ALTAR, SACRIFICE, AND PROPHECY:

THE CHILDREN OF PRIAM IN BOOKS 2 AND 3 OF VERGIL'S *AENEID*

by

CHRISTOPHER M. SEMPER

(Under the Direction of T. Keith Dix)

ABSTRACT

During the course of events in Books 2 and 3 of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas encounters six of the children of Priam. Each encounter contributes to Aeneas' growth as leader of the Trojans. The episodes offer Aeneas motivational and prophetic messages. Aeneas employs the language of religion and sacrifice to describe each of these episodes. This study of the encounters between Aeneas and the children of Priam reveals the similarities between the scenes and their recurring themes of religion, sacrifice, and prophecy.

INDEX WORDS: Aeneid, Vergil, Priam, sacrifice, prophecy

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optimis feminis:

matri et mulieri et sororibus

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CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

The first half of the *Aeneid* is considered Vergil's *Odyssey*, as Aeneas realizes that his homeland of Troy has fallen, determines where he is fated to travel, and persists in reaching the fated destination. Book 2 of the *Aeneid* relates the story of the fall of Troy, as Aeneas recounts his experiences during the night Troy fell; Book 3 is a description of his encounters as he moves from Troy to Italy. The events of these two books unfold with a series of revelations for Aeneas, as he discovers the details of his fate and proceeds to act in accordance with what he learns. This process of divine revelation is not always clear to Aeneas; his subsequent actions are not always unhindered.[1] What he acquires in the process, however, is an acceptance of divine advice and wisdom in recognizing divine aid.

During Troy's final night, Aeneas witnesses and participates in a number of episodes, many of which involve the children of Priam. First, Hector appears to him in a dream to inform him of the Greek invasion. Second, he sees Cassandra dragged from the temple of Athena. Third, he witnesses the slaying of Polites and Priam in the heart of the palace. Finally, he returns to the city to seek his lost wife, Creusa. Each of these episodes serves to motivate Aeneas, as he processes the events and decides on a course of action. Although he first refuses to accept the fall of his homeland, by the end of Book 2

[1] H. L. Tracy, "The Gradual Unfolding of Aeneas's Destiny," *Classical Journal* 48 (1953): 281-84; N. C. Webb, "Direct Contact Between the Hero and the Supernatural in the *Aeneid*," *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 17 (1978-80): 39-49; Robert Coleman, "The Gods in the *Aeneid*," *Greece & Rome* 29 (1982): "Internal motivation of human behaviour [in the *Aeneid*] comes principally through dreams and visions, which are private experiences not even shared by those present with the recipient at the time. Oracles, portents, and prodigies represent an intermediate category: like storms and plagues they are not private experiences but belong to the external world. And yet like dreams and visions they affect the mind directly. Both groups of phenomena were recognized institutionally by Roman religion" (145).

he accepts the fact that Troy has fallen and that he is the leader of the Trojan people fated to survive and to depart for a promised new land.

In Book 3, Aeneas follows a meandering course in his attempts to determine where his fate lies. The book is filled with a number of missteps, as Aeneas gradually learns more about his destination and as he settles into his role as leader of the Trojans.[2] His adventures begin with his arrival in Thrace and his encounter with the fallen Trojan Polydorus. Later in the book, he stops at Buthrotum and visits Helenus and his wife Andromache. While both episodes serve to urge Aeneas on his way, they also guide his actions as a religious figure. They teach him how to survive Troy and how to maintain a respectful relationship with the gods. In the course of the book, Aeneas progresses from one who performs rites hastily and misunderstands prophecy to one who seeks prophecy and learns how to perform the rites of the priest. He settles into his role as Trojan leader, religious figure, and survivor of Troy.

These episodes involving the children of Priam are similar in a number of ways. Most obvious is the way in which each serves to motivate Aeneas to proceed on his journey from Troy to Italy. This is not always clear to Aeneas at the moment, but his retrospective description of events suggests that he understands later what each episode meant for him. A second similarity is that all the episodes involve a temple, an altar, a sacrifice, a death, or a burial, and so have a religious significance. A third similarity is the element of prophecy: each conveys a message to Aeneas. With Hector, there is both prophecy and the handing over of the Penates; with Creusa, there is her apotheosis and another prophecy. While those of Hector and Creusa are patent, those of Polydorus and

[2] Nicholas Horsfall says, "*Aeneid* 3, we all know, is full of false starts, error, mishap, misinterpretation; over and over again the gods must be consulted for further clarification of the obscure and ambiguous information they have given" in "Aeneas the Colonist," *Vergilius* 35 (1989): 11.

Helenus are instructional. Polydorus informs Aeneas of the need to avoid settlement in Thrace and requests a proper burial from him; Helenus offers Aeneas a view of a new settlement sprung from Trojans and aids him with prophecy. The episodes involving Cassandra and Polites are woven into the events of the fall, and Aeneas must derive meaning for himself from his experience of witnessing their fates. In different ways, each episode provides aid and prophecy to Aeneas.

Given the fact that Aeneas himself describes the events in Books 2 and 3, it is natural to connect his language with his perception of the episodes. A consideration of the episodes involving the children of Priam reveals similarities in the language of each episode. As one might expect in such scenes, language associated with religious events predominates: fire, blood, darkness, the altar, and so forth. This similarity in the language employd by Aeneas suggests that he sees a religious connection between the events and their meaning for him: they have a religious significance. He heightens the meaning of these events for him by describing the setting for each episode in language that is either reminiscent of a previous event or suggestive of the outcome of the episode. By using repetitive language Aeneas highlights the importance of recurring issues and the way that their meaning changes for him.

The essential theme for Aeneas in these episodes is death. The familial episodes in Troy establish for Aeneas that he will not die and that he must in fact abandon his homeland.[3] Those whom he meets after departing from Troy help Aeneas to bury his past and to become a religious leader for the Trojans. Aeneas must learn in each of these events how to read divine will and how to survive the loss of family and homeland. Each

[3] I will use the term "familial" frequently in this paper. I mean to imply a strict meaning of the word, noting in recurring scenes the relationship of the children of Priam to Aeneas.

episode offers him a glimpse of his own fate should he not act in accordance with divine will. The gods aid him along the way, some more directly than others, in an effort to make him follow his destined path. The route is often confusing for Aeneas, but he eventually learns to be more receptive to the prodding of fate and the gods.

This thesis considers the passages involving the children of Priam under three headings: the setting of each episode, which I will call "altar," the events of each episode, which I will call "sacrifice," and the message of each episode, which I will call "prophecy." I will point out similarities in language, particularly in religious terminology or sacred imagery, which emphasize the message of each scene and its religious significance for Aeneas. I will consider the recurring mention of physical traits in the episodes, which will reflect Aeneas' movement from a potential victim at Troy to one who must survive the city. Finally, I will demonstrate that all of the episodes are motivational, inspirational, and revelatory for Aeneas, as he learns what his fate is, how the gods and divinities aid him, and how he must in fact leave his past behind.

