedless pursuit of a goal is often disastrous and fatal for both characters.³⁴⁵ Ultimately, the defeat of Camilla and Dido is also the defeat of Cleopatra, who represent the triumph of the irrational over reason, chaos over order, and female over male.

Therefore, Camilla, as an Indigenous woman, fails to promote the colonialist programme of the *Aeneid*. On the one hand, Camilla does display some Roman qualities, such as wearing the *palla*, a golden hair comb, and perhaps the *paludamentum*; thus, highlighting her modesty, associations to Roman dress standards, and associating herself to Roman military dress in the Augustan period. However, on the other hand, Camilla is a liminal and nonconforming character and representative of the 'Other', despite being an Indigenous Volscian woman, with whom a union would hinder colonialist strategies. Camilla, likened to Dido and Cleopatra VII, is the queen of a foreign monarchy who is excessive in dress, such as the wearing of gold and purple, and in behaviour, like the blind and reckless pursuit of Chloreus. Camilla is also 'masculine' through her pursuit of war spoils, and her decisiveness and independence of thought. These traits contrasted the traditional virtues of married Roman women. In colonial Canada, Indigenous societies were

³⁴² For Euryalus' taking of the spoils, see Verg. *Aen.* 9.359–85. For the tragic end of Euryalus, see Verg. *Aen.* 9.431–7. For Turnus' taking of the spoils, see Verg. *Aen.* 10.500–9. For the tragic end of Turnus, see Verg. *Aen.* 12.938–52. For Aeneas' proper stripping and dedicating of armour, see Verg. *Aen.* 11.1–99.

³⁴³ West 1985: 25.

³⁴⁴ Anderson 1999: 208 and Gildenhard and Henderson 2018: 532.

³⁴⁵ Anderson 1999: 208 and Gildenhard and Henderson 2018: 532.

often women-centred and matriarchal, while settler societies were patriarchal.³⁴⁶ Thus, the matrilineal structures of Indigenous societies were considered impediments to the patriarchal, colonialist programme. Consequently, the oppression and subordination of Indigenous women by European settlers was required for colonisation, and the death of Indigenous women was one of the avenues in which to achieve that goal.³⁴⁷ Camilla can neither be harnessed or assimilated into the colonialist programme of the Trojans/Romans; therefore, she must be erased as she is an impediment to both Aeneas and the Trojans, as well as Roman colonisation.

d. Lavinia: Representing the Roman

In comparison to Camilla, Lavinia's depiction in the *Aeneid* presents her as a woman who successfully promotes the colonialist programme of the Trojans/Romans. As mentioned, the union of Lavinia and Aeneas conforms to the conventions of traditional Roman marriage and thus illustrates that their marriage reinforced the settlers' social and cultural values, similar to those of the European settlers in colonial Canada. Lavinia is presented as an ideal Roman woman and future Roman wife and mother, who also, as an Indigenous Italian, provides Aeneas, the settler Trojan, with an opportunity to indigenise himself to the land of Italy. Besides Lavinia's conformity to the Roman marriage traditions, so too does her physical representation conform to the Roman standards of dress for women, including her hair, facial features, and temperament. Her physical representation supports her regal status as a Latin princess and *digna condicio* for Aeneas. In addition, her relationship to the prophecy of Rome through the burning of her hair presents her as the prophesised wife of Aeneas and the mother of Rome's first children. Portrayed similarly to a European woman in the context of settler colonialism, Lavinia is reserved for her procreative

³⁴⁶ McGuire-Adams 2020: 33–4 and Anderson 2011: 167.

³⁴⁷ McGuire-Adams 2020: 33–4. For the death of Indigenous women, see McGuire-Adams 2020: 36–7 and Simpson 2016.

abilities, and her motherhood is seen as a sacred duty. Thus, Lavinia can be assimilated easily into the settler population—the Trojans/Romans—as she already resembles a respectable Roman woman, wife, and mother.

i. Hair

In many of the passages that discuss Lavinia's physical appearance, her hair is frequently evoked. When Lavinia is first named in Book 7, Vergil provides some details about her appearance, including her hair:

praeterea, castis adolet dum altaria taedis,
et iuxta genitorem astat Lavinia virgo,
visa (nefas) longis comprehendere crinibus ignem
atque omnem ornatum flamma crepitante cremari,
regalisque accensa comas, accensa coronam
insignem gemmis; tum fumida lumine fulvo
involvi ac totis Vulcanum spargere tectis.
id vero horrendum ac visu mirabile ferri:
namque fore inlustrem fama fatisque caneant
ipsam, sed populo magnum portendere bellum.

