

AP LATIN SUMMER ASSIGNMENT:

Cardinal Gibbons High School

Magistra Crabbe: 2018/2019

Assignment:

Read and prepare for a test on Books I, II, IV, VI, VIII, and XII of Virgil's Aeneid.

Directions:

- Carefully read the introduction to the Aeneid written by Bernard Knox, and fill out the corresponding reflection questions. These questions will be collected and graded in August. Content from the introduction will be represented on the test in August.
- Carefully read the English Portions of the Syllabus from Virgil's Aeneid. This is the entirety of Books I, II, IV, VI, VIII, and XII of Virgil's Aeneid. Students should read the Revised Penguin Edition by David West. Hard copies of this book are available from Mrs. Crabbe in room 211.
- Fill out the corresponding study questions for each book. In August, these study questions will be collected and graded.
- Students will take a test on these readings before beginning the Latin portion of the AP Syllabus.

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Suggested Reading Schedule:

May 28th- June 1st: Relax this week and recover from your finals. Drink lots of water. Get plenty of sleep. Spend time outside and do something fun with your friends. Help your parents around the house. Watch some Netflix but not TOO much.

June 4th-8th: Read the Introduction by Knox and fill out the study questions. If you don't already wear reading glasses, wear some fake ones. It will make you feel like a scholar.

June 11th-15th: Read Book I (pp 1-24 in the West Edition) and fill out the study questions. If you can, sit next to a window during a thunderstorm while reading. Trust me. It makes it better.

June 18th-22nd: Read Book II of the Aeneid (pp 25-47 in the West Edition) and fill out the study questions. Dress in all black while you do so to mourn the fall of Troy.

June 25th-29th: Read Book IV (pp 69-89 of the West Edition) and fill out the study questions. Do so in a comfy chair with a blanket and a large serving of break-up ice-cream. Keep tissues nearby to mourn the passing of Dido.

July 2nd-6th: Celebrate Independence Day by not reading anything. Have a picnic or a barbeque. Watch some fireworks. Spend time with your family and friends.

July 9th-13th: Read Book VI (pp 115-140 in the West Edition) and fill out the study questions. Read in your room with most of the lights out and the curtains drawn for the right effect. If possible, play spooky halloween noises on your phone.

July 16th-20th: Read Book VIII (pp 165- 186 in the West Edition) and fill out the study questions. If possible, obtain a Nerf sword and shield, and keep them at your side as you read.

July 23rd-27th: Read Book XII (pp 264-290 in the West Edition) and fill out the study questions. Keep those Nerf weapons handy, but also wear a helmet and a belt.

July 30th-August 3rd: Congratulations! You've finished your summer reading assignment! Use this week to review and to make sure you have all your papers in one place.

August 6th-9th: Classes start on August 9th! Welcome back!

Introduction to the Aeneid

by Bernard Knox

When Publius Vergilius Maro—Virgil in common usage—was born in 70 b.c., the Roman Republic was in its last days. In 71 it had just finished suppressing the three-year-long revolt of the slaves in Italy, who, organized by Spartacus, a gladiator, had defeated four Roman armies but were finally crushed by Marcus Crassus. Crassus celebrated his victory by crucifying six thousand captured slaves along the Appian Way, the road that ran south from Rome to the Bay of Naples and from there on to Brundisium (Brindisi). In 67 b.c. Gnaeus Pompeius (Pompey) was given an extraordinary, wide command to clear the Mediterranean, which the Romans claimed was "our sea"—*mare nostrum*—of the pirates who made commerce and travel dangerous. (The young Julius Caesar was captured by pirates and held for ransom around 70 b.c.; he paid it but came back at once with an armed force and crucified them all.) In 65 b.c. Catiline conspired against the Republic but was suppressed in 63 through the action of the consul, Cicero. From 58 to 51 b.c. Julius Caesar added what are now Switzerland, France, and Belgium to the Roman Empire, creating in the course of these campaigns a superb army loyal to him rather than to the Republic, while in 53 b.c. Crassus invaded Parthia, a part of modern-day Iraq, but was killed at Carrhae, where many of his soldiers were taken prisoner and the legions' standards displayed as trophies of the Parthian victory. From 49 to 45 b.c. there was civil war as Caesar crossed the Rubicon River into Italy with his victorious army, which defeated Pompey's forces in Greece at Pharsalus in 48 b.c. Pompey escaped by sea and took refuge on the shore of Egypt, the only country on the Mediterranean not yet part of the Roman Empire, but he was killed by the Alexandrians and his head taken to Alexandria to be given to Caesar when he arrived. Caesar went on to defeat another republican army in Africa at Thapsus, and in the next year vanquished the last republican army at Munda in Spain. Back in Rome he appointed himself dictator, a position that had always been held for a short term in an emergency, for ten years.

But on the Ides of March, 44 b.c., Caesar was assassinated in the Senate House by conspirators led by Brutus and Cassius. However, Marcus Antonius (Mark Antony), Caesar's right-hand man in Gaul as in Rome, and young Octavian, great-nephew and adopted son of Caesar, soon drove the republicans to Greece and defeated the republican army at Philippi. Brutus and Cassius subsequently committed suicide. Antony took over the pacification of the eastern half of the Empire, making Alexandria, where he became the lover of the Hellenistic queen Cleopatra, his base, while Octavian, making Rome his headquarters, dealt with problems in Spain and the west.

Tension between Antony and Octavian grew steadily over time, in spite of attempts at reconciliation, and in 31 b.c. Antony and Cleopatra's fleet was defeated by Octavian and his admiral, Agrippa, off the Greek promontory of Actium. Antony and Cleopatra committed suicide in Alexandria rather than walk to execution in Rome in Octavian's triumph, and Egypt became a Roman province. Virgil died in 19 b.c. Octavian, who

assumed the title of Augustus in 27 b.c., ruled what was now the Roman Empire until his death in a.d. 14, when he was succeeded peacefully by Tiberius.

In his comparatively short life Virgil became the supreme Roman poet; his work overshadowed that of his successors, and his epic poem, the Aeneid, gave Homeric luster to the story of Rome's origins and its achievement—the creation of an empire that gave peace and the rule of law to all the territory surrounding the Mediterranean, to what are now Switzerland, France, and Belgium, and later to England. Yet when Virgil was born in the village of Andes, near Mantua (Mantova), he, like all the other Italians living north of the Po River, was not a Roman citizen.

Full Roman citizenship had been gradually conceded over the centuries to individuals and communities, but in the years 91 to 87 b.c. those communities still excluded fought a successful civil war against Rome, which ended with the grant of full Roman citizenship to all Italians living south of the Po River. The territory north of the river continued to be a provincia, ruled by a proconsul from Rome, with an army. Full Roman citizenship was finally granted to the inhabitants of the area by Julius Caesar in 49 b.c., when Virgil was already a young man.

Virgil was an Italian long before he became a Roman, and in the second book of the Georgics he follows a passage celebrating the riches of the East with a hymn of praise for the even greater riches of Italy:

But neither Media's land most rich in forests,
The gorgeous Ganges or the gold-flecked Hermus
Could rival Italy . . . the land is full Of teeming fruits and Bacchus' Massic liquor.
Olives are everywhere and prosperous cattle . . .
And then the cities,
So many noble cities raised by our labors,
So many towns we've piled on precipices,
And rivers gliding under ancient walls Hail, mighty mother of fruits, Saturnian land And mighty mother of men . . .
The same has bred a vigorous race of men,
Marsians, the Sabine stock, Ligurians Inured to hardship, Volscians javelin-armed.
(2.136-69, trans. L. P. Wilkinson, et seq.)

And in the Aeneid, Virgil's poem about the origins of Rome, though his hero, Aeneas, and the Trojan invaders of Italy are to build the city from which Rome will eventually be founded, there is a constant and vibrant undertone of sympathy for and identification with the Italians, which becomes a major theme in the story of the Volscian warrior princess Camilla.

Biographical information about Virgil is scant and much of it unreliable, but we learn from Suetonius' "Life" of the poet, written probably in the early years of the second century a.d., that Virgil "was tall . . . with a dark complexion and a rustic appearance" and that "he spoke very slowly and almost like an uneducated man." Yet when he read his own poems, his delivery of them "was sweet and wonderfully effective" (pp. 467-73, trans. J. C. Rolfe, et seq.). And we learn from the same author that when he read to Augustus and his sister

Octavia the second, fourth, and sixth books of the Aeneid, when he reached in the sixth book the lines about her son Marcellus, who had died young, she fainted, and it was difficult to revive her. We know too that Virgil and his father somehow escaped the fate of so many of the landowners in the area that Virgil refers to as Mantua—"but Mantua / Stands far too close for comfort to poor Cremona" (.Eclogues 9.28, trans. C. Day Lewis, et seq.)—confiscation of the land to reward the veterans of the armies of Octavian and Mark Antony after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi in 42 b.c. We know this mainly by inference from Virgil's first poems, the Eclogues, published around 39 to 38 b.c.

Near the opening of the third book of the Georgics Virgil speaks of what will be his next work:

Yet soon I will gird myself to celebrate The fiery fights of Caesar,
make his name
Live in the future ... (3.46-47)

This promise would be kept by the writing of his last and most grandly ambitious poem, the Aeneid, which he never finished to his full satisfaction. After reading Books 2, 4, and 6 to Augustus and Octavia and completing his work on Book 12, he decided to visit Greece in 19 b.c. and spend three years on correction and revision. But he met Augustus in Athens on Augustus' return from the East and was persuaded to return to Italy with him. However, passing from Athens to Corinth, at Megara Virgil contracted a fever, which grew worse during the voyage to Brundisium, where he died on September 21. He was buried near Naples, and on his tomb were inscribed verses that he is said to have composed himself:

Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc Parthenope.
Cecini pascua, rura, duces.
Mantova gave me life, the Calabrians took it away, Naples holds me now; I sang of
pastures, farms, and commanders. (trans. Knox)

There is a report that he had ordered his literary executors, Varius and Tucca, to destroy the unfinished manuscript; if so, these orders were immediately canceled by Augustus. Imperfections remain: some incomplete hexameters, which Virgil would certainly have tidied up, and several minor contradictions, which he would certainly have dealt with. One passage (2.702-28), which is not in the oldest manuscripts, was removed, according to the much later commentator Servius, by Varius and Tucca. (In the most recent editions of Virgil's text, for example that of Fairclough, revised in 1999-2000 by George P. Goold, the passage is marked as spurious. Other recent commentators, however, notably R. G. Austin and R. D. Williams, consider it genuine.) The passage pictures Helen as seeking sanctuary at the shrine of Vesta, fearing the vengeance of the Trojans for the ruin she has brought on them, and Aeneas' angry decision to kill her. This passage contradicts a long and intricate story of Helen triumphantly welcoming the Greeks and organizing the mutilation and death of Deiphobus, the Trojan whom she had married after the death of Paris (6.573-623). But however it may

complicate the narrative, and however Virgil might have revised it later, one may still be impressed by its strong Virgilian style and the effectiveness with which it suits its context, setting the scene for Venus, who redirects Aeneas' energies to the rescue of his family. The Aeneid, of course, is based on and often uses characters and incidents from the Homeric epics. In the Iliad Aeneas is an important warrior fighting on the Trojan side. He is the son of the love-goddess Aphrodite (Venus in the Roman pantheon) and Anchises, and he is often rescued from death at the hands of Greek warriors by divine intervention: from Diomedes by Aphrodite (Iliad 5.495-517), and from Achilles by Poseidon (Neptune) at Iliad 20.314-386. On this occasion Poseidon comments on Aeneas' piety toward the gods: "He always gave us gifts to warm our hearts, / gifts for the gods who rule the vaulting skies" (20.345-46). He also says something else about Aeneas:

"He is destined to survive.
Yes, so the generation of Dardanus shall not perish . . .
Dardanus, dearest to Zeus of all the sons
That mortal women brought to birth for Father." (20.349-53)

Dardanus was the founder of the race of Trojan kings, ancestor not only of Priam and Hector but also of Anchises and Aeneas. And Poseidon goes on to say: "and now Aeneas will rule the men of Troy in power— / his sons' sons and the sons born in future years" (20.355-56).

Poseidon's mention of Aeneas' insistence on gifts of sacrifice to the gods anticipates the adjective that Virgil often attaches to him—*pious*, and its abstract noun *pietas*. He is called in the early lines of the poem (1.10) "a man outstanding in his piety," *insignem pietate virum*, and in 1.457 he introduces himself to his mother, Venus (whom he has not yet recognized), with the words "I'm pious Aeneas," *sum pius Aeneas* (trans. Knox). The adjective and the abstract noun occur often in the poem and are attributed to its hero. Virgil's mastery of the hexameter line rules out the Homeric reason for the repetition of such modifiers—metrical necessity; in Virgil the frequent reappearance of these words in connection with the hero has a meaning and an emphasis, though not those of Yeats's sailor who told him Aeneas sounded more like a priest than a hero.

The word *pious* does indeed refer, like its English derivative, to devotion and duty to the Divine; this is the reason cited by Poseidon in the Iliad for saving Aeneas from death at the hand of Achilles. And in the Aeneid he is always mindful of the gods, constant in prayer and thanks and dutiful in sacrifice. But the words *pious* and *pietas* have in Latin a wider meaning. Perhaps the best English equivalent is something like "dutiful," "mindful of one's duty"—not only to the gods but also to one's family and to one's country.