In the first section of the thesis I will consider the previous traditions about the children of Priam to show what was available to Vergil and to better understand his pattern of adoption and adaptation. The second and third sections will present the readings of the episodes themselves in Books 2 and 3, respectively, with an examination of the setting, event, and message of each scene. These readings will reveal the recurring elements of family, prophecy, religion, and the past. Within the third section I will also consider the revelation of the Penates, as it lends itself to consideration due to its prophetic nature. The final section of the paper will be a conclusive section, in which I will note the similarities in the scenes, with an emphasis on motivation, religion, and

prophecy, as they relate to the episodes. It is my hope to better understand Aeneas as a hero and the decisions which he makes that often seem inconsistent with the guidance which he is afforded.

CHAPTER 2 – THE TRADITION

This section considers the extant traditions available to Vergil in the hopes of understanding his pattern of adoption and adaptation. A general consideration of what was available to him may aid our consideration of scenes involving the children of Priam.

Hector

In Euripides' *Rhesus*, Hector is impatient to finish off the Trojan War. When flickering lights in the Greek camp seem to indicate their departure, Hector does not wish to wait patiently and hope for such an outcome, but rather to venture out and even attack the Greeks as they leave (70). It is as if, accustomed to Greek treachery, he must make sure that the enemy forces are indeed leaving and must discourage them from ever returning. Hector displays his impetuous nature in the *Iliad* when he seeks to burn the Greek ships, utilizing to the fullest the day of victory which Zeus has granted him (12.229). In both incidents, those of clearer mind advise Hector not to make such hasty decisions. In *Rhesus*, the chorus (76) and Aeneas (106) discourage him from hasty pursuit. In the *Iliad*, however, he fails to recognize the wisdom of Polydamas, who advised the Trojans to return to the city (18.249), until his final battle with Achilles, when his actions, guided by the gods, have already dictated his fate (22.99). Hector's impetuousness does not result from rage or anger either inherent in his character or elicited by enemies. On the contrary, he is motivated by a desire to defend his family and community. He is Troy's greatest and only hope, and it is this burden which impels him to pursue the end of the war. Only a sense of urgency clouds his thoughts. He shows

fear when he senses that his opponent has fate on his side, knowing that he, and therefore Troy, is in grave danger. As defender and hope of Troy, this is Hector's burden.

The personal initiative that Hector takes in battling the Greeks establishes his reputation as the primary defender and "light" of Troy. He chastises Paris (3.38, 6.326), sometimes excessively; he saves the body of Sarpedon for burial (5.689), thus displaying a respect for both countryman and his funeral; he consistently urges on and helps his comrades as necessary (5.493, 13.751). He strives to live up to the demands which he and his *patria* have placed upon him. His desire to act in such a manner stems from his sense of *aidos* (22.104).[4] Quite the opposite of Paris, he could not endure malicious talk in Troy of his behavior on the battlefield. In fact, while Paris politely withstands the abuses of Hector, acknowledging blame (6.332, 518), Hector is stung by the reproaches of Ares, in the form of Acamas (5.464), Apollo (15.244), and Sarpedon (5.472), and is spurred to action in all instances. Whether he is speaking to Andromache (6.441) or considering options just before meeting Achilles (22.104), *aidos* is prevalent in his thoughts – he will not shame himself. Even in the course of his flight from Achilles, sensing that the gods are against him, knowing that the Trojans are fewer in number, perhaps lesser in courage, that the end of his own life and even of Troy is near, he resolves to meet his fate head-on. His sense of shame would have it no other way.

Hector also initiates the execution of some of the religious rituals in his community, especially those which concern the outcome of the war. He urges sacrifices to Athena, as advised by Helenus (6.263), he prays to Zeus for Astyanax's future (6.476), he recognizes the importance of the gods in the outcome of the war (20.256, 20.297), and

[4] See James M. Redfield, *Nature and Culture in the Iliad: The Tragedy of Hector* (Chicago 1975) 110-15, for a delineation of Hector's sense of *aidos*.

he always seeks to perform his duties. His reputation on Mt. Olympus is, for a Trojan mortal, without compare (22.168, 24.65).

Ennius employed Hector in a dream appearance to Cassandra in his *Alexander* (76). Vergil seems to be following and maintaining a tradition of employing Hector as a helper and prophet in dreams regarding fallen Troy.[5] The Ennian dream sequence contains questions that are similar to those that Aeneas will ask of Hector.[6]

> O lux Troiae, germane Hector,
> quid ita cum tuo lacerato corpore
> miser es aut qui te sic respectantibus
> tractavere nobis?

Cassandra asks Hector why he appears as he does and who sent him to her. Cassandra's second question suggests that she knows that some higher divinity is responsible for the apparition of Hector. If the familial dead were able, they would probably aid their living relatives with greater frequency. The term *respectantibus* may even have a religious connotation or one of dutifulness as Vergil echoes *si qua pios respectant numina* (1.603). In the Ennian dream sequence, as in the Vergilian, the message suggests prophecy and the prophetic effect of appearance. The mutilated form symbolizes either destruction for Troy or the need for burial: either of Hector or of a Trojan past.

Hector's name is mentioned at the very beginning of the *Aeneid* when Aeneas, reflecting back upon Hector's death, and in a moment of doom, laments the fact that he himself did not die at Troy (1.99).

> …mene Iliacis occumbere campis
> non potuisse tuaque animam hanc effundere dextra,
> saevus ubi Aeacidae telo iacet Hector, ubi ingens

[5] Raymond J. Clark, "The Reality of Hector's Ghost in Aeneas' Dream," *Latomus* 57 (1998): 834. Clark has argued that the ghost of Hector is both Homeric and Ennian.
[6] H.D. Jocelyn, *The Tragedies of Ennius* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1967): 231-2.