Moreover, while with hallowed torch he kindles the altars,
and at her father's side stands the maiden Lavinia,
she was seen (O horror!) to catch fire in her long tresses,
and burn with crackling flame in all her headgear,
her queenly hair ablaze, ablaze her jewelled coronal;
then wreathed in smoke and yellow glare, she scattered fire throughout the palace.
That indeed was noised abroad as an awful and wondrous vision;
for she, they foretold, would herself be glorious in fame and fortune,
yet to her people she boded a mighty war. (7.71–80)

Certain phrases in this passage underscore Lavinia's status as the daughter of King Latinus—*ornatum / regalisque ... comas / coronam insignem gemmis*. Vergil's portrayal of Lavinia as a Latin princess enhances her regal status and makes her an ideal mother to the earliest Romans and worthy wife for Aeneas—a *digna condicio*. However, Lavinia also serves as a regent for a new male heir. Therefore, Lavinia can be assimilated easily into the settler population, while Aeneas can simultaneously indigenise himself to the Italian land through their marriage.

Vergil also presents a tension—between love, death, and ‘burning’—in this passage and throughout the *Aeneid*. The blind, heedless desires of characters like Camilla and Dido are often disastrous and fatal. However, in this passage, the ‘burning’ of Lavinia is representative of her role in the prophecy of Rome and is ultimately harnessed in service of the Trojan colonial undertaking. Book 7 begins with another invocation of the Muse, mirroring the start of Book 1.³⁴⁸ However, this invocation is to Erato, the Muse of the lyric and erotic poetry.³⁴⁹ In the invocation in Book 1, Vergil outlines the plot of the epic, but focuses more on the journey and impending war surrounding Aeneas, which will lead to his establishment of Rome.³⁵⁰ Thus, the tension is consistent and equal throughout the *Aeneid*.

Returning to Lavinia’s hair and her role in the founding of Rome, when Anchises refuses to leave Troy and thereby dooms Aeneas’ family to die in Troy, a flame appears around Iulus’ head, which is understood as a message from the gods.³⁵¹ Following this, thunder crashes and a shooting star, sent from the gods, shows them the way to Mount Ida, where they will build their fleet to sail to Hesperia.³⁵² Similar to Iulus, Lavinia’s hair catches fire. Both instances of burning hair connect these two characters as important individuals in Aeneas’ fate. Coupled with the invocation of Erato at the beginning of Book 7, and the consistent tension of love and death through ‘burning’, Lavinia is presented as an ideal Roman woman and wife to Aeneas. She plays a necessary role in Rome’s founding as a *regia coniunx*, as prophesied by the gods and Anchises in the Underworld.³⁵³ However, her role in the prophecy of Rome will lead to a war, as foreshadowed at the end of the passage above.

³⁴⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 1.8–11.

³⁴⁹ Verg. *Aen.* 7.37.

³⁵⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 1.1–11.

³⁵¹ Verg. *Aen.* 2.679–91.

³⁵² For the crashing of thunder and the shooting star, see Verg. *Aen.* 7.692–700. For the building of the fleet at Mount Ida, see Verg. *Aen.* 3.1–8.

³⁵³ Verg. *Aen.* 6.756–807.

In terms of Roman women's dress and beauty standards, hairstyles for women changed over time. While Ovid, in his *Ars Amatoria*, details a variety of hairstyles for women that flatter the wearer's features, one of the most popular hairstyles for women from the late Republic and into the first century CE was the *nodus*.³⁵⁴ This coiffed hairstyle was first worn by Marcus Antonius' wife Fulvia in 43 BCE. However, it was later adopted by members of Augustus' family, such as his wife Livia and daughter Julia.³⁵⁵ In contrast to hairstyles associated with Cleopatra, the *nodus* emphasised Roman ideals of chastity and modesty, for which Livia and other members of Augustus' family embodied.³⁵⁶ However, while married Roman women maintained their long hair in more elaborate hairstyles on top of the head for public viewing, it was acceptable for pre-adolescent girls to wear their long hair loosely down their backs.³⁵⁷ These loose hairstyles for women were also detailed by Ovid in his *Ars Amatoria*.³⁵⁸ Coupled with Lavinia's status as a *virgo*, it is likely that Lavinia's hair is styled in this fashion as her hair is described as *longis* and without decoration, unlike Camilla's use of the golden hair comb.³⁵⁹ Thus, her hairstyling in the *Aeneid* aligns with her life stage as *matura viro*, the cultural norms regarding female dress of the Augustan period, thus, portraying her as an ideal Roman woman and future wife. Furthermore, Lavinia is slowly being stripped of her Indigeneity and assimilated into the Trojans/Romans.