Aeneas' devotion to his family was famous. Book 2 describes how, after realizing that fighting was no longer of use, that Troy was doomed, he carries his father, Anchises, on his shoulders out of the burning city, holding his son Ascanius by the hand, with his wife, Creusa, following behind. But she is lost on the way, and

he arrives at the rendezvous outside the city with only his father and son. In desperation he rushes back into the burning city to find her, but finds only her ghost, which tells him what his future and his duty are now:

"A long exile is your fate . . . the vast plains of the sea are yours to plow until you reach Hesperian land, where Lydian Tiber flows with its smooth march through rich and loamy fields, a land of hardy people. There great joy and a kingdom are yours to claim, and a queen to make your wife ...

And now farewell. Hold dear the son we share,
we love together." (2.967-80)

He tries to embrace her only to find
"... her phantom
sifting through my fingers,
light as wind, quick as a dream in flight." (2.984-86)

But *pietas* describes another loyalty and duty, besides that to the gods and to the family. It is for the Roman, to Rome, and in Aeneas' case, to his mission to found it in Hesperia, the western country, Italy. And it is noticeable that this adjective is not applied to him when, in love with Dido, in Book 4, he actually takes part in helping to build her city, Carthage, "founding the city fortifications, / building homes in Carthage" (4.324-25). Jupiter in heaven, enraged that Aeneas has forgotten his mission, sends his messenger, Mercury, down to him with the single-word command "Naviget!" "Let him set sail!" (4.296). Only when Aeneas realizes he must leave Dido, and suffers from her rage as he makes his reply to her accusations, only when he leaves for the shore and gives his fleet the order to set sail, is he called *pius* again (4.494-95). He has given up her love, and left her to die, as he fulfills his duty to his son—for as Mercury reminds him, "you owe him Italy's realm, the land of Rome!" (4.343)—and his own duty to found the western Troy that is to be.

But *pietas* is not a virtue confined to Aeneas; it is also an ideal for all Romans. Unlike the Greeks whom they added to their empire, and admired for their artistic and literary skills, but who never acted as a united nation, not even when invaded by the forces of the Persian Empire in 480 b.c., the Romans had a profound sense of national unity, and the talents and virtues necessary for a race of conquerors and organizers, of empire-builders and rulers. One of the virtues besides *pietas* that they admired was *gravitas*, a profound seriousness in matters political and religious, in which they distrusted attempts to change; they deferred on these and other matters to *auctoritas*, the power and respect won by men of experience, of successful leadership in war and peace. They admired discipline, the mark of their legionary soldiers who conquered and held for centuries an empire that included almost the whole of western Europe and much of the Middle East.

Many of these Roman characteristics appear early in Virgil's poem in the simile that describes how Neptune restored order to the chaos created by Juno, who had loosed all of the Aeolian winds against the Trojan fleet:

Just as, all too often,
some huge crowd is seized by a vast uprising,
the rabble runs amok, all slaves to passion, rocks, firebrands flying. Rage finds them arms but then, if they
chance to see a man among them, one whose devotion and public service lend him weight [pietate
gravem],
they stand there, stock-still with their ears alert as he rules their furor with his words and calms
their passion. (1.174-81)

Here *pietas*, *gravitas*, and the *auctoritas* conferred by his public service (*mentis*) are enough to calm the mob and restore order.

The continuation of the Iliad, the Iliou Persis (The Sack of Troy), exists now only in fragmentary quotations, but it records Aeneas' exit from the burning city and his stay with his family and followers on Mount Ida, near Troy, before departing on his travels to the West. These are mentioned by the Greek writer Hellanicus of Lesbos as early as the fifth century b.c., and the final object of his travels was established as Italy perhaps as early as the fifth century but certainly by the third. As the Romans in that century began to find themselves opposed by Macedonian and Greek powers in the East, the legend of Rome's Trojan ancestry became increasingly popular; it was eagerly embraced when in 280 b.c. Pyrrhus of Epirus invaded Italy, claiming descent from Achilles and labeling Rome a second Troy. He defeated several Roman armies, with increasing losses—hence the phrase Pyrrhic victory—but finally left Italy in 275 b.c. and was killed soon afterward. In Rome the legend of Aeneas' arrival in Italy and the founding by his son Ascanius of Alba Longa, where many centuries later, Romulus, founder of Rome, would be born, was celebrated in the Annales of Ennius, written in hexameter verse, which carried on the history of Rome from its founding until Ennius' own time—the second century b.c.

The first six books of the Aeneid contain many references to and imitations of incidents and passages found in the Homeric Odyssey. Aeneas' stay at Carthage with Dido corresponds to Odysseus' stay (much longer and against his will) with the nymph Calypso, and his account of his wanderings from Troy, told to Dido in Book 3, to Odysseus' long account of his wanderings told to the Phaeacians in Books 9 through 12 of the Odyssey. Aeneas encounters and rescues one of Odysseus' sailors who has been left behind on the island of the Cyclops, where Aeneas too encounters Polyphemus and his Cyclopean relatives. The funeral games for Anchises in Book 5 of the Aeneid are modeled on those for Patroclus in Book 23 of the Iliad, except that a ship-race in the Aeneid replaces a horse race in the Iliad. And of course Aeneas visits the land of the dead in Book 6 of the Aeneid to see his father, just as Odysseus goes there to meet his mother in Book 11 of the

Odyssey. Yet these correspondences are of quite different episodes: the stay with Calypso is long and uneventful, that with Dido is short and tragic; the encounters in the lower world are very different in length as in nature. And many correspondences in the later books, such as the shield made for Achilles by Hephaestus and that made for Aeneas by Vulcan are superficial resemblances between entirely different objects. As for the fact that the last six books of the Aeneid resemble the Iliad more than the Odyssey, because they deal with war not voyaging, this is not their only resemblance. In both epics an older man has entrusted to the hero a companion to fight with him and sustain his cause. In the Iliad Achilles' father gives him an older companion, Patroclus, and in the Aeneid Evander gives his young son Pallas to fight at Aeneas' side. In both cases this man is killed by the enemy chieftain, and in both cases that killing is avenged by the hero's killing of the enemy champion, of Hector in the Iliad, and in the last lines of the Aeneid, of Turnus.

The Aeneid is to be Rome's Iliad and Odyssey, and it derives also from Homer its picture of two different worlds, each with its own passions and actions. One is the world of heaven above, in Homer the world of Zeus, the supreme god, his wife and sister, Hera, the love-goddess Aphrodite, the smith-god Hephaestus, the sea-god Poseidon and the others; and below, on earth, the world of Achilles, Patroclus, Diomedes and of Hector, his wife Andromache, and his father Priam. In the Aeneid the heavens are the home of Jupiter (or Jove) the supreme god, his wife and sister Juno, the love-goddess Venus, the smith-god Vulcan, the sea-god Neptune, and the minor gods. They preside over the world of the heroes— Aeneas, Turnus, Evander, Pallas, and Camilla down below. As in Homer, the passions and actions of the gods affect the actions and passions of the heroes on earth.

Jupiter knows what the Fates have decreed, what will happen in the end—that Aeneas will reach Italy and found Lavinium, the beginning of the process that over the centuries will lead to the founding of Rome. But Juno is bitterly opposed to this vision of the future; she hated Troy while it stood, and all Trojans since with a vicious aversion, and she is determined that Aeneas will not reach Italy. This hatred of Trojans has many causes: the fact that their ancestor was Dardanus, the son of Zeus and Electra, daughter of Atlas—"the Trojan stock she loathed" (1.35); the fact that Ganymede, a beautiful boy whose father was Laomedon, a Trojan prince, had been carried up to Olympus by Zeus, who assumed the shape of an eagle, to be his cupbearer—"the honors showered on Ganymede" (1.35)— and lastly the so-called Judgment of Paris, delivered while Troy still stood secure at peace behind its walls. Three goddesses, Juno, Athena, and Venus, disputed which was the most beautiful and finally decided on a beauty contest to be judged by Paris, a son of Priam, king of Troy. As he surveyed their charms, each one offered him a bribe to win his vote. The virgin goddess Athena offered him success in war, Juno success in every walk of life, but Venus offered the love and the hand of the most beautiful woman in the world, Helen, wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta in Greece. He judges Venus the most beautiful, goes to Sparta, runs off to Troy with Helen, and the ten-year war begins. Juno never forgot this insult; it is mentioned at the

beginning of Virgil's poem, "the judgment of Paris, the unjust slight to her beauty" (1.34). And this is one of the reasons why she 'drove over endless oceans Trojans left by the Greeks ...'

Juno kept them far from Latium, forced by the Fates to wander round the seas of the world, year in, year out.

Such a long hard labor it was to found the Roman people. (1.37-41)

After this line the narrative begins. It is the opening of an epic poem, divided into twelve books containing roughly ten thousand, lines. The story plunges, in Horace's famous phrase, in medias res, into the middle of events. Aeneas' fleet is just off Sicily when Juno arrives, bribes the divine keeper of the winds, Aeolus, to let them loose in a storm that scatters Aeneas' fleet and lands him, with only seven of his ships, on the African shore. But Neptune suddenly realizes that a vast storm has raged without his permission; he rebukes Aeolus and calms the weather, and the rest of Aeneas' fleet reforms in quiet waters. On the African shore Aeneas tries to cheer his despondent crews in words that summarize their hard lot and their final reward promised by Fate:

"A joy it will be one day, perhaps, to remember even this.
Through so many hard straits, so many twists and turns our course holds firm for Latium. There
Fate holds out a homeland, calm, at peace. There the gods decree the kingdom of Troy will rise again.
Bear up. Save your strength for better times to come."
(1.239-44)

Meanwhile there are fresh developments in heaven above. Venus reminds Jupiter of his promises about Aeneas' future and complains of Juno's interference. Why is Aeneas kept away from the Rome he was promised? Jupiter's reply is long and favorable: "the fate of your children stands unchanged," he reassures her, and "unrolling the scroll of Fate" (1.308-13) he tells her that

"Aeneas will wage
a long, costly war in Italy ... and build high city walls for the people there ... But his son Ascanius, now
that he gains the name * of Iulus. . .
[will] raise up Alba Longa's mighty ramparts."

There, after three hundred years, the priestess Ilia will bear to the Roman war-god Mars twin sons; one of them, Romulus, will build Rome's walls and call his people Romans. Jupiter goes on: "On them I set no limits, space or time: / I have granted them power, empire without end" (1.333-34). And he concludes with a vision of the future, the Roman conquest of Greece, the coming of a Trojan Caesar, Julius, "a name passed down from Iulus, his great forebear" (1.344). This is Augustus, under whom "the violent centuries, battles set aside, / [will] grow gentle, kind" (1.348-49).

Below, on earth, Aeneas, who now sets out with one companion, Achates, to explore the territory, has landed in the area where Dido, an exile from Tyre, is building her new city, Carthage. His mother, Venus, disguised as a girl huntress, tells him the story of Dido, and he eventually comes to the city that is being built, to find the

rest of his surviving crews being welcomed by the queen. She realizes who he is and invites him to a banquet, at which, in Books 2 and 3, he tells her the story of the fall of Troy, his escape with his father and young son, and the long voyage west with his Trojans toward their destined home. Meanwhile, not without the intervention of Venus, Dido has fallen madly in love with Aeneas, and on the next day, in Book 4, at a hunt Juno sends down a storm that drives the pair to take refuge in a cave, where their love is consummated. Dido regards this as a marriage, and Aeneas seems to agree, since he takes part in the building of her new city. But Jupiter soon sends his messenger, Mercury, to remind Aeneas of his duty, and in spite of Dido's appeals and denunciations, he sets sail with his fleet. Dido curses him and all his race and calls for an avenger to arise from her bones as she commits suicide. In Book 5, Aeneas in Sicily organizes the funeral games for Anchises. Juno attempts, unsuccessfully, to burn his ships. In a dream he sees his dead father, Anchises, who tells him he must go to the land of the dead, guided by the Sibyl, to meet him in Elysium, "the luminous fields where the true / and faithful gather" (5.814-15). His guide to the Underworld will be the Sibyl whom he will find in Italy. And in Book 6, after his journey with the Sibyl through the darker regions of the world below, he meets Anchises and is shown a pageant of the great Romans, who in future days will establish the Roman Empire and the peace of the world.

In Book 7 Aeneas finally reaches the Tiber River, and the second part of the Aeneid starts: the wandering is over and the wars begin. Virgil invokes the Muse Erato to tell "who were the kings, the tides and times, how stood / the old Latin state" (7.40-41). He asks the goddess

"inspire your singer, come!
I will tell of horrendous wars ... all Hesperia called to
arms...
I launch a greater labor."

Erato is the Muse of lyric poetry and love; she seems an unusual Muse to call on for inspiration in a tale of "horrendous wars." Calliope, the Muse of epic poetry, might seem more appropriate, but these wars are waged because of a marriage contested between the two champions, Aeneas and Turnus. Since there is no Muse specifically associated with war, Erato is the natural choice.

In Book 7 Aeneas establishes a fortified camp on the shore by the river
Tiber,

And Aeneas himself lines up his walls with a shallow trench, he starts to work the site and
rings his first settlement on the coast with mounds, redoubts and ramparts built like an armed camp.

The words used—fossa, pinnis, aggere, castrorum—identify it with the camps (castra) that in the future Roman legionary soldiers will build at the end of the day's march—castra, which will be built all over Europe and have often left their mark on the names of the cities that occupy those sites— Lancaster, Manchester, Worcester. From this camp Aeneas sends an embassy to King Latinus, asking for a grant of land and the hand of

his daughter Lavinia in marriage. The king has been warned of such an approach by visions and seers, and is agreeable. But Juno intervenes again—this is where she makes her famous proclamation: "if I cannot sway the heavens, I'll wake the powers of hell!" *Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo* (7.365). (Many centuries later these words would appear on the title page of Sigmund Freud's book *The Interpretation of Dreams*, a clear announcement that he is drawing some sort of analogy between the psychic and the infernal, and the dark energies of both.) Juno sends the Fury Allecto to rouse against the marriage first Lavinia's mother Amata, and then the Rutulian leader Turnus, who presumes that Lavinia will become his bride. Both are filled with furious rage against the new proposal, and Turnus (and Juno) stir Italy against its terms. War against the intruders is declared, and Book 7 ends with a long catalog of the Italian forces and leaders, prominent among them Mezentius, the Etruscan king whose own people (who eventually fight on the Trojan side) had driven him out because of his cruelty; and Turnus, the leader of the fight against Aeneas, and the virgin cavalry leader Camilla, the Volscian.

As Book 8 opens, the god of the river Tiber appears to Aeneas in a dream, explains to him that Evander, whose kingdom lies upriver, is an enemy of the Latins and will help Aeneas. The river-god himself will help him on his way in his ships. Aeneas chooses a pair of galleys and sets off for Evander's town, which is on the site, with its hills, where Rome will one day rise. They are hailed by Pallas, Evander's son, and welcomed by the king. He has been celebrating their liberation by Hercules from the fire-breathing monster Cacus, which lived in a cave on what later, in Roman times, was named the Aventine hill. And Evander tells the long story of Hercules' ultimate destruction of Cacus. He then shows Aeneas all around his kingdom, the places that will in later times be famous, the future sites of the Capitol—"they saw herds of cattle . . . / in the Roman Forum and Carinae's elegant district" (8.423-24). That night, as they sleep, Venus persuades her husband, the smith-god Vulcan, to make arms and a shield for Aeneas. Meanwhile Evander tells Aeneas of certain allies for him—the Etruscans, who have expelled their cruel king, Mezentius, and burn to fight the Rutulian forces of Turnus but have been told by a seer to await a captain from overseas. Aeneas and Pallas ride for Etruria with their cavalry, meet the Etruscan forces and, as the "weary troops take rest" (8.716), Venus gives her son his new arms and shield. And on the shield "There is the story of Italy, / Rome in all her triumphs" (8.738-39). Across its surface is pictured the whole history of Rome, from the she-wolf that suckled Romulus and Remus to the battle of Actium, which made Augustus master of the world. Aeneas

knows nothing of these events but takes delight
in their likeness, lifting onto his shoulders now
the fame and fates of all his children's children.

(8.856-58)

Back at the seashore Turnus, spurred on by Juno, leads his troops against the Trojan camp, but unable to breach the walls, attacks with fire the ships of Aeneas, moored by the camp. But these ships were built outside

Troy from trees in a wood sacred to Jupiter's mother, Cybebe (Cybele), and she now calls on her son to save them. He changes them into sea-nymphs, and Turnus calls off the attack on the camp until the next day. One of the Trojans, Nisus, proposes to steal at night through the sleeping enemy contingents to go and warn Aeneas of the danger to his base, and his young lover, Euryalus, insists, in spite of Nisus' protests, on accompanying him. They carry out a wild slaughter among the sleeping Italians but as they move off, toward the river perhaps, they are intercepted and killed by a fresh enemy contingent just arriving. The next day Turnus renews the attack on the camp and even manages to get in alone through a gate that has been opened by overconfident Trojans. He creates great slaughter among the Trojans as he fights his way to the water and swims to safety. At the beginning of Book 10, which follows, Jupiter calls together an assembly of the gods at which both Venus and Juno make their long complaints, but Jupiter declares neutrality. He will leave the outcome to the champions themselves:

his web will bring him to glory or to grief...
The Fates will find the way."

(10.135-38)

The attack on the camp resumes, while far upriver, Aeneas joins the Etruscan leaders, who combine their fleet with his to sail down to the relief of the Trojan camp. At this point (10.202ff.) Virgil names and describes the Etruscan leaders, another of those catalogs in which he lovingly recites the various parts of Italy from which they come . . . Pisa, Caere, Liguria, Mantua—part of that hymn of praise of Italy that is a main feature of the Aeneid. As Aeneas sails down the river, the nymph Cymodocea, who had been one of the nymphs that had been changed into a ship outside the camp, warns him that the camp is under attack by Turnus, and as Aeneas comes in sight of it he raises the shield his mother had made for him, and the signal is greeted with joy and relief by the Trojans in the camp. There follows a vivid account of an opposed landing and an equally fierce battle afterward "on Italy's very doorstep" (10.420), in which, as young Pallas' troops begin to fall back, he rallies them and kills one enemy chieftain after another, until Turnus comes to the rescue and routs the Arcadians, killing Pallas and taking from him as a trophy Pallas' engraved sword-belt, which will turn out to be his own death warrant.

Aeneas hears the news and comes on, slaughtering enemy champions right and left as he looks for Turnus. But Juno obtains from Jupiter a respite, no more, for Turnus, and full of grief she spirits him out of the fighting to his home. Book 10 ends with an account of the many successful assaults of Mezentius, the Etruscan king fighting on the Latin side. He kills one Trojan champion after another until he meets Aeneas, who wounds him and then kills his son Lausus, as he comes to his father's aid. Aeneas, thinking no doubt of Pallas, is sorry for him, but goes on to kill his father, Mezentius. In Book 11 Aeneas, his camp no longer besieged, proceeds to the burial of the dead. He mourns over the body of Pallas and sends it off with his arms, his warhorse, and a

huge escort, to his father. He gives envoys from the Latin city permission to bury their dead, and Drances, an enemy of Turnus, announces his intention to seek peace. Evander mourns over the body of Pallas and sends word to Aeneas that his "right arm / . . . owes . . . the life of Turnus / to son and father both" (11.210-12). Now, as the Latins bury their dead, the discontent with the war, fanned by Drances, grows and is increased by bad news that arrives from the city that Diomedes the Greek champion was building in Italy, and whom the Latin envoys had counted on for support against the enemy he had fought at Troy. But Diomedes' answer is negative: he advises them to make peace with Aeneas, whose bravery he praises. Latinus offers to give the Trojans the territory they ask for, and Drances proposes that the king give his daughter Lavinia to Aeneas in marriage. Turnus makes a long and furious reply, urging continuation of the war, and offering, if it comes to that, to fight Aeneas man to man as Drances has proposed. But the council is interrupted by the news that Aeneas with all his troops is advancing on the city. The citizens man the walls, and Turnus orders his captains to their stations and rides off himself to meet, at the head of her cavalry, Camilla the Volscian. He arranges for her to engage the Trojan cavalry, while he hopes to ambush Aeneas and his troops, who are attacking the city from a different direction. The rest of Book 11 is mainly concerned with the feats and fate of Camilla, who, after killing many adversaries, is brought down by the Etruscan Arruns, who has stalked her all over the battlefield. Her death is avenged by that of Arruns at the hand of the nymph Opis, sent down by the goddess Diana, who loves Camilla, her devotee. And now, in the last book, Turnus sends the challenge to Aeneas, to fight him man to man. As all the preparations are made, the dueling ground paced off, Juno intervenes. She tells Turnus' sister, Juturna, a river-nymph, "Pluck your brother from death, if there's a way, / or drum up war and abort that treaty they conceived" (12.187-88).

And she does. Disguised as Camers, a famous Italian warrior, she begins to stir discontent among the Rutulians, and soon fighting breaks out. Aeneas, as he vainly tries to stop it, is hit by an arrow and retreats from the lines. Turnus attacks, the war resumes. Aeneas and his friends try to pull the broken arrowhead out of the wound; their efforts and those of the old healer Iapyx are unsuccessful until Venus intervenes and supplies Iapyx, without his knowledge, with herbs that restore Aeneas to health. Venus also inspires Aeneas to put Latinus' city to the torch, and the Trojan attack is successful enough to cause the queen, Amata, to hang herself as the walls are breached. The news is brought to Turnus, and abandoning his chariot, which, he now realizes, is driven by his sister Juturna the nymph, who is trying to save him, he comes to meet Aeneas and settle the issue man to man.

As they fight, Venus and Juturna both intervene to help their relatives, and finally Jupiter forbids any further interference by Juno or her helper. And reluctantly Juno yields. But she makes a request:

"never command the Latins, here on native soil, to change their age-old name, to become Trojans, called the kin of Teucer, alter their language, change their style of dress. Let Latium endure. Let Alban kings hold sway for all time. Let Roman stock grow strong with Italian strength. Troy has fallen—and fallen let her stay— with the very name of Troy!"

And Jupiter grants her wish:

"Latium's sons will retain their fathers' words and ways.
Their name till now is the name that shall endure.
Mingling in stock alone, the Trojans will subside.
And I will add the rites and the forms of worship, make them Latins all, who speak the Latin tongue."
(12.967-71)

Juno accepts, with joy. But Jupiter must now deal with Juturna. He sends down one of the Furies, who assumes the form of an owl that flutters in Turnus' face, screeches, drums Turnus' shield with its wings. Juturna recognizes the signal and, lamenting, leaves Turnus to face Aeneas. In the end, Turnus, helpless, lies at Aeneas' feet and begs for his life. Turnus' pleas begin to sway him, when suddenly he sees "the fateful sword-belt of Pallas, / swept over Turnus' shoulder . . . like a trophy" and "plants / his irpn sword hilt-deep in his enemy's heart" (12.1098-1110).

All this intervention of gods in human affairs to advance their own interests and satisfy their own passions is Homeric, but what is not Homeric is the constant reference to history, in particular to Roman history, which is a recurring feature of the Aeneid. The Homeric epics have no historical background to speak of—as C. S. Lewis puts it, "There is no pretence, indeed no possibility of pretending, that the world, or even Greece, would have been much altered if Odysseus had never got home at all" (Preface, p. 26). But the Aeneid is always conscious of history, Roman history, many centuries of it. Very often this reference is explicit, as in the long list and description of great Romans not yet born, whose spirits are shown to Aeneas by his father in Elysium in Book 6. But often the allusion is not explicit, and though it was obvious to Virgil's Roman readers, it may not be so without explanation today.

For example, in Book 2, Aeneas' account to Dido of the sack of Troy by the Greeks, the final disposition of the corpse of Priam, king of Troy, slaughtered in his palace by Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, is described by Virgil in these words:

"Such was the fate of Priam ... the monarch who once had ruled in all his glory the many lands of Asia, Asia's many tribes.
A powerful trunk is lying on the shore.
The head wrenched from the shoulders.
A corpse without a name."
(2.686-92)

Any Roman who read these lines in the years after Virgil's poem was published or heard them recited would at once remember a real and recent ruler over "the many lands of Asia," whose headless corpse lay on the shore. It was the corpse of Gnaeus Pompeius (Pompey), who had been ruler of all the lands of Asia; from 67 to 62 b.c. he had been given a wide and extended command to settle the Middle East, had defeated the army of Mithridates, king of Pontus, and reorganized the whole area, adding new provinces to the Empire. But many years later, after his defeat by Caesar at Pharsalus in 48 b.c., his body lay headless on the Egyptian shore. But this is far from being the only such reference to Roman history. Dido's last words, in which she curses Aeneas and predicts eternal war between her people and his, reminded Roman readers of the three wars the Romans had to fight against the Carthaginians: the Punic Wars, they called them, a word formed from their name—Poeni—for the settlers from Tyre, who had founded the great commercial and naval power of Carthage. As she prepares to kill herself after Aeneas leaves her, Dido curses him, foretelling a sad end for him and commanding her people to wage endless war on Aeneas' descendants:

"And you, my Tyrians, harry with hatred all his line, his race to come .
No love between our peoples, ever—no pacts opeace! . . .
Shore clash with shore, sea against sea and sword against sword—this is my curse—war
between all our peoples, all their children, endless war!"
(4.775-84)

The Phoenicians, inhabitants of two cities, Tyre and Sidon on the Palestinian coast, were the great sailors, traders, and explorers of the ancient world. They provided, for example, the fleet that backed the Persian king Xerxes' invasion of Greece in 480 b.c. They also, from their colony at Carthage, founded, probably in the second half of the eighth century b.c., colonies in western Sicily, which regularly fought against the Greek colonies in the east of that island. And they colonized southern Spain, from which they exported those metals that were so rare in the eastern Mediterranean area. Their relations with Rome were friendly at first but soon, as Rome began to intervene in Sicily, degenerated, and in 264 b.c. the First Punic War began, to end in 241 with a hard-won Roman victory and the annexation of Sicily as Rome's first province. But the Second Punic War (218-201 b/c.) was an entirely different matter; it saw the fulfillment of another part of Dido's curse:

"Come rising up from my bones, you avenger still unknown,
to stalk those Trojan settlers, hunt with fire and iron,
now or in time to come, whenever the power is yours." (4.779-81)

This was the Carthaginian Hannibal, whose feats are also predicted by Jupiter in Book 10:

"one day when savage Carthage will loose enormous ruin down on the Roman strongholds, breach and unleash the Alps against her walls."
- (io.is-17)

Hannibal moved from his base in Spain north to what is now the French coast and then, war elephants and all, crossed the Alps and came down on Italy. He defeated the Roman troops in one battle after another, at the Trebia River, at Lake Trasimene, and in 216 at Cannae he annihilated a superior Roman force with tactics that were carefully studied by the German general staff in 1914. But though he remained in Italy until 202, he was unable to break the loyalty of the Latin cities to Rome's federation and was gradually confined to a small area in the South of Italy. Meanwhile the Roman general Scipio took southern Spain from the Carthaginians as Hasdrubal made his way over the Alps with a relief force to join Hannibal. Hasdrubal's army was defeated in northern Italy in 207; Scipio crossed to Africa in 204, and Hannibal was recalled to defend Carthage. He was defeated by Scipio in 202 b.c. at Zama, and Carthage made peace with Rome on very harsh terms.

But Carthage, with its superb harbor and trading contacts, soon began to revive, and the Roman senator Cato became famous for ending every speech he made in the Senate, no matter what the subject under discussion happened to be, with the words: "And furthermore, my opinion is that Carthage should be destroyed—*delendam esse Carthaginem*." Finally, in 149 b.c., the Romans took his advice; the Third Punic War came to an end in 146 b.c. with the total defeat of Carthage and the destruction of the city.

But of course it was eventually rebuilt, to become the heart of Rome's North African province, and in Virgil's lifetime the emperor Augustus established a Roman colony on the site, and it flourished as a commercial and cultural center well into the Christian centuries. St. Augustine as a young man went to the university there in the fourth century a.d., and it was in Carthage that he fell in love with Virgil, yet he later ascribed that love to sins of youth. He says of his school days there in his *Confessions*: "The singsong One and one makes two, two and two makes four was detestable to me, but sweet were the visions of absurdity—the wooden horse cargoes with men, Troy in flames, and Creusa herself ghosting by" (1.IV.22, trans. Garry Wills).

But the most copious rehearsal of Roman history occurs in Book 6, when in Elysium Anchises shows Aeneas the spirits of the great Romans to come, a pageant of Roman history from the earliest, legendary times right up to Virgil's own day. Following the instructions given him by Anchises in a dream in Sicily, Aeneas sails to Cumae in Italy, to meet the Sibyl who will be his guide for his visit to the land of the dead. He begs her to take him to his father and receives the famous reply:

"the descent to the Underworld is easy.
Night and day the gates of shadowy Death stand open wide,
but to retrace your steps, to climb back to the upper air—
there the struggle, there the labor lies."

(6.149-52)

She tells him he must have the golden bough as a gift for the goddess Proserpina. He goes to get it and soon they are on their way "through gloom and the empty halls of Death's ghostly realm" (6.308) to the river Acheron and its ferryman Charon. By the river there is a huge host of souls stretching out their arms in longing toward the farther bank, but Charon will take only those who have been properly buried; the others ^{must} wait on the bank

for a hundred years. Here they see the shade of Palinurus, Aeneas' pilot on the way to Italy, who was put to sleep by the god Somnus and fell overboard. He now lies unburied on the shore, but the Sibyl tells him he will be buried soon by the local people. As Aeneas and the Sibyl approach Charon, he refuses to take living passengers, but the Sibyl shows him the bough and he takes them aboard. On the other side they pass the hell-hound Cerberus as the Sibyl gives him the proverbial "sop," "slumbrous with honey and drugged seed" (6.483).

Now they see the ghosts of those who died in infancy, of those condemned to death on a false charge, of suicides, and lastly, in the Fields of Mourning, of those who died of love. And here Aeneas sees the ghost of Dido. He approaches her, full of remorse, and makes his excuse: "I left your shores, my Queen, against my will" (6.535), but—in what T. S. Eliot calls "perhaps the most telling snub in all poetry" (What Is a Classic? p. 62)—she tears herself away, "his enemy forever" (6.548). Next they meet the "throngs of the great war heroes" who "live apart"—the Trojans who come "crowding around him" and the Greeks who "turn tail and run" (6.556-69). It is here that he meets the ghost of Deiphobus and hears the dreadful story of Helen's treachery and his ghastly death. Soon they reach the place where the road divides; on the left lies a fortress surrounded by Tartarus' River of Fire and guarded by Tisiphone, a Fury. It is the place, the Sibyl tells him, where the great sinners for whom there is only eternal punishment are confined. Besides the great sinners of the remote, mythical past—Salmoneus, Ixion, Tityos—are the human sinners, the parricides, the tyrants, the traitors ... "No," she says,

"not if I had a hundred tongues and a hundred mouths
... I could never capture
all the crimes or run through all the torments."

And now they hurry away, and after Aeneas dedicates the golden bough to Proserpina, they come at last to the Elysian Fields, "the land of joy where the blessed make their homes" (6.741-42). Aeneas sees them exercising or feasting as he goes to meet the ghost of his father, Anchises. There are the founders of the line of Trojan kings—Ilius, Assaracus and Dardanus—and Aeneas sees also

...troops of men
who had suffered wounds, fighting to save their country, and those who had been pure priests while still alive,
and the faithful poets whose songs were fit for Phoebus;
those who enriched our lives with the newfound arts they forged and those we remember well for the good they did mankind.
(6.764-69)

In this paradise Aeneas finally meets the ghost of his father, who explains to him the workings of this spiritual world and in particular the nature of the spirits who throng the banks of the river Lethe, the river of forgetfulness. They are the souls of those, who after many years of punishment for their sins in life, are destined

to return to the world after drinking the water of the Lethe and forgetting their previous existence. The spirits he sees are those of the great Romans to come and Anchises will "reveal them all" (6.878).

The background of this doctrine, of purgatorial suffering followed by rebirth, seems to be a purely Virgilian invention. It is, as one critic, R. G. Austin, puts it, "a poetic synthesis, blending the Stoic doctrine of the *anima mundi* [the spirit or mind of the universe] with Platonic and Orphic- Pythagorean teaching of rebirth." He also adds: "The manner is constantly and pointedly Lucretian; the matter would have excited Lucretius' disdain" (Sextus, 1977, note 724-51). What this religio-philosophical melange enables Virgil to do is to display the future descendants of Aeneas who will one day rule the world. Virgil's whole picture of the lower world, with its separation of the great sinners, for whom there is no forgiveness, from those who, through many years of punishment, win some kind of redemption, and those who are immediately admitted to heaven, reappears in many ways in Dante's *Divina Commedia*.

The first spirit waiting to be reborn is Silvius, the first king of Alba Longa. He will be of half Italian blood, the child of Aeneas in his old age by Lavinia. The "tipless spear of honor" (6.879) that Silvius holds is the Roman award given to a young warrior for his first success in battle. There follow the names of "brave young men" who will build the towns near Rome, "famous names in the future, nameless places now"—Nomentum, Gabii, Fidena, Collatia, and many others (6.893-96). Next comes Romulus, son of the Roman war-god Mars (like him, he wears a helmet with twin plumes), who is to found Rome, which will one day rule the world. But now Anchises goes across the centuries to "Caesar and all the line of Iulus," and Caesar Augustus who "will bring back the Age of Gold" and expand his empire past the Garamants and the Indians" (6.911-17). Anchises now moves back from the glories of Augustan Rome to the history of Roman kings after Romulus: Numa the lawgiver, next Tullus, a king "who rouse[s] a stagnant people / . . . back to war again" (6.937-38), and Ancus who was "too swayed by the breeze of public favor" (6.940). Next the expulsion of the last Roman king, Tarquin, by Brutus, who reclaims those symbols of power, the fasces—bundles of rods wrapped around an axe—and as the first consul of the new Republic sets a dreadful example by executing his own two sons for treason against the new Roman state. Next are the spirits of famous republican heroes; the Decii, father and son, who each in turn won a battle for Rome with a victorious but suicidal charge; the Drusi, another great patrician family, which gave Rome many victorious generals (and incidentally, was the family of Augustus' wife). Torquatus was another stern Roman father who executed his son for disobedience. Camillus brought home the standards taken by the Gauls when they occupied Rome in 387 b.c. Other sources say that he took back from the Gauls not the standards but the gold they had taken. Virgil obviously preferred his version because it would remind readers that in 20 b.c. Augustus had recovered from the Parthians (by negotiation, not by war) the legionary standards lost by Crassus in his ill-fated expedition of 53 b.c.

Anchises makes another historical jump—to 49 b.c., when Julius Caesar was about to cross the Rubicon and start civil war against Pompey. Anchises points out that they are

"equals now at peace . . .
but if they should reach the light of life, what war
they'll rouse between them! . . . Caesar,
the bride's father, marching down from his Alpine ramparts
. . . Pompey her husband set to oppose him."
(6.952-56)

Caesar's daughter had been married to Pompey in a vain attempt to reconcile them; Virgil's words recall the contemporary lines of Catullus: *socer generque, perdidistis omnia*—"Son and father-in-law, you have ruined everything" (29.24, trans. Knox). Anchises begs them not to start civil war and particularly appeals to Caesar: "born of my blood, throw down your weapons now!" (6.961).

But after this dramatic outcry Anchises returns to his catalog of Roman conquerors, this time of some of those who will avenge Troy by subduing Greece: Lucius Mummius, who sacked Corinth in 146 b.c., and Aemilius Paullus, who defeated Perseus, king of Macedon, who claimed descent from Achilles, at Pydna in 168 b.c. He briefly mentions Cato, known as the Censor, who strongly disapproved of the new Greek cultural influences on the Romans and insisted on the destruction of Carthage. Cossus was the second Roman commander to win the *spolia opima*, the "rich spoils," an award given to the general who killed the opposing general in single combat. The Gracchi were a family that produced many famous Romans, among them the two tribunes who attempted the reform of the Roman landholding system in favor of the small farmers and were both killed and their movement suppressed. The elder Scipio defeated Hannibal at Zama, and the younger defeated the Carthaginians in the battle that was followed by the total destruction of Carthage. More great republican heroes are invoked as Anchises sweeps on—Fabricius, who conquered Pyrrhus and was known for his austere integrity, Serranus (the Sower), who was called to the consulship from work on his farm, and the great family of the Fabii, of whom Anchises mentions only one, Fabius Maximus, the consul who after the terrible Roman defeat at Cannae denied battle to Hannibal in order to defeat him, harassing him but always refusing major engagement. He was known as *Cunctator*, the Delayer—"the one man / whose delaying tactics save our Roman state" (6.974-75), a phrase in which Virgil quotes the words of his forerunner Ennius, adding honor and antiquity to Fabius Maximus' exploit.

Anchises suddenly changes tone: he gives us no more great Romans for the moment but rather the moral of all these tales—the Roman character and the Roman mission in the world. But first he tells us what the Romans are not, listing the achievements of "others," by which he means_# the Greeks:

"Others, I have no doubt,
will forge the bronze to breathe with suppler lines, draw from the block of marble features quick with life,
plead their cases better, chart with their rods the stars that climb the sky and foretell the times they rise."
"But you, Roman, remember, rule with all your power
the peoples of the earth—these will be your arts:
to put your stamp on the works and ways of peace,
to spare the defeated, break the proud in war."
(6.981-84)

And then Anchises introduces another Roman hero, Marcellus, who won the spolia opima at Clastidium in 222 b.c. by killing the chief commanding the Insubrian Gauls. And Aeneas, who sees a handsome but sad young man walking by Marcellus' side, asks who he is, to receive the answer that he is also named Marcellus but is destined, after a short but brilliant career, to die young. He is the son of Octavia, Augustus' sister, and when he died suddenly, perhaps at age twenty, in 23 b.c. he had been considered a likely successor to Augustus. "Oh, child of heartbreak! If only you could burst / the stern decrees of Fate!" (6.1017-18).

There is no more to be seen, and Anchises, after warning Aeneas of hard wars to come in Italy, ushers his son and the Sibyl out of the land of the dead by the ivory gates along which the dead "send false dreams up toward the sky" (6.1033). And Aeneas heads for his ships and his waiting men.

The Gate of Ivory is adapted from the *Odyssey* (19.634-38), where Penelope speaks of the two gates for our dreams:

"one is made of ivory, the other made of horn.
Those that pass through the ivory cleanly carved are will-o'-the-wisps, their message
bears no fruit.
The dreams that pass through the gates of polished horn are fraught with truth, for the dreamer who
can see them."

There has been much discussion of the passage in Virgil. Aeneas and the Sibyl are not dreams to start with; and why must they go out of the land of the dead through the gate of false dreams? The obvious answer is that since the other party, the shades of noble Romans to come, must go through the Gate of Horn, which "offers easy passage to all true shades" (6.1031), Aeneas and the Sibyl must go out through the Gate of Ivory. But the real question is: why did Virgil use the Odyssean gates of dreams for the two exits from the land of the dead, one for the living, one for the Roman spirits, back to temporary oblivion? The answer is suggested by Goold in his revision of Fairclough's *Virgil* (1999, note 6.57), where he writes: "By making Aeneas leave by the gate of delusive dreams Virgil represents his vision of Rome's destiny as a dream which he is not to remember on his return to the real world; the poet will have us know that from the beginning of Book 7 his hero has not been endowed with superhuman knowledge to confront the problems which face him."

This interpretation is strengthened by the passage in Virgil's poem that deals with the other display given to Aeneas of Roman history and Roman heroes and villains to come: the pictures on the shield that Vulcan at the request of Venus makes for him in Book 8. After the long recital of the pageant of Roman history right up to Virgil's own day that Aeneas sees on the shield, we are told:

He fills with wonder—
he knows nothing of these events but takes delight
in their likeness.

(8.855-57)

Once again, as in Book 6, he has seen the future, but will not remember it. The vision Aeneas sees, the pictures on the shield, is another image of Rome's future. The incident is clearly modeled on the shield of Achilles in the Iliad (Book 18.558-709). Both shields were made by the smith-god at a mother's request, but they could not be more different. Aeneas' shield is decorated with the deeds and names of those who through the ages have brought Rome to its position of world mastery, but the shield made for Achilles has no names but those drawn from myth, no history; it is a picture of the world and human life. On it the smith-god Hephaestus makes the earth, sky, and sea, the sun, moon, and constellations and two cities "filled / with mortal men" (18.572-73). One is at peace and Celebrates a wedding, "choir on choir the wedding song rose high" (18.576). And elsewhere, in the marketplace a quarrel breaks out and is to be settled by a judge. The other city is attacked and the horrors of wounding and killing on the battlefield parallel the wedding songs in the city at peace.