Sarpedon, ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis
scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit! (1.97-101)

Later in the work, Aeneas advises Ascanius to follow the manner of his father, and his uncle, Hector. Ascanius serves as a reminder to Andromache of the fallen Astyanax (3.490). There exists between Hector and Aeneas a connection as leaders of Troy that Homer and the tragic tradition utilized and Vergil reclaimed.[7] This connection provides the framework which Vergil employs to impart to Aeneas prophetic aid from his familial past. Vergil has chosen Hector as the first of Priam's family to aid Aeneas, suggesting that Hector has chosen Aeneas as the new Trojan leader. Not only has Aeneas proven himself the peer of Hector, but the tradition names few other Trojans who survive the fall of the city: Paris has died and Deiphobus will die, leaving only Helenus as a worthy inheritor. Homer indicates that Aeneas is respected and fated to lead Trojans later, which suggests that Aeneas is the candidate most worthy to protect the Trojan *sacra* while Hector is the one most obliged to surrender them.[8]

We note, then, that Hector represented the defense of Troy and the hope of its future, that he was the heir-apparent if not current religious leader at Troy, and that there was a link between Aeneas and Hector as prominent leaders at Troy, particularly noteworthy since Aeneas was not a son of Priam. By rescuing the sacraments, Hector

[7] Hector's prominence as the leader of the Trojans is obvious enough. Aeneas' association with Hector makes him a credible Trojan leader himself. Aeneas is mentioned in catalogues of Trojan leaders (2.819, 11.56, 12.98, 14.421, 15.328, 16.534), listed as one of five: Hector, Paris, Helenus, Deiphobus. Aeneas is often associated or linked with Hector in critical situations (5.466, 6.77, 17.512, 17.752) In Book 5 Ares refers to Aeneas as one "honored" like Hector; in Book 6 Helenus advises Aeneas and Hector to spur on the Trojans, addressing the two of them as the best in battle and in counsel, on whom "above all others rests the war toil"; in Book 17 Automedon calls Hector and Aeneas the best of the Trojans, and the two are singled out as the two main battlers for the Trojans. He is respected by the Trojans and Greeks as a force second to only Hector. *Iliad* phrase translations from Homer, *Iliad*, ed. G. P. Goold, trans. A. T. Murray, vol. 1 & 2 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

[8] Richard Heinze, *Vergil's Epic Technique*, trans. Hazel and David Harvey and Fred Robertson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993): "Hector is able to fulfil this function [convince Aeneas to leave his homeland] better than any man alive, better than any other of the Trojan dead" (17).

sought to preserve the history and culture of Troy. If Aeneas is to lead the Trojans out of Troy, then he needs to be given permission, so to speak, to continue the religious rites specific to Troy. Because of his role as both warrior and religious leader, Hector is the best candidate to surrender to Aeneas the position of supreme leader of the Trojans. Aeneas must now bear this burden as Hector did until his death.

Cassandra

Cassandra is a figure whose existence in the tragic, epic, and artistic traditions is at once singular and disjointed. In some ways Vergil seems to have employed her in just this manner in the *Aeneid*.[9] Her presence in the work often seems pervasive, and yet she herself never monopolizes a significant number of lines.[10] Although she is an important part of the Trojan past, she often seems as mysterious to the reader as her myth suggests she is to her family. Nevertheless, belief in her ramblings seems to develop gradually in the *Aeneid* as Aeneas' experiences unfold. She is an essential part of his past, one who aided him in the only way possible, through what happened to her. It took Aeneas some time to understand this.

In the *Iliad* Cassandra is called the "fairest" of the daughters of Priam (13.365) and she announces the return of Priam from Greek camps with the body of Hector (24.697-706); in the *Odyssey* her loss is somberly remarked by Agamemnon (11.421). In

[9] P.G. Mason, "Kassandra," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 79 (1959): 80-93. See Mason for a comprehensive analysis of Cassandra in these representations. Michael J. Anderson, *The Fall of Troy in Early Greek Poetry and Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), traces and analyzes the vase painting tradition. Juliette Davreux, *La Legende de la Prophetesse Cassandre* (Paris: E. Droz, 1942), considers the literary and figurative traditions. More recently, Sabina Mazzoldi, *Cassandra*, *la vergine e l'indovina* (Instituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali: Rome, 2001), handles the evolution of the scene at the temple of Athena.

[10] Aeneas mentions her prophecies (2.246), Anchises recalls her prophecies (3.183), she is mentioned as a result of Coroebus' love for her (2.343), she is dragged from the temple (2.404), and Juno mentions her as a force in Aeneas' decisions (10.68). Yet she never speaks in the poem. W. F. Jackson Knight notes the transfer by Vergil of Cassandra's prophecies regarding the Trojan horse to Laocoon, *Vergil: Epic and Anthropology. Part 1: Vergil's Troy* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1967): 85.

Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, Cassandra prophesies in a frenzied manner the impending fate of Agamemnon, Clytaemnestra, and even her own (1246, 1259). Embedded within her ramblings are references to Apollo (1072, 1077, 1080), the nature of her curse (1146-9), and allusions to hers as a soul on fire (1172, 1206). She is in the lamentable and inhuman state of knowing her own fate and still being unable to change her destiny. This is the essential nature of her curse. In Euripides' *Troades*, she is a similarly tortured soul, as she raves about alluding to the future of both Hecuba (430) and Odysseus (432-44). In both works the effective pathos of her situation, her gift of prophecy and its attendant curse, makes her a remarkably tragic figure.[11]

In the fragments from the Trojan epic cycle, Cassandra prophesies Troy's fate (*Cypria*), she is sought in marriage by Coroebus, who is killed by Neoptolemus (*Mikra Ilias*), she describes that Greek soldiers inhabit the wooden horse (*Ilioupersis*), and she is dragged by Ajax from the temple of Athena (*Ilioupersis*).[12] A fragment from Alcaeus portrays Cassandra embracing the statue of Athena in the goddess' temple as the Greeks invade the city.[13] Apollodorus cites Cassandra as a daughter of Priam and the story of her acquisition of prophecy and its curse from Apollo.[14] Hyginus relates her lineage, her foretelling of Paris' identity and its meaning, her acquisition of prophecy from Apollo, her statement that Greek soldiery inhabited the wooden horse, her abduction by Ajax

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[11] Mason says, regarding Cassandra in both the *Troades* and *Alexandros* of Euripides, "Kassandra's role in both plays would appear to be once again the presentation of the divine plane, or of the supernatural as it impinges on humanity, for those who have eyes to see; and for this her fate of failing to persuade others by her prophecies makes her dramatically most effective" (88).

[12] Martin L. West, *Greek Epic Fragments* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003). See *Cypria*, argumentum 1: page 69; *Mikra Ilias*, Polygnotus mural, fragment 24: page 137; *Ilioupersis*, argumenta 1 and 3: pages 145-7. Pausanias also cites Coroebus (10.27.1).

[13] David A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric* Volume 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982): 339-41 (fragment 298).