The long, unbound hair of Lavinia, while portraying her as a young maiden, also carries implications of loss and mourning. In the case of funerary processions in the Augustan period, the

³⁵⁴ For Ovid, see Ov. *Ars am.* 3.133–54. For the *nodus*, see Croom 2010: 98–105 and Olson 2019: 59.

³⁵⁵ Olson 2019: 59. For modern works that discuss the portraiture of Livia, see Bartman 1999.

³⁵⁶ Schwab and Rose 2019: 34.

³⁵⁷ Bartman 2001: 5. The *Aeneid* describes the hairstyles of both married and unmarried women. For married women, their hair was bound up using the *vitta*—a woolen band. See Verg. *Aen.* 7.403 for Amata compels the other Latin women to loosen their *vittae*. See also Verg. *Aen.* 7.418–9 for Allecto transforming into the priestess Calybe as she *induit albos / cum vitta crinis*. Translation: “assumes hoary locks and a fillet.”

³⁵⁸ Ov. *Ars am.* 3.141–5: *Alterius crines umero iacentur utroque ... Huic decet inflatos laxe iacuisse capillos*. Translation: “Let one girl's locks hang down on either shoulder ... This one it beseems to let her waving locks lie loose.”

³⁵⁹ See Verg. *Aen.* 11.576.

cultural norms for Roman women's hair, as well as all other daily rituals, were suspended.³⁶⁰ For example, when in mourning, hair washing and combing were suspended.³⁶¹ The *Aeneid* consistently correlates long hair with death.³⁶² During the funeral of Pallas, the Trojan women are described to have their hair *maestum ... de more solutae*.³⁶³ In another example of mourning rituals by Trojan women, in the ecphrasis of the walls of Juno's temple, mourning the destruction of Troy, the Trojan women, *ibant / crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant, / suppliciter tristes et tunsae pectora palmis*.³⁶⁴ Mourning practices in the Augustan period were highly gendered. During a funeral procession, women could express their grief in three distinct ways—lamentation, by crying out (*eiulatio*, *lessus*), or through the singing of funerary songs (*neniae*).³⁶⁵ Mourning women also expressed their grief through the beating of their heads and chests, scratching their cheeks, pulling their hair, falling to the ground, and sprinkling the ashes of the dead individual on their head.³⁶⁶ In reference to Lavinia, she leads the ritual lamentation for her mother Amata: *filia prima manu flavos Lavinia crinis / et roseas laniata genas, tum cetera circum / turba furit, resonant late plangoribus aedes*.³⁶⁷ In addition, other Italian women share these funerary practices. In Book 12, when Juturna sees one of the Furies sent by Jupiter for her brother Turnus, she *crinis scindit ... solutos / unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis*.³⁶⁸ Therefore, the funerary rituals of both Trojan and Italian women in the *Aeneid* are similar to those practiced in ancient Rome. Thus, Lavinia, an Indigenous

³⁶⁰ Servius (11.93) describes that, *antiqui nostri omnia contraria in funere faciebant*. Translation: "our ancestors did all things inverted in times of mourning." See also Erker 2011: 44.

³⁶¹ Erker 2011: 44.

³⁶² For associations between long hair and death, see Verg. *Aen.* 1.480; 3.65; 4.509; 4.698–704; 11.35; 12.605, 870. These passages consistently depict women mourning others with their hair down, with the only exception being Dido who is atop her own funeral pyre, followed by the description of the ritual of Proserpina and Iris taking Dido's life.

³⁶³ Verg. *Aen.* 11.35: "unbound for mourning according to custom."

³⁶⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 1.479–81: "passed along with streaming tresses, and bore the robe, mourning in suppliant guise and beating breasts with hands."

³⁶⁵ Erker 2011: 44.

³⁶⁶ See Luc. *Luct.* 12 and Apul. *Met.* 8.7. See also Erker 2011: 44–5.

³⁶⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 12.605–8: "first her daughter Lavinia, her hand tearing her golden tresses and rosy cheeks, falls into a frenzy, then all the throng around her; the wide halls ring with lamentations."

³⁶⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 12.870–1: "she tears her loosened hair, disfiguring her face with her nails, and her breasts with her fists."

Latin woman, shares funerary practices with the Trojans—the future Romans. Her long, loose hairstyling aligns with her life stage as a *virgo* and *matura viro*, as well as the Roman standards of dress and beauty for women of the Augustan period. The burning of Lavinia’s hair also portends destruction for the Indigenous Italic nations. Therefore, Lavinia is portrayed as the ideal candidate to assimilate into the settlers’ social and cultural values.

ii. Blushing and Eyes Downcast

One of the best-known passages from the *Aeneid* is the scene known, in modern Classical scholarship, as ‘Lavinia’s blush.’³⁶⁹ The traditional Roman virtues of married women were “chastity, frugality, domesticity, industry and loyalty to her husband and family.”³⁷⁰ The blushing of Lavinia, similar to her readiness and suitability for marriage, emphasises her status as a *virgo* and her alignment with traditional Roman ideals for women. The blushing of young maidens is not a unique concept introduced by Vergil, but rather a common literary tool that was integrated into the works of late Republican and early Imperial poets to emphasise these feminine virtues. Therefore, as an Indigenous Italian woman in the *Aeneid*, Lavinia can be assimilated into the settler population—the Trojans/Romans—as she already possesses these Roman feminine virtues. Like Camilla’s purple garment, Vergil utilises description, when describing Lavinia’s blush, to create ambiguity in its meaning:

accepit vocem lacrimis Lavinia matris
flagrantis perfusa genas, cui plurimus ignem
subiecit rubor et calefacta per ora cucurrit.
Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro
si quis ebur, aut mixta rubent ubi lilia multa
alba rosa, talis virgo dabat ore colores.
illum turbat amor figitque in virgine vultus

Lavinia heard her mother’s words,

³⁶⁹ For a summary of some of the Classical scholarship that discusses Lavinia’s blush from the 1980’s and onwards, see Cairns 2005: 196, which also summarises their arguments.

³⁷⁰ Hemelrijk 1987: 217.

her burning cheeks steeped in tears,
 while a deep blush kindled its fire, and mantled her glowing face.
 As when someone stains Indian ivory with crimson dye,
 or white lilies blush when mingled with many a rose—
 such hues her maiden features showed.
 Love throws Turnus into turmoil, and he fastens his gaze upon the maid (12.64–70)

In comparison to Lavinia’s passivity and lack of individuality throughout the epic, this passage is an outlier of expression for the Latin princess; therefore, it is a topic of interest amongst Classical scholars. While scholars suggest a variety of interpretations—Lavinia is in love with Turnus, Lavinia blushes at the thought of Aeneas as her husband, amongst others—I support the assertions made by Francis Cairns that Lavinia, representing maidenly modesty, blushes because of her shame when marriage is brought up in her presence by her mother.³⁷¹ Cairns compares Lavinia to Cydippe from Aristaenetus’ *Epistles*, a narrative of the fifth–sixth century CE which incorporated the original fragments of Callimachus’ *Aetia*, as well as the work of other ancient Roman writers.³⁷² Callimachus describes how Acontius, who became enamoured with an Athenian girl named Cydippe, tricked her into marrying him. Taking an apple from the garden of Aphrodite and writing a message onto it, he rolled it to her feet, with her not knowing the apple’s origin:

ἡ δὲ κόρη κομισαμένη καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι περιθέουσα τὴν γραφὴν
 ἀνεγίνωσκεν ἔχουσιν ὧδε· “μὰ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν Ἀκοντίῳ γαμοῦμαι.”
 ἔτι διερχομένη τὸν ὄρκον εἰ καὶ ἀκούσιόν τε καὶ νόθον τὸν
 ἐρωτικὸν λόγον ἀπέρριπεν αἰδουμένη, καὶ ἡμίφωνον
 καταλέλοιπε λέξιν τὴν ἐπ’ ἐσχάτῳ κειμένην ἅτε διαμνημονεύουσιν
 γάμον, ὃν σεμνὴ παρθένος κἂν ἑτέρου λέγοντος ἠρυθρίασε. καὶ
 τοσοῦτον ἐξεφοινίχθη τὸ πρόσωπον, ὥς δοκεῖν ὅτι τῶν παρειῶν
 ἔνδον εἶχε τινα ῥόδων λειμῶνα, καὶ τὸ ἐρύθημα τοῦτο μηδὲν τῶν
 χειλῶν αὐτῆς διαφέρειν.

The maiden took it, and with her eyes examining the writing
 recognized its meaning: “By Artemis, it is Acontius I will marry.”
 While still completing the oath, however involuntary and spurious,
 she threw away the declaration of love, embarrassed, and left

³⁷¹ Cairns 2005: 197. For the theory that Lavinia is in love with Turnus, see Lyne 1983. For Lavinia blushing at the thought of Aeneas becoming her husband, see Nelis 2001: 377–81 and Todd 1980.

³⁷² Cairns 2005: 197–8.

half-spoken the reading at the end, which mentioned marriage,
at which a decent girl blushes even when someone else speaks of it.
And her face turned so red that on her cheeks a meadow of roses
seemed to have blossomed. And this redness differed not at all from
that of her lips. (Callim. *Aet.* 67–75; Aristaenetus, *Epistles* 1.10.1–3, 24–45)

The underlined sections can be compared to Lavinia’s blush. Both female characters are maidens—a *virgo* and a κόρη—who, upon the utterance of marriage, blush in a similar hue to that of a rose. Other Roman poets of the late Republic and into the first century CE expanded upon and integrated the work of Callimachus into their own, as the Romans believed that Callimachus was the *princeps elegiae*.³⁷³ In a poem dedicated to his deceased brother Hortalus, Catullus compares his gifted verses to an apple gifted to a young maiden by her secret lover; when her mother discovers the gift, the young maiden blushes.³⁷⁴ Ovid frames the same story of Cydippe and Acontius in the *Heroides* into two different accounts. The twentieth poem is read by Acontius to Cydippe, an open avowal of his feelings for her.³⁷⁵ The twenty-first and final poem places the story into the perspective of Cydippe: *nomine coniugii dicto confusa pudore, / sensi me totis erubuisse genis, / luminaque in gremio veluti defixa tenebam*.³⁷⁶ It is suggested that even Vergil’s *Eclogues* 2 and 10 were influenced by the work of Callimachus.³⁷⁷ Therefore, the blushing of Lavinia not only emphasises her status as a *virgo*, but it is also a common literary tool utilised by Roman poets of the late Republic and early Empire to highlight traditional Roman feminine virtues. These ideals

³⁷³ Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.58–9: *Tunc et elegiam vacabit in manus sumere, cuius princeps habetur Callimachus*. Translation: “There will be time enough then to take up even elegy, where Callimachus is regarded as the leader.”

³⁷⁴ Catull. 65.23–4: *atque illud prono praeceps agitur decursu, / huic manat tristi conscius ore rubor*. Translation: “then, see, onward, downward swiftly it rolls and runs, while a conscious blush creeps over her downcast face.”

³⁷⁵ Ov. *Her.* 20. The blush of Cydippe is referenced in lines 5–6, 97.

³⁷⁶ Ov. *Her.* 21.111–3: “At mention of the name of wedlock I was confused and shamed, and felt the blushes cover all my face, and my eyes I kept upon my bosom as if fastened there.”

³⁷⁷ Cairns 2005: 200 and Ross 1975: 88–9. Ross compares Verg. *Ecl.* 10.52–4 to the actions of Acontius: *certum est in silvis, inter spelaea ferarum, / malle pati tenerisque meos incidere amores / arboribus: crescent illae, crescentis, amores*. Translation: “Well I know that in the woods, amid wild beasts’ dens, it is better to suffer and carve my love on the young trees. They will grow, and you, my love, will grow with them.”

for Roman women translated beyond the literary sphere and into the Augustan period. Seneca the Elder, quoting the Augustan rhetor Marcus Porcius Latro, discusses the ideals of Roman wives:

ferat iacentis in terram oculos; adversus officiosum salutatorem
inhumana potius quam invereconda sit; etiam in necessaria
resalutandi vice multo rubore confusa sit. Sic se in verecundiam
pigneret ut longe ante inpubicitiam suam ore quam verbo neget.

Let her go about with her eyes on the ground. In the face of the
over-attentive greeting, let her be impolite rather than immodest.
Even where she has to return a greeting, let her show confusion,
with many a blush. Let her guarantee her modesty by denying
her unchastity with her look well in advance of her words. (Sen. *Controv.* 2.7.3)

In addition to Lavinia's blush, she is also described, when processing with the Latin women to the temple of Pallas to have her, *oculos deiecta decoros*.³⁷⁸ Scott McGill notes that this too is a symbol of maidenly modesty.³⁷⁹ Therefore, Lavinia's blushing and downcast eyes, similar to her readiness and suitability for marriage, emphasises her status as a *virgo* and her embodiment of traditional Roman virtues for women, as noted by Vergil and other prominent poets of the late Republic and early Empire. Therefore, as an Indigenous Italian woman in the *Aeneid*, Lavinia can be assimilated into the settler population—the Trojans/Romans—as she already possesses these Roman feminine virtues.