The god made also a broad plowland, a king's estate where harvesters are working, a thriving vineyard, a herd of longhorn cattle, and a dancing circle on which young boys and girls "danced and danced" (18.694). And round it all "he forged the Ocean River's mighty power girdling / round the outmost rim of the welded indestructible shield" (18.708-9). It is a whole world and it has no history.

On the shield of Aeneas, however, the smith-god forged

• .. the story of Italy,
Rome in all her triumphs. ..
all in order the generations born of Ascanius' stock
and all the wars they waged.

(8.738-42)

Vulcan forged the mother wolf, with Romulus and Remus, "twin boys at her dugs . . . suckling" (8.744), and newly built Rome and the Circus games there at which the Romans carried off the Sabine women to marry them—the so-called Rape of the Sabines—and the reconciliation with the Sabine tribe afterward. There was Mettus, king of Alba Longa, who broke his word to Tullus, third king of Rome, who tore him apart as punishment. Then Lars Porsenna, the Etruscan commanding the Romans to take back their banished king, Tarquin, and attacking the city from across the Tiber. But Codes (better known to English-speaking readers by his other name, Horatius) tears the bridge down and swims to safety, as does the maiden Cloelia, who has been taken as a hostage. Next Manlius, who when the Gauls invaded Rome by night in 390 b.c. was awakened by the

cackling of the sacred geese and saved the Capitol. And Vulcan forged the Salii, the dancing priests of Mars and the "chaste matrons ... [who] led the sacred marches through the city" (8.779-80). And "far apart... he forged the homes of hell" with the great criminal Catiline "dangling from a beetling crag" and "the virtuous souls, with Cato giving laws" (8.783-85). This is not Cato the Censor but his great- grandson, the Cato who, defeated by Julius Caesar at Utica in Africa, committed suicide rather than live under Caesar's dictatorship, after reading Plato's *Phaedo*.

But the rest of the shield is devoted to the decisive victory of Augustus at Actium, the naval defeat of Antony and Cleopatra, their suicides, and the great triumph of Augustus, master of the Roman world, at Rome. The Roman fleet, led by Augustus on one flank and Agrippa on the other, faces and defeats Antony, leading on

the riches of the Orient, troops of every stripe—
... all the might of the East (8.803-6)

and Cleopatra, "that outrage, that Egyptian wife!" (8.808), who eventually leads the flight of the Eastern fleet—"pale / with imminent death" (8.831-32), commits suicide, accompanied by Antony's, in Alexandria. And lastly the vision of Augustus' great triumph in Rome. Augustus

reviews the gifts brought on by the nations of the earth ...
as the vanquished people move in a long slow file,
their dress, their arms as motley as their tongues. (8.844-^7)

The battle of Actium is shown to the Roman reader as the victory of Italy and the West over the barbarous tribes of the East.

In the *Aeneid* Virgil combines mythological epic with themes from Roman history. But there is one field of Roman history where Virgil's material is mythological rather than historical, and that is his account of the Etruscans. In Book 8 (575ff.) he describes them as "Lydian people ... / brilliant in war" (8.565-66), who inhabit the city of Agylla (now called Cervetri). They have recently expelled their king, Mezentius, for his oppression and atrocities, and he has found refuge with Turnus, "his old friend" (8.580). The Etruscans are eager to fight against him and his allies, but they have been told by "an aged prophet" that they must "choose leaders from overseas" (8.585-92). They are the perfect ally for Aeneas; after his meeting with their leader, Tarchon, they sail down the river with Aeneas' ships to relieve the beleaguered camp and fight with him to the end.

This has little to do with history. About the only detail that may be authentic is the adjective Lydian, since Lydia in Asia Minor was thought to be the original home of the Etruscans, a belief mentioned by Herodotus. Their language, recorded in a script based on the Greek alphabet, still defies attempts to decipher it; the buildings of their many cities, from the Arno to the Tiber and farther south, have vanished. But we know them from the large

tombs, built below ground in the rock, where the bones of their upper classes rested, with frescoes painted on the walls, and from their treasures, bronze metalwork and imported painted Greek vases from the great periods of the black- and red-figure vases, which now, as a result of excavations both legal and illegal, adorn the museums of Europe and America. Excavation has also confirmed that Rome too was for some time under Etruscan occupation or domination, a fact acknowledged by the legends of early Rome and the items of Etruscan origin in Roman religion and especially divination. Among the early kings of Rome, the fifth and the last were called Tarquin, an Etruscan name, the second of whom was expelled and whose reimposition was attempted by Lars Porsenna (an Etruscan name if ever there was one) of Clusium (Chiusi), an important Etruscan city. The attempt was foiled by Horatius' stand while the bridge over the Tiber was destroyed. Nonetheless, Virgil (who knew less about the Etruscans than we do) gives us in Book 10 (202-60) a list of the Etruscan chieftains who came 'speeding to rescue Troy' (10.259). They all come from cities that we know were Etruscan—Clusium, Cosae, Populonia, the source of the copper from which they made the bronze for weapons and statues, the island of Ilva (Elba), their source of iron, and Pisa, Caere, Pyrgi, and Graviscae. And Virgil includes his own hometown, Mantua. But the catalog of the Etruscans was another opportunity to do what he does so well—to recall in his lines the glories of the Italian countryside, its towns and its history, to celebrate Elba, "the Blacksmiths' inexhaustible island rife with iron ore" (10.210) or Mantua's own river, "the Mincius, / son of Father Benacus gowned in gray-green reeds" (10.248-49).

VIRGIL'S AFTERLIFE

Even before it became generally available as a written text, Virgil's Aeneid was famous. A younger poet, Propertius, wrote in elegiac verse an announcement:

Give way, you Roman writers, give way, Greeks.
 * Something greater than the Iliad is being born.

(2.34.65-66, trans. Knox)

As copies appeared and multiplied, the Aeneid became the textbook for the Roman school and the medieval school after that. The Roman satyric poet Juvenal, writing in the second century a.d., describes, in Satire 6 (434-35), among the many intolerable wives he catalogs, the one "who as soon as she's taken her place at dinner is praising Virgil and forgiving [Dido] on her deathbed" (trans. Susanna M. Braund, et seq.). In Satire 7 (226-27) he speaks of schoolboys thumbing a Horace that "gets totally discolored and the soot sticks to your blackened Virgil." And the poor schoolteacher is liable to be asked questions that eventually a reader of the Aeneid might be able to answer: who was "Anchises' nurse and ... the name and birthplace of the stepmother of Anchemolus and how long Acestes lived and how many jars of Sicilian wine he gave to the Trojans" (234-36). And Juvenal is not alone in his knowledge and citation of Virgil. As J. M. Mackail put it in his edition of the

Aeneid, published in 1930 (two thousand years after Virgil's birth; it is dedicated, *Principi Poetarum Natalii MM*): "The whole of post-Virgilian Latin literature, in prose as well as in poetry, is saturated with Virgilian quotations, adaptations, and allusions, as much as English literature for the last three hundred years has been with Shakespeare, and even more" (Introduction, p. lxx).

But in addition to its literary supremacy, the Aeneid acquired a semireligious stature. It became an oracle known as the *Sortes Virgilianae*, the Virgilian lottery: you took a passage at random and it foretold your future. Often it was consulted in temples, as it was regarded as an oracle; Hadrian and other men who became Roman emperors first learned of their future eminence from this source. And when the English monarch Charles I, barred from London by revolutionary parliamentarians, made Oxford his headquarters during the civil war, he consulted the Virgilian lottery in the Bodleian Library and put his finger by chance on Dido's curse on Aeneas:

"... let him be plagued in war by a nation proud in arms, . . . let him grovel for help and watch his people die a shameful death! And then, once he has bowed down to an unjust peace, may he never enjoy his realm... let him die"

When the Roman world became Christian, Virgil remained as its classic poet, not only because of the fourth Eclogue, which many Christians regarded as a prophecy of the birth of Christ, but also because of a recognition of a fellow spirit—*anima naturaliter Christiana*, a naturally Christian spirit he was called by Tertullian, the great Christian figure of second century Carthage. And Virgil's significance in the European Christian-tradition is emphasized by the important part he takes, both in the many borrowings from his work and also in the prominent role he plays himself in the *Divina Commedia* of Dante (1265-1321).

Not only are there striking resemblances between Dante's account of *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso* and Book 6 of the Aeneid, not only does he choose Virgil as his guide through the first two countries of the next world, he thanks him also for the gift of *bello stilo*, which Virgil had given to the Latin language, and which Dante has re-created for the Italian. And recalls of Virgil's language occur at once as he recognizes the figure before him; he addresses him in a reminiscence of his own Aeneid, *Or se'tu quel Virgilio ... /che ... ?*" (*Inferno* 1.79-80), "Are you that Virgil who ... ?" it is a recall of Dido's question as she realizes who her visitor ^{must} be: "Tune ille Aeneas quem ... ?" (1.617). And the reminiscences ^{are} not just verbal; subject matter and character are borrowed too. The same Charon ferries spirits across the same river and refuses again to take ^a living passenger at first. Minos judges the dead; Cerberus must have his "sop." And there are even wider resemblances—the special place in both poems for suicides, and for those who died for love. And on a broader scale between Elysium and *Paradiso*, between *Purgatorio* and Virgil's "souls" who are "drilled in punishments, they must pay for their old offenses" (6.854-55), with the difference that in Dante the souls who have finished purgation drink the water of Lethe and go to Paradise, where in Virgil, except for those who go to Elysium, they go, after drinking the water of Lethe, back to life in a fresh incarnation to become the Romans.

And there is one reference to Virgil in Dante that echoes down the centuries to the twentieth. It is the passage in Canto I of *Inferno* (106-8, trans. Robert and Jean Hollander):

Di quella umile Italia fia salute per cui morì la
vergine Camilla,
Eurialo e Turno e Niso di ferute.

"He, shall be the salvation of low-lying Italy for which maiden Camilla,
Euryalus,
Turnus, and Nisus died of their wounds."

Why Italy is lowly and who her savior is are matters still disputed by scholars, but the phrase "umile Italia" is obviously a memory of *Aeneid* 3.522-23: "umilemque videmus / Italiam"—"and low-lying we see / Italy" (trans. Knox). It is Aeneas' first sight of Italy, as indeed it looks still to the traveler coming from Greece—a low line on the horizon. And the heroes who have laid down their lives for this Italy fought on both sides. This tercet of Dante's, among the most copious of his references to Virgil's text, was destined to echo down the ages until its appearance in a remarkable twentieth-century context in the Italy of Mussolini, who was trying to restore the warlike image of Roman Italy and make the Mediterranean once more *mare nostrum*, "our sea."

In this endeavor he made opponents and enemies whom he silenced and punished in various ways. One of his critics and opponents, Carlo Levi, was sent into a sort of exile in a small poverty-stricken town in Calabria, a town so poor that its inhabitants claimed that Christ, on his way through Italy, had stopped at Eboli, and never reached them. In Levi's somber and beautiful account of his life there, published under the title *Christ Stopped at Eboli* (trs. 1947), he tells how the local Fascist official came to see him, and asked him why on earth he, an educated, talented man, did not support Mussolini's regime, which aimed at restoring Italy to its old eminence as master of the Mediterranean. His reply was to say that his idea of Italy was different; it was

"Di quella umile Italia ... per cui morì la
vergine Camilla, Eurialo e Turno e Niso
di ferute."

Carlo Levi's reply brought Virgil through Dante into the realities of the modern world, and to compare small things to great, I too brought Virgil back to life in Italy some years later. I consulted the Virgilian lottery in April 1945. The year before, while a captain in the U.S. Army, I had worked with French partisans behind the lines against German troops in Brittany, and after a leave I was finally sent to Italy to work with partisans there. No doubt the OSS moguls in Washington figured that since I had studied Latin at Cambridge I would have no trouble picking up Italian. The partisans this time were on our side of the lines; things had got too difficult for them in the Po Valley and they had come through the mountains. The U.S. Army, very short of what the soldiers

called "warm bodies," since so many of its best units had been called in for the invasion of southern France, armed them and put them under the command of American officers to hold sections of the mountain line where no German breakthrough was expected. I had about twelve hundred of them, in various units ranging from Communist to officers of the crack corps of the Italian army, the Alpini; but they had two things in common—great courage and still greater hatred of Germans. For several months we held the sector, which contained the famous Passo dell' Abetone, then impassable for wheeled vehicles since the German engineers had blown its sides down. We made frequent long patrols into enemy territory, sometimes bringing back prisoners for interrogation, sometimes passing civilian agents through the lines. In April we were given a small role in the final move north that brought about the German surrender of Italy. The main push was to the left and right of us, where tanks and wheeled vehicles could move—on the coast road to our left and on our right through the Futa Pass to Bologna. We were to attack German positions on the heights opposite us, take the town of Fanano, and then go on to Modena in the valley.