[14] Sir James George Frazer, *Apollodorus, The Library* Volume 2 (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1956): 48-9 (3.12.5)

from the temple of Athena, and her return with Agamemnon to his home.[15] Bacchylides and Lycophron employ Cassandra as a prophetess relaying the events of the Trojan War; Ibycus mentions Cassandra, along with the other children of Priam (Πριαμώ τε παιδας αλλους) who shared in the fated fall of Troy.[16]

Fragments of Ennius' *Alexandros* mention Cassandra. She describes herself as *dementem* as a result of Apollo's influence, but not unwilling, *invitam* (36). In another fragment of the play she describes Hecuba's dream, while pregnant with Paris, Priam's subsequent inquiry to Apollo about the dream, and Apollo's response.[17]

As Anderson delineates, the scene of Cassandra dragged by Ajax from the temple of Athena was a central element in a series of scenes from the vase painting tradition which convey the tragic events of Troy's fall.[18] This episode was frequently coupled with that of Priam and the son murdered before his eyes. We note, then, that Cassandra exists as a prophetess whose fate at the temple of Athena lent Vergil an opportunity of depicting a scene with much pathos. Additionally, she is mentioned often by Aeneas as his own fate unfolds and her prophecies become realized.

Polites

In the *Iliad*, Polites saves Deiphobus (13.533-7), is called "good at the war cry" in Book 24, when Priam summons his sons to tell them of their worthlessness (24.250), and

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[15] H.I. Rose, *Hygini Fabulae* (London: A.W. Sythoff, 1963): 67-9, 79, 101 (chapters 90, 91, and 93).
[16] J.M. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca* volume 3 (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1931): 119 for Bacchylides (fragments 16-17). G.R. Mair, *Callimachus, Lycophron, Aratus* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960): page 323 for Lycophron's *Alexandra* (lines 28-30). David A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric* Volume 3 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991): 221 for Ibycus (fragment 282).
[17] E.H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* volume 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935): 235, 241 (*Hecuba*, lines 38-49; 59-63).
[18] Pausanias also notes the prevalence of this theme in artwork (1.15.3; 5.19.5; 10.26.3). See Anderson, 192-9; Joan Breton Connelly, "Narrative and Image in Attic Vase Painting: Ajax and Kassandra at the Trojan Palladion," in *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art*, ed. Peter J. Holliday (Cambridge: University Press, 1993); John Madden, "The Palms Do Not Weep: A Reply to Professor Hurwit and a Note on the Death of Priam in Greek Art," *Classical Journal* 78 (1983): 193-9.

appears in a battle scene in Book 15, in which he slays one Echius (15.339). Apollodorus includes him as a son of Priam and Hecuba, but he is not mentioned as one of the prominent Trojan leaders, one of the councilors or leaders of men such as Hector, Aeneas, Deiphobus, and Helenus. In Book 13 Iris assumes his voice to suggest to Hector that he allow foreign allies to fight together and be led by their accustomed generals (13.786-806). He acknowledges that he has seen some battle time, which suggests that he is young but not inexperienced at war. Hector adheres to his advice, recognizing the voice of the goddess.

There exists in the tradition of Troy's fall a scene in which Priam is slain at one of the altars in his palace by Neoptolemus. Along with Priam a young son is slain as well. Anderson delineates the evolution of this particular scene, indicating that artists merged the Astyanax episode with Priam. The result was a tradition which placed the young Astyanax, in the hand of Neoptolemus, just as Neoptolemus prepared to slay the horrified Priam. Anderson further suggests that the depiction in vase painting of the death of Troilus may also have influenced how vase painters depicted the death of Priam. He confirms that female figures often accompany Priam at the altar. These episodes so prevalent in the vase painting tradition, those involving Cassandra, Priam, and a young Trojan son, seem to have made their way into Aeneas' version of events during Troy's final night.

Creusa

The epic and tragic traditions have very little to say about Creusa.[19] She is a less prominent daughter of Priam, and sometimes wife of Aeneas.[20] Other versions cite one

[19] Anderson notes, however, an Ilioupersis krater of the Altamura Painter (Cat. no. 27) which has on its one side the episodes of both Cassandra and Priam, and on the other a scene which depicts the departure of

Eurydice as the wife of Aeneas.[21] The generic nature of the name "Creusa," which means "princess," leads some to believe that she was a figure without a real history or story. There is a tradition which maintained that she arrived in Italy with Aeneas, while another version indicates that she was rescued from Greek slavery by Cybele and Aphrodite.[22] This event gives Vergil the opportunity to employ her as a prophetic figure, similar to Hector, in that she is no longer alive, and she has a vested interest in his fortune. With Creusa, Vergil develops a scene of emotion and significance to conclude Aeneas' experiences within the fall of Troy.

Polydorus

The most remarkable use of Polydorus in the tragic and epic traditions is that of Euripides in *Hecuba* (1-58). He is described as the youngest of Priam's sons, which highlights the abrogation of the Trojan future, and makes him yet another victim of Greek motivations to deny any further existence to the Trojan state. His apparition appears to Hecuba in an attempt to acquire a burial and a tomb. To that point he remains unburied,

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Aeneas, involving Anchises, a young man in lead, potentially Ascanius, and a woman following, possibly Creusa.

[20] Both Apollodorus (*Lib.* 3.12.5) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 90) cite her as a daughter of Priam. Lisa Burton Hughes, "After the Fall: Epic, Tragedy, and Vergil's Trojan Women" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1995), asserts that Creusa, by virtue of her name, fits nicely within both the epic (as a daughter of Priam) and tragic (as a "tragic princess" similar to those in Ion and Medea): 184; however, as Burton Hughes herself indicates, Creusa has a more propitious fate than that of a tragic princess, or so many of the other survivors of Troy. She has a share in Aeneas' own providential fortune, as she herself acquires deification and is in a position to aid her burdened husband. For just a moment, Creusa becomes all things female to Aeneas: she is his Andromache, his Hecuba, and his Venus. As Andromache, she wants Aeneas to consider the young Iulus; as Hecuba, she wants her husband to make judicious decisions in concurrence with fate; and as Venus, she wants him to understand prophecy and its benefits. She aids him in this process. See R. G. Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Secundus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press): 287-89 for a consideration of Vergil's sources on the story.

[21] According to Pausanias, Lescheos and the epic *Cypria* indicate Eurydice (10.26.1) as does Ennius *Ann.* 37. Martin L. West, *Greek Epic Fragments* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003): 137 (fragment 19). Pausanias also mentions her rescue from slavery by Aphrodite (10.26.1), Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, vol. 4, trans. W. H. S. Jones, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935).

[22] Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.46.4) and Naevius (*Bell. Pun.* 1.5) place her in Italy with Aeneas; Pausanias (10.26.2) mentions her rescue.

and more importantly, unwept. The familial ghost wants its descendants, if any, to recognize and understand his fate. He wants to be remembered. He is the young branch on the beach.[23] It is these images that Vergil takes up in his representation of the premonition of Polydorus.

In the Iliad, Polydorus is a son of Priam, dearest to him, youngest, and swiftest; he is slain by Achilles (20.407). Lycaon, in begging for Achilles' mercy, refers to the killing of Polydorus (21.91), and Priam refers to the both of them in asking Hector not to face Achilles (22.46). Apollodorus names him as a son of Priam as well (3.12.5). The most elaborate description of his fate in Thrace is in Hyginus, who describes how his sister Iliona, wife to Polymestor, king of Thrace, attempted to save her brother, but failed. Polymestor killed Polydorus; Iliona buried him.[24] Finally, Polydorus seems conspicuously absent from the tradition of surviving vase paintings. His fate as one who perished at a distance from Troy seems to remove him from the fall of the city. The pervasive image of the death of Astyanax makes Polydorus unnecessary as a young representative of Troy's future brutally extinguished. It seems, then, that Vergil developed extensively the fate of Polydorus with an ominous and prophetic scene at the beginning of Aeneas' experiences away from his homeland.

Helenus

In the Trojan cycle of epic fragments, Helenus prophesies future events for the Trojans (*Cypria*) and informs the Greeks of the need for Philoctetes' bow in capturing

[23] The ghost of Polydorus was also in Ennius' *Hecuba*, with only the fragment "undantem salum" remaining. Perhaps that bit is enough to see the setting which Vergil gives his own Polydorus. E.H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935): 291 (fragment 202). For a consideration of Vergil's sources see R. D. Williams, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Tertius* (Oxford: The University Press, 1962): 57-9.
[24] Hyginus, *Fab.* 109, 254.

Troy (*Bacchylides*).[25] Hyginus lists him as a son of Priam and, although he is called an augur, he is conspicuously absent from those sections in which the prophecies of Cassandra are noted. He competed in games held in recognition of the "lost" son, Paris. Apollodorus lists Helenus as a son of Priam and acknowledges a version, surviving in Dares Phrygius, that indicates that Helenus went to the Chersonese with Hecuba, Andromache, and Cassandra.[26] Perhaps more common is the version in which he returns with Pyrrhus to Epirus, later to marry Andromache.[27] Dionysius cites that Aeneas and his Trojan followers meet Helenus and his Trojan followers at Dodona, where they received responses from the oracle and gave offerings.[28]

Helenus, then, seems to exist in the traditions as a seer, but one who does not endure the same pathetic suffering that Cassandra does. He will survive Troy, and yet there are suspicions about his role in the Greek victory. Vergil exonerates him, to some degree, by not casting guilt upon him directly; and he serves as an example of an augur for Aeneas, who holds the Penates of the true Trojan settlement.

[25] *Cypria*, argumentum 1; David A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric* volume 4 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992): 261 (Bacchylides, fragment 7, scholiast on Pindar, *Pythian* 1.52).
[26] Hyginus, *Fab.* 90, 128, and 273; Apollodorus, *Lib.* 3.12.5 and epitome 5.23.
[27] Pausanias cites not only this version (2.1.6) but also notes his wisdom (5.22.2) and his presumed survival of Troy (10.25.3).
[28] Dionysius, *Ant. Rom.* 1.51.1.

CHAPTER 3 – THE CHILDREN OF PRIAM IN BOOK 2

Hector

The Altar – Ominous Language Foreboding Troy's Demise

Aeneas describes his adventures in Books 2 and 3 in a way that highlights his heightened awareness of divine inspiration and will. The language which Aeneas uses to describe the atmosphere of Troy just before Hector appears to him is filled with ominous undertones. It establishes the setting for the impending sacrifice of Troy and the prophecy which Aeneas is to receive.

> Vertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox
> involvens umbra magna terramque polumque
> Myrmidonumque dolos; fusi per moenia Teucri
> conticuere; sopor fessos complectitur artus.
> Et iam Argiva phalanx instructis navibus ibat
> a Tenedo tacitae per amica silentia lunae
> litora nota petens, flammas cum regia puppis
> extulerat, fatisque deum defensus iniquis
> inclusos utero Danaos et pinea furtim
> laxat claustra Sinon… (2.250-259)

Although the phrase *caelum vertitur* may be interpreted as an instance of ancient belief regarding the movements of day and night, it may also be interpreted as the literal "turning upside down" of the Trojan world.[29] In this process, the sky, with its light, will depart for the Trojans, as will their understanding of divine will and the support of the gods. As light departs for Troy, the night envelops the land of the city and its hope, in the form of the sky (*polum*), with its ghostly image of the shade (*umbra*). The darkness is

[29] Austin notes Vergil's varying representations of nightfall, and the "Ennian touch" employed here, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Secundus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964):117. Alessandro Perutelli, "Commento Ad Alcuni Sogni Dell'Eneide," *Athenaeum* 52 (1974). Perutelli notes the contrast of serene atmosphere with impending destruction, 259-60.

working in favor of the Greeks, as it hides their deception treachery.[30] The term which Aeneas uses regarding the "scattered" nature of the Trojans will later suggest a pouring forth of emotion.[31] At the same time, they grow quiet, as if preparing for a sacrifice; they are scattered *per moenia*, these walls which will not survive the night. Weariness embraces their limbs, as the duration of the war has taken its toll. Aeneas then moves from his description of the Trojans as sacrificial victims to those who will perform the sacrifice, the Greeks. For the Greek soldiery, the moon serves as a symbol of divine aid, granting sufficient light for their silent movement toward the altar which is Troy.[32] They seek the shores, which at times serve as a locale for altar and sacrifice;[33] the fact that Aeneas notes the familiarity of the shores to the Greeks suggests not only that they were familiar with them, but that the gods grant them comfortable access. The Greeks bring with them the flames which will light the altar, transferring the light from the aid which is the moon to what is Troy itself. They are aided by the gods (*fatisque deum*). For the Trojans, the celestial sky has set. As Aeneas says, the gods have protected Sinon and the Greeks. As they invade the city, the inhabitants are "buried" by wine and in sleep, suggesting subsequent scenes of the tombs of Polydorus and Hector. Aeneas himself is in this state when his first familial portent appears.

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[30]Bernard M. W. Knox, "The Serpent and the Flame: The Imagery of the Second Book of the *Aeneid*," *American Journal of Philology* 71 (1950): 379-400. See Knox for a delineation of the serpent image and latent treachery in Book 2.

[31] Compare scenes involving Hector (2.271), Polites (2.532), Iulus (2.683), and Andromache (2.312). Sorrow pours forth for the slaughtered of Troy.

[32]M. Owen Lee, "Per Nubila Lunam: The Moon in Virgil's *Aeneid*," *Vergilius* 34 (1988): 9-14. Lee notes the ambivalent implications in scenes involving the moon and its intuitive cosmological effects.

[33] Compare scenes involving Laocoon (2.202-5), Priam (2.523, 2.557), and Polydorus (3.21, 3.63).

The Sacrifice – The Victim Offers Prophecy

When Hector appears to Aeneas, he is a representation of the Trojan past, for he represents Troy and the hope of Troy's future, both of which are lost.[34] The mutilation of the body represents a denial of civilization, as the funerary rites were the final ceremonial performance for an individual's life; the denial of such rites is the denial of community.[35] Warriors are driven to such vengeance by their ties to their own communities. Excesses of war are best manifested by this denial of the funeral – the anti-funeral. If Hector embodies Troy, and mutilation is the denial of the existence of community, then Hector symbolizes the denial of Troy's existence. This is a most convincing manner in which to present the message of Troy's destruction to Aeneas. The messenger, Hector, is the most valid representative of Troy, his appearance is a clear indicator of the immediate future of the city and its citizenry, and his connection to Aeneas makes his apparition all the more purposeful – the surrendering of Troy's future to Aeneas.[36] Aeneas' description of the apparition of Hector is suggestive of the sacrificial victim. This reveals not only the fate of Hector, but also the nature and gravity of the situation for the Trojans.[37]

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[34] Regarding Aeneas' dream of Hector, see Otto Skutsch, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 70, 147-53 and H. D. Jocelyn, *The Tragedies of Ennius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 80, 232 for Ennian influence. See Andree Thill, "Hector dans l'Eneide ou la succession homerique," *Bulletin de l'Association G. Bude* (1980): 36-48, on Vergil's debt and departure regarding the dream; Perutelli on the importance of dreams in the *Aeneid* with regard to the larger narrative; John Barker Stearns, *Studies of the Dream as a Technical Device* (Lancaster: Lancaster Press, 1927) on the dream as a device used by Vergil; and H. R. Steiner, *Der Traum in der Aeneas* (Bern and Stuttgart, 1955) for Vergil's dependence on Ennius and Homer as well as the timeliness and importance of the dream in the *Aeneid*. Austin notes Vergil's consideration of the ghost of Patroclus to Achilles, *Iliad* 23.62, Hector in Ennius' *Alexandros* as well as Homer in Ennius' *Annales*; R. D. Williams, *The Aeneid of Virgil: Books 1-6* (London: Macmillan, 1972): 233, notes the contrast between Aeneas' state of "happy sleep and Hector's "terse statements of disaster."

[35] Charles Segal, *The Theme of Mutilation of the Corpse in the Iliad* (Leiden: Brill, 1971) 33.

[36] Thill, "Et c'est enfin Hector vu par un poete romain qui, cherchant a son heros la reference la plus digne, trove en Hector les vertus nationals de la virtus, de la fides, et de la pietas" (48).

[37] Perutelli on the effect of the dream: "Virgilio e poeta di contrasti dunque, ma e anche colui che, attingendo alla tragedia motive e azione, li riadegua nell'assimilazione reciproca di forme e toni ad una tecnica narrative epico-lirico" (261). He further notes the relationship of the language of the dream with the subject matter of the epic and Aeneas' journey.

In somnis, ecce, ante oculos maestissimus Hector
Visus adesse mihi, largosque effundere fletus,
Raptatus bigis, ut quondam, aterque cruento
Pulvere, perque pedes traiectus lora tumentes.
Hei mihi, qualis erat! quantum mutatus ab illo
Hectore, qui redit exuvias indutus Achilli,
Vel Danaum Phrygios iaculatus puppibus ignes!
Squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crines
Vulneraque illa gerens, quae circum plurima muros
Accepit patrios. Ultro flens ipse videbar
Compellare virum et maestas expromere voces. (2.270-80)

In the dream Hector is himself sad, as depicted and heightened by words such as *maestissimus* and *effundere fletus*.[38] He appears *ante oculos* and "pours forth tears" as the Trojans are themselves "poured" within the walls of the city. The emotion that he feels and the understanding that he has will have to be transferred to Aeneas in order for Aeneas to understand mourning. The eyes will serve as witness and expressive vehicle for this emotional understanding. Aeneas seems to suggest that Hector displays such sorrow not so much for his own fate, but for the fate of his homeland. Prophetic Hector may not know the fate of Aeneas himself, but he is aiding him in his decisions on this final night at Troy. The language of the following lines reflects the grim reality of the battles and loss in defense of the city, as *raptatus*, *aterque cruento*, and *pedes tumentes* remind Aeneas of the fate of Hector and the futility of his actions. The feet are also a reminder of the control which Achilles, the Greek oppressor and executor of the sacrifice, exercised over the conquered Hector. As a result, Hector's hair is bloodstained, his eyes

[38] Patrick Kragelund, *Dream and Prediction in the Aeneid* (Denmark: Special Trykkeriet, Viborg, 1976) 12-28. Kragelund points out the sacrificial overtones in the vocabulary. Compare *Aen.* 6.686 (*effusaeque genis lacrimae et vox excidit ore*). Austin notes similarities with Ennius' *Ann.* 6 (*visus adesse…lacrumas effundere*).

filled with tears.[39] As Hector attempts to reveal prophecy by image to Aeneas, he merely elicits the mood of the message – sadness, along with tears. Aeneas is affected by the somber image, but he fails "to get" the message. Aeneas then moves toward an examination of the decisions which Hector made that led to his death. He put on the armor of Achilles, and he failed to follow the advice of Polydamas on the day that he continued to burn Greek ships. This fire begun by Hector would eventually spread, so to speak, to the walls of Troy. The passage closes with the phrase *patrios muros* to admonish Aeneas of the futility of Hector's decisions in defense of his city. Aeneas may choose a similar path, or not.

Aeneas' response to the vision of Hector reveals an unwillingness or inability to interpret divine omen. He is confused by the visit of Hector and the nature of the appearance. Aeneas uses his voice to question Hector (*maestas voces*), but although his voice seeks to match Hector's sorrow, he is not yet in a state of mourning.[40] He is more concerned with circumstantial details. Aeneas' response indicates either that he is a participant in the dream, and is thus speaking to Hector as he would were Hector alive, or that he is confused as to the nature of the prophecy. Given the questions, it seems more likely that he believes that he is a part of the dream, and that the conversation is real. This does, however, give his audience an idea of what his mindset was immediately after

[39] Charles Fuqua, "Hector, Sychaeus, and Deiphobus: Three Mutilated Figures in *Aeneid* 1-6," *Classical Philology* 77 (1982): 235-40: "…the appearance of Hector is the second of a series of three parallel scenes involving mutilated figures that Virgil employs in the first half of the *Aeneid* to illustrate the hold of the past and traditional ideals on Aeneas" (237) and, "The appearance of Hector is a pivotal episode set between sequences of scenes which epitomize the treachery of the Greeks and the follies of heroic conduct. Aeneas' response illustrates in very graphic form the tension between past ideals and future obligations which is so characteristic of his behavior in the first six books as well as offering a display of the kind of heroic behavior Aeneas cannot entertain if he is to realize his destiny" (239). Pamela Bleisch, "The Empty Tomb at Rhoeteum: Deiphobus and the Problem of the Past in *Aeneid* 6.494-547," *Classical Antiquity* 18 (1999): 187-226. Bleisch notes the similarities between the apparition of Hector and that of Deiphobus (192).

[40] As noted by Austin and Skutsch, compare Ennius, *Annales*, 1.43 (*Exim compellare pater me voce videtur*).

he awoke from sleep. As he re-describes the event in his narrative to Dido, he was, at the time of the prophecy, unwilling to receive the vision as an omen, and was asking questions which indicate his unwillingness. It is only in hindsight, and in his description of the events, that Aeneas understands his misunderstanding of the apparition. He emphasizes this in his retelling of his thoughts and questions to Hector.[41]

> O lux Dardaniae, spes o fidissima Teucrum,
> Quae tantae tenuere morae? quibus Hector ab oris
> Exspectate venis? ut te post multa tuorum
> Funera, post varios hominumque urbisque labores
> Defessi adspicimus! quae causa indigna serenos
> Foedavit vultus? aut cur haec vulnera cerno? (2.281-286)[42]

Aeneas' questions to Hector reveal his participation in the dream, as he asks Hector from where he comes and what took him so long. Only then does he move to the secondary thoughts which occur to him, those regarding Hector's appearance. The question posed for Hector is, "Why do you have these wounds?" His appearance provides atmosphere, but it also provides a prophetic message – Troy has fallen.[43] The "atmospheric" effect is for the recipient of the vision, Aeneas. He recalls these details because he believes that they existed and now understands that they had a purpose for him. Their nature was symbolic; they signal Troy's imminent destruction. The language which Aeneas uses to address Hector marks the distance between what he remembers of

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[41] A. Rapaport, "De Insomniis Verilianis," *Eos* 33 (1930): 163-4, states that Aeneas dreamed what he heard around him, and the advice he wanted to hear.

[42] For Ennian influence on the dream of Hector see Skutsch (80, 232) and Jocelyn (70, 147-53). Steiner cites the similarity of the dream to Homer in its description. Poulheria Kyriakou, "Aeneas' Dream of Hector," *Hermes* 127 (1999): 317-27. Kyriakou delineates the relationship between the dream of Hector and the dream of Patroclus in Homer. Clark notes the similarities between the dream of Hector and the "objective type" of Homeric dream in which the dreamer is "the passive recipient of an objective dream-figure." He also indicates connections with that of Patroclus (832-41).

[43] Heinze and Steiner suggest *atmosphere* as the purpose. Fuqua emphasizes the hold of the past on Aeneas.

the hero, what he wants to believe, and his confusion regarding the vision.[44] Words such as *lux* and *fidissima spes* delineate a sharp contrast between what Aeneas remembers of Hector and the vision which he sees before him.[45] The truth of this prophecy is difficult for Aeneas to bear. Surely he would like to forget that Hector has perished. The idea that Troy itself will perish is perhaps unbearable for him at this point, with the citizens buried by weariness and the extent of the war. Additionally, the hope that the war is over put the Trojans in a state of delusion. In actuality, the light and hope of Troy have been extinguished. This is Hector's representation.

> Ille nihil, nec me quaerentem vana moratur,
> Sed graviter gemitus imo de pectore ducens,
> 'Heu fuge, nate dea, teque his, ait, eripe flammis.
> Hostis habet muros; ruit alto a culmine Troia.
> Sat patriae Priamoque datum: si Pergama dextra
> Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent:
> Sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia Penates:
> Hos cape fatorum comites, his moenia quaere
> Magna, pererrato statues quae denique ponto.'
> Sic ait, et manibus vittas Vestamque potentem
> Aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem. (2.287-97)

The *vana* about which Aeneas inquires are Hector's delay (*morae*) and his activities (*ab quibus oris exspectate venis*). It is not Hector's purpose to respond to these questions.[46] Even Aeneas himself acknowledges the futility of such questions by this characterization. Hector's message is urgent, as is the necessity for a response from Aeneas. Hector's words echo Aeneas' own description of Hector's appearance, with terms such as *muros* and *flammis*; with the *ignes* having caught the city, now erupting

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[44] Kragelund, 33.
[45] Servius notes, "O lux Dardaniae quasi 'dies noster, per quem certi eramus de luce', hoc est, de vita, tamquam occiso Hectore omnes se extinctos credant." Hector is, literally and figuratively, the *light* of Troy.
[46] Steiner notes the contrast between the weight of the task assigned to Aeneas by Hector and the questions on which he is focused, 31.

into the *flammis*, which take the very walls where Hector received his fatal wounds; he confesses his error and his fate. The fate of Hector will soon be the fate of Troy. Hector mentions the name of Priam to inform Aeneas that there is no other valid patriarch for the *patria*.[47] He is now entrusted with its leadership. He must seek for his comrades *moenia*, the beginnings of a new city. Aeneas is fated to lead surviving Trojans to a new land. Despite the attempted destruction of Trojan civilization, symbolized in the mutilation of Hector, the impending murder of Astyanax, and the city aflame, the "hope" of the Trojans has now been transferred to one loyal enough to the community to bear the burden that Hector once bore.[48] *Pietas* emerges as a necessary component of Aeneas' character and journey. Aeneas now becomes the leader, hope, and bearer of Troy and its religion.

The latter part of Hector's speech to Aeneas consists of the two primary elements of his instruction: the necessity to rescue the remaining Trojans and the establishment of a new city. The new walls to be established will be those of Aeneas; he will be the primary religious leader of the settlement. With that in mind, Hector surrenders the religious responsibility to Aeneas: *sacra* and *suos Penates*. What Aeneas then discerns is that Hector surrenders other sacred responsibilities as well: *vittas*, *Vestam*, *aeternum ignem*, and *adytis penetralibus*. These items represent the priest (*vittas*), which will later be represented by Helenus, the gods (*Vestam*), and the temples (*adytis penetralibus*) – for which Aeneas is responsible. With the help of the fates – *comites fatorum* – Aeneas will

[47] Servius notes, "Sat patriae Priamoque datum 'ecce et hoc honestum; nam contra fata venire constat neminem posse.'" Such arguments, the vision of the afterlife with such appearance, and the reminder that the fates control all events, will come into conflict with Aeneas' sense of communal obligation.
[48] S. A. Childress, "Supernatural influence upon Hector and Astyanax in Seneca's Troades." *The Classical Bulletin* 57 (1981) 73-76. Childress delineates the bond between Hector and Astyanax in Seneca's *Troades*. The sacrifice of Astyanax is the religious upheaval of Troy, the furthering of antifuneral.

establish new *moenia*, the Trojan *aeternum ignem*, and perhaps similar *adytis penetralibus*.[49] This vision of Hector is the first of many fateful and familial events which will, at least in his own interpretation, aid Aeneas with their information and in his reconsideration and understanding of purpose. One may read Vergil's employment of the familial gods as divine figures which abet Aeneas and their own posterity.[50] Aeneas is privileged to behold and receive this help, but he must act accordingly. He fails to do this, in part due to his confusion regarding his duty to his homeland, Troy.

The Prophecy – Depart, Goddess Born

Hector serves as a glimpse of what could be in store for Aeneas if he does not follow the guidance of prophecy. Troy will perish and many with it. Aeneas will be among the many who perish if he fails to follow Hector's prescriptions. Hector represents Troy, but given the connection already established between Hector and Aeneas, the mutilated form of Hector may become Aeneas as well. It is as if fate, or Hector, is saying to Aeneas: act according to our words or this will happen to you. Aeneas can avoid the anti-funeral by fleeing Troy. His *pietas* should demand that he comply, but as in the epic and tragic traditions, what the gods prescribe and what humans do are not always congruent, because of misguided interpretations, unclear messages, or a lack of faith.[51] Aeneas is not yet prepared to have such faith in Hector's apparition and its message. To some degree he does not yet trust his own intuition. His inclination is still one of loyalty, but loyalty to his current homeland. As a human with only partial

[49] Austin notes the connection of *penetralis* with the Penates.
[50] Webb notes the supernatural forces which aid Aeneas (40-2). In addition, these are familial forces. In this way the *pietas* of Aeneas is better understood as one loyal to those close to him, both physically and supernaturally.
[51] Stearns describes the use of the dream as motivation, its association with the supernatural, and its employment for the purpose of aiding "a favorite of the divinity responsible for sending it." He further states, "If the dream of divine agency is benevolent, it normally includes or implies a prophecy of the ultimate success of the favorite…such dreams come at pivotal points in the career of the recipient" (12-13).

understanding, he fails to recognize what the gods already know and are allowing him to know.[52] If he fails to obey, the result may be mutilation, the anti-funeral, and the true end of Trojan culture.[53] Hector must appear mutilated to Aeneas to show the terror of the Greek invasion, the sorrow of fallen Troy, the trampling of the Trojan past, and the price of succumbing to savagery: there may be no funeral for Aeneas if he fails to act. Humans cannot know the future, but in this instance, fate and the gods are clearly offering Aeneas insight.[54] At this point, however, he lacks the faith which will come later as his acquaintance with prophecy grows, culminating in his journey to the underworld.

Since Aeneas is recounting the events of Book 2 for his audience at Dido's court, the presentation of the dream is all the more powerful in its pathos.[55] The accuracy of the facts is only relevant in so far as that they are accurate to Aeneas. These are the elements that he has remembered, these are what remains in his reflection in hindsight. His memory of Hector's appearance to him indicates that he has a clearer understanding of the prophecy. His faith or willingness to accept the apparition was at first negligible, as Aeneas relates,

> Arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis;
> Sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem
> Cum sociis ardent animi; furor iraque mentem
> Praecipitant, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis. (2.314-7)

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[52] A number of authors indicate that Hector was the son of Apollo: proponents of this version include Ibycus, Alexander the Aetolian, Euphorion, Stesichorus, and Lycophron in David A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric* Volume 3 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991): 157, 261 (scholiast on Lycophron, fragment 224). Given the depth to which Vergil utilizes Apollonian revelation in Book 3 in particular, and the appearance of familial prophecy in Books 2 and 3, this makes his utilization of Hector in a dream sequence conferring religious responsibility upon Aeneas all the more impressive. Additionally, the many instances in which Apollo supported Aeneas in the *Iliad* further strengthen the purpose of his role as prophetic agent in the *Aeneid*.

[53] See Segal on the mutilated corpse in the *Iliad* as a sign of the loss of civilization (33).

[54] Rapaport recognizes the divine sanction necessary for a hero seeking to flee the fatherland (166).

[55] Perutelli notes the resulting pathos, heightened by the effect of the narrative of Aeneas (261).

Aeneas' own understanding of his actions reflects a wisdom and a realization which he did not have the evening of Troy's fall. The language which describes his actions after he awakes departs from the religious language emphasized by Hector in his instructions, and a re-immersion into the reality of defense and war. One sees in Aeneas during the initial stages of Book 2 the same blending of hesitation, rage, and then resolution which Hector displays in the *Iliad*. Ultimately the gods or fate will dictate the final outcome of everything, and it is for humans to determine when resistance is futile and acquiescence is necessary. Aeneas' first step toward this realization is Hector's appearance to him. Aeneas fails to respond to the words of Hector as instructed, but the vision and the message become a part of his memory, and hence he will revisit and reinterpret the vision as his journey proceeds. Just as Hector understood the wisdom of Polydamas only when it was too late, Aeneas recollects the words of Hector and his own failure to follow.

Aeneas has loyalty at this point, but he does not have faith, particularly in his interpretation of the prophecy of Hector. It is more likely that Aeneas fails to trust himself than that he fails to trust the apparition of Hector.[56] By the time he retells the events of that evening, however, he has understanding. He initially resisted putting his faith in the words of Hector's prophecy and receiving the burden, but subsequent prophecies and events encouraged him to take up the role, to proceed from Troy to Latium, and to understand and grow in that role during the journey.[57]

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[56] Rapaport cites Aeneas' inability to interpret the message due to his focus on the appearance of Hector and what happened to him, as opposed to what the disfigurement represents. He is focused on a past which will have to be left behind (163). See Charles Knapp, "Some Remarks on the Character of Aeneas," *Classical Journal* 27 (1930): 99-111, for a consideration of Aeneas' passions and his efforts to control them.

[57] Webb observes: "Before, however, Aeneas attains the state of single-mindedness and the unwavering sense of purpose which is found in the later books, it is necessary that he be afforded some form of external

Cassandra

The Altar – Further Divination

Once Hector concludes his message in the dream, Aeneas begins to awaken and realize the truth of what Hector has revealed. The reality of the situation gradually becomes clear to Aeneas. He now recognizes that the *moenia* (2.298) are filled with lamentations, just after Hector warned him to seek the walls of a new city. He emphasizes the process by using the phrase *magis atque magis* (2.299) as well as verbs such as *clarescunt* (2.301) and *patescunt* (2.309). He contrasts the serenity of the domestic Trojan home with the invasive Greