

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

AP<sup>®</sup> Latin  
Teaching *The Aeneid*

Curriculum Module

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# Introduction

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The impetus for these articles was a discussion at an AP® Latin Reading and a subsequent list of those language skills and passages in the *Aeneid* that consistently have posed challenges to students on both multiple-choice and free response sections of the AP Exam. Therefore, the unifying concept of this publication is the intent to help teach the finer points of translating and writing about Latin within the context of a broad curriculum.

In the first essay, Donald Connor acknowledges that teachers have little time to deal with 35 minor characters in the *Aeneid*, even though they are essential to understanding the full story. He makes the case that teachers need to give students guidance in making their way through the required English readings in the *Aeneid* and in understanding how those characters fit into the story as a whole. He makes the critical statement that though teachers go over this material year after year, for the students their journey through the *Aeneid* is happening for the first time and can be overwhelming.

Teachers must address in their instruction the fact that half of the AP Exam is a multiple-choice reading section that requires students to demonstrate their knowledge of Latin by answering a variety of questions about four passages. Caroline Switzer Kelly leads us through the steps to integrate multiple-choice questioning into instruction on a regular basis, rather than the practice of using old published exam questions as simple test preparation. Her premise completely dismisses this idea and presents a tutorial on writing multiple-choice questions to check for understanding of grammar, translation, interpretation, and all aspects of student learning throughout the year.

As the academic year begins, teachers will be thinking not only of *Arma virumque cano Troiae qui primus ab oris* but also of *Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres*. ... It is my hope that both of the essays in this collection enhance the planning for daily instruction, and that teachers apply the principles presented here in their AP Latin course.



# Minor Characters in *The Aeneid*

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By my estimate there are 35 minor characters who require some attention from the teacher and student when they prepare for the AP® Latin: Vergil Exam. One problem the first-time reader (or teacher) faces with the *Aeneid* is the sheer number of proper names for people and places. In the first 195 lines, there are 33 names that begin with the letter A, from Aeneas, who makes his belated appearance at line 92, to the aged Aletes, whose ship is overcome in the storm at line 121 and who reappears as a truly minor character in Book IX where he praises the gods for youths like Nisus and Euryalus and gives his helmet to Nisus. Only someone with a search function or a lexicon could or would make the connection.

The teacher needs to provide some guidance, and I would suggest that the student be urged to acquire detailed knowledge about two or three episodes from each book of the *Aeneid*. Examples from random books leap immediately to mind:

- Book VII: The scene with Latinus, Lavinia, and the Omens; the scene with Allecto and Amata (or Turnus); the scene with Ascanius and the deer of Silvia;
- Book IX: The ships turning to nymphs with Cybele; the Nisus and Euryalus episode, and the final scene with Turnus inside the Trojan camp;
- Book V: Any of the four contests; the women's attempt to burn the ships; the death of Palinurus as he guides the ships to Italy.

A key idea that I stress while reading the Latin text is that Vergil keeps returning to several basic themes; almost every scene reflects some aspect of each theme. Vergil and his audience were readers and knew the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and they (re)read with much better memories than we now employ. The *Aeneid* is a self-referencing work to the extent that Vergil plays with his words and ideas as well as those of his predecessors. Some of the themes that I stress each year include:

- The heroic character or what makes a hero (Aeneas, Turnus, Achilles, Odysseus, Nisus);

- Hospitality — who benefits and who is hurt; leadership (good king versus bad king, with numerous examples);
- The cost of war/empire (Dido, Marcellus, Nisus, Lausus, Camilla);
- Rationality versus emotion (*pietas* versus *furor*, male versus female); and
- Civil war; fathers and sons (numerous examples).

If one thinks of the *Aeneid* as a picaresque novel, one can consider how the various episodes fit together. What are the connections and the ideas that develop? For example, in Book V, why are all the games wrong in their outcomes? Does this say something about Aeneas's emerging role or the Roman concepts of justice and sportsmanship? Also, why are there deaths at the ends of Books II through VI and then again at the ends of Books X through XII? What is the effect of repeated lines in the cases of Sinon and Achaemenides, of Creusa and Anchises, of Camilla and Turnus, of Aeneas and Turnus? Vergil repeats himself rarely, and not in Homeric formulae such as “rosy-fingered dawn.” When he does repeat phrases, especially at key moments, he must have something in mind, and we are free to speculate about the various levels of meaning that are possible.

What about the people who tell stories (Venus, Iopas, Aeneas, Polydorus, Achaemenides, Palinurus, Dēiphobus, Anchises, Evander): Is it the poet or the character speaking? What should we understand about ecphrases, especially Book VI (and the statement of Anchises at the end of the book)? The three major ecphrases look to the past, the present and the future, and each has a different effect on Aeneas. The shortest ecphrasis, the scene of the Danaids on Pallas's belt, poses the most problems and serves as a nice contrast to the more expansive scenes of the major ecphrases.

None of the ideas stated above is new or original, but what the teacher should always bear in mind, no matter how often he or she has taught the material, is that for the student this is all *terra incognita*. For them there is constant confusion as they try to sort the strange names and link names to actions and scenes. The teacher needs to provide as much supporting material as possible and keep repeating the ideas, themes, and names for the entire length of the course. The best method is to reinforce the ideas by linking them to the Latin text that is before them on a daily basis. I expect the students to read the *Aeneid* over the summer, and the English Department has been kind enough to allow those taking the AP Vergil class to use it as one of the books that fulfill the summer reading list. After they read the Latin syllabus and we move from Book I.519 to the start of Book II, students are expected to read the rest of Book I in English. This pattern continues throughout the course, and the intervening material is discussed briefly. The following characters are described in the pages that follow the list.



## Descriptions of Minor Characters in Order of Appearance

### Aeolus

With Juno as minor god, less than Juno (tributary powers), *cliens-patronus* relationship; Juno as bargainer and what she offers. Both of them as rulers, in contrast with Neptune, Dido, Aeneas, Latinus, Evander, Mezentius, Turnus, Metabus, Ascanius, Acestes.

### Neptune

Contrast as ruler with Aeolus; especially aposiopesis. Note following sympathy and importance of rhetoric and gravitas to control the people. Is the *vir* Aeneas (bringing civilization), Augustus (bringing order out of civil war), or Cato (actually stopping a riot)?

### Achates

Aeneas's faithful companion on the deer hunt, travels to Carthage and with Venus where he looks at the paintings with Aeneas; he also tells Aeneas to come out of the cloud.

He appears in small vignettes throughout the story and has his only lines (I.582–585) after they have found their missing comrades and after he fetches Ascanius to Carthage. His other appearances are as follows:

- Book III: He is first to spot Italy (523).
- Book VI: He goes to the temple and the Sibyl's cave, but not the Underworld.
- Book VIII: He and Aeneas meet up with the Arcadians to get the Etruscan allies.
- Book X: He is told to fetch Aeneas's spear, and then is wounded a few lines later by a spear aimed at Aeneas.
- Book XII: He helps the wounded Aeneas (384) and later kills an enemy (XII.459 *obtruncat*, reminding us of Priam II.663).

### Ilioneus

Ilioneus (note formation of name) appears as a representative from the ships to Dido in Book I and as Aeneas's envoy to Latinus in Book VII; has one of the lost ships in I.120; removes Euryalus's distraught mother and soon kills an approaching enemy near the gate with a big rock (IX.501 and 569).

## Cupid

Persuaded by Venus in Book I to poison Dido (NO ARROWS, despite simile of deer in IV.69–73) and is the addressee in two apostrophes, one in IV.412, showing sympathy for Dido, and in the catalog of ships in X.188, telling the story of Cupavo's father Cycnus.

## Iopas

Singer at end of Book I at Dido's feast; contrast of what he and Aeneas sing.

## Laocoon

(Note formation of name from Greek: he who thinks for the people.) First speech (II.42–49) shows him as a fiery (*ardens*, 41) speaker with RQ's, anaphora, and a great gnomic line (49), which has become a catchphrase: note differences and intensifying use of *et* (as in I.203 *forsan et haec*).

The retelling of the story brings Aeneas to apostrophize the dead Troy. Note the indicative mood *impulerat* (56) that shows how much stress the memory placed on Aeneas's emotions. When Laocoon reappears in II.201ff., the horse is inside the walls, and he is sacrificing to Neptune (and other gods, but not specified). Snakes approach over Neptune's realm from Tenedos where the Greeks are hiding. After killing Laocoon and his children, the snakes flee to Athena's temple on the Pergamum (citadel) and hide around her feet under her shield. Note that he sacrifices a bull and his cries of anguish are compared to the bellowing of a bull unsuccessfully sacrificed. (Here the teacher can explain how animals had throats cut over altars [and were usually drugged], and that if done improperly and in a nonlethal fashion, the priest had a large, angry beast on his hands.)

## Sinon

(Note formation of name: from *si non* perhaps, but more likely from *sinus*, *ūs* — fold or coil as in a snake). Note how Sinon presents himself as a captive to the Trojans (57–62) in order to accomplish his goal of destroying Troy or dying. It is important to note how Trojans crowd around to jeer. Also, point out Aeneas's direct address to Dido about knowing all the Greeks from the actions of one (65–66).

The character of Sinon, though briefly mentioned in the story, is quite memorable for the scene in which he appears. He plays for mercy by saying that he has no place left to go in the world (67–72). Note how the Trojans crowding around are seen through Sinon's eyes as an *agmina* (68). His speech wins them over (73–76) in language that will be reprised with Achaemenides in Book III. Note the complexity of the start of each of his speeches, especially the one found in 77–80. He includes truth (the death of Palamedes) with fiction (that he vowed revenge on Odysseus/Ulysses). In 97–99, note the historic infinitives used to speed the story, then the abrupt aposiopesis in 100 that stops at the critical moment, and the teasing taunt that the sons of Atreus and Ulysses would want him killed. In 105–107, note the fire and the Greek art, and hear the alliteration in 107 that echoes Sinon's rapid

heartbeat. He then lies, saying that the Greeks wanted to flee but could not, that there was an oracle that demanded a Greek life, that eventually he was chosen as the victim with Calchas's connivance, and that he escaped the night before his death. Note that the oracle is enjambed and is thus not a true oracle. At the end of this speech, he pleads for mercy.

When Priam reassures him and guarantees his safety, he asks what the horse is all about. Sinon calls on witnesses (nature and the items from his supposed sacrifice) to assert that it is allowed for him to reveal Greek secrets if only the Trojans will be good to him. He says truthfully that the Greek side counted on the help of Athena; after saying how the Greeks stole the Palladium, he lies when he says that Athena was angry and that the horse was built to appease her. He continues to lie when he says that it is so big because if the Trojans take it inside it will protect Troy. The gullible Trojans believe this. Sinon is next seen in 267–269, when he is defended by the unfair fates and releases the Greeks. His final appearance is in 329–330, where in celebration he throws fire around and is described in an enjambed *insultans* (taunting). The participle is from *salio* and refers to Pyrrhic dancing where a warrior taunts an opposing warrior prior to battle.

## Coroebus

(Note name from *κορος*, youth and *ηβη*, new skin.) He is first mentioned in II.341ff. as the betrothed of Cassandra (who was mentioned earlier), warning against the entrance of the horse into Troy [II.246–247].

Clearly doomed, he is *incensus* with *insano amore* (anticipating Dido?), while Cassandra vainly attempts to persuade him to go (*sponsae praecepta furentis*). He joins Aeneas's last-ditch band of men, and after initial success against Androgeos (note meaning of name and his connection to the snake imagery), Coroebus is *exsultans* (386) with success and courage; he proposes switching armor and massacring Greeks under false colors, and wonders who on the Greek side could object. This anticipates the Pallas-Turnus belt incident and Euryalus's helmet. Note that Aeneas's reaction is not given, nor is there any indication that Aeneas changes armor, although the names of several who do change are given. Note 396 where we advance (*vadimus*) and *haud numine nostro*. Line 402 is the gnomic center of the book: *Heu! Nihil invitis fas quemquam fidere divis!* (402 of 804). Cassandra is being dragged from Minerva's temple (Why is she there? Why is her hair down? Why is she pleading *frustra*?) Coroebus's reaction is with a *furiata mente* (407), and he charges *periturus* (408). There is an ensuing melee which is nicely characterized by a simile from the *Iliad*.

Various Trojans die, with Coroebus being the first, killed by a nonentity at the altar, with a nice enjambment (426). The last one killed is Panthus, the priest who showed up on Aeneas's doorstep after his bad dream (318ff.), and he is dispatched with an apostrophe, a reference to his holiness and its worthlessness (cf. 402). Then Aeneas concludes the battle scenes in which he participates with his claim that he tried to die and did not avoid conflict. Coroebus, the gallant lover, the foolish young hero, the reckless warrior, the unthinking and irresponsible fighter, loses his life without cause. Tied with Cassandra, he anticipates the story of Dido and the ill effects of Love, and also for Turnus vis-à-vis Lavinia.

## Priam

This is the King of Troy, son of Laomedon, the king who lied to Heracles/Hercules and to Poseidon/Neptune. Keep him in mind when talking about the deceit and trickery of the Greeks. Paris “stole” Helen from Menelaus, also. Priam is first mentioned in I.458 when Aeneas sees the sons of Atreus and Priam, and also Achilles, who was savage to both, thus encapsulating the *Iliad*; he is between his great enemies. Three lines later, Aeneas cries, “*En Priamus!*” and leads up to the *sunt lacrimae rerum* concept. Priam lives on in the vales of tears and memory. He next appears in the sixth panel on the walls (I.487), where he ransoms Hector’s body (note that Priamus is supposedly derived from the Greek *πριαμμα*, meaning “buy”). He is a supplicant with outstretched and unarmed hands; this recalls Book XXIV of the *Iliad*, where the two men weep for what they have lost (best friend and eldest son) and for what the future holds for them (early death and destruction of Troy). The other references in Book I lead up to Book II. In 654, Ilione, eldest of his daughters, had a necklace now given by Aeneas to Dido (ill-omened? Also the clothes of Helen?), and in 750, Dido is asking many questions about Priam and Hector and Sarpedon (the Trojan heroes), but finishes with Diomedes and Achilles (Aeneas’s personal nemesis and Troy’s worst enemy). In Book II (22), he is mentioned early to set the stage (*Priami dum regna manebant*). After mention in the emotional apostrophe to the high altar of Priam (56), he is alluded to as the *regem* (57) to whom the shepherds drag the captured Sinon but is not named until 147 when he frees Sinon’s chains, promises his protection, and bids him to explain the horse. From this point on, Sinon lies, except for the fact that the Palladium was taken by Ulysses and Diomedes. Sinon ends his speech with the warning that if the horse is not taken in, there will be great destruction for Priam’s power (191) and the Phrygians.

He is not mentioned again until Hector, in Aeneas’s dream, declares that enough has been given to Priam and the fatherland (191), a link that will become more evident with Priam’s death. The next several references are related to the story of Coroebus, who brings aid as a son-in-law to Priam (344); it is Cassandra as Priam’s daughter (403–404) who is dragged from Minerva’s temple, leading to Coroebus’s death. From the debacle at the temple, the survivors are called by the noise to the palace of Priam (437), where a major conflict is under way. Going through the back door of the house (454), Aeneas emerges onto the roof where he can watch the king and Troy die without being able to interfere and thus forestall his destiny and Rome’s eventual creation. The house of Priam is referred to in the context of violation in 484 when the inner rooms of Priam and the old kings lie open; if *penetralia* continues as the subject of *vident*, these rooms see armed Greeks violating their sacred space.