We killed or captured the German troops holding the heights without ^{too} many losses, liberated Fanano, and started north on the road to Modena. As we marched along I could not help thinking that the legions of Octavian and Mark Antony had marched and countermarched in these regions in 43 b.c. Like them, we had no wheeled transport; like them, we had no communications (our walkie-talkies had a very short range); like them, we hoisted our weapons onto our shoulders when we forded the Reno River with the water up to our waists. Every now and then we met a German machine-gun crew holed up in a building that delayed our passage. Usually we too occupied a building to house our machine guns and keep the enemy under fire while we sent out a flanking party to dislodge them. On one of these occasions we occupied a villa off the road that had evidently been hit by one of our bombers; it had not much roof left and the inside was a shambles, but it would do. At one point in the sporadic exchanges of fire I handed over the gun to a sergeant and retreated into the debris of the room to smoke a cigarette. As I looked at the tangled wreckage on the floor I noticed what looked like a book, and investigation with my foot revealed part of its spine, on which I saw, in gold capitals, the letters "maronis." It was a text of Virgil, published by the Roman Academy "iussu benedicti Mussolini," "By Order of Benito Mussolini." There were not many Italians who would call him "blessed" now; in fact, a few weeks later his bloodstained corpse, together with that of his mistress, Clara Petacci, and that of his right-hand man, Starace, would be hanging upside-down outside a gas station in Milan.

And then I remembered the *Sortes Virgilianae*. I closed my eyes, opened the book at random and put my finger on the page. What I got was not so much a prophecy about my own future as a prophecy for Italy; it was from lines at the end of the first Georgic:

... a world in ruins ...

For right and wrong change places; everywhere So many wars, so many shapes of crime Confront us; no due honor attends the plow.

The fields, bereft of tillers, are all unkempt.. .

... throughout the world

Impious War is raging.

(i.500-11)

"A world in ruins." It was an exact description of the Italy we were fighting in—its railroads and its ancient buildings shattered by Allied aircraft, its elegant bridges blown into the water by the retreating Germans, and its fields sown not with seed by the farmers but with mines by the German engineers.

The fighting stopped; it was time to move on. I tried to get the Virgil into my pack, but it was too big, and I threw it back to the cluttered floor. But I remember thinking: "If I get out of this alive, I'll go back to the classics, and Virgil especially." And I did. My first scholarly article, written when I was an assistant professor at Yale, was about the imagery of Book 2 of the Aeneid, entitled "The Serpent and the Flame."

Nomen: _____

Schola: _____

Study Questions for Knox's Introduction to the Aeneid

1. Major changes took place in Rome during Virgil's lifetime. Please name one example of each of the following types of changes.
 - Political
 - Geographical (territorial)
 - Rebellion
 - Conspiracy
 - Civil War

2. Each of the following dates represents a major change in Rome that took place during Virgil's lifetime. Using the text, fill in the important events taking place during each year.
 - 70 B.C.E.- Virgil is born in Mantova.
 - 67 B.C.E.
 - 65 B.C.E.
 - 58-51 B.C.E.
 - 53 B.C.E.
 - 49-45 B.C.E.
 - 48 B.C.E.
 - 44 B.C.E.
 - 31 B.C.E.
 - 27 B.C.E.
 - 19 B.C.E.
 - 14 A.D.- Death of Caesar Augustus and succession of Tiberius

3. What does Knox mean when he says that Virgil's Aeneid gave 'Homeric luster' to the story of Rome's origins? In what ways is the Aeneid like Homer's epics?
4. Why does the Aeneid have some imperfect lines and some contradictions in the storyline? What passage in Book 2 is an example of a contradiction in the story?
5. What role does Aeneas play in the Iliad, Homer's epic poem about the end of the Trojan War? Why might Virgil have chosen Aeneas to be the ancestor of the founder of Rome? What passages from the Iliad might Virgil have drawn upon?
6. What is the significance of the adjective 'pius' and the noun 'pietas' in relation to Aeneas? What do these epithets tell us about his character?
7. Is there any point in the Aeneid at which Aeneas is not described as 'pius'? When? Why?
8. What are 'pietas,' 'gravitas,' and 'auctoritas'? How did the Romans feel about these ideals? How does the simile in Book I, describing the scene in which Neptune calms the storm Juno and Aeolus had caused, represent these ideals?

9. Was Virgil the first author to claim that the Romans were descended from the Trojans, or was there a precedent for the legend? Where can this precedent be found?

10. For each of the following main events of the Aeneid, name the corresponding event that took place in Homer's Iliad.

Homer's Iliad/ Odyssey:	Virgil's Aeneid:
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Odysseus' stay on the Island of Calypso• Odysseus' encounter with the Cyclops Polyphemus• The funeral games for Patroclus• Odysseus' journey to the Underworld to meet his mother• Hephaestus' forges a shield for Achilles at the request of Thetis• Achilles' father gives him Patroclus as a fighting companion.• Achilles kills Hector	

11. Why does Juno hate the Trojans? Give three reasons.

12. Do you think that Juno's reasons for hating the Trojans are reasonable or just? Why or why not?

13. Match each of the following summaries to the corresponding book of the Aeneid by writing the book number (1-12) in the spaces.

- _____ A. Dido and Aeneas go hunting. Juno sends down a storm that makes them take shelter in a cave. They consummate their love, and Dido considers herself and Aeneas married. Aeneas helps Dido to build Carthage, but Jupiter sends Mercury down to remind Aeneas of his duty. Aeneas sets sail to Italy with his fleet. Dido curses Aeneas and commits suicide.
- _____ B. Jupiter calls an assembly of the gods. Venus and Juno each make a complaint, but Jupiter declares himself neutral. Turnus' attack on the Trojans resumes. A nymph, who had formerly been a Trojan ship, warns Aeneas about what had been happening. Pallas kills several enemy leaders, but then Turnus kills Pallas. Aeneas goes after Turnus, killing Lausus and then Mezentius.
- _____ C. Aeneas goes to the Sibyl at Cumae, who guides him through the land of the dead after he finds the golden bough. When they reach the Elysian Fields, Anchises shows him the souls of future Romans who will establish the Roman Empire.
- _____ D. Aeneas attends a banquet at Dido's palace. He tells her the story of the fall of Troy and his escape from it with Ascanius and Anchises. Dido falls madly in love with him because of Venus- who sent Cupid disguised as
- _____ E. Virgil invokes the muse, and states that he sings of 'arms and a man.' Juno arrives at Aeolia just as Aeneas and his fleet are off of the coast of Sicily. At her command, Aeolus lets loose the winds and they create a vast storm that scatters the fleet and lands him and seven of his ships on the coast of Italy. Venus reminds Jupiter of his promises about Aeneas' fate and complains about Juno's interference. Jupiter reassures her and summarizes the fate of Aeneas and his descendents. Aeneas and Achates explore Carthage disguised as a cloud. Venus appears to Aeneas disguised as a huntress and tells him the story of Dido. Aeneas meets Dido and she graciously invites him to a banquet.
- _____ F. Aeneas reaches the Tiber River and establishes a fortified camp on its banks. Virgil invokes the muse, Erato. Aeneas then sends an embassy to King Latinus and asks for the hand of Lavinia in marriage. King Latinus is agreeable until Juno interferes. The fury Allecto, sent by Juno, rouses Queen Amata and the Rutilian leader Turnus against the Trojans and against the marriage.
- _____ G. Juturna protects Turnus from Aeneas at the command of Juno. Aeneas is wounded, and Venus helps the Trojan healer to cure him. Amata hangs herself as the Trojans set fire to the city. Turnus realizes that Juturna is driving the chariot and decides to face Aeneas man-to-man. Venus and Juno both intervene to help their respective champions, but then Jupiter forbids Juno to interfere further. Turnus lies defeated at the feet of Aeneas and begs for his life. Aeneas considers showing mercy until he sees that Turnus is wearing the belt of Pallas.
- _____ H. Father Tiber appears to Aeneas in a dream and explains to him that Evander will be a good ally to the Trojans. Aeneas sets off and meets Evander and his son Pallas. Evander tells Aeneas about Hercules and Cacus. Evander then tells Aeneas about other peoples who will be allies of the Trojans. Venus persuades Vulcan to make arms and a shield for Aeneas. Turnus attacks the Trojan camp, and tries to burn their ships. However, the trees change into sea-nymphs.
- _____ I. Aeneas organizes funeral games for Anchises in Sicily. Juno tries to burn Aeneas' ships, but is unsuccessful. Aeneas has a dream in which a vision of the dead Anchises appears and tells him to come to Elysium in the land of the dead.
- _____ J. Aeneas buries those who died fighting against the Italians. He mourns Pallas, then sends the body home to Evander with a huge escort and arms. Diomedes refuses to be an ally to the Italians, who were already feeling disheartened with the war against the Trojans. Latinus, in a council with the Italian leaders, considers giving the Trojans the territory they had asked for as well as the hand of Lavinia. But then the Italians get word that the Trojans are advancing on the city. Then there is an account of Camilla, who kills many Trojans before dying herself.

14. Why, in the opinion of Knox, does Virgil call upon the muse Erato, rather than Galliope at the start of book 7?
15. What does the fury Allecto do at the start of book 7 to encourage the war between the Trojans and the Italians? Who sent her to do this?
16. How does the river Tiber help Aeneas at the start of book 8?
17. Why did the Roman's ships turn into sea nymphs in book 8?
18. How are the Trojans faring in the battle against the Italians at the start of book 10? How does the arrival of Aeneas and Pallas turn the tide of the battle?
19. How does Camilla die in book 11? Who avenges her death and why?
20. Juno finally agrees to stop interfering with Aeneas' fate in book 12. What is the agreement between her and Jupiter?

21. According to Knox, how is the role of history in the Aeneid different from history in the Iliad and the Odyssey?
22. Knox lists some events in the Aeneid that would have reminded Romans of events in their more recent history. Describe which event in later history each of the following passages made reference to.
- The headless body of Priam lying on the seashore.
 - Dido's curse on Aeneas and her prediction of eternal war between their two peoples.
23. Give a brief description of each of the following future Romans from Anchises' pageant.
- Silvius
 - Romulus
 - Caesar
 - Caesar Augustus
 - Numa
 - Tullus
 - Aeneas
 - Tarquin
 - the Decii

- the Drusi
- Torquatus
- Camillus
- Pompey
- Lucius Mummius
- Aemilius Paullus
- Cato the Censor
- Cossus
- The Gracchi
- Scipio the Elder
- Scipio the Younger
- Fabricius
- Serranus
- Fabius Maximus
- Marcellus

24. By which gate do Aeneas and the Sibyl leave the underworld? What usually leaves the underworld through that gate? Why do they leave through this gate? What conclusion does Knox reach?
25. How are the arms of Achilles (in the Iliad) and the arms of Aeneas (in the Aeneid) similar? How are they different?
26. Are all of Virgil's allusions to Roman History accurate? Consider the Etruscans.
27. What were the *Sortes Virgilianae*?
28. How were the works of Virgil received after his death by Christian readers? Why?

Study Questions: Aeneid Book I

1. Compare the invocation of the Muse at the beginning of the Aeneid (lines 1-11) to the invocation of the muse at the beginning of each of Homer's epics (page 43 of this document). What is similar or different in each invocation?
2. Lines 13-34 outline the causes of Juno's anger with the Trojans. What are they? Consider the following quotations. What do each of them mean?
 - "She had heard that there was rising from the blood of Troy a race of men who would overthrow this Tyrian¹ citadel."
 - "The war she had fought at Troy for her beloved Argos²."
 - "The Judgement of Paris and the injustice of the slight to her beauty."
 - "Her loathing for the whole stock of Dardanus³"
 - "Her fury at the honors done to Ganymede"
3. Line 34 is where the narrative joins the Trojans sailing to Italy. Juno wishes to cause trouble for Aeneas and his fleet. Part of her justification for doing so is what Pallas Athena did to the Argives (Greeks) because of Ajax's rape of Cassandra at the fall of Troy. What did Pallas Athena do to Ajax and the Greeks? Describe it.

¹ Dido, the Queen of the Carthaginians, is from the city of Tyre. Therefore the Carthaginians are sometimes called 'Tyrians' and things that are 'Carthaginian' are sometimes referred to as 'Tyrian.'

² Argos is a city in Greece. Therefore, all of Greece is sometimes called 'Argos' and the Greeks are sometimes called 'Argives.'

³ Dardanus is the ancestor of the Trojans. Sometimes the Trojans are called Dardanians.

4. Where does Juno arrive in line 50? With whom does she speak in line 65? What does she ask of him? What does she promise in return? What is his response to her request and bribe in lines 75-80?
5. Lines 80-90 describe a storm. In your own words, summarize that description. What was the storm like?
6. What does Aeneas say about the men who died fighting at Troy in lines 91-102? Why does he feel this way about them?
7. Who notices the storm in line 125? How does he feel about it? How does he respond?
8. How is the simile starting in line 148 an example of the Roman ideal 'auctoritas'? To what are the actions of Neptune compared in this simile? Refer to your study questions on Bernard Knox's introduction to the Aeneid.

9. Where do the Trojans land in line 158? What preparations do they immediately set about after landing?
10. How do Aeneas' actions in lines 185-198 show 'pietas'?
11. In line 198, Aeneas makes a speech to his men. What does he say? What is his purpose in giving this speech?
12. Venus speaks with Jupiter starting in line 230. What is her purpose in seeking him out? What promise does she remind him of in line 235? Who is Antenor? What is Patavium? Why do you think she brings it up?
13. Jupiter responds to Venus starting in line 255. What does he say? What does fate hold in store for Aeneas? for Ascanius? Will Juno ever come around?
14. Who is the 'Trojan Caesar' that Jupiter makes reference to in line 286? Consider the time period in which Virgil was writing the Aeneid.

15. Who is Ascanius? What is an alternate name for him? (Line 268)

16. Do you think that Venus found Jupiter's words comforting? Why or why not?

17. Where does Jupiter send Mercury in line 297? What task is assigned to him?

18. What does Aeneas set out to do in line 305? Who accompanies him? Whom do they meet in line 315? How is she disguised? Is her costume entirely convincing? What information does she give Aeneas about the place in which she has landed?

19. Who is Sychaeus? Who is Pygmalion? (lines 343 and 345)

20. How did Dido come to found Carthage? Summarize the story below.
21. How many ships did Aeneas have before the storm at the beginning of the book? How many landed with him in Carthage?
22. What sign does Venus point out to Aeneas in line 395?
23. At what point does Aeneas realize that he is speaking to his mother? What is his emotional response to this realization?
24. What does Venus do to protect Aeneas and Achates as they walk in Carthage?

25. What are the Tyrians (aka Carthaginians/ Phoenicians) doing as Aeneas and Achates approach the city? What animal are they compared to (430)? What is Aeneas' emotional reaction to the work that they are doing? Why do you think that he feels this way?
26. What was the sign that the Phoenicians had dug up in a shaded grove in the middle of the city? What is Dido building at this site?
27. What depictions do Aeneas and Achates see in the temple? What is his reaction to these images? (455)
28. To whom is Dido compared when she enters the temple? What does she do when she takes her seat?
29. Which shipwrecked sailors does Aeneas see in the temple? Why are they there? How do Aeneas and Achates feel about their appearance in Carthage?

30. Which of the shipwrecked sailors addresses Dido? (line 510) What does he say?
31. How does Dido respond to the sailors? (561) What does Aeneas do after listening to her response? (595)
32. How did Dido hear of the Trojans and of their misfortunes at Troy? (line 619)
33. Where do Dido and Aeneas go in line 632?
34. What gifts does Aeneas order Achates to bring back from the ships? Who is supposed to join them for the feast? (645)
35. What scheme does Venus devise at this point? (655) Why does she do so? What is her opinion of Dido and the Carthaginians?

36. Venus goes to Cupid to ask him for help with her scheme. She explains to him (675) that she plans to surround the queen 'with fire.' She also instructs Cupid to 'breathe fire and poison' into Dido (688). Do Venus' words foreshadow the fate of Dido in any way? Are there any other times in the text that Dido is described as 'on fire' or 'burning?' List them.

37. Book I ends with a request from Dido. What does she ask of Aeneas?

First 10 Lines of Homer's *Iliad*:

Goddess, sing to me the anger, of Achilles, Peleus' son, that fatal anger that brought countless sorrows on the Greeks, and sent many valiant souls of warriors down to Hades, leaving their bodies as spoil for dogs and carrion birds: for thus was the will of Zeus brought to fulfilment. Sing of it from the moment when Agamemnon, Atreus' son, that king of men, parted in wrath from noble Achilles.

First 10 Lines of Homer's *Odyssey*:

Tell me, Muse, of that man of many resources, who wandered far and wide, after sacking the holy citadel of Troy. Many the men whose cities he saw, whose ways he learned. Many the sorrows he suffered at sea, while trying to bring himself and his friends back alive. Yet despite his wishes he failed to save them, because of their own un-wisdom, foolishly eating the cattle of Helios, the Sun, so the god denied them their return. Tell us of these things, beginning where you will, Goddess, Daughter of Zeus.

First 11 Lines of Virgil's *Aeneid*

I sing of arms and the man, he who, exiled by fate,
first came from the coast of Troy to Italy, and to
Lavinian shores – hurled about endlessly by land and sea,
by the will of the gods, by cruel Juno's remorseless anger,
long suffering also in war, until he founded a city
and brought his gods to Latium: from that the Latin people
came, the lords of Alba Longa, the walls of noble Rome.
Muse, tell me the cause: how was she offended in her divinity,
how was she grieved, the Queen of Heaven, to drive a man,
noted for virtue, to endure such dangers, to face so many
trials? Can there be such anger in the minds of the gods?

Study Questions: Aeneid Book II

1. As Aeneas begins to narrate the story of the fall of Troy to Dido, he states that the tale is so sad that “No man could speak of such things and not weep, none of the Myrmidons of Achilles or the Dolopians of Neoptolemus, not even a follower of Ulixes⁴, a man not prone to pity.” Who are the men mentioned in this quote? What point is Aeneas making by saying that even men of this nationality would weep over the story of the fall?
2. What do the Greeks build in line 15? Who got in? Where did the other Greeks go?
3. Why do the Trojans go to the abandoned camp of the Greeks? What is the disagreement about the horse? What does Thymoetes want to do? What about Capys? Laocoon?
4. What does Laocoon do to the horse? (line 40)

⁴ Ulixes [also known as Ulysses/ Odysseus]

5. Whom do Trojan shepherds bring before the king in line 60? Why does this person say that he does not get along with Ulixes (aka Odysseus/Ulysses)?
6. According to Sinon's lies, what did the Greeks think they had to do to set out from Troy? How did he become the victim of Ulixes and Calchas?
7. How did the Trojans respond to Sinon's story about escaping the sacrifice? What do they ask him? (line 148)
8. According to Sinon, Why did the Greeks build the horse? Which deity were they trying to appease? How had they offended that deity? (line 165)
9. The Trojans can either bring the horse into the city or destroy it. According to the lies Sinon tells, what happens as a result of either choice?
10. Sinon's lies are one reason that the Trojans take the horse into the city, but Aeneas mentions a sign that lent credence to those lies. What sign was that? (lines 200-235)

11. How did the Trojans spend their last day before the fall of Troy? Was there anybody who did not enjoy the festivities? Who? Why? (lines 235-249)
12. How did the Greeks get out of the horse? Who opened it for them?
13. What Greeks were in the horse? Who came out first? Which Greek had made the horse? (line 260)
14. Who appeared to Aeneas in line 268? How did he look? What is the gist of his conversation with Aeneas? What warning does he give Aeneas? What should Aeneas do, according to this figure?
15. Whom does Aeneas catch sight of in line 318? What update does he give on the situation in Troy? Where does Aeneas go next?
16. Who was Coroebus? (line 390) Why had he come to Troy?
17. What does Aeneas say to his fighting companions in line 349? How does this add to their courage? To what are they compared in the simile in line 355?

18. Who is Androgeos? Why do the Trojans get the upper hand when fighting against him?
19. What stratagem does Coroebus suggest the Trojans make use of in line 388? Why does Coroebus die? Why were the Trojans fighting with Aeneas attacked by another contingent of Trojans in line 410?
20. Aeneas and his surviving companions arrive at Priam's palace. What are the Greeks trying to do? How are the Trojans defending themselves? (lines 440-58)
21. How does Aeneas enter Priam's palace? Who used to make regular use of this entrance? (454-8)
22. What Greek had already gained entrance to Priam's palace? (Line 470) What companions were with him? How does he fight?
23. How does Priam die? Where does he die? Who kills him?
24. Who is Polites? How does he die?

25. How does Priam chastise Pyrrhus starting in line 535? How does Pyrrhus respond?
26. After seeing Priam die, Aeneas returns home. With whom does he meet at the temple of Vesta on his way there? What emotional response does he have to seeing her? What does he decide to do? Which deity stops him? What does this deity encourage Aeneas to focus on?
27. How does Anchises initially respond to the news that Troy is falling that Aeneas wants to escape with him, Creusa, and Ascanius into the mountains? What reason does he give for his resistance to this plan? (line 635-649)
28. How does Aeneas respond to Anchises' refusal to leave? (Line 658) What does he intend to do rather than escape?
29. What two omens convince both Anchises and Aeneas to attempt an escape? (lines 681 and 693)
30. How do Aeneas and his family flee? Who is carried? Who walks?(lines 707-712)

31. Where does Aeneas plan to meet up with his household slaves? What does he tell them to do?
32. Why does Anchises, rather than Aeneas, carry the household Gods? (717) Compare this to what Sinon says in line 168 (i.e. the fabricated reason that Athena was angry with the Greeks.) What conclusions can you draw from these parts of the text about ancient religion? When was it forbidden for a man to touch the statues of a deity?
33. How does Aeneas feel as he flees Troy with his family? How does it compare to the way he feels in battle? (line 725)
34. Who is missing when Aeneas arrives at the temple of Ceres? What does Aeneas do about it?
35. Who appears to Aeneas in line 772? What does she tell him about the fate that awaits him?
36. When Aeneas returns to his father and son, who else is waiting for him?

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Study Questions: Aeneid Book IV

1. How does Dido feel about Aeneas at the opening of Book IV? (lines 1-9)

2. To whom does Dido confess her feelings beginning in line 10? What oath is preventing her from acting on those feelings? (lines 10-29)

3. What is Anna's reply to Dido? What personal comforts would a union with Aeneas offer? What political and defensive threats exist for Carthage (her point here is that the Trojans could be useful in terms of defense)? (lines 39-44)

4. What course of action does Anna recommend to Dido?(lines 51-54)

5. What do Dido and Anna do in lines 56-66?

6. Will the sacrifices bring the blessing that Dido hopes for? To what animal is she compared in the simile in lines 70-75?

7. How does Dido initially behave toward Aeneas? Is she able to tell him she loves him at first? (Lines 76-86)
8. Is Dido able to keep up with her responsibilities as ruler of Carthage while she is entertaining Aeneas? In what ways? (lines 87-90)
9. Who realizes Dido's feelings for Aeneas in line 90? Whom does she recruit as an unexpected ally? What plan do they concoct?
10. The storm that forces Aeneas and Dido to take refuge in a cave is called "the beginning of her death," and "the first cause of all her sufferings" in lines 170-171. Why?
11. How is Rumour described in lines 180-198? Is Rumour powerful? Is Rumour good?
12. Who finds out about Dido and Aeneas in line 198? How does he react? What does he do about it? (lines 198-219)

13. Iarbas refers to Aeneas as a 'second Paris' in line 216. Who was the first Paris? Is it fair to call Aeneas this? What do Paris and Aeneas have in common?
14. What is Jupiter's response to the prayers of Iarbas? Whom does he send to Carthage? Why?
15. What is Aeneas doing when Mercury finds him? What is he wearing? How does Mercury rebuke him? According to Mercury, what does Aeneas owe Ascanius?
16. Aeneas wants to leave Carthage immediately after Mercury appears to him. But he does have a major concern about his departure, What is it? (lines 284-287) What decision does he make?
17. How did Dido find out about Aeneas' plans for departure? What is she compared to when she is on her way to confront him?

18. What does Dido say to Aeneas when she confronts him? What does she ask him to do? (lines 305-312) What does she beg him to do? (lines 316-320) What consequences has she faced because of their relationship? (lines 320-324) What threats might she face because of the relationship? (327-329) What thing does Dido wish had happened? (lines 327-330)
19. What does Aeneas say in response to Dido starting in line 334? How will he look back on their relationship? Did he intend to leave secretly? Why is he leaving? Would he stay in Carthage given the choice? If it were up to him, where would he build a city? How do thoughts of Anchises and Ascanius spur him on?
20. What does Dido reply? What is her emotional state? How does she insult him? How does she curse him? (lines 365-388)
21. After Dido returns to her palace, what does Aeneas do? What does he wish to do? How does he feel? (lines 392-6)
22. To what are the Trojans compared as they make preparations to leave? (lines 400-409)

23. What favor does Dido ask of her sister in line 421? What is she supposed to beg Aeneas to do?
24. Is Aeneas responsive to Anna's pleas on Dido's behalf? To what is he compared in the simile starting in line 441?
25. What does Dido pray for in line 450? What signs does she see in lines 454-5, lines 457-462, and in line 463?
26. What decision does Dido reach in line 475? Is she open about her plan to Anna? What does she ask Anna to do for her regarding this plan?
27. In line 534 Dido begins to consider the options left to her since Aeneas is setting sail. Why doesn't she marry a former suitor from one of the surrounding tribes in Libya? Why doesn't she set out alone with the Trojans? Why doesn't she set out with the Trojans and bring the citizens of Carthage with her? List the reasons she rejects these options.

28. Why do Aeneas and the Trojans set out from Carthage in the middle of the night? Who appears to Aeneas in his dream to encourage him to do so? (lines 560-84)
29. What does Dido see at dawn? What is her reaction? What does she regret not having done? (lines 595-600)
30. To which gods does Dido pray in lines 606-621? What does she pray for?
31. What task does Dido leave to the Carthaginians? What should the relationship between Rome and Carthage be forever after? What historical event(s) would have come to the minds of Vergil's contemporaries concerning this passage?
32. How does Anna react to Dido's suicide?
33. How does Juno react to Dido's suicide? Whom does she send down to her? For what reason?

34. Consider the affair between Dido and Aeneas as narrated in Book IV. Do you think that Aeneas is a good person? What about Dido? What consequences did their affair have for Aeneas? For Dido? Who is at fault for the affair and for its consequences? Support your answer with evidence from the text.

Study Questions: Aeneid Book VI

1. Where do Aeneas and his men land at the beginning of Book VI? What do the Trojans set about doing? Where does Aeneas go? (lines 1-14)

2. Who built the temple of Apollo at Cumae? What is his backstory? With what likenesses did he decorate the temple? Is there anyone that should be in the pictures but isn't? Who? Why? (Lines 15-34)

3. Whom does Achates bring to Aeneas in line 37? What does she instruct the Trojans to do?

4. After the ritual sacrifice, where does Deiphobe take Aeneas? Why do her appearance and stature change? What do you think this change signifies? (lines 45-55)

5. Aeneas prays to Apollo in lines 55-78. He begins his prayer by reminding Apollo of ways in which he has helped the Trojans before. He then asks a favor of the god, and then makes a promise in return. What are the ways in which Apollo has helped the Trojans? What does Aeneas ask for? What does he promise in return?