Conclusion: Indigeneity and Relationship to the Land

In making my final connection between Indigenous women in colonial Canada and the *Aeneid*, I recall the polarities often invoked to delineate the differences between the colonised and coloniser: “male and female, White and nonwhite, civil and savage.”³⁸⁰ Matriarchal Indigenous nations, often centred around women, maintained strong connections to their land through ceremonial and

³⁷⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 11.480: “beautiful eyes lowered.”

³⁷⁹ McGill 2020: 181.

³⁸⁰ For the quote, see Jordan 2021: 273. See also Morgensen 2012: 9.

spiritual practices, as well as reproduction.³⁸¹ As such, Indigenous women proved to be impediments to land seizure and cultivation, and settler claims of rightful ownership. Thus, the oppression and subordination of Indigenous women by settlers was required for the colonisation of the land as these two were intrinsically linked.³⁸² While some Indigenous women, such as the idealised Indian princess Pocahontas, supported the settler colonial agenda, the majority of Indigenous women in colonial North America were sorted along polarities of civilised and savage, sexualised and idealised, all to further the settler's agenda—to civilise. Moreover, the use of polarities justified their actions, just as they did in the *Aeneid*. Lavinia, like Pocahontas, occupies a position closer to the settler end of the polarity. She, like the ideal for Roman women in the late Republic and early Empire, is modest, restrained, and quiet. Further, while she maintains an association to the Italian land, it is not such an intensely physical bond as is exhibited by Camilla. Ancient authors, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus and in the *Origo gentis Romanae*, propose that the colony of Lavinium was named in honour of Lavinia.³⁸³ Thus, in the opening lines of the *Aeneid*, when the Trojans, *Italiam ... Lavinaque venit / litora*, it may be a direct reference to Lavinia.³⁸⁴ In addition, her father, King Latinus, *arva ... et urbes / iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat*.³⁸⁵ Therefore, King Latinus rules over the Latin land, which has long experienced

³⁸¹ Anderson 2011: 183, Anderson 2016: 176–84, and McGuire-Adams 2020: 32.

³⁸² McGuire-Adams 2020: 33–4.

³⁸³ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.59.3: “This town Aeneas called Lavinium, after the daughter of Latinus, according to the Romans’ own account; for her name, they say, was Lavinia. But according to some of the Greek mythographers he named it after the daughter of Anius, the king of the Delians, who was also called Lavinia; for as she was the first to die of illness at the time of the building of the city and was buried in the place where she died, the city was made her memorial. She is said to have embarked with the Trojans after having been given by her father to Aeneas at his desire as a prophetess and a wise woman.” *Origo* 9.5: *Dein cognita Polymestoris perfidia ex Polydori nece inde digressum perpectum que ad insulam Delum atque illinc ab eo Laviniam, Anii sacerdotis Apollinis filiam, in matrimonium ascitam, ex cuius nomine Lavinia litora appellata*. Translation: “Then when Polymestor’s dishonesty became known as a result of the death of Polydorus, he [Aeneas] departed from there and sailed to the island of Delos and there Lavinia, the daughter of Anius, priest of Apollo, was received in marriage by him, from whose name the Lavinian shores were named.”

³⁸⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 1.2–3: “came to Italy and Lavine shores.”

³⁸⁵ Verg. *Aen.* 7.46–7: “now old, ruled over lands and towns in the calm of a long peace.”

peace under his kingship. However, as a proto-Roman woman, Lavinia is specifically associated with the household, not the land itself. As noted in her formal entrance in Book 7, she *domum et tantas servabat ... sedes*.³⁸⁶ When she is finally named in Book 7, she stands next to her father within the boundaries of the home and familial order. Despite being an Indigenous Italian, Lavinia conforms to Trojan mores and ideals of women being present in the home, and is useful to the future of Rome, as the future wife of Aeneas and mother of Rome's first children. In addition, Latinus' familial line rests solely on Lavinia, due to the untimely death of Latinus' male heir. Through the union of Aeneas and Lavinia, Aeneas inherits the throne and the power over the Latin people and, by extension, the land. As noted in Faunus' prophecy, his descendants will ultimately hold imperial power over the Earth, but they will cease to be called Latins and become Romans. Therefore, Lavinia's connection to the land and the Latin people is fruitfully harnessed by the Trojans/Romans.