Priam is next mentioned in an Iliadic fashion with his wife and daughters-in-law, but he is fouling with his blood the very fires he had consecrated (502). Vergil then asks through Aeneas’s mouth if you (Dido) want to know the fates of Priam (506). After being portrayed as old (*diu senior ... tremantibus aevo*, 509) and a nonwarrior (*arma diu ... desueta* and *nequiquam ... inutile ferrum*, 510), he is carried along to the enemy, ready to die like a gladiator (*moriturus*, 511). Hecuba rebukes him for putting on his youthful arms (518), calls

him *miserrime coniunx* (519), and wants to know what awful thoughts have driven him to such a futile act (519–522). She pulls him to her on the altar and says they will be protected or die together (cf. II.402 for the value of divine protection). Polites enters (note name and its connection with the city *πολις*, and in fact the word means “citizen” in Greek). When Pyrrhus, whose name suggests fire, slaughters him before his father’s eyes and face (cf. Aeneas’s first speech in I.94–101, where those who died this way were *beati*), Priam rises to rebuke Pyrrhus (note nice hendiadys and litotes in 534). In his speech, Priam invokes *pietas* (536) and refers to the concept of defiling (539 and 502) with contemptuous alliteration. He tells Pyrrhus he is not the man his own father was, referring to the end of the *Iliad* (as seen on the temple walls in I.483–487), and the old man (*senior*, 544) hurls his unwarlike spear (*telum imbellis*, 544) in vain. Pyrrhus’s brutal response is to tell Priam to take the message to Achilles and die now. He drags the trembling (550 and 509) Priam by the hair. Priam slips in his son’s blood, and Pyrrhus buries his sword in the old man’s side up to the hilt.

Priam gets a nice eulogy, with an emphasis on his past glory (554–557) amid the destruction. But the last line and a half are intended by Vergil (and Aeneas?) to be symbolic: the beheaded body lies on the shore without means of recognition. Why did Pyrrhus, in the heat of battle, behead the dead king and transport his body to the distant shore, and how did Aeneas see the body in the dark of night? This is a good place to read Shelley’s “Ozymandias” and also to recall Hector’s appearance in Aeneas’s dream. The theme of “The king is dead, long live the king” is seen here. The legitimate rulers of Troy have died, and the royal power has in effect been transferred to Aeneas. Aeneas’s reaction is one of horror (559), and then he thinks of his father — the same age as the dead Priam (*aequaevum*, 561) — his family at home, and especially his son, who the reader knows is the future ruler in Italy.

Later references are reminders of Priam’s numerous children: the patronymic is used for Dēiphobus (III.295 and VI.509), Helenus (III.346), and as an adjective for Cassandra (III.321); he is mentioned as the ancestor of Dioces (V.297), in the description of Pyrgo (V.646), the nurse for his children, in connection with the tragic story of Polydorus (III.1, 50+), and as a relative of Euryalus’s mother (IX.284). In the equestrian display of the *lusus Troiae*, Polites’s son is named after his grandfather, but appears nowhere else. In Aeneas’s speech of self-justification to Dido in Book IV, he has an emotional apostrophe to the high citadels of Priam and wishes they still stood (IV.343). In Book VII, Priam is mentioned in Ilioneus’s speech to Latinus, when he presents the *gestamen* (246) that Priam wore as he ruled his people, anticipating Aeneas’s ceding of secular rule to Latinus in XII.192–194. Gazing at Priam’s scepter (VII.252), Latinus turns his thoughts to his own daughter and her need of a foreign husband. In Book VIII, Evander mentions how he had met Anchises accompanying Priam on a visit to Hesione (mother of Teucer, mentioned by Dido in I.619–622) at Salamis. In language reminiscent of Pyrrhus’s words to Priam, Turnus tells Pandarus inside the Trojan camp to tell Priam a second Achilles has been found (IX.742), linking Turnus to the savage brutality of Pyrrhus. In Book XI, Diomedes, Aeneas’s main adversary at Troy, calls the Greeks after Troy a sorry group, one that would be pitied even by Priam (XI.259). The final reference to Priam is in a characteristic apostrophe to a



Trojan named Aeolus, who dies not under high Ida, but far away in the Laurentinian fields, killed not by Greeks nor by Achilles.

## Creusa

(Note name is feminine form of *Κρεων*.) Aeneas's wife is first mentioned in II.562, with thoughts of home flooding through Aeneas's mind. When Venus finally delivers him to his father's home, Creusa is not mentioned until Anchises's diatribe against his misfortunes is finished. Creusa and the family weep (651) in the face of Aeneas's intransigence. Aeneas rhetorically asks his divine mother if she brought him home to see the whole family, including Creusa, killed before his eyes (recalling his first speech in Book I and Priam's death earlier in II). As Aeneas leaves for battle, the desperate woman throws herself at her husband's feet, begging (675–678) to be taken with him and not abandoned. The language anticipates Dido's words (IV.315 and 323–324). She tries to put out the flames on Ascanius's hair (685–686) and eventually is told by Aeneas to follow him at a distance as they leave Troy (710–711) because he will have his father on his shoulder and his son holding his hand.

This plot device, designed to account for her disappearance, often troubles readers who feel it is a sign of weakness, thoughtlessness, or simple indifference. It helps to mention Aeneas's *pietas* and the role of women in ancient times, the place of honor for the *paterfamilias*, and Ascanius's just established role as “the future.” She follows obediently behind (725), but in the confusion of the flight she is lost. Aeneas is *incertum* (740) why she either stopped or wandered off or sat down exhausted, but she was not seen again. She failed/deceived companions, son, and husband (744).

Note the stage of grief where Aeneas blames the dead for dying. He blames all the gods and feels this was the worst thing to happen in Troy's defeat; he then prepares to return to Troy and goes back to his burning home, then to Priam's palace where the women are lined up for a future as slaves. He wanders through the streets, calling Creusa's name in vain (768–770). She then stuns him as a ghost, larger than life, who tells him to stop indulging his insane grief (776–777) since these events happen only by Jupiter's will (777–779). She tells him of his future in Italy with a new kingdom and wife, and that he should banish tears for his beloved Creusa (780–784). She then reassures him that she is a descendant of Dardanus (in effect, one of Priam's daughters, although this is never mentioned by Vergil) and will not serve a Greek woman, but will be an attendant of Cybele (the goddess of the area whose trees-made-ships will carry Aeneas to Italy and then become sea nymphs in Book IX). In her last words, she asks Aeneas to preserve the love of their child and then she vanishes, grasped (II.792–794) in the very same way that Anchises's ghost is grasped in vain in VI.700–702.

Her final mention is in IX.297, when Ascanius assures Euryalus that he will look over his mother and that only the name of Creusa will be missing for the woman. Worth mentioning is the effect of Aeneas's story on Dido: it tells her that he is available, that he has a son, and that he risked his life and destiny for the woman he loved.

## Helen

She is talked about a bit, but rarely by name, and Aeneas wants to kill her after he has seen Priam slaughtered. The first mention is I.650, when Aeneas sends for Helen's clothing as a gift for Dido. Inappropriate and ill-omened are the kindest descriptions of Aeneas's choices for presents. When Aeneas leaves Priam's palace, he sees Helen (II.567–568) hiding at the threshold of Vesta, primary goddess of hearth and family for the Roman people and state. She is called Tyndareus's daughter at 569 and 601; much is made of all her fears (571–573), of the Trojans, the Greeks, and the abandoned Menelaus. Aeneas's speech (II.577–587) is a bitter denunciation of the woman who ruined all that Troy was and who should not escape retribution at his hands, even if there is no honor in killing a woman. Venus appears and tells Aeneas that he should pay attention to his family and forget about Helen and Paris, who are blameless. She then allows him to break with human vision and see how the gods are actively destroying Troy, especially Juno (612–614). It is worth reminding the students that Venus brought the two humans together in the first place, and she is protecting the woman who stands as the human symbol of beauty and sexual desire, as Venus does on the divine level.

In Book VI, Aeneas encounters Deiphobus. When Aeneas asks what happened, he is told of Helen's treachery on Troy's final night, and how she removed the faithful sword from beneath her husband's head after leading the dance with a torch around the horse as a signal to the Greeks off Tenedos. These charges are not discussed at all, and immediately afterward Aeneas is told about the punishments in Tartarus. In VII.364, Amata uses Helen's name to describe Aeneas's becoming Lavinia's husband and taking her from Turnus, linking the Trojan War with the war in Italy, just as the Sibyl promised in VI.93–94.

## Polydorus

Note the name and its Greek roots: “the many gifts.” Sent by his father Priam to the Thracian king across the Hellespont, the boy was killed when Troy fell, and the gold sent with him was stolen. Aeneas as a pious man prepares a sacrifice on what happens to be the tomb (*tumulus*, III.22). A tree torn up from the hill reveals the crime, and Polydorus warns Aeneas to flee, which he does after performing proper funeral rights for his kinsman and countryman. This is the first stop for Aeneas and the start of failures as he slowly discovers that his destiny lies in Italy. It also represents a violation of hospitality, a common theme, and the passing of the line of Priam yet again. Note line 48 where Aeneas has the same reaction he had when he saw Creusa's ghost; also in lines 56–57, there is the same line that the poet apostrophizes to *improbe amor* in IV.412, but here the addressee is the accursed hunger for gold (*auri sacra fames*). Vergil considers certain motivations as inherently evil.

## Celaeno and the Harpies

Note her name from the Greek word for dark (κελαινοσ), a name Vergil invented. The story is much like the story of Odysseus's men killing and feasting on the cattle of the Sun God. Vergil makes the story swift and symbolic of the violation of hospitality and of false piety as the men beg him to pray to avert the attacks (III.260–261). It is one of the Homeric episodes that include the fantastical and to some extent use the *Odyssey* to show Vergil's "epic abilities." Celaeno's prophecy (III.253–257) is not resolved until the Trojan arrival in Italy, when Ascanius notes in jest (VII.116) that they have eaten their tables and then attributes the omen (or at least its interpretation) to Anchises. The unfinished line in VII.129 reminds us that the work is not finished and that Vergil might well have revised this section if time permitted. The line also holds another of the prophecies/curses that are initially misinterpreted. Often they turn out differently from the ways that the people making them intended. Instead of continuing the fight with the Harpies, Aeneas and his band of men flee from the Strophades Islands.

## Helenus and Andromache

Helenus, one of Priam's sons, a seer mentioned in the *Iliad*, and Andromache, Hector's widow, live in Buthrotum, near Actium, where Aeneas plants a trophy anticipating Octavian's victory a millennium later. The episode (III.294–505) constitutes the heart of Book III, where Aeneas learns that the past is not a place of refuge, and that he must proceed to Italy. The story of Pyrrhus killed at an altar by Orestes for trying to steal Helen's daughter (325–340) is filled with ironies that recall Book II in many ways. The subsequent union of Helenus and Andromache and the establishment of a new city with a *Pergamus*, a *parva Troia* (349), should be good news for Aeneas, but Andromache is grieving for Hector at a *tumulum inanem*; she faints at the sight of Aeneas and finally asks about Hector. Aeneas realizes that she is *furēti* (313) and asks if she is still wed to Pyrrhus. After telling her story, she leaps from the past to the future: she asks what god brought him to Buthrotum, she asks about Ascanius and if he misses his mother and if he remembers the example of Hector (line 343 is used again in XII.440, where there is only a change of mood in the verb, and this is the only speech directly between Aeneas and his son). As Helenus arrives, Aeneas notices the discrepancies between the original and the small Troy: the Pergamum is false (*simulata*, 349) and the Xanthus river is dry (*arentem*, 350); Aeneas embraces the threshold of the Scaean gate (351), recalling the Trojan women embracing the doorposts at Priam's palace (II.490). Aeneas asks Helenus as a friendly seer for help in reaching Italy and how to avoid Celaeno's prediction. Helenus tells him as much as he can (377–380): Aeneas must sail around Sicily and find a site on Italy's coast where a sow has birthed 30 piglets. The fates will find a way around eating tables and Apollo, Augustus's patron, will be present whenever called (395). Avoiding the near coast of Italy, he must perform sacrifices, whose rituals will be handed down through the ages. He should avoid the passage between Sicily and Italy (Scylla and Charybdis). But, above all, he should do his best to appease Juno and then head to Cumae and Avernus, where he should get help and guidance from the Sibyl.



After an exchange of gifts, with Anchises as *paterfamilias* in the lead role, Helenus directs words of encouragement and assurances to Aeneas, telling him that his destiny is great and soon to be fulfilled. Andromache presents Ascanius with a reminder of her and says goodbye to him as a living image of her son Astyanax (brutally killed by the Greeks at Troy's fall). As they depart, Aeneas promises a lasting alliance between the two groups of Trojans, perhaps anticipating Augustus's later establishment of Nicopolis in the area. With this episode, Aeneas leaves Troy behind him literally and symbolically; he will name his new city after his new wife, not after himself (*Aeneadae* in III.18 in Thrace) or Troy (*Pergamum* in III.133 in Crete).

## Achaemenides

The name is Vergil's invention and may mean the Achaean left behind, or with distress ( $\alpha\chi\omicron\sigma$ ), or an Achaean who wished that his lot had remained (*manisset* from  $\mu\epsilon\nu\omega$ ). When Aeneas and his men enter the harbor below Mt. Etna, the volcano is erupting. After a scary night amid noise and darkness, the first thing they see in the dark and damp morning is a filthy human being approaching them as a suppliant. Clearly a Greek (594), he is the first they have really encountered since the fall of Troy. The refugee pauses before approaching (596–598), but quickly begs to be rescued, admitting that he is Greek but is willing to suffer death as long as it is at the hands of men. In lines reminiscent of the Sinon episode (III.608–609, cf. II.74–75), Anchises (equal in age to Priam) encourages him to speak; he does, with his fear put aside, as line 612 repeats line 76 from Book II, which should bring a chill to the Roman reader and which helps underscore the themes of Aeneas's basic *pietas* and humanity. The theme of hospitality is also highlighted, because the host warns his guests of the dangers that lurk, and the guests save their Greek host from an unspeakable death.

Achaemenides's story should remind the Trojans of Sinon as he admits his Greek origins and his connection to Odysseus (now one of his men, not a sworn enemy as Sinon claimed). Vergil retells the famous Polyphemus episode in a much abbreviated form, but with attempts to replicate alliteration (627, *Odyssey* IX.292) and gross details. The Greek concludes with advice to flee and puts his life in Trojan hands. Note that the Cyclops is described in 658 as an unspeakable huge monster, with the same words that are used to present Fama in IV.181. Polyphemus enters the sea to wash his wound in the salt water, still bleeding three months after Odysseus left. As the Trojans flee, the other Cyclops gather at the noise and watch them sail off. Achaemenides is not mentioned again, having allowed Vergil to show that Aeneas is a more responsible leader (saving the man Odysseus left behind) and that Trojan hospitality is still alive after Sinon's betrayal. This reveals that Vergil can tell an episode of fantastical horror with the same skill and vividness as Homer.

## Anna

This is another invention of Vergil's; along with Dido (whose name means "beloved" in Phoenician, much as Amata in Latin), her name in Hebrew (Hannah — does the dropped H subtly recall Hannibal?) means "favor" or "grace." In the tragedy of Dido, Anna serves the roles of alter ego and nurse-confidant, familiar stereotypes from Greek tragedy for

a Roman audience. It should be noted that Dido only has Sychaeus's old nurse with her, since hers is dead and buried back in her old native land (IV.632–633); interestingly, that nurse is named *Barcē*, which would for a Roman audience bring to mind Hannibal Barca and his family, Carthaginians unalterably opposed to Rome.

Anna first appears at the start of Book IV, as Dido confides her thoughts about Aeneas to her like-minded sister (*unanimam sororem*, IV.8). While Dido is emotionally confused and torn by her desire to remain *univira*, faithful to her dead Sychaeus (a much-appreciated virtue among the Romans), Anna considers the future and the geopolitical aspects of the situation. She does not understand the depths of Juno's hatred of all people Trojan (56–57) and urges her sister to indulge her hospitality. In one of the more subtle metaphors, she tells Dido to weave causes of delay (*causasque innecte morandi*, 51), recalling the shroud that Penelope is weaving for Laertes in order to delay her selection of a successor to Odysseus. Vergil typically twists the Homeric reference so that Dido weaves to get a new husband and not forestall one. In lines 54–55, Dido's sense of self ( *pudor*), which had been apostrophized and sworn to earlier (IV.24–27), is released, and Dido is in love. What is fun to discuss is who is the subject of the three verbs, since a grammatical case could be made for Anna (the last Latin subject before the preceding speech) and talk about the idea of personal responsibility (like Oedipus, Dido is responsible for her actions), which needs Dido as the subject. Why did Vergil make the reference ambiguous?

The two sisters approach the shrines (*adeunt*, 56), seeking peace for Dido's mind with their sacrifices. Anna then disappears until Aeneas is about to leave, at which point she is summoned to be an intermediary by Dido. The troubled queen believes that the treacherous man (*perfidus ille*, 421) confided only in Anna and that only her sister can address a man now deemed an arrogant enemy of the state (*hostem superbum*, 424). Dido misleads her sister grammatically in 436, when she promises that she will pay back any extra time Aeneas gives her with interest. Anna understands that *morte* in 436 is an ablative of time, referring to Dido's eventual, unspecified death in the distant future; Dido perhaps uses an ablative of means, to say that when Aeneas leaves, she will die literally as well as figuratively.

Anna performs her futile task (437–449) and next appears when Dido calls her after (or is it during?) her troubled night and asks for help. Dido refers to a mysterious priestess from the Ethiopians (i.e., from the ends of the world). Commentators feel this priestess is a lie conjured up by Dido. The plan is to burn all physical reminders of the departed Trojan, and Anna agrees, not suspecting that her sister conceals death with these strange new rituals; Anna does not understand the rage in her sister and fears nothing worse than what happened at Sychaeus's death, which Dido handled well (cf. I.343–368). Anna disappears again, as her sister is tortured by Aeneas's departure. Dido sends *Barcē*, mentioned above, to get Anna so that she can wash Dido's body and perform sacrifices. Anna enters as Dido lies dying on the funeral pyre, surrounded by shrieking attendants. Anna rebukes her sister for deceiving her and for dying without her (675–681), much as Aeneas felt hurt because Creusa deceived her family (*fraude*, 675 and *fefellit* in II.744). Anna still thinks in political

terms when she tells Dido that she (Dido) has extinguished not only the two of them but also her people, the Senate (a nice Roman anachronism), and the city. She tries to catch her sister's dying breath (spirit), a sign of sisterly piety. Our last image is of Anna cradling her dying sister in her arms as Dido tries to break free of life's hold. Worth mentioning here is the treatment presented by Christopher Marlowe in his *Dido, Queen of Carthage*. Anna loves Iarbas, who loves Dido, and the rejected lovers commit suicide at the play's end, starting with Dido and ending with Anna, a fine Elizabethan bloodbath reminiscent of *Hamlet*.

## Iarbas

This name might be derived from the Greek ἱερός meaning “holy” and the first three letters of Βασιλευς, (my guess). He is first mentioned by name by Anna as one of the scorned African suitors (IV.35–38) but is alluded to in Venus's story of how Dido bought the land for Carthage (I.367–368), when he was outsmarted by the clever Dido. Vergil uses him as a plot device after Dido has slept with Aeneas. Iarbas receives the rumors that Fama spreads. A child of Jupiter, in his role as a sky god of North Africa (IV.198), and a ravaged African nymph, Iarbas has shown great devotion to his father and now, enflamed by the bitter rumor (203), he prays for relief in the midst of the altars. His speech (206–218) follows the usual rhetorical formulas, with a good opening (206–207), a statement of the situation (211–217), and in 208–210 and 217–218, he expresses strong skepticism about the power of the gods and almost blasphemes his father, demonstrating his anger, the depths of his love for Dido, and his unsuitability as a husband. Perhaps he can be considered a stereotype of the impulsive, emotional non-Romans from Africa who caused the Romans so much trouble through the centuries. His prayer, despite his hostility, is heard, and Jupiter dispatches Mercury to send Aeneas on his way. However, just as Juno's storm sent Aeneas to Carthage with unforeseen consequences for her favorite city, Iarbas's prayers not only rid him of Aeneas but also are the indirect cause of Dido's suicide.

## Palinurus

This name, from the Greek παλιν and οὐρος — the first meaning “back(wards)” and the second both “fair wind” and “watcher” (perfect for a helmsman) — appears first in Book III (202), when the Trojans flee Crete and are caught in the storm that drives them to the Strophades and the Harpies. He was not mentioned at all in the storm that drove the Trojans to Carthage, although presumably he was steering the ship on which Aeneas sailed. Later in Book III (513), he is steering as they leave Helenus and Andromache at Buthrotum and then Achates sights Italy. He is also at the helm (562) as the Trojan fleet avoids Charybdis. In Book V he is on the high stern as the Trojans leave Carthage and are caught in a storm at night; he asks Aeneas for permission to put in at Sicily, mentioning Aeneas's brother Eryx, but not Anchises who had died there the last time they were in Sicily at the end of Book III.

He does not appear again until the Trojans are leaving Sicily for Italy, and his ship leads the way (V.833–834). Then, beginning with an emotional apostrophe, Vergil tells how Somnus (Sleep) took him away as an offering demanded by Neptune from Venus for the

safe passage of the fleet. Sleep, in disguise, tries to induce Palinurus to surrender the tiller to him so Palinurus can rest. He rejects this because of his loyalty and duty to Aeneas and his lack of trust in a clear sky at sea. Bewitched by sleep, he falls overboard still holding the tiller and calling in vain for his comrades (854–860). Aeneas wakes, realizes his helmsman is gone and steers the ship himself (how Aeneas *rexit* — functions as a king/steers without the tiller — is not explained). Aeneas finishes the story with an apostrophe to Palinurus, falsely accusing him of too much trust in a calm sea and sky and saying that he will lie dead in an unknown land. Both statements are proven wrong, as he will learn in the Underworld. However, Aeneas does arrive in Italy in tears and without a helmsman.

Palinurus is the fourth and last of the deaths at the end of Books II–V that are links to the past for Aeneas (Creusa, Anchises, Dido, and Palinurus), as he is stripped of family and attachments that stand in the way of Rome's rise. I would suggest that Caieta's death, now at the start of Book VII, originally ended Book VI and completed the run of necessary deaths and symbolized Aeneas's rebirth after his trip to the Underworld. Just as he no longer needs a pilot now that he is in Italy, he — and Ascanius, as well — no longer need a nurse as they go about their duties of founding the Latin race and bringing the gods to Italy.

When he reaches the Underworld with the Sibyl as his guide, before he can cross the Styx with Charon as his new pilot, he sees Palinurus's ghost wandering among the unburied spirits. Aeneas questions him, wanting to know why Apollo's prophecy that Palinurus would reach Italy safely was not correct. (When this was given is not mentioned.) Palinurus assures him and tells him what happened, although the details are wrong. The sea he describes now as *aspera* (VI.351) and a violent south wind drags him into the sea (355–356), whereas before it was calm. He swims ashore in his dripping clothes (not *nudus* as Aeneas said in V.871), where he is attacked by the natives and killed as plunder from the sea (a clear violation of hospitality, of which nothing is made). He asks for burial, but is rebuked by the Sibyl, who says in effect that he must wait his turn. She does promise him immortality in the sense that the place he reached in Italy will always have his name (Punta di Palinuro, a cape near Velia along the coast south of the Bay of Naples). Cheered by this honor, he fades away and is mentioned no more. Just as he was last on the list of those who had to die so that Aeneas could move on, he is the first of the three Aeneas encounters in the Underworld. The three died in reverse order and Aeneas bids farewell in order to proceed. With one down, Aeneas is ready for Dido and then Dēiphobus.

## Dēiphobus

A mildly prominent son of Priam in the *Iliad*, he fights with Aeneas against the Greeks in the battle over Sarpedon's body. In II.310, his house collapses in fire as Aeneas looks from his roof at the destruction of Troy. In Book VI, Aeneas moves from the *Lugentes Campi* and Dido to the fields where the great warriors reside. After the Greeks flee him in panic, he sees Dēiphobus foully wounded and asks what happened. Aeneas says that he tried to find him and actually performed funeral rights for him near Troy, showing Aeneas's piety and making an allusion to Catullus's burying his brother in Bithynia (VI.505–506). The

fallen Trojan absolves Aeneas of any possible dereliction of duty (VI.509–510), unlike Dido, who clearly felt Aeneas was to blame. Dēiphobus then assigns blame to Helen, whom Venus had absolved of full culpability in II.601–603, as he describes the terrible death that befell him that final night of Troy’s existence. The reader is told that Helen led the dancers around the horse, signaling the Greeks at Tenedos when to sail (515–519), contrasting with the story told in the *Odyssey*’s Book VIII. While the unlucky man slept peacefully in his bed (520–522), his *egregia coniunx* (recalling the sarcasm associated with *egregiam* in IV.93 with Juno to Venus) took all his weapons away, especially his faithful sword from beneath his head (*fidum ensem*, 524), and summoned Menelaus in through opened doors to redeem herself.

This recalls II.571–574, where Helen feared Trojans, Greeks, and Menelaus. To make matters even worse, Ulysses was also there for the kill. Dēiphobus abruptly asks Aeneas why he has come to the Underworld, whereupon the Sibyl urges Aeneas to hurry as they must split off and not take the road through Tartarus. Dēiphobus tells her not to be angry and promises to fade away. He then tells Aeneas that he will be the glory of his people and urges him to use better fates. The story illustrates Aeneas’s characteristic piety and provides an alternate to what Venus (acting to defend what she had caused) had said in Book II. It also shows the horrors of war and even perhaps anticipates the story of the Danaids that is engraved on the belt of Pallas, with the slaying of a husband by his wife.

## Marcellus

Aeneas prepares to leave the Underworld with what should be his father’s final words for moderation, clemency, and adherence to Rome’s mission of imposing civilization on the rest of the world. (Does this sound familiar? From President Wilson to the present, this has been an underlying tenet of American foreign policy.) He notices a young man walking with the great Marcellus, one of only three winners of the *spolia opima* — Romulus, Cossus (VI.841), and Marcellus. This context is explained in textbooks to mean that a Roman commander must kill the enemy general in hand-to-hand combat. Aeneas asks who it is and is told by Anchises about the young man’s tragic early death and his burial in Augustus’s newly built Mausoleum alongside the Tiber. The boy was Augustus’s nephew and was married to Augustus’s daughter, Julia. He was already active in the principate when he was 17, and died when he was 20, possibly fighting against the Germans in the northern part of the empire. In 875ff., Anchises links him back to Trojan ancestry and apostrophizes *pietas*, *fides*, and *dextera* (three great Roman virtues, if might — *dextera* — is a virtue). Just as Aeneas had to lose those who died at the end of Books II–V, so must Marcellus serve as a reminder that Rome’s power comes at a high cost to those involved. It is worth noting that Servius and Donatus say that Octavia, the boy’s mother, burst into tears when Vergil read the passage to her and Augustus.

## Caieta

This name is from *καίω* (burn) or from *κοίλον* (hollow, cavity) and links the funeral mound and sacrifice to this place associated with Aeneas’s nurse, whose death breaks the



last link to his past. The port mentioned at the end of Book VI (900) is north of Cumae and on the coast of Latium. Vergil promises her eternal fame in a touching apostrophe and starts the celebration of Italy that characterizes Books VII–XII.

## Latinus

Latinus is not really a minor character, but is rarely mentioned when the key characters of the *Aeneid* are listed. In Book VII we see him as an old man ruling his land in peace (45–46). He has noble and divine lineage, but only one daughter whom he has betrothed to Turnus at his wife’s insistence (47–57). Subsequently, troubling omens (a swarm of bees on a laurel tree in the palace’s center and the daughter’s hair catching on fire — recalling Ascanius’s hair from Book II, as well as the Pentecost and Servius Tullius) make him consult an oracle, his father Faunus. The pious man finds he must marry his daughter to a foreigner (81–106), when fortunately (?) Aeneas and his men arrive.

The Trojan ambassadors (but not Aeneas) are welcomed cordially in a vast and lovingly described palace (170–193), and Latinus creates them as Dardanidae (195), confirming Anchises’s interpretation of Cassandra’s prediction in III.182–188. Ilioneus, the eldest of the Trojans and the ambassador to Dido from the missing ships in I.520–560, identifies the Trojans, their purpose, their request for a small plot of land and the air and water free to all (229–230), and offers gifts from Troy. The gifts are Priam’s robes, scepter, and crown, as well as Anchises’s libation bowl (245–248), not the ill-omened gifts offered Dido in I.647–655. Although impressed by the gifts, Latinus immediately thinks that these must be the foreigners he needs for his daughter (249–258). He promises friendship and asks that Aeneas come at once because he is convinced that Aeneas is the one predicted for his daughter. He presents the Trojans with horses, richly equipped, and for Aeneas two horses bred from Circe’s father’s (the Sun) immortal horses and a chariot.

After Amata is poisoned by Allecto, she asks Latinus to remember his promises to Turnus (who also is a “foreigner”) and repudiate this Trojan thief (like Paris) who steals women (359–372). When Latinus stands firm, she spins out of control and flees with Lavinia to the forests (373–405). Allecto then provokes Turnus, telling him that Latinus should hand over Lavinia or find out what Turnus is as an enemy (432–434). After Ascanius’s dogs kill Silvia’s tame deer and a battle breaks out, the people demand war from Latinus. Latinus warns Turnus that this demand will destroy him and the people (594–597), and he (Latinus) refuses to open the Gates of War. This action recalls Octavian’s chaining of Furor in I.293–296 and the closing of the gates after the civil wars, which will now begin for these soon-to-be-united peoples. In line 600, Latinus lets go of the reins of power and stays in his home, much like Pontius Pilate washing his hands after condemning Jesus to death. He is thwarted from his plan of keeping the peace by Juno, who rips the gates open on her own (616–622). The war begins.

At the start of Book VIII, the envoy Venulus is sent to Diomedes to get his support, since he (Diomedes) knows better than Turnus or King Latinus what the Trojans’ victory would mean for Italy and him. When Aeneas acquires the Tyrrhenians as allies and gets Pallas and some

Arcadians from Evander, there is only mention of the Rutulians under Turnus waging war on them, and Latinus is conspicuously absent. In Book IX the only mention of Latinus is when his stables near Alba (Longa) are mentioned in passing during the escape of Nisus and Euryalus from the enemy camp. In Book X, Juno angrily asks if anyone forced Aeneas to attack Latinus (65–66). This is his only appearance, as Aeneas returns and the war begins in earnest.

After effectively disappearing for more than three books, Latinus returns in Book XI as a troubled king seeking a solution to an intractable problem. In the embassy that seeks a truce for burial, Drances answers Aeneas's charge (114–115) that the king abandoned hospitality to the Trojans and entrusted himself to Turnus's arms by declaring that they all wish to join their king to Aeneas, abandoning Turnus to seek other alliances. As the burials proceed, the grief is especially strong in Latinus's city as the people, with Drances's help, turn against Turnus. At this crucial point, the embassy to Diomedes returns with the news that he will not help them, and he urges them to seek peace with Aeneas. Vergil has not kept the news a secret for the assembly that Latinus calls because he wants us to see that the mind of Latinus, now aware that Aeneas is destined to win, as the gods' anger and the fresh tombs warn.