6. Lines 83-97 give Apollo's reply to Aeneas as given by the Sibyl. Are the Trojans done traveling at sea/ What will happen to them in Lavinium? Who is the 'second Achilles' in Latium? Will Juno continue to play a role in the sufferings of the Trojans? What will be the cause of all this suffering? Where will the road to safety begin for the Trojans?
7. In line 103, Aeneas replies to the Sibyl. What does he ask her?
8. Beginning in line 119, Aeneas reminds the Sibyl of others who have gone to the underworld and returned. Who was Orpheus? Why did he go to the underworld? Who was Pollux? What was the purpose of his trip? What about Theseus and Hercules? Do you know myths surrounding each of these characters and their journeys to the underworld?
9. What is the Sibyl's answer to Aeneas' request? Is it easy to go to the underworld and then return? (Line 137)
10. What does it mean to 'sail twice upon the pools of Styx?' or to 'twice see black Tartarus?' Aeneas will do each of these things once on his journey to the underworld. When will the second time be? (lines 133-135)

11. According to the Sibyl, Aeneas needs to complete two tasks before he can journey to the underworld. What are they? (lines 145-154)
12. Who was the dead comrade that the Sibyl mentioned? Who was his fighting companion at Troy? After that leader died, whom did he follow? How did he die? (lines 164-175)
13. What do the Trojans do to lay Misenus to rest? (lines 175-183)
14. What happens to Aeneas as he is helping to prepare for the funeral? What does he find as a result? (lines 185-212)
15. Where is Lake Avernus located? Why do the Greeks call this place 'Aornos?' (lines 237-243)
16. What rituals do the Sibyl and Aeneas perform before they enter the underworld? Which deities do they pray to? What do they sacrifice? (244-255)

17. What sign shows that the rituals had been successful? (256-258) How does Aeneas behave as he enters the underworld? Does he seem frightened? (lines 259-264)
18. In lines 265-269 the poet Virgil invokes some gods before he begins to narrate the story of Aeneas journey in the underworld. Whom does he call upon? Do these deities seem like the appropriate ones to invoke at this point in the narrative? Why or why not?
19. What deities live in the entrance hall of the underworld? (lines 273-282) What beasts live there? (lines 284-290)
20. When Aeneas spots the monstrous beasts living in the hall, what is his first inclination? Why does the Sibyl stop him from taking this action? (lines 290-295)
21. When Aeneas and the Sibyl arrive at the near side of the bank of the river Styx, they see the Ferryman. What is his name? What does he look like?

22. According to the Sibyl, why do some of the souls on the near side of the river get to cross? Who remains stuck on the bank? For how long? (lines 325-330)
23. On the near bank of the river Styx, Aeneas sees several Trojans who had died at Troy. Then he spots Palinurus. Who was Palinurus? How did he die? How did his death fulfil the prophecy that had been given about his fate? (lines 337-373)
24. What does the Sibyl say to Palinurus? Will he remain unburied? (lines 374-382)
25. How does Charon address Aeneas and the Sibyl when he sees them on the bank? What has his experience with living people who have come to the underworld? Why would these experiences make him suspicious of Aeneas and the Sibyl? (388-398)
26. What does the Sibyl say to put Charon's mind at ease? And what does she show him? (lines 398-407)
27. Who is Cerberus? How do Aeneas and the Sibyl get past Cerberus and into the underworld?

28. Before they crossed the river Styx, Aeneas and the Sibyl say the souls of those who were unburied and those who had just recently died on the near bank. What groups of souls do they see on the far bank after they cross? What is the condition of these souls? (lines 425-439)
29. What souls spend eternity on the Mourning Plains? (lines 440-450)
30. What familiar soul does Aeneas recognize on the Mourning Plains? What does her soul's presence confirm for him? What does he say to her? What is her response? (lines 450-475)
31. As Aeneas and the Sibyl continue on their way, they encounter both the souls of Trojans as well as the souls of Greeks who died in the Trojan War. How do the Trojan souls react to Aeneas' presence in the underworld? What about the Greek souls? (lines 478-494)
32. Who is Deiphobus? What condition is his shade in? Why? Who betrayed him on the night that Troy fell? (lines 495-529)

33. Give a brief summary of the Sibyl's description of Tartarus. What souls spend eternity here? Who is in charge of Tartarus? What kind of punishments do they dole out? (lines 564-627)
34. What do the Sibyl and Aeneas do with the golden bough that they brought with them? (635)
35. Aeneas and the Sibyl arrive in Elysium in line 638. What are the Elysian Fields like? What sort activities do these souls get to take part in? What kind of souls spend their afterlife here? (lines 638-665)
36. Where is Anchises when Aeneas and the Sibyl find him? What is he doing? (line 679)
37. What is the river Lethe? Who are the souls gathered around it? (lines 703-719)

38. In lines 719-722 Aeneas asks his father why some souls would have the desire to leave the Elysian fields and be reincarnated. Anchises gives his answer in lines 725-752. Read his answer carefully before you answer the question below.

Vergil was not a Christian poet, but his poems have been widely read and admired by Christian authors and he is sometimes said to have an 'anima naturaliter Christiana' (a naturally Christian heart). What thoughts in Anchises' speech (lines 725-752) seem to correspond to Christian ideals or beliefs? What concepts in his explanation do not agree with Christian doctrine?

39. Lines 757-854 are often referred to as 'Anchises' pageant' because he points out the souls of future Romans and describes their accomplishments to Aeneas. Drawing on what you know from World History and Mythology, pick 3 or more future Romans and describe who they are.

40. At the end of his Speech, Anchises describes what Role the Romans will play in the world. What is it?

41. In lines 855-885 Anchises and Aeneas discuss Marcus Claudius Marcellus the elder, and the soul marching besides his. Although it is not stated outright, the second soul is that of Marcus Claudius Marcellus the younger, the son of Augustus' sister Octavia. Augustus had adopted Marcellus the younger to be his heir and successor, but Marcellus died at age 19 in 23 BCE. Why might have Vergil chosen to include such a description of Marcellus the younger in this scene?

42. By which gate to Aeneas and the Sibyl leave the underworld? Where does Aeneas sail with his me after making his way back to his ships?

Study Questions: Aeneid Book VIII

1. At the start of book VIII, Turnus is whipping up his troops for war. He also sends a soldier named Venulus to ask a potential ally (1) if he will be allies with the Italians and (2) what he knows about Aeneas and his fate. Who is this potential ally?
2. What deity appears to Aeneas in a dream in lines 32-66? What does he tell Aeneas about the land of Latium? What sign will Aeneas find underneath an oak tree (i.e. an ilex)? Who are the Arcadians? Who is their king? What should Aeneas do?
3. To whom does Aeneas pray when he awakes? (line 70) What does he do in lines 79-81?
4. What portent does Aeneas see in line 83? To what deity does he sacrifice it? Why might it be odd for Aeneas to make a sacrifice to this particular deity?
5. Aeneas and his men arrive in Pallanteum in line 102. What is Evander, the king of Pallanteum doing when they sail up?

6. How do most of the men of Pallanteum (i.e. the Arcadians) react to seeing Aeneas' ships? Who reacts differently from all the rest? What does he do? What does he ask? (lines 98-115)

7. Aeneas mentions that Evander is related to the sons of Atreus (i.e. Agamemnon and Menelaus) in line 131. How closely are they related? Consult the family tree on pages 296-297 of your book.

8. Is Aeneas concerned about Evander's familial ties to the sons of Atreus? Why or why not? Who else is Evander related to? (lines 129-145)

9. Aeneas offers his friendship to Evander. How does Evander respond? Will the Arcadians become the allies of the Trojans?

10. Who was Cacus? Who killed him? How? How do the Arcadians honor him? (lines 190-267)

11. Evander takes Aeneas on a tour of the city of Pallanteum. Pallanteum was in the same location that the city of Rome would be. How might Vergil's contemporaries have reacted to the description of so many sites that were familiar to them?
12. Venus goes to Vulcan in line 372. Why hadn't she asked him to make armor for Aeneas and the Trojans during the Trojan war? What other mothers have asked Vulcan to make armor for their sons? Does he agree to make the armor?
13. The Cyclopes are sons of Vulcan who work in his forge in Vulcania. What are they working on when he comes to them in line 438? What does he command them to do?
14. Who is Mezentius? What horrible things has he done? Why might the Etruscans ally with Aeneas because of him? (lines 479-504)
15. What prophecy exists about the Etruscans? Why is Evander not the one who will fulfill this prophecy? Why is his son Pallas not the one? (lines 499-512)

16. Will Evander go to war himself? Who will be going in his place? What resources will Evander send? (lines 513-519)
17. What portents from heaven signal the divine approval of Evander's plan? (lines 523-530)
18. What does Evander say to Pallas as they all prepare to visit Etruria? (lines 560-585)
19. Venus brings Aeneas the new armor in line 610. What is the armor like? What is notable about the shield? What is depicted there? (lines 620-728)
20. Did Aeneas understand all of the images on the shield? What does this suggest about the details of the future that Anchises described in the underworld? Does Aeneas seem to remember the details? (lines 728-732)

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Study Questions: Aeneid Book XII

1. Book XII opens with Turnus agreeing to fight Aeneas in hand-to-hand combat. What made him realize that it was time to do so?

2. How does King Latinus respond to Turnus' decision? Was it right for him to have promised Lavinia to Turnus in the first place? What drove him to do so? (lines 20-45)

3. How does Queen Amata respond to Turnus' decision to face Aeneas? (lines 56-65)

4. What is special about the horses Turnus will drive into battle? What about his sword? His spear? What could the origin and quality of Turnus' arms say about his strength as an opponent to Aeneas? (82-101)

5. As the Trojans and the Italians prepare for the battle between Aeneas and Turnus, Juno speaks to Juturna. Who is Juturna? How is she related to Turnus? What does she rule? How did she become immortal?

6. What does Juno tell Juturna to do? How does Juturna respond? (lines 136-161)
7. Before Aeneas and Turnus can fight one another, Aeneas and the Latins follow a ceremony. Whom do they pray to? Why? What do they sacrifice?
8. How do the Rutilians feel about the fight in which Aeneas and Turnus are about to engage? (lines 215-225)
9. Who is Camers? Why does Juturna take on his guise? What does she do while she looks like him? How do the Italians react? (lines 225-245)
10. What portent appears in line 246-257? How does Tolumnius the augur interpret the sign? Why does he throw his spear? What does this mean for the terms of the treaty between the Trojans and the Italians? (lines 246-249)
11. The Italians and the Trojans erupt into fighting in lines 290-311. Why does Aeneas object? What happens to him? Why is it necessary for him to leave the battlefield? (lines 312-323)

12. How does Turnus react to Aeneas leaving the battlefield?
13. In what way is Aeneas wounded? Is the Trojan healer able to heal him? How does he recover from his wound?
How does the tide of the battle change when he returns to the fight?
14. Who is Metiscus? Why does Juturna take on his guise? What does she plan on doing? (lines 470-480)
15. Why does Aeneas join the battle between the Rutilians and the Trojans? Is he justified in doing so even though it is against the treaty he agreed to? (lines 481-505)
16. Lines 506-555 list a number of men that Aeneas and Turnus kill in battle. Compare the descriptions of the men that Turnus kills to the ones that Aeneas kills. Is there a difference? How does it speak to the character of the two men?
17. Where does Aeneas get the idea to leave the battlefield and go to the city? (line 505)

18. What does Aeneas say to his men beginning in line 565? Why are the Trojans attacking the city?
19. To what insect are the Latins compared in line 588? Are there any other points in the Aeneid where the peoples of a city are compared to insects? Who? When?
20. What 'new misfortune' befalls the Latins beginning in line 595? How do Lavinia and Latinus react? How does this affect the mood of the city and its citizens?
21. What does Turnus realize in line 613? What does Juturna, disguised as Metiscus try to do? How does Turnus reply? How does he feel about the Italians who have fallen? What is he now determined to do? (lines 613-649)
22. What does Saces tell Turnus beginning in line 650? Does this strengthen or weaken his resolve? How does he bring an end to the fighting between the Rutulian and Trojan soldiers? (lines 650-698)
23. When Aeneas and Turnus begin to fight in line 710, to what animals are they compared? (line 714)

24. What does Jupiter do in line 725? What does this suggest about the outcome of the battle?
25. Turnus' sword breaks in line 734. With whose sword does he continue the battle? Why is this sword no match for Aeneas Vulcan-forged armor?
26. To what animals are Aeneas and Turnus compared starting in line 750? What does this suggest about the battle between the two men? How has it changed since the simile in line 714.
27. What divine interventions take place during the battle? How does Turnus get his sword back after losing it? How does Aeneas get his spear back? (lines 780-790)
28. What does Jupiter say to Juno beginning in line 792? Will she be able to continue interfering with the Trojans?

29. How does Juno respond to Jupiter? Does she admit to recruiting Juturna? Will she continue to interfere with the Trojans? What does she ask for concerning Latium? (lines 808-828)
30. Does Jupiter grant Juno's request? What does he promise her?
31. What sister of Megaera does Jupiter send down to Juturna? Who is Megaera?
32. How does Juturna respond to the appearance of the Dira? In that moment, is she glad to be immortal? (lines 870-887)
33. Turnus, having been pierced in the thigh by Aeneas' spear, begs for his life starting in line 931. Does Aeneas spare his life? Why or why not?