Camilla, on the other hand, in maintaining a stronger connection to the land through her upbringing and behaviour, falls on the other side of the polarity. Because of her connection to the land and its wilderness, as well as her liminal and nonconforming characteristics that contradict Trojan mores and ideals, Camilla must be erased due to her resistance to the Trojan/Roman colonial programme. In her introduction, Camilla seemingly avoids harm to the environment in which she lives. As noted by Vergil, *illa vel intactae segetis per summa volaret / gramina nec teneras cursu laeisset aristas, / vel mare per medium fluctu suspensa tumentis / ferret iter celeris nec tingeret aequore plantas*.³⁸⁷ Vergil underscores her commitment to maintaining her independence as a non-married woman through his intentional connections between her and the

³⁸⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 7.52: "preserves the house and noble home."

³⁸⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 7.808–11: "She might have flown over the topmost blades of unmown corn, and not bruised the tender ears in her course; or sped her way over mid sea, poised above the swelling wave, and not dipped her swift feet in the flood."

land. For example, Camilla is connected to the *intactae* grain field that she seemingly flies over the top of.³⁸⁸ Vergil also utilises *intactae* in other agricultural or natural settings, such as in the *Georgics*.³⁸⁹ While Camilla's refusal to enter a marriage and maintain her life amidst the natural world of Italy, alludes to one of the goals of Diana and her sacred band—to be secluded from society and a part of the wilderness, Camilla also seemingly lives harmoniously with nature. For example, Vergil uses the verb *laeisset* to describe Camilla's lack of injury to the ears of grain.³⁹⁰ Vergil utilises this verb in other works like the *Georgics* and *Eclogues*, often to describe injury, or the potential of such, against those who are considered young and vulnerable.³⁹¹ One of the clearest associations Vergil makes in Camilla's introduction is her connection to horses, which is recalled and further developed in Book 11. First, she is, *agmen agens equitum*, which reflects both her Roman qualities—connecting her to prominent Roman politicians and her dress—and her inverted gender associations—a masculine *virgo*.³⁹² Camilla's leading of a cavalry is later developed in Book 11, when Camilla battles most often from horseback.³⁹³ Moreover, Vergil often describes Camilla in similar terms to horses. In Homer's *Iliad*, Aeneas describes his familial lineage, in particular the twelve fillies who were born of Boreas, the North Wind, and horses of King Erichonius:

αἱ δ' ὅτε μὲν σκιρτῶεν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν,
 ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀνθερίκων καρπὸν θεὸν οὐδὲ κατέκλων·
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ σκιρτῶεν ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης,
 ἄκρον ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνος ἀλὸς πολιοῖο θέεσκον.

These, when they bounded over the earth, the giver of grain,
 would run over the topmost ears of ripened corn and break them not
 and, when they bounded over the broad back of the sea,

³⁸⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 7.808.

³⁸⁹ See Verg. *G.* 3.40–1: “untrodden glades”; 4.540, 551: “as many heifers of unyoked neck.”

³⁹⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 11.809.

³⁹¹ See in particular Vergil's use in *Ecl.* 10.48–9 of the verb *laedere* with the adjective *tener* in Gallus' description of Lycoris' feet: *a, te ne frigora laedant! a, tibi ne teneras glacies secet aspera plantas!* Translation: “Ah, may the frosts not harm you! Ah, may the jagged ice not cut your tender feet!” See also Verg. *G.* 2.301, 3.298; Verg. *Ecl.* 1.50.

³⁹² Verg. *Aen.* 7.804: “leading the troop of cavalymen.”

³⁹³ See Verg. *Aen.* 11.690–711 where Camilla defeats Orsilochochus on horseback and subsequently dismounts to fight the son of Aunus.

would run over the topmost breakers of the gray brine. (Hom. *Il.* 20.226–9)

Vergil directly connects Camilla to the horses born of Boreas, as they are described nearly in the exact same manner. Furthermore, in both the *Iliad* and in the *Aeneid*, divine horses are often either the children of the winds or the horses used by a deity; thus, they can run as fast as the winds or even outrun them.³⁹⁴ Thus, when Camilla, *cursumque pedum praevertit ventos*, Vergil associates her with divine horses.³⁹⁵ Vergil picks up the narratological thread of Camilla's connection to the land and horses in Book 11. Diana recounts Camilla's upbringing by her father, Metabus. Due to Metabus' exile from the city of Privernum as a consequence of his tyrannical leadership, Camilla is raised in the woods, in the dens of wild animals, suckled on the milk of a wild mare.³⁹⁶ Metabus assumes the role of a mother for Camilla and nurses her with mare's milk.³⁹⁷ In Camilla's youth, she was armed with the weapons of Diana—the quiver and bow—and hunted. As a later queen, this upbringing and Camilla's learned skills would contribute to her rule as a cavalry leader, noted in her introduction in Book 7, and warrior, given that she handled weaponry since she was able to walk.³⁹⁸ Only when killed by Arruns does Camilla relinquish the reins of her horse and fall to the earth.³⁹⁹ In Diana's recounting of Camilla's childhood, she declares that upon Camilla's foreshadowed death: *post ego nube cava miserandae corpus et arma / in spoliata feram tumulo patriaeque reponam*.⁴⁰⁰ Hence, upon Camilla's death, she will be returned, entombed in the earth in

³⁹⁴ For Xanthus and Balaus, the horses of Achilles in the Trojan War, see Hom. *Il.* 16.148–51; 19.415–6. For Turnus' horses, gifted by Orithyia to Pylumnus, see Verg. *Aen.* 12.81–4. For Turnus and his horses being compared to Mars and his horses who can outrun the West and South Winds, see Verg. *Aen.* 12.331–40.

³⁹⁵ Verg. *Aen.* 7.807: “and outruns the winds, with the speed of her feet.”

³⁹⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 11.570–2.

³⁹⁷ See Verg. *Aen.* 11.544: “Carrying her before him on his breast....”

³⁹⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 7.803–4.

³⁹⁹ Verg. *Aen.* 11.827–8.

⁴⁰⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 11.593–4: “Then in a hollow cloud I will bear the body and armour of the hapless maid unspoiled to the tomb, and bury them in her father's land.”

the land of her father.⁴⁰¹ Therefore, Camilla, an Indigenous woman, is intrinsically linked to the land and not to the societal and household structures of the Trojans/Romans. She maintains stronger connections to the land than Lavinia due to her upbringing, her connection to horses, and Vergil's intentional connections between her and the land. However, due to her *aeternum telorum et virginitatis amorem*, she maintained her virginal status in life and in death.⁴⁰² Thus, Camilla could not be harnessed for the Trojan colonialist programme in a similar manner as Lavinia. In the *Aeneid*, Camilla was seen as an impediment to both Aeneas and the Trojans, as well as Roman colonisation. Thus, Camilla, an Indigenous woman, had to be and ultimately was erased.

Throughout this investigation of the *Aeneid*, the importance of a woman in the colonisation of Hesperia, as Aeneas' future wife and mother of Rome's first children, is consistently mentioned. The choice of wife in the *Aeneid* tells us a great deal about Roman identity and the ideal standing, behaviour, and family of a Roman woman. In introducing Lavinia and Camilla into the story of the earliest founding of Rome, they are used in similar ways to Indigenous women in colonial Canada by settler Europeans. Overall, these Indigenous Italian women in the *Aeneid* are judged and treated much like the Indigenous women were by their European colonisers in colonial Canada. On the one hand, Camilla does display some Roman qualities. Camilla is consistently described as a *virgo*, highlighting her marriageable age. Her name is associated with the *camilla* and *camillus*, the roles of noble Roman youth who assist the flamens and their wives. Due to her high rank as the queen of the Volscians, she is a *digna condicio* for Aeneas. Camilla's dress, such as wearing the *palla*, golden hair combs and accessories, and likely the purple *paludamentum*, visually presents her as a Roman. On the other hand, Camilla is, in fact, a representative of the

⁴⁰¹ While this action is discussed in the future (*feram, reponam*), it most certainly occurs due to the certainty of Camilla's death. However, the actual event is not narrated. In addition, it is not clear what is the "land of her father" as Metabus is exiled from Privernum and creates a new home in the woods.

⁴⁰² Verg. *Aen.* 11.583: "lifelong love for her weapons and her maidenhood."

‘Other’ with whom a union would hinder colonialist strategies. A woman who remains steadfast in her virginal status, is compared to foreign female monarchies and their non-Roman values, is associated with ‘masculine’ activities and independence of thought by the colonisers, cannot be harnessed and must be erased. In the *Aeneid*, Camilla is an impediment to both Aeneas and the Trojans, as well as Roman colonisation. Ancient Indigenous women, such as Lavinia, who already appear and behave in a similar manner to the colonial society, are acceptable as partners and mothers. Lavinia can be assimilated into the settler population—the Trojans/Romans. Consequently, the Trojans, through the marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia, indigenise themselves to Italy.

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