As Latinus holds his scepter and listens to Venulus's report, the hopelessness of the Latin-Rutulian side sinks in. In his speech (302–335), his opening words are those of a good ruler: It is not a wise plan to call a council in times of crisis, but to avoid the crisis entirely (302–304). The Trojans are a blessed people who do not stop, even when conquered (305–307). His lack of hope is seen with the statement *spes sibi quisque* (309), which echoes II.402 without blaming the gods. He says that everything has been *percussa*, a verb (*percello*) used only twice in the *Aeneid*; the other use was to describe how Dares killed Butes with one punch (V.368–374). Latinus proposes a compromise: to settle the Trojans on some land he owns (and be ruled equally, as Aeneas proposes later) or to provide them with ships if they wish to sail away. His final words (335) are for moderation and help for his exhausted state, a difficult position to plead for with great passion.

Drances, in a speech of almost equal length (343–375), praises the king's wisdom (343–345), but taunts Turnus and begs Latinus to send Lavinia to Aeneas (352–356), with a jibe at Turnus included. In a rambling speech (378–444), as long as the previous ones combined, Turnus turns to Latinus only at the end, saying he has dedicated his spirit to Latinus and the Latins. The word *devovi* is enjambed and reminds us of the devotion, where a general sacrifices himself to save his men, which is precisely what Turnus says he will do. As Aeneas launches his unexpected attack on Latinus's city, the council dissolves in confusion, and Latinus departs greatly upset and regretting that he had not taken Aeneas as a son-in-law.

The next time Latinus is seen is at the start of Book XII, when a disturbed Turnus tells him to strike a treaty, as he had said in his speech, and he will fight Aeneas. The attack has been a breathing space, and Turnus is now ready to win or to yield Lavinia in death. Latinus answers with the moderation he has shown before (*sedato corde*, XII.18) in a long speech (XII.19–45), when he tells Turnus that his fierce spirit requires the king to be more cautious. He tells Turnus that there are other women and that Lavinia cannot be his wife

because of the gods. In line 37 he sounds as distracted and troubled as Dido. He wonders what the people of Italy will say if he allows a suitor of his daughter to be killed in the attempt. Turnus rejects the offer and asks to be allowed to trade death for glory, but calls Latinus both noble (*optime*, 48) and father (*pater*, 50), best taken as a term of respect here. Amata tells Turnus that the glory and power of Latinus are in his hands (57–59).

Aeneas accepts the proposal and sends his answer to Latinus (110–112). The armies gather in front of Latinus's city, and he proceeds in full regalia (161–164). Aeneas proposes a winner-take-all contest, but assumes that he will win, in which case Latinus will have the secular power, while he will build his city of Lavinium, and he will provide the gods and rituals for the new peoples (192–194). Latinus answers with a long and solemn acceptance and an oath to abide by the treaty (197–211); the two kings then sacrifice some animals to the gods. When Juturna and Tolumnius break the treaty by interfering with a false omen and reckless words, Latinus flees, carrying away the defeated gods with the treaty undone (285–286).

As the battle rages, Aeneas finally decides to attack Latinus's city again (as in Book XI) and promises to level it unless they accept his terms (567–569). At the city wall Aeneas then reproaches Latinus, saying that he has been forced to war against his will. When Amata commits suicide, Latinus mourns in much the same way that Mezentius did over the dead Lausus (cf. X.843–845). He is thunderstruck on a personal level by his wife's fate and by the downfall of his city. When the severely wounded Saces brings Turnus news of the dead queen, he also reports that Latinus is unclear as to whom he should call son-in-law and what treaties he should follow (657–658). When the two warriors finally gather to fight, Latinus is described as stunned that two great men have come to settle their quarrel with a sword before him (707–708). That is the last mention of King Latinus, for he is not mentioned in the talks between Jupiter and Juno.

This character, Latinus, serves as a model of a king who is adequate in peaceful times but not in a crisis. In some ways he mirrors Priam, but without the valor and power of personality that sends old Priam against the young Pyrrhus. Acestes encouraged Entellus to fight, but Latinus urges Turnus to move on to another woman and remember his father. Like Dido and Evander, his hospitality to Aeneas did not serve him well because of interference beyond his control. He comes off best when we first see him in Book VII, sitting in his palace amid the signs of his ancestral glory, recalling the primeval golden age of Italy, an age that must yield to the rise of Rome as the center of Italian power over the Mediterranean world. Almost everything else that he does is fruitless and useless: He loses his wife, he sees Turnus killed, and he proceeds to rule over a kingdom that will keep his name alive. That is about all that he accomplishes.

## Lavinia

(And Lavinium, the city named after her.) She is one of the stranger minor characters in the entire *Aeneid*. She is referred to in I.2 as Aeneas's destination, or rather, the walls of the city named after her are his goal. Jupiter confirms her importance in his reassurances to Venus later in the book, in lines 258 and 270. In II.783–784, Creusa alludes to her in



*regia coniunx* waiting for him in his new kingdom, and Mercury is told in IV.235–236 by Jupiter to remind Aeneas to remember the fields of Lavinium. Mercury changes it subtly to the kingdom of Italy and the Roman land owed to Ascanius (IV.274–276). Once Aeneas reaches the Sibyl, he is warned that his people will come to the kingdom of Lavinium but will wish that they had never come there, echoing Dido’s dying words about Aeneas in IV.657–658.

Later in the book, Anchises points out Aeneas’s last child, whom his wife, Lavinia, will bear him in the forest when he is old (like Priam, his own father, Evander). This is an attempt to blend the Trojan genealogy with the Latin race, although elsewhere it is made clear that Ascanius will rule in Alba Longa for many years. Perhaps Silvius — a name which was part of every Alban king’s title, much as “Caesar” was used by Roman leaders — ruled after his half-brother’s death. In Book VII, we first see Lavinia as the *sola filia* (52–53), guarding her father’s home and ready as a bride to extend his line. But omens have troubled her father’s mind. Her hair bursts into flames, and she runs through the house scattering fire everywhere (71–80), foretelling great personal glory for her but a great war for her people, which clearly recalls the fire in Ascanius’s hair in II.682–686. It is worth noting that Paschalis links her name (Lavinia in Roman orthography) with the laurel tree that is in the middle of her father’s palace with its swarm of bees; the tree gave the Laurentine people their name. Her father is warned to give his *natam* (96) to only a foreign-born husband. When Aeneas’s ambassadors soon arrive and identify themselves and their purpose, Latinus quickly sees the solution to his problem: he almost promises his daughter in marriage to a man he has yet to meet (263–273).

After Juno rouses Allecto (the monster from the Underworld), Allecto approaches a mother already emotionally upset with the changes in her daughter’s wedding plans (344–345). Even before she is fully poisoned by Allecto (354–358), Amata asks her husband if Lavinia is to be given to exiles (359) and robbers (*praedo*, 362), if she will be stolen as Helen was (363–364). She argues that Turnus had been promised Lavinia and that he is equally foreign in his ancestry (365–372). Driven into frenzy, she flees into the mountains and hides Lavinia in the forests to frustrate the plans (373–388). When Allecto taunts Turnus in his sleep, she does not mention Lavinia, but refers to the marriage (*coniugium*, although the third meaning is “spouse,” 423, 431) and the dowry he earned with his own blood (*quaesitas sanguine dotes*, 423). Once the battle has begun between the rustic Latins and the hunting Trojans over the slain deer, Juno scornfully bids that Aeneas and Latinus can now celebrate such marriages (using the plural *coniugia*, 555–556). With that reference Lavinia disappears, although Camilla’s appearance closes the catalog of Italian heroes and the book (803–817). If ever a woman was suitable for Turnus, it has to be Camilla.

At the council of the gods, Juno asks scornfully if she (Juno) is responsible for the Trojans choosing their fathers-in-law and dragging away girls already pledged (X.79). Her focus is not on Lavinia but on the goddess’ role as part of an agreement between more important parties, and one reasonably expects more from the goddess of marriage. Turnus at least gives a thought to his bride when he tells the fleeing eidolon of Aeneas not to abandon

his “promised marriage chambers (X.649).” In Book XI, Lavinia is not referred to in the arrangement for the truce, even by Drances who could use her to his advantage. When Latinus speaks first at the council of the Latins, no mention is made of Lavinia or the proposed marriage to either Turnus or Aeneas. Drances finally brings it up in a taunt against Turnus, asking that no violence may stop Latinus as a father from giving his daughter to the man he chooses (XI.354–356). He jibes further by suggesting that Turnus give up his rights to the marriage (357–359), which he does not possess, of course, under Roman law. He adds that if the dowry palace is so important to Turnus (369), then the poor Italians are supposed to die so that a *regia coniunx* (the same phrase Creusa used at II.783) may come Turnus’s way (XI.371–374). The only reply that Turnus offers back is that he has dedicated his life to his father-in-law Latinus (XI.440–442).

When Aeneas attacks the city and the council breaks up, Latinus worries that he has not gone through with his plan to make Aeneas his son-in-law (XI.471–472), and Amata rushes to the temple of Pallas Athena (as Cassandra did in II.403ff.). Lavinia accompanies her, with her beautiful eyes downcast, the cause of such great evil (480). It is worth asking students to consider who is saying that she is the cause and what that means exactly, as well as why her eyes are downcast. Why is she sad/embarrassed/ashamed? Her mother again refers to Aeneas as a *praedo* (484), while Turnus arms and rushes out to battle like a stallion finally let loose; it is worth noting that the stallion is headed either to the *mares* or a river, showing a Freudian confusion (486–497). Turnus is then symbolically unseated by Camilla, who assumes control of the attacking forces while Turnus heads off to lay an ambush for Aeneas in the surrounding hills.

When Turnus speaks at the start of Book XII, he declares that if he is defeated, Lavinia may go as a bride to Aeneas (12). Latinus assures him that there are other girls and he should simply move on, since the gods forbid him to marry his daughter (*natan*, 27) to any of her old suitors (just as Dido had rejected all her suitors before Aeneas showed up, cf. IV.35–38). Latinus takes the responsibility for breaking the marriage and starting the impious war (29–31), and he worries that people will blame him because a suitor died in pursuit of his daughter’s marriage (40–42). Turnus does not refer to Lavinia in his reply and wants only the chance to seek death in return for glory (45–53). Amata begs that Turnus not fight and tells him that she would die before she saw Aeneas as a son-in-law (54–63). It is at this point that Lavinia blushes amid her tears (64–66). A simile likens the color to that of ivory dyed by purple or lilies stained by roses. Why she blushes and what it means are much discussed (cf. “Lavinia’s Blush: Vergil, *Aeneid* 12.64–70,” R.O.A.M. Lyne [G&R, April 1983], in *Greece and Rome Studies: Vergil*, edited by Ian McAuslan and Peter Walcot, 1990). The next sentence says that love disturbs Turnus (70). Whose love? Love of whom? Then, as in his first speech in Book XII, he says that, as a bride, Lavinia should be sought on the field of battle. In proclaiming the terms of battle at the ceremony, Aeneas only mentions Lavinia at the end by saying that she will give her name to his city (194), recalling the opening lines of the *Aeneid* itself; Latinus does not mention her at all in his great oath.

When Aeneas, frustrated by Turnus's absence in the battle, attacks Latinus's city again, Amata commits suicide (595–603). When Lavinia hears this disaster, she joins the women in mourning with her rosy cheeks torn and her flowery hair torn; no one seems quite sure why her hair is flowery (605–606), although she might be decked out for the marriage ceremony and the “sacrificial victim” has been properly dressed. When Saces brings Turnus the news of Amata's death, he notes that Latinus is unsure whom he should call his son-in-law (657–658). Jupiter tells Juno that she was able to throw the marriage into confusion (805), but he now forbids her to try anything more. Juno yields to a happy marriage (821), provided the name of Troy disappears. When the defeated Turnus acknowledges that Lavinia is now Aeneas's wife (937), he then pleads that he should not pursue his hatreds further.

Throughout the epic, Lavinia is simply presented as a pawn in the story, unlike Helen in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, who is a real person with weaknesses and strengths. Lavinia blushes and mourns, but seems to inspire little interest in either Aeneas or Turnus. Her parents treat her as an object to be placed in a marriage that will be most advantageous to the state or their personal interests. What Lavinia thinks is irrelevant and never discussed or hinted at by the poet, unless one reads a great deal into that blush.

## Amata

Note that her name is the perfect participle passive of *amo*: “The Loved One” or “Beloved,” which is the same thing “Dido” means in Phoenician. She is not mentioned as the wife of Latinus first, but is introduced in VII.56–57 as the royal wife who wants with wondrous desire for Turnus to be married to her daughter. She is not mentioned again until Juno has let loose Allecto and sent her to stir up a war. Allecto approaches Amata, who is already *ardentem* (345) and whose feminine cares and angers are enflaming her (*coquebant* — an appropriate metaphor, 345). In a graphic fashion the snakes hurled at Amata entwine themselves around her and slowly poison her system (349–355). Before she has been thoroughly overwhelmed emotionally (356), she addresses her husband rather softly in tears in the usual manner of mothers (357). This has to be a great understatement on Vergil's part, since the speech is rife with sarcasm, rhetorical questions, and a pejorative vocabulary about Aeneas (359, 362, 363–364). She reminds Latinus of his promise to Turnus (365–366) and points out that Turnus also qualifies as a foreigner (369–372). Denied her request by Latinus and roused by great omens, she rages out of control in the city (376–377) and is compared to a top spun around a courtyard by boys at play. This recalls the simile in *Iliad* XIV, when Ajax strikes Hector and spins him like a top. Amata then flees to the forest and hides her daughter there as she continues to rage like a Bacchant (385–391). There she rouses the women to join her, if concern for a mother's right gnaws at anyone (402).

When the farmers gather for war because of the slain deer, it is the husbands of those who have been like bacchantes in the woods (581). Amata then disappears and is not referred to until just before the council of Latinus, Drances, and Turnus, when her great name shadows Turnus (XI.223), but she is not even mentioned during the council. Once the city is attacked and the council dissolves in haste, the queen rides to Minerva's temple, accompanied by

Lavinia, where she prays that Pallas may strike the Phrygian pirate dead (477–485). In his first speech in Book XII, Latinus blames his sad wife’s tears (30) for convincing him to give in to Turnus’s claim to Lavinia. When Turnus chooses to barter glory for death, the queen, frightened by this new possibility, weeps and grabs him. She is described as *moritura* (55), which brings back images of Dido (IV.308, 415, 519, 604). She begs Turnus not to fight, calling him her only hope and the resting spot for her old age, telling him that everything depends on him (56–59). Whatever fate is his, is hers as well (61–62) because she is unwilling to be a captive (like Hecuba and Andromache) and to see Aeneas as her son-in-law (62–63). After Lavinia blushes, Turnus addresses Amata, the only time she is spoken to directly, and asks her not to be so pessimistic as he heads out to fight, because there is no time left for delay (72–74). He turns to his herald for “more important” business.

When Aeneas attacks Latinus’s city because Juturna is keeping her brother far away from Aeneas, Amata panics amid the confusion and thinks that Turnus has died (595–599). Bewildered, she calls herself the cause and source of these evils in a line packed with alliteration based around the letter “c” (600). Afflicted with *furorem* (601), she tears her royal clothes and hangs herself from a beam in an ugly death (*informis leti*, 603). With tears from her daughter and the women of the house, the news spreads to Latinus, who rends his garments and fouls his hair in the dirt, stunned by his wife’s fate (608–611).

With only four scenes in which she figures and a few other references, Amata makes a significant impact on the reader. She is emotional, poisoned by Allecto, and an agent of Juno’s will. She is Turnus’s aunt and wants to unite the two families so that the dynasty will grow in power. Although she is not effective in bringing about her plans, she does serve as the emotional cause of the war because she reflects what Latinus feels but overrules because he listens to the oracles and his rational thoughts. In many ways Amata represents irrational emotion, the feminine side that resists Aeneas and the growth of Rome (Juno, Dido, the women in V, Allecto, and Camilla).

## Allecto

(The name is from the Greek ἀλληκτος — “unceasing.”) After Juno decides to stir up hell itself (VII.313), she summons the grief-producing Allecto from the seat of the Furies. Allecto’s favorite things include grim wars, anger, snares, and harmful crimes (325–326); her own father and sisters hate her (327–328). After making her request, Juno compliments the fury by listing her powers: to provoke civil war among brothers (335) and to overturn homes with hatred (336). Allecto has a thousand names and a thousand ways of causing harm (337–338). Juno asks her to tear asunder the agreed peace and to sow the seeds of war. Her last command, with the jussive subjunctive, has *arma* as the first word in the line and *iuventus* as the last; in the middle are three verbs with *simul* (“at the same time”) because Juno wants them to want, demand, and seize weapons without stopping to think.

Allecto’s first visit is to Amata, whom she infects by hurling into her breast a snake that slowly envelops the queen in the fire of anger. But Vergil goes out of his way in 344–345 and 354–358 to suggest the anger of Amata is already present before Allecto struck. It is

only after Amata's emotional plea to Latinus fails to work that the mad evil of the serpent's poison drives Amata to spin like a top (373–384) and flee to the forest like a Bacchant as Allecto drives her with the stimuli of Bacchus (404–405).

Satisfied that she has overturned the entire house of Latinus and sharpened the first frenzies (406–405), the grim goddess with her dark winks (408) heads for Turnus's kingdom; she transforms her horrible appearance and becomes Calybe, a priestess of Juno. Although Vergil tells the reader that Turnus is sleeping when Calybe appears (413–414), the scene is presented so vividly that he has to remind us in 458 that a huge fear disrupts Turnus's sleep. Calybe taunts Turnus with a question and commands loaded with negative connotations for him (*incassum*, 421; *inrise*, 425). She even suggests that he wage war against Latinus if the old king fails to keep his word to Turnus. His response is arrogant and brusque. He is confident of Juno's support (438–439, the last an unfinished line, perhaps suggesting that Vergil might have strengthened his confidence verbally). He attacks Calybe as old and a woman who should spend her time on womanly duties, while war and peace are handled by men (440–444). The last line contains a nice zeugma and the repetition of *gero* in two forms, the last being the gerundive with its emphasis on what must be done by men alone.

Calybe bursts into flames metaphorically (445). Hissing and revealing her true self, she causes Turnus to panic, and he is described as hesitating (*cunctantem*, 449), a word that will achieve even more significance at the end of Book XII. Picking up on some of his phrases (452–453), she ends her speech with *gero* (455) as she wages war and death with her hand, another zeugma, and an unfinished line. She throws a marriage torch (irony) into his chest (456–457). Unlike the serpents that possessed Amata without her realizing it, Turnus is shocked to wakefulness and a panicky sweat. In 461 and 462, his motivation is love of the sword, the wicked insanity of war and anger. Turnus is then compared to a boiling pot that splashes water over its rim and sends smoke to the sky, a simile taken from the *Iliad* XXI, when the river Xanthus is attacked by Hephaestus (Vulcan). As Turnus springs into action under the impetus of Allecto, Vergil carefully reminds us that Turnus's innate qualities were enough to make men follow his lead (473–474).

Allecto immediately heads to the Trojans, where she infects Ascanius's dogs, but not the boy who is kept free of the beast from the Underworld (475–480). The action is quick (481–510), as the tame deer dies and a cry for war breaks out. Allecto seeks a rooftop from where she sends forth a call that shakes Italy (people and places) to its core (511–518). With her promise fulfilled (541), Allecto returns to Juno and boasts of the havoc she has created (545–547). She even offers to spread the war through neighboring cities if Juno so wishes (548–551). Juno is afraid of Jupiter's intervening as a result of Allecto's actions and states that she will rule the situation from now on (552–560). Allecto then returns to the Underworld via a lake where the Acheron is said to break through. This valley of Amsanctus was considered an umbilicus of Italy, and its sulphur-reeking lake was considered worse than Avernus.



## Mezentius and Lausus

Note that the names are from  $\mu\epsilon\iota\zeta\omega\nu$ , dial. $\mu\epsilon\zeta\omega\nu$ , and from *laus*, *laudis*. Mezentius makes his appearance after Vergil's invocation (VII.641–646) of the muses to sing the songs of the dim past, which differs from the invocation of Book I, where he demands reasons for what happened. Mezentius's character is established quickly: he is *asper* (647) and a *contemptor divum* (648) from the Tyrrhenian people. More attention is paid to Lausus, the son who accompanies him. He is more handsome than all save Turnus (649–650). He is a tamer of horses and a great hunter (651), but Vergil says twice that he deserved a better father than Mezentius (653–654).

At the start of Book VIII, as the Italians rally to Turnus's call to arms, Mezentius appears as the third captain, after Messapus and Ufens. Again he is described as *contemptor deum* (VIII.7). Later in the book, Evander explains where Aeneas can obtain the allies he needs against the Latins and Rutulians. The Etruscans have driven out Mezentius because of his arrogant rule (*superbo imperio*, 481–482) and his savage wars (*saevis armis*, 482). His murders were unspeakable and inhuman (*infandas* and *effera*, 483–484). Evander then tells of how Mezentius tied the living and the dead together in order to torture and kill the living with a wretched death (485–489). The synchyses in 485 and 488 illustrate the grotesque nature of the atrocity. When his people rose in revolt, the king escaped and fled to the protection of his friend Turnus, who is characterized as *hospitis* (493). Evander then tells Aeneas that a soothsayer told the Etruscans that they needed a foreign ruler to lead their people against their former ruler (499–503). In X.147ff., Aeneas has entered the Etruscan camp and acquired the Etruscans as allies; in a bit of a flashback he meets Tarchon and explains what support Mezentius is gathering (150–151), which cements the two forces at once. Almost immediately we are introduced with a new invocation (163–165) to a new catalog of the allies in support of Aeneas (166–214).

Mezentius dominates the end of Book X, appearing fired up by Jupiter's command (689) as he attacks the Trojans. His hostile people rally and attack him from all sides. He is the subject of two similes: in the first (693–696), he is a cliff withstanding the onslaught of a sea-storm (like Latinus against his people in VII.586–590), and in the second (707–713 or 717–718), he is like the wild boar trapped by hunters but unrelenting in his ferocity. In his initial combats, he kills one man swiftly, then uses a huge rock to smash in the face of one and cuts the hamstring of the other. Their spoils are bestowed on Lausus to wear (696–701). Next he kills (with no verb specified) Evanthes and Mimas, a Trojan born the same day as Paris. After the second simile, he encounters Acron, a Greek ally who has left his bride at the altar and appears on the battlefield in his wedding finery. Mezentius is compared to an unfed lion on the prowl for any victim to sate his hunger (723–728). After cutting Acron down, Mezentius chases down Orodes and kills him from in front. He responds to the dying man's taunt that he will die soon as well (739–741) by declaring that Jupiter may see to him (743–744). Amid the general carnage in mid-battle (747–756), as the gods look on in sorrow at the suffering mortals (755–761), Mezentius is described with a fourth simile, as he is compared to the great Orion striding through the sea. Interesting to note is that the line (767) used to describe his height is the same that is used for Fama in IV.177.

When Aeneas spots him and prepares to attack, Mezentius awaits him unafraid (*imperterritus*, 770) and stands steady (*mole sua stat*, 771). About to throw a spear, Mezentius asks that his right hand, his god, and his spear may be there for him, and he vows to dress Lausus in Aeneas's armor. The spear misses its intended target and kills Antores, who is briefly eulogized as a companion of Hercules and Evander. Of the eight men killed by Mezentius, all but two have received special attention from Vergil. Aeneas's spear grazes Mezentius and cheers the attacker greatly (783–788). He, in fact, is called *fervidus* (788), the last adjective used to describe Aeneas in Book XII. This seems to suggest the anger felt in the heat of battle.

Attention is turned at once to Lausus, who weeps at his father's misfortune and who is apostrophized by Vergil in much the same way that Nisus and Euryalus were in IX.446–449. The youth springs into action and takes the full force of Aeneas's blow on his little shield (*parma*, 800) as his father retreats under its protection (794–799). Aeneas rages (802), one of the few times that the root is used, and the only time the verb is used to characterize Aeneas. When Aeneas yells at Lausus, he asks why he rushes to die by daring things too great (811). This recalls Vergil's words in 438 about the deaths of Lausus and Pallas at the hands of greater warriors. Aeneas notes that Lausus's *pietas* has deceived him (812). Lausus is *demens* and dances forth with anticipation (813) as the Fates gather his final threads. Aeneas stabs him right through the tunic his mother wove for him (818), but he is touched by the image of one's piety to a father as he looks upon the youth's dying face. With heroic generosity, he leaves Lausus's body unstripped (in contrast with the conflict between Turnus and Pallas). Aeneas sends him back for a proper burial. He even offers Lausus the consolation that he died at the hand of a great warrior (825–830). He rebukes the slow companions and picks up the body himself to remove it from the battle (830–832).

Meanwhile, Mezentius tends his wound at the Tiber, with one of the most unusual phrases in the *Aeneid*: “he dries his wound with water” (*volnera siccatat lymphis*, 834). As he rests with his armor about him, he worries about his son (833–840). When he recognizes the companions of Lausus as they bring his body back, he fouls his hair as Evander will do in Book XI and stretches his hands to the sky (841–845). His speech (846–856) is guilt-filled, and he accepts responsibility for his offenses against his people, but at the end he declares that he will stop living soon.

Mezentius then addresses his horse (as Hector does in *Iliad* 8.184ff. and Achilles in *Iliad* 19.400ff.) and says they will avenge Lausus or die trying (861–866). He uses the verb *occumbes* (865), which is echoed by *incumbit* (894) when the horse falls on top of him after being speared by Aeneas. Like Amata, the two of them are unwilling to see a triumphant Aeneas (866 and XII.62–63). As the two head into battle, the mixed motives Vergil describes anticipate Turnus's emotions at XII.667. When Aeneas piously prays to Apollo for aid (875–876), Mezentius responds bitterly, saying that he comes ready to die and has a gift for Aeneas: the spear that Mezentius hurls at him (878–884). Mezentius rides around Aeneas, filling the Trojan's shield with spears until Aeneas loses patience and sends a spear through the horse's temples. When Aeneas, sword in hand, taunts the fallen Mezentius with

a rhetorical question (“Where is the fierce Mezentius now and that wild force of spirit?” 897–898), Mezentius responds in noble fashion, in effect redeeming himself and establishing himself as a good father. He says that he came ready to die (900–902) and that he asks to be defended from the hatred of his people and allowed to be buried with his son (903–906). He then offers his throat to be sacrificed like an animal, and his blood pours out over his armor. When Aeneas kills Turnus, the verb *immolat* is used (XII.949), which is again a word indicating sacrifice and could be considered appropriate for Aeneas as a pious high priest.

At the start of Book XI, Aeneas prunes an oak tree to display the spoils stripped from Mezentius, showing how weapons taken from a fallen foe should be dedicated to the gods and not worn, as Turnus does with Pallas’s belt. Mezentius’s breastplate has been pierced in twelve places, perhaps because the twelve tribes of the Etruscans delivered symbolic death blows after his death (although there is nothing in the text to suggest that speculation). In his speech (XI.14–28), Aeneas declares these are the first offerings (*primitiae*, 16, is another religious word) and prays that the gods will grant them a way to attack the Latins quickly (18–21). The attention then turns to burial for those killed in battle, especially Pallas. Mezentius has been killed, redeemed, and honored/displayed, all within 40 lines.

## Camilla and Arruns

Note that the name Camilla is linked to the Latin *camillus/a*, an attendant of a priest. She occupies the final place in the catalog of Italian warriors at the end of Book VII, coming after Turnus and assuming a place of importance and honor. She is classified as a *bellatrix*, as was Penthesileia in I.493. She has not been trained in womanly skills, but to run swiftly, as the disguised Venus is described in I.316–317. As the crowds pour out to see her, they gape at her dress and arms, but the discordant note of a female warrior is brought out in the last line (817) and its final word. She carries a steel-tipped spear of myrtle, the tree sacred to Venus and not an appropriate wood for one who has been dedicated to Diana.

She is not mentioned again until her return in Book XI, where she dominates the second half of the book. Turnus mentions her in his rebuttal of Drances’s accusations as one of his commanders (XI.432–433). But when the Trojan attack on Latinus’s city approaches, he gives commands to several men, but not to Camilla (459–467). When he rushes to battle, he is compared to a stallion freed from the stables that runs to the familiar stream to bathe or to the herd of mares as he luxuriates in his freedom (492–497). Upon meeting him, Camilla jumps down from her horse, as do her companions (499–501). She asks to lead her squad of fighters (whom we suspect are female) against the approaching army while Turnus guards the walls. She effectively emasculates the Latin leader as he compliments her, and he assents to her request (508–510). He will go to meet Aeneas as he tries to surprise the Latins by approaching the city from another path through the mountains (511–518).

As Turnus heads off, the scene shifts to the divine level as Diana summons Opis and tells her the story of Camilla (535–594) in one of the longest speeches (aside from Aeneas’s speeches in Books II and III) in the *Aeneid*. Diana sets the tone with the word *nequiquam* (536) about Camilla’s part in the battle. Declaring that she has long cared about Camilla



(536–538), she proceeds to tell the story of Metabus, driven into exile because of hatred and arrogant power, who flees with his infant daughter. He hurls her, tied to a spear, over the flooding Amasenus river (540–563) and dedicates her as a *famulam* (557), attendant to Diana. The adjectives used to describe her have been *cara* (537), since she is dear to Diana, and *caro oneri* (550), a dear burden to her fleeing father, and *infelix* (563), an ill-starred girl, as she is hurled safely across the river. The last adjective has to be taken as a prolepsis by the speaker. After retrieving his daughter, Metabus raises her in the wild as a devoted parent. She is close to nature, a huntress, like a Spartan girl, as Venus was presented in her disguise in Book I (564–580). As a young woman she was sought by the native women as a bride for their sons, but she remained faithful to her weapons and her virginity (581–584). The phrase in 583 has a chiasmus of accusatives surrounding the objective genitives, which bring out the inherent contradiction of Camilla for a Roman audience (*telorum* and *virginitatis*). Diana laments that Camilla has been seized by the opportunity to serve in the war (584–586) but sends Opis to punish whoever may kill Camilla, whom the goddess will honor with burial in her native land (587–594).

As the battle begins with the Latin forces advancing, Camilla is mentioned last in a list of four, and it is her wing of cavalry (604) that has the place of honor at the end. At the first clash the Latins flee, but they then regroup, and the fight wavers for a while (608–647). Beginning in 648, we see the *aristeia* of Camilla. She is immediately cited as an Amazon, recalling Penthesileia from I.490–493. The description of her weapons and companions (449–663) is like the description of a god and his attributes (cf. Mercury in IV.238–255). Vergil apostrophizes to the virgin, asking whom she cast down first and last (664–665). Camilla then proceeds to slay several in 666–724, demonstrating her heroic spirit and abilities as a fighter. Noteworthy victims are:

- Ornytus (677–689), whose head covering is a wolf's head complete with teeth. She taunts him by asking if he thought he was hunting (686) and then tells him that a woman's weapons will refute his brave words. He has the consolation of having died by the weapon of Camilla (cf. Aeneas to Lausus, in X.830).
- Aunus (699–724), a Ligurian who attempts to trick Camilla by getting her off her horse so that he can flee to safety. He taunts her (705–708) and challenges her to fight on foot. She dismounts, but is called *furens* and *accensa* (709), which are not usually good signs for the person so described. When he tries to gallop off on his horse, she taunts him back, calling him a deceitful Ligurian (a people known for deceit). Then she runs across his horse's path as easily as a falcon kills a dove. The simile (721–724) reverses the gender roles and is contrary to the spear of Venus's myrtle that she carries, because the dove is the bird of Venus.

In a rare instance of divine intervention on the Iliadic model, Jupiter rouses Tarchon to counter Camilla. The Tyrrhenian leader chides his men with a misogynistic attack on them, calling them Bacchantes (732–740), and the first man he then kills is Venulus (741–757), the envoy to Diomedes who had just reported to Latinus (241–295). His name is a diminutive of Venus and thus appropriate for Tarchon to carry off. He snatches Venulus off his horse and

rides back with the man across his lap. The simile (751–756) portrays Tarchon as an eagle (Jupiter’s bird) killing a snake (recalling the snakes of Book II). At this point Arruns makes his first appearance and starts to stalk Camilla. He is owed to the fates (*fatis debitus*, 759) and armed with his javelin and much skill (760, a good zeugma).

Chloreus, a former priest of Cybele and a warrior dressed in clothing unseen on any other fighter (768–777), attracts the eye of Camilla. His name suggests a bird and the color green; his finery recalls the taunts of Iarbas (IV.215–218) and undercuts the recent rebukes of Tarchon. Vergil describes Camilla following him as *caeca* and *incauta* (781), unsure whether she will dedicate the spoils to a god as Aeneas did or wear them as Turnus did (778–780). She is burning with a feminine love of plunder and spoils (782). Why this is a love characteristic of women is debatable, but it does lead to her death. Arruns prays to Apollo (Augustus’s patron deity) and seeks to keep the shame of a woman’s victory from his army. He will return home willingly without glory (785–793). Apollo grants only part of the prayer and scatters the rest to the breezes (794–798).

Camilla does not see or hear the hurled spear of Arruns until it has pierced her below her exposed breast (799–804). As her companions gather around, the terrified Arruns (*exterritus*, 806) flees with a mix of joy and fear. He is then compared to a wolf that has slain a young bull or shepherd and slinks away with its tail between its legs (809–813). Opis will eventually kill him (849–867) with no real reproach. Arruns hears the arrow and dies at once (864). Left behind by his companions (865–866), he does not achieve any glory, except for Vergil’s account of his deed. Camilla meanwhile dies nobly, slipping slowly from her horse (827–828) after trying to rip out the fatal weapon from her ribs and asking her second-in-command to tell Turnus to resume his command of the war and defend the city. As is often noted, the final description of her death (831) is the same as the last line of the *Aeneid* that tells of Turnus’s distressed spirit fleeing with a groan to the spirits below. Opis addresses the dead virgin in much the same tone that Diana began her speech about Camilla and promises the revenge on Arruns already described (836–849).

In the rout of the Latin forces that follows, the mothers in the city throw weapons and defend their city in emulation of Camilla, because true love of country shows the way (892–895). When Acca reports to Turnus as he lies in ambush in the hills nearby, Turnus abandons his trap, just missing Aeneas’s arrival. The two forces advance to the city where they pitch camps in the twilight (896–915). The deaths of Mezentius, Camilla, and Turnus represent what Italy must lose, relinquish, or be stripped of for the city of Rome to rise. Aeneas suffered losses of key figures in his past life at the end of Books II through VI (Creusa, Anchises, Dido, Palinurus, Marcellus, in order for the future cost of making Rome great, and perhaps Caieta, at the start of Book VII). With her death, Camilla disappears from the story, and what she represents (the wild and independent fighting spirit of women, the daughter of a bad ruler, and so forth) is eliminated from the Italian people. Vergil generates sympathy for her, especially with the unflattering portrayal of the man who kills her, comparing him to a stalker and a cowardly wolf slinking away with its tail tucked under its belly.

## Evander

Note that this name is from the Greek for “good man.” His existence is first hinted at in the Sibyl’s prediction in Book VI that help will come from the least expected source, namely a Greek city (VI.96–97). The idea of hospitality from a Greek was also anticipated by Aeneas’s and Priam’s kindly treatment of individual Greeks that they encountered. Aeneas first learns of Evander from Father Tiber in a dream. Father Tiber tells him that Arcadians have followed their king Evander to Italy and established a city named Pallanteum on some mountains (VIII.51–54). They are at war with the native Latins, and Aeneas is told to make them his allies (55–56). Vergil is clearly referencing the settlement of southern Italy by Greek colonists and recognizing the influence of Greece on Rome.

When Aeneas arrives, the Arcadian king is leading a ceremony to honor Hercules, a rite still held at the Ara Maxima in the Forum Boarium (between the Forum and the Tiber) on August 12 in Vergil’s day (102–104). Emphasis is placed on the low homes and population of Rome (97–101), the plain living (*pauper senatus*, 105), and pious behavior (106). Confronted by a wary but eager Pallas, Aeneas declares that he searches for Evander (119) and allies. He is welcomed at once and escorted to the king. Aeneas showers diplomatic compliments and mentions their common ancestor, Atlas (127–142). The two of them share a common enemy, the Daunian or Latin race (Daunus is Turnus’s father), and should join forces (143–151). After looking Aeneas over for a long time (152–153), Evander recalls how he met Anchises as a young man and received a treasured gift, now owned by Pallas (154–168). He agrees to join forces and invites Aeneas to join the festival (169–174). Aeneas is seated and served at the king’s order (176–178).

Evander then explains that the Trojans have not stumbled into some strange superstitious ritual, but one that marks their rescue from savage danger (185–189). He proceeds to tell the story of Hercules and Cacus (190–272) and invites all to perform the ritual as he pours libations (273–279). After the ceremony the aged king (*obsitus aevo*, 307) escorts Aeneas away and tells him the story of the native peoples of Italy, beginning with the Fauns and Nymphs to the civilizing arrival of Saturn and on to his own arrival within the Carmental Gate (314–336).

Evander himself is called a founder of the citadel (*conditor arcis*, 313). He points out various locations (337–358): the Carmental Gate, the Asylum, the Lupercal, Argiletum, the Capitoline Hill (which is given the most lines and is termed a home of Jupiter in 347–354), and the Janiculum hill across the Tiber. As they near Evander’s rundown house, with cattle mooing in the Forum and the posh Carinae district, Evander notes that Hercules bent down to enter this home, and Aeneas should scorn wealth and make himself worthy of the god Hercules (359–365). Augustus would be pleased with this passage, as it serves as a model for his own lifestyle and his revival of the sumptuary laws. Aeneas is bedded down on a very rustic bed (366–369). While all sleep, Venus seduces Vulcan and gets the armor for Aeneas.

The next morning Evander rises at dawn with the birds, dresses simply, and goes to Aeneas’s abode, accompanied by two dogs (454–464). The emphasis remains on the simple lifestyle and the noble honor the king embodies (*promissi muneris*, 464). Evander tells

Aeneas about the kingdom of Mezentius and its problems (470–495). Since he is too old to lead them (508–509) and his son is not a real foreigner (510–511), Aeneas will meet their need of a foreign leader (*externos duces*, 503), and Pallas will join the army with men to learn about war under Aeneas’s mentoring (496–519). After Aeneas receives his shield and armor from Venus, he and Evander perform another sacrifice of sheep, and he starts to board his men on the ships. Evander grabs his son’s hand and addresses him in tears (558–559). He points out that he had been a great warrior (560–567), and only his age allowed Mezentius to reign as he did (568–571). He prays that Jupiter may keep Pallas safe, or that he may die before he hears of his son’s death (572–583). The last word of his speech is enjambed, and it is *volneret* (583); obviously this placement is not a good sign. One is also reminded of Aeneas’s despairing words in I.94–96 about those who were three and four times blessed and died in front of their fathers. When he collapses, his servants carry him inside (583–584), much as Dido’s parents did when Aeneas left her (IV.391–392).

Evander is only mentioned in Book IX when Iris tells Turnus that Aeneas is away gathering allies at the palace of Evander (IX.8–9). In Book X, Aeneas has acquired those allies after leaving Evander (X.148–149), and he sails downstream with them and Pallas. Once the fighting has started at the Trojan camp, Pallas joins the Arcadian cavalry that has dismounted and battled badly as infantry. He rebukes them with bitter words (362–368). He tells them to remember the name of their leader Evander and to help him rival his father’s record in war by not running away (369–372). In his first efforts in battle, he uses the sword of Evander to remove the head of Thymer, helping to make a distinction between identical twins (390–396). The troops are rallied and advance. Soon Halaesus, kept from war by a protective father in a twist of irony, is slain by the weapons of Evander (411–420). When Pallas is about to fight Lausus, Turnus intervenes and utters one of the cruelest lines in the epic: “I would wish that his very own father were present as a spectator” (*cuperem ipse parens spectator adesset*, 443). Once again Aeneas’s first words in Book I are called to mind, and the bitterness of such an event is brought out by the arrogant confidence of Turnus. Pallas counters by stating that his father is ready for his death or his success (450). When Turnus has killed the youth, he tells the Arcadians that they are to carry his words back to Evander, that he is sending back the Pallas that Evander deserved, and that Evander’s hospitality to Aeneas comes with a heavy cost for the king (491–495). When Aeneas hears of Pallas’s death, the images of Evander, his son, and his hospitality flood his mind (515–517). He is not mentioned again, as the remainder of the book is filled with Aeneas’s slaughtering and the death of Mezentius and Lausus.

At the start of Book XI, Aeneas announces that Pallas’s body will be returned to the grieving city of Evander (XI.26–28), a nice transferred epithet or personification. At this point the aged armor-bearer of Evander, who has been transferred to the son, is seen guarding the corpse (30–33). In 33, the phrase *Parrhasio Evandro* is a spondaic fifth foot with a hiatus, a nice Homeric touch. When Aeneas addresses the body, he says that he had not promised Evander this outcome when he was helped by the old man (45–48), and he fears that he may be sacrificing fruitlessly back home for his son’s return (49–52). Contradicting his first words, he calls Evander *infelix* (53), and offers the

rather grim consolation that he will see no shameful wounds on the corpse (55–57). He sends a thousand men to accompany the body and to share the father's tears, a small but necessary solace (61–63). As the procession advances, old Acoetes fills the role of grieving father, beating himself (86) in language used by Vergil to recall Anna (IV.673) and simultaneously anticipate Juturna (XII.871).

While Aeneas deals with Drances and the burial of the other dead, the funeral procession arrives at Pallanteum, heralded by Fama. This fills Evander, his house, and his city with grief (139–140). Evander cannot be held back but rushes out to throw himself upon his son's corpse (148–151). He begins a long lament (152–181) by blaming Pallas for not being more cautious in battle when he knew how a young man could be swayed by initial glory and success (152–158). He declares his wife lucky, grieves that he has survived for a father's sorrow (158–161), and wishes that he had fought in Pallas's place (161–163). He does not blame the Trojans for Pallas and is happy that he died killing Rutulians and was honored by the Trojans (164–172). If age and strength were equal, he apostrophizes to Turnus that he would be a trophy tree (like Mezentius) (173–175). Evander then asks why he (Aeneas) wastes time when the only important thing is that Turnus must be killed by Aeneas as a debt of honor so that he can report it to his son in the Underworld (175–181). In Book XII, Aeneas mentions him as the ruler of the city to which Aeneas and the defeated Trojans would go if Turnus were to win (183–186). When the battle rages before the final duel of Aeneas and Turnus, Evander's troops are in the middle of the fighting.

Evander, of all the rulers encountered by Aeneas, serves as the best role model, because he rules effectively, sacrifices his son for the sake of empire, acts hospitably to all, is befriended by the gods (Hercules and Jupiter), lives a simple and honorable lifestyle, and is respected by his neighbors (Tarchon and the Etruscans).

### **Nisus and Euryalus**

Notice that these names have their origins in Nisus from *nitor* and *nisus*, meaning to rest one's weight on, and Euryalus, from the Greek word for wide, *εὐροσ*, and the word for leap, *αλλομαι*. The two first appear in Book V, in a half line as the first among the competitors for the footrace (V.294), which is of course modeled on the footrace at the funeral games of Patroclus (II.23.740–797). Euryalus is famed for his beauty and flowering youth (295), while Nisus for his pious love of the boy (296). Once the contest begins, Nisus darts forth, Salius is a distant second, with Euryalus third (318–322). Nisus slips on some blood from a sacrifice of bulls (328–333), but he did not forget his love for Euryalus (334) and trips Salius (335–336). It is worth observing that Salius's name is from *salio*, *salire*, to leap, which he of course fails to do and thus falls. Euryalus wins by the gift of his friend (*munere amici*, 387) and is awarded first prize with support from the crowd (343). This is accompanied by some tears and courage that shows well in a handsome body (333–334). Aeneas settles the discussion by declaring that he should be allowed to show pity for the fall of an innocent friend (*casus insontis amici*, 350), which is a play on the word *casus*, for fall and misfortune. At this point Nisus asks what he gets if Aeneas is honoring the fallen Salius. He is awarded a shield that



had once been hung in a temple of Neptune by Greeks. Now established as best friends, the two young men are not seen again until their great adventure in Book IX.

After the initial attack on the Trojan camp by the Latin forces and the turning of the ships into sea nymphs by Cybele (IX.1–158), the Latins set up siege with guards around the camp's walls, while the Trojans set up watch along all the walls (159–175). Nisus receives a filler description here: he is most fierce in battle (*acerrimus armis*, 176), his patronymic is given (Hyrtacides, 177), and Ida (described by R.D. Williams as an eponymous nymph from the mountain) had sent him as a companion to Aeneas because of his swiftness with weapons (177–178). Euryalus is again presented as extremely handsome (179–180) and young, marked by the peach-fuzz of youth (181). They share affection for each other, rush to battle together (182), and are now assigned to the same post (183). Nisus poses a question that goes to the heart of the heroic ideal: “Do the gods add this passion to our minds or does each man’s frightening desire become a god to each individual?” (184–185). He then speaks about the way his mind is driving him to undertake something big and not just to sit around (186–187). He points out a path through the enemy lines (188–190) and says he will go to summon Aeneas. All the rewards he demands will be for Euryalus, and he will be satisfied with the fame of the deed (190–196). The boy is awestruck with a desire for praiseworthy deeds (197) and rebukes his friend for leaving him out of the plan (199–200). He points out that his father did not raise him to avoid fights, and he has never done so (201–204). Like Mezentius later, he is a *contemptor*, but of light/life (205) and would readily believe that honor bought at the cost of a life is well purchased (206). Nisus protests that he did not intend to dishonor his friend (207–209), but wanted some friend who would bury him properly if the excursion did not succeed (210–215). He did not want to be the cause of grief to the boy’s long-suffering mother, who did not abandon Aeneas’s trek with the other women in Sicily (216–218). Euryalus dismisses his empty reasons with a weaving metaphor employed by Anna (IV.51), one of the only metaphorical uses in the epic.

They quickly hurry off as equals to headquarters (223), where a council of war is under way (226–230). They beg to be heard, and Iulus bids Nisus to speak (230–233). The word *trepidus* (233) is used to describe the youths, anxious and hesitant about their first appearance before the leaders. Nisus asks that the plan not be judged by the age of those who propose it (234–236). He points out the undisciplined behavior of the Latin sentries, says that he has learned a path through the woods to Pallanteum while hunting, and promises to alert Aeneas quickly about the camp’s situation (236–245). Aletes praises them (246–251) with a tone similar to the apostrophe at the end of the story (446–449) and wonders what reward he could present to them (252–256). Ascanius interrupts and promises Nisus various precious objects from goblets and a bowl from Dido to Turnus’s horse and armor, along with 12 females and an equal number of male slaves. He also offers lands now held by Latinus, all lavish and generous promises (258–274). Ascanius promises Euryalus a close position as a trusted advisor (275–280). Euryalus accepts with good grace (280–283) but asks only that his aged mother, to whom he cannot bear to bid farewell, should be taken care of and consoled by Ascanius (283–292). There is no hint of possible disaster. The Dardanians weep in awe, and the image of parental respect touches him (294), with many of the same words

that describe Aeneas's reaction to Lausus's saving his father (X.824). Ascanius then promises that she will be a second mother to him, lacking only the name Creusa and that his promises will hold for Euryalus's descendants (296–302). Since no wife or brothers are mentioned, this promise fits with the hyperbole the young man has already displayed. The leaders then present the young men with armor (303–313), as was done in the *Iliad*, Book X.

As they head out, they are described as *multis tamen ante futuri exitio* (315–316), men about to be a cause of death for many first; the adverb *ante* is a bit disturbing since it implies a later outcome. When they near the enemy position, Nisus bids his friend to stay back and serve as a lookout while he attacks the sleeping men (319–323). Rhamnes, a king and the favorite augur of Turnus, is killed as he sleeps among his attendants (324–329). Remus then has his head lopped off in horrific fashion (330–334). As the carnage continues, Nisus is compared to an unfed lion rampaging through a sheepfold (339–341), anticipating the simile in X.723–727, which also has the phrase “insane hunger drives him” (*suadet vesana fames*, 340 and X.724). Where Mezentius is killing the enemy on the battlefield and is meant to show his heroic stature in a Homeric fashion, Nisus is killing the sleeping enemy like Diomedes during his raid on Rhesus's tent with Odysseus in the *Iliad* Book X. Euryalus joins in the killing and the verb *perfurit* (343) is used, suggesting that he is totally out of control (intensifying prefix) and that something bad will happen to him (verb root of *furit*); his victims are common people (*plebem*, 343) and asleep (*ignaros*, 345), and he kills one as he hides behind a mixing bowl (345–350).

Nisus senses that his friend is carried away by bloodlust (*nimia caede atque cupidine*, 354), a nice hendiadys, and he urges caution as daylight approaches and their path is open. Euryalus obeys but stops to pick up some choice plunder, including the light helmet of Messapus with its attractive crest (365–366). He also selects a belt from Rhamnes, whose provenance is given, beginning as a gift from the aptly named Caedicus (357–364). When he is spotted by the gleam from his new helmet, Euryalus is described as *immemorem* (373), suggesting that he did not listen to what he was told. When Euryalus tries to break through the cavalry that has blocked his escape, three things trick and impede him: the shadows, the heavy plunder, and fear (384–385). Nisus however, in two words, gets away (*Nisus abit*, 386); he calls out to his unlucky friend (390–392) and finally spots him surrounded by the enemy (395–398). Euryalus is crushed by his lack of knowledge of the place and by the dark night, and he tries every way to escape, but his efforts are in vain (397–398). With a string of deliberative questions (399–401), Nisus readies a spear and prays to Diana as goddess of the woods (402–409). The spear pierces the back of Sulmo (410–416). Emboldened by this (*hoc acrior*, 416), Nisus sends a spear through Tagus's head (416–419); the enraged Volcens vows to avenge his men and moves to kill Euryalus (420–424). Terrified and without thinking (*exterritus, amens*, 424), Nisus reveals his presence in an attempt to save his friend and claims full responsibility. Euryalus's only fault is that he loved his unlucky friend too much (425–430). Once again Vergil has taken a Homeric model (the Doloneia) and twisted it to his own purposes, although these purposes are at best somewhat unclear.

When Euryalus is stabbed through the chest, the language anticipates the description of Pallas on his funeral pyre, especially the flower similes, in 435–437 and XI.68–70. In 438ff., Nisus charges and, although pierced by the encircling Rutulians, he finally buries his sword in Volcen's mouth (using the verb *condidit*, 443, which is the same used when Aeneas kills Turnus). He falls dead atop his lifeless friend (444–445). The apostrophe by the poet to the unfortunate duo stresses that, if his poetry has any power, their fame will last as long as Rome (446–449). Presumably the Romans are meant to admire the courage and friendship of the youths, and they can serve as exempla for the Romans of Vergil's time. However, their rashness, inexperience, and failure to carry out the mission leaves an unsettling portrait of Roman heroism.

The aftermath is gruesome on all sides, as the Latins find their butchered comrades (450–458) and advance at dawn on the Trojan camp with Nisus's and Euryalus's heads stuck atop spears (459–467). When Euryalus's mother hears the rumor (*Fama*, 474), she flies to the front of the line and sees her son's head (473–480). She reproaches him with a string of rhetorical questions for deserting her (481–484) and laments that he lies now as food for birds and dogs (485–486). She continues to lament that she cannot bury him properly and asks the enemy and the gods to kill her (486–497). She asks Jupiter to throw her hateful head (*invisum caput*, 496) into the Underworld, which is at the least a poor choice of words by Vergil for the grieving mother. At the order of Ilioneus and the weeping Iulus, the old woman is escorted back to her tent before she can further demoralize the troops (497–502). Her grief anticipates the grief of Mezentius and of Latinus, and underscores the effect of war on women: the panel in Juno's temple (I.479–482), Cassandra, Hecuba, and Creusa in Book II, Andromache in Book III, Dido in Book IV, the Trojan women in Book V, as well as the Latin women, especially Amata in Book XII. While Mezentius dies nobly in an attempt to avenge his son, and Evander demands the death of Turnus as recompense for the death of Pallas, Euryalus's unnamed mother is led away to her home in tears.

## Drances and Juturna

Drances appears for the first time in Book XI as a Latin ambassador concerned about burial of the dead. He is described as *senior* (122) and therefore not a warrior, but also as always hostile and sniping to the youthful Turnus (122–123). His speech is properly flattering to Aeneas, but his loathing for Turnus is revealed when he says that personally he would join Aeneas and Latinus, but let Turnus seek treaties for himself (129). His tone is fawning, almost sycophantic, with him declaring his willingness to build great walls for the Trojans (130–131). His opening statement with its chiasmus (124) and its rhetorical questions borders on the edge of hyperbole. When the truce is granted, Drances speaks as the pyres burn, and the relatives demand that Turnus fight on his own behalf for the honors that he seeks, declaring only that Turnus is called to battle (215–221), but Turnus and Amata have their own supporters (222–224).

At the council of the Latins, the refusal of Diomedes to join the Latin side is told by Venulus (243–295), and Latinus urges a settlement with the Trojans (302–335). Then Drances, still hostile (*idem infensus*, 336) and driven by Turnus's glory and his concealed



envy, is described further as a man generous with his wealth and eloquent. He is not a warrior but a worthy adviser in partisan politics (336–340). His father’s family is not noble, but his mother’s is and provides him with standing (340–341). I detect social snobbery, perhaps against some *novus homo* like Cicero; the rest of the characterization fits a rich politician who prefers the dagger in the back to the battlefield. He begins with praise for Latinus setting out the matter so clearly (343–344), but he hints that fear keeps people from speaking out (344–345). Without naming Turnus, he says that Turnus threatens him with death if he should speak and is happy fighting Trojans because he can always flee safely back home (346–351). He asks Latinus to give Lavinia to Aeneas, as a father has the right to do, without being influenced by Turnus’s threats (352–356). He sarcastically asks that if such fear holds them, Turnus should give up his right (*ius proprium*) to Lavinia (357–359). He taunts Turnus with a rhetorical question for throwing citizens into such clear danger (360–361). Everyone wants peace, and most of all he, whom Turnus imagines to be his enemy (362–365); Turnus should either depart defeated (*pulsus*, 366) or, if he really needs the royal dowry, fight (365–370). With bitterness (*scilicet*, 371), he asks if he and the other people are just cannon fodder for Turnus’s lust for Lavinia (371–373). He says that if Turnus has any of his father’s courage, he should face Aeneas (373–376).

Turnus replies and systematically rebuts each of Drances’s attacks with angry retorts and ad hominem attacks. He concludes with a plea that if he is called to battle alone, Drances should not even attempt to replace him under any circumstances (442–444). In Book XII, when he questions his sister Juturna about why she keeps him from battle, he shows that the words of Drances annoyed him, when he asks why he should not refute the words of Drances (XII.644). With this Drances has served his purpose, a strange one. He opposes Turnus and supports Aeneas, but is a repulsive creature, much like Arruns who kills Camilla. Aeneas has supporters that we as the audience are not meant to like or approve of. As with Dido, whom we are allowed to sympathize with after Aeneas has decided to leave, we are put in a position of admiring a fallen enemy and disliking the one who slew the sole obstacle to Rome’s eventual success.

Juturna’s name connects to *iuvo* (help) and Turnus, her brother. I like to think there is some connection to *Iuppiter*, with the *Iu-* related to Zeus, which would remind the reader that she was seduced by Jupiter. She makes her first appearance in line 137 of Book XII as Juno watches the people gather for the battle between Aeneas and Turnus. Juno turns as a goddess to another goddess (*diva, deam*, 139), a water nymph granted divine status in return for being robbed of her virginity (139–141). While most speeches in the epic follow the usual practice of complimenting the addressee in some way, Juno shows that she did not do well in any school of diplomacy. She tells Juturna that she is her favorite of all the Latin girls who have entered Jupiter’s thankless bed (142–144). In truth the bed does become thankless, as the nymph laments later (872–884), and Juno’s antipathy to Jupiter’s philandering is apparent with her editorializing adjective “thankless” (*ingratum*, 144). Juno alerts Juturna to the grief that she will soon feel (146). Juno has protected Turnus as much as the fates allowed, but now he is meeting unequal fates and his day of reckoning draws near. It is proper for Juturna to dare on her brother’s behalf, with better results possible (147–153). The nymph weeps and beats her breast in mourning, but Juno tells her

that she should save her brother or break the treaty, either option having Juno's support. Juno leaves her unsure and wounded in her spirit (154–160).

After Latinus and Aeneas have struck their agreement (161–215), the Rutulians start to regret the treaty as Turnus advances, making it look like death is approaching (216–221). Juturna, disguised as the noble Camers, helps her brother and reproaches the men for letting such a great man sacrifice himself and achieve immortal glory while they outnumber the Trojans and will have to obey the new masters (229–237). As the men get more agitated (238–243), she sends a false omen, a swan which is attacked by an eagle and freed by its flock (244–256). The augur Tolumnius interprets the false omen as she intended and hurls a spear that starts a fresh conflict (257–267). He will receive his reward when he is killed later on the battlefield (460–461), when Aeneas has returned after having been wounded. As the Trojan advances with resolve toward Turnus, Juturna again helps her brother by dislodging his driver and guiding his chariot disguised as Metiscus. She is compared to a swallow flying in circles in a great house, gathering food for her chicks (473–477). This is a simile not found in Homer, and it removes the reader from the battlefield and ascribes maternal emotions to the sister, a situation that is a bit strange. Whenever Aeneas nears, she steers away and frustrates his desire to fight (481–487). When Aeneas becomes enraged and starts to kill Latins, Turnus dismounts from his chariot and fights on foot (509–512).

Later, as the battle shifts toward Latinus's city, Amata commits suicide when Turnus does not appear at once. Turnus is fighting on the edges of the main battle when he hears the lamentations (614–621). The disguised Juturna tells him that others can defend their homes while he inflicts damage on the Trojans (623–630). Turnus tells her that he recognized her presence very early and wants to know who sent her to see his cruel death (632–636). He feels shame that his comrades fall without him, and the city is under attack. He cannot refute the accusations of Drances (637–644). At this point he essentially commits to dying and accepts his fate (645–649). After he gets the report from the wounded Saces and turns in anger toward the city (650–671), he tells her to stop delaying him (676). Since he intends to fight Aeneas and die, she will not see him disgraced, and she should allow him his final madness (677–680), with an unusual emphasis on *furor* with *furere ante furorem* (680). He rushes forward without her (681–683). In his fight with Aeneas, the sword he is using shatters on Aeneas's divinely made armor (728–742), then Juturna, still in disguise, gives him his real sword against the threats of Aeneas (784–785).

As the two warriors stand ready to fight, Jupiter tells Juno that she must cease her war against Aeneas (791ff.), asking her if it was proper that a god was violated by a mortal wound (797). This refers to Aeneas's wound by an unnamed person. He asks how Turnus's sword was returned (for what could Juturna do without Juno?) (798). The proximity of the questions has led me to guess that in some fashion Juturna was involved with the wounding of Aeneas. I have no proof, but a strong suspicion. Juno admits to encouraging Juturna but swears that she never approved her use of the bow and arrow (813–817). With Juno out of the way, Jupiter turns his mind to getting Juturna away from her brother (843–844) and sends one of his attendant furies down as a warning (853–855). The *Dira* flies like a deadly arrow (856–860)

and changes into an owl (this is the same bird that terrified Dido in IV.462–463). The owl attacks Turnus and beats its wings on his shield (862–866). She now begins formal grieving, tearing her loosened hair and beating her face and chest with the same line (871) that is used to describe Anna’s sorrow as Dido dies on her pyre (IV.673). She despairs and asks her brother what she can do in the face of such an omen (872–875). She tells the bird to stop frightening her and assures it that she recognizes Jupiter’s cruel orders (875–878). Jupiter is responsible for her thankless lot, being condemned to immortality and unable to accompany in death her mortal brother (878–884). Covering her head, she dives into a deep river and disappears from sight and the story. She is yet another sympathetic character on what is clearly the losing side. She demonstrates loyalty to a brother, thus reminding the Roman audience of the lack of loyalty displayed by the sister of the Horatii who wept for her slain fiancée.

### **Instructional Activity**

The following is an example of an instructional activity that can be used to gather feedback about student understanding of the function of minor characters in the *Aeneid*.

Arrange students into small groups and ask them to brainstorm a list of approximately 20 characters from the *Aeneid*. Then ask the students to organize the characters into two groups: “major characters” and “minor characters.” Next, ask students to examine their lists and then define the criteria that they used to place characters into each group. Once students have defined their criteria, pose the following essential questions, and ask the groups to record their responses:

- What does it mean to call a character in the *Aeneid* a “minor character”?
- To what extent are these characters just as important to understand as the “major characters” of the epic?

Finally, engage the class in a discussion of the groupings of the characters, the students’ definitions of “major” and “minor” characters, and their responses to the two essential questions. Use the students’ feedback from this discussion to determine whether the class can move on to the next topic in the curriculum or if some reteaching of characterization is necessary.

### **Summary**

I would recommend that the students, as they read each book, select what they consider to be the important sections. A quick discussion of those sections allows the teacher to quickly determine if the students have actually done the reading. As an alternative, there could be a quiz for each book, on which the student must list the three choices and detail one, two, or three at the teacher’s discretion. At any rate, the minor characters in the *Aeneid* are not minor in relation to the events and significance of the entire story.



# **Integrating Multiple-Choice Questions into AP<sup>®</sup> Latin Instruction**

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Multiple-choice questions have the reputation of being valuable for assessing factual knowledge but (yet) of little use for more sophisticated tasks. The integration of these kinds of questions into AP<sup>®</sup> instruction, however, can offer both teacher and students a way to assess various skills that contribute to successful reading and understanding of Latin. This is because the reading of any language involves a subset of skills that often go unnoticed — and therefore undeveloped — unless specific attention is drawn to them.

## **Wide Range of Skills Necessary at the AP Level**

In upper-level Latin classes, students are sometimes forced to admit they have succeeded thus far only because they are able to memorize vocabulary, translate each word individually into English, and then rearrange those English words until the whole group makes some kind of sense. This strategy can work fairly well in the early years, particularly for students who are bright and have good imaginations. But the unfortunate result is that they may be able to survive as far as AP with only minimal attention to morphological detail, however much their teachers may have insisted upon it.



Reading-based curricula sometimes unwittingly foster this approach, since an ongoing story line and picture may provide contextual support for guessing what is happening in a story rather than an accurate reading of a Latin sentence. Yet grammar-translation courses may not prepare students for the reading of sustained passages. Students may be content with a translation that doesn't make sense in context precisely because they have not thought in terms of a larger passage with its own thread of meaning.

The challenge of the AP Latin: Vergil course is to move all students to the point where they can manage the Latin well enough to appreciate both stylistic detail and the “deep thoughts” of the ancient writer. This requires the ability on the part of the reader to

approach each sentence with an attention to morphological detail without losing the awareness of the overall narrative. Multiple-choice questions can pinpoint the various skills needed to manage all levels of a text and force students to think about the various steps involved in successful understanding.

## Components of a Text

It might be helpful first to consider the chart below, which offers three models that describe how reading takes place in any language, although apparently no one really knows exactly what happens when people read! The second column from the left shows the hierarchy of the components of a text, from the smallest — morphemes — to the largest — the overall background to the text itself. (Note that the background may even be extratextual: for example, the heady atmosphere of the early Republic surrounding Vergil as he wrote the *Aeneid*.) Correlated with the hierarchy are three models, in the columns to the left and the right, that offer hypotheses as to how the reader approaches a text and manages all the levels so as to understand what the text says.

 <b>1. Text-Based</b> (local) <i>aka</i> <b>Text-driven</b>	<b>Components of a Text</b>  cultural context discourse rhetorical structure syntax semantics sentence clause phrase word morphology (base + ending)  (hierarchy and components can vary)	<b>2. Extra-Text</b> (global) <i>aka</i> <b>Reader-driven</b>  	<b>3. Interactive Model:</b> “High-level decoding and sampling from the textual features happen simultaneously and in a cyclical fashion.”
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It would appear that many Latin readers tend toward a text-driven approach (i.e., they start with vocabulary and/or basic morphology) whether they use a reading-based text or not. This is partly because it is easier for the student to memorize — and for the teacher to assess — the meaning and forms of single words. However, I believe that there is another reason: when an English speaker seeks to move up the textual hierarchy in Latin, the true (and genuinely daunting) differences between Latin and English become apparent. It is one thing to know case endings or even the general meaning of a word, since these items are short and quantifiable. It is quite another to manage with confidence the various components of a lengthy sentence. This is particularly true when one clause embraces another, or when literary devices, such as interlocked word order or framing, arrange words in creative ways to enhance certain aspects of meaning.

At the AP level, students inevitably discover that mastery of the lower levels — morphology, vocabulary, and basic grammar — is not enough. And even if they are able to manage the variety of sentence patterns and constructions represented by the middle of the hierarchy, they find that they need to read the notes on genre and cultural context, since all are essential for a proper understanding.

On the other hand, some readers may believe that they can safely begin at the top of the hierarchy, particularly if they already have an overall knowledge of the story. For those who have already read the *Aeneid*, this may seem to be a viable strategy, and it can certainly take a reader some of the way. Yet it clearly does not prepare an AP student to write an essay on the AP Exam for which, according to the *AP Latin Course Description*, “The responsibility rests with the student to convince the Reader that the student is drawing conclusions from the Latin text and not from a general recall of the passage.”<sup>1</sup>

The limitations of these two models become clear when they are presented as mutually exclusive opposites. Even if a reader faithfully moves from the “bottom up,” or from the “top down” so as not to miss any components of a text, the reality is that it is the items in the middle of the hierarchy that are the most difficult to integrate. This is because it is at that point that the words and context come together to make specific meaning. In a second language, it is also the point where we find the most differences between two languages. The model in the far right column would appear to offer a plausible description of the most fluent reader, one who is able to take all the elements of a text into proper consideration, and process them all continuously and simultaneously. This is surely what we want our AP Latin students to be able to do so that they gather the full meaning of a text.

## Using Multiple-Choice Questions to Focus on Skills

Multiple-choice questions are useful because they isolate a single component of a text and thus address a specific feature of the reading process. They enable the teacher to assess, one by one, the whole range of skills required for reading and understanding Latin literature. Perhaps most helpfully, they provide the teacher with a tool to diagnose individual weaknesses and provide recommendations to individual students on the specific skills that need to be improved.

Now we can see that it is no accident that the multiple-choice questions on the AP Latin: Vergil Exam are designed according to the following categories (given in the *Course Description*):

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1. *AP Latin: Vergil Course Description (May 2010, May 2011)*, p. 17.



20%–30%	(10–15 questions)	<b>Grammar and lexical questions:</b> These correspond with the two lowest levels of the components of a text listed in the chart above. They may also address semantics and perhaps syntax, i.e., when one word is related to or dependent on another, or when the structure of a sentence requires a particular form of a word.
35%–45%	(17–23 questions)	<b>Translation or interpretation of a phrase or a sentence:</b> These correspond with the next five levels on the chart (phrase to syntax), with the two lowest levels assumed.
2%–5%	(1–3 questions)	<b>Metrics: i.e., scansion:</b> These correspond with rhetorical structure.
2%–5%	(1–3 questions)	<b>Figures of speech:</b> These correspond with rhetorical structure.
20%–30%	(10–15 questions)	<b>Identification of allusions or references, recognition of words understood but unexpressed, explication of references to be drawn:</b> These correspond with the higher levels of syntax, rhetorical structure, discourse, and cultural context.
2%–5%	(1–3 questions)	<b>Background questions:</b> These correspond with cultural context.

Note that the larger numbers of questions correspond with the need to address a wider range of components of the text, which in turn require a wider range of the skills to manage them correctly.

## Challenging Features of Poetry

All teachers know the pitfalls lying in wait for the advanced student, particularly in poetry: the large number of ambiguous forms; pronouns whose referent may lie several lines away, before or even after; sentences where the subject is delayed for effect; figures of speech or word pictures which separate words normally found grouped together in prose, and particularly the separation of a noun from its modifier. Yet while these details must be addressed, it is also important to remind students that most phrases do, in fact, hang together, and that separation of components can almost always be explained. Thus, the student needs to be well-grounded already in the general way that Latin sentences are structured.

An essential skill is the ability to recognize words that are dependent upon one another, such as the subject or direct object of a particular verb, genitives/datives/ablatives used with special verbs or adjectives, noun-adjective pairs, genitive phrases, prepositional phrases, participial phrases, and subordinate clauses, which, even in poetry, usually

follow the rule that “once a subordinate clause or phrase is begun, it must be completed syntactically before the rest of the sentence can proceed.”<sup>2</sup> Students also need to be aware of words that begin new clauses, whether coordinating or subordinating conjunctions, since these words act as “signposts”<sup>3</sup> that show the reader the path through a sentence.

All of these items lend themselves well to testing by means of multiple-choice questions, since through these questions focus can be placed on individual elements of the texts or aspects of reading. In turn, such questions provide practice for the student in the prerequisites, which is necessary for accurate reading, whether or not the goal is a written translation. Only if students are able to manage these kinds of issues can they begin to understand any passage. Again, to quote Dexter Hoyos: “If translating, translate only when you have seen exactly how the sentence works and what it means. *SUB-RULE: Do not translate in order to find out what the sentence means. Understand first, then translate.*”<sup>4</sup>

## Selecting a Passage

When designing multiple-choice portions of tests for my students, I seek a passage of some importance to the story so that I can ask at least one question at the discourse level (i.e., a question that requires students to recognize the literary context and possibly wider cultural issues). After that I look particularly for the presence of words that could function as more than one part of speech, or more than one form within a part of speech, and for pronouns that not only address a student’s understanding of gender, number, and case, but also of the bigger picture in a sentence or sentences. Words such as *ut*, *cum*, *dum*, or *olim* can have different meanings according to context so that the questions on them test not only vocabulary, but also a grasp of sentence structure.

I also like to check that students can identify different cases using metrical skills (e.g., whether a final *-a* is long or short, or whether the *i* in a final syllable *-is* is long or short). The questions that are the most difficult to design — but also the most fun(!) — are those that offer plausible but incorrect translations. There I attempt deliberately to mimic the learner’s struggle both to remember what a word means (especially if there is a possible but incorrect derivative) along with the struggle to identify the word groups accurately. In the *Aeneid* there are so many words that have synonyms (e.g., *pontus*, *aequor*, *mare*) that I sometimes create vocabulary questions around these, rather than ask for an English meaning.

2. Dexter Hoyos, *Latin: How to Read It Fluently, A Practical Manual*, CANE Instructional Materials, p. 3.

3. Dexter Hoyos, *Translating: Facts, Illusions, Alternatives*, CPL Online, Volume 3, Number 1, Fall 2006 (<http://www.camws.org/cpl/cplonline/Hoyoscplonline.pdf>).

4. Dexter Hoyos, *Latin: How to Read It Fluently, A Practical Manual*, CANE Instructional Materials, p.3, underlining added.

## An Annotated Example

Read the passage below and select the best answer or completion. (*Aeneid* I.346–356):

“... Sed regna Tyri germanus habebat  
 Pygmalion, scelere ante alios immanior omnes.  
 Quos inter medius venit furor. Ille Sychaeum  
 impius ante aras, atque auri caecus amore,  
 clam ferro incautum superat, securus amorum 350  
 germanae; factumque diu celavit, et aegram,  
 multa malus simulans, vana spe lusit amantem.  
 Ipsa sed in somnis inhumati venit imago  
 coniugis, ora modis attollens pallida miris,  
 crudeles aras traiectaque pectora ferro 355  
 nudavit, caecumque domus scelus omne retexit.

### Level in Hierarchy

#### Reading Skill Tested

- The speaker is:
    - Diana
    - Aeneas
    - Jupiter
    - Venus**
  - The case of *Tyri* (l.346) is
    - genitive singular**
    - dative singular
    - nominative plural
    - vocative plural
  - In line 347, *scelere* is a(n)
    - infinitive
    - 3rd decl. ablative singular**
    - 3rd decl. neuter accusative adjective
    - imperative of a deponent verb
  - The first four feet of line 349 are:
    - S D D D
    - D S S S**
    - S S D S
    - D S S D
  - [*G*]ermanae (l.351), is a relative of:
    - Venus
    - Pygmalion**
    - Sycheaus
    - Dido
- discourse**
    - Is the reader aware of how the passage connects the overall narrative?
    - Does the reader know the characters in the story?
  - morphology/syntax**
    - Does the reader know declensions and case endings?
    - Does the reader know that the genitive case never functions alone? (It here modifies **regna**.)
  - morphology/word**
    - Does the reader know the part of speech?
    - Does the reader know the declension?
    - Does the reader know the case and its function?
    - Does the reader know function of case?
    - Can the reader apply disambiguation skills in order to rule out incorrect interpretations?
  - word/rhetorical structure/cultural context**
    - Can the reader recognize the quantity of syllables, and, in this line in particular, identify the two elisions?
    - Does the reader appreciate the role of meter in Latin poetry, and the fact that it is to be read aloud?
  - syntax/discourse**
    - Does the reader see that **germanae** is dependent on **amorum**, which is in turn dependent on **securus**, which modifies **ille** (348)?
    - Is the reader keeping track of the three characters in the passage as a whole?

6. The best translation of *et aegram ... lusit amantem* (l.351–2) is:
- ... and many evils simultaneously playing with the sick, vain hope of the lover.
  - ... and pretending many sick evils, he played the lover vainly hoping.
  - ... and the wicked man imitated many other sad lovers with empty, hopeful light.
  - ... and wickedly pretending many things, he deceived the sad lover with empty hope.**
7. In line 353, *ipsa* refers to a
- Pygmalion (l.347)
  - germanae (l.351)
  - imago (l.353)**
  - coniugis (l.354)
8. A figure of speech used in ll.355–356 (*crudeles ... nudavit*) is
- polysyndeton
  - zeugma**
  - metaphor
  - chiasmus
9. A synonym for *nudavit* (l.356) is:
- venit (l.348)
  - celavit (l.351)
  - lusit (l.352)
  - retexit (l.356)**
10. Based on his actions recorded in these lines, the adjective that best summarizes the character of Pygmalion is:
- immanior (l.347)
  - impius (l.349)**
  - caecus (l.349)
  - securus (l.350)
- ☉ *phrase/sentence/syntax/rhetorical structure*  
*'et aegram, multa malus simulans, vana spe lusit amantem'*
- Can the reader correctly identify the word groups (identified above with underlining, highlighting, and an arrow)?
  - Can the reader identify the function of each case?
  - Is the reader familiar with Vergil's custom of framing a sentence with an adjective plus a noun?
- ☉ *morphology/word/rhetorical structure*
- Does the reader know that *imago* is 3rd declension, feminine and nominative?
  - Is the reader (again) familiar with Vergil's custom of framing a sentence with an adjective + noun, and the fact that he may delay the placement of a conjunction (*sed*)?
- ☉ *semantics/rhetorical structure*
- Is the reader able to understand the meaning of these lines well enough to see the contrast between the two phrases that are the direct objects of *nudavit: crudeles aras and traiecta pectora*?
  - Is the reader alert to the rhetorical device?
- ☉ *word/semantics*
- How strong is the reader's vocabulary?
  - Does the reader think in terms of English equivalency alone?
- ☉ *semantics/discourse/cultural context*
- Has the reader grasped the events described in these lines?
  - Does the reader understand the profane nature of Pygmalion's actions in not only murdering his brother-in-law for the love of money, but doing it before the altars, and then leaving the body unburied?

Note that with the exception of 4 and 8, each of these questions aims to assess whether the reader is able to grasp the structure and movement of these lines. On the one hand, the questions address items necessary for accurate understanding, based on the ability to work at the lowest levels of the reading hierarchy (2, 3, 9). They also address information necessary to tie this passage into the poem as a whole (1, 5). Questions 6, 7, and 10 check for understanding of phrases and sentences and their role in the building meaning in the passage as a whole. Questions 4 and 8 address skills necessary for appreciation of Vergil's

style and skill, although simple identification, as here, is of little value unless the reader goes on to consider how the elisions and the zeugma embellish the poem and add to meaning.

## Summary

Carefully designed multiple-choice questions enable the teacher to pinpoint missing skills on the part of the student. Once weaknesses have been identified, it is easy then to say, “Oh, you need to drill declensions” or “Make sure that you know the major characters of this book” or “Let’s talk more about the way in which poets such as Vergil created their lines for the maximum effect.” It certainly takes much longer to write a set of multiple-choice questions than to scribble the simple instruction, “Translate the following passage.” Nevertheless, the former are more functional in identifying the exact reason why a student might make a particular error in translation or interpretation, since they only deal with one or two items at a time.

Ultimately, of course, the goal is not for students merely to pass our tests, but rather for us to support them in their goal of learning to read Latin effectively. We can help them see how meaning is built from the “bottom up” as well as from the “top down,” and show them which skills they need to strengthen for success. When we do this, our students will not only succeed on the AP Latin: Vergil Exam, but also, more importantly, they will develop a confidence and fluency that will enable them to enjoy the reading that they do in their AP year — and beyond.

# About the Contributors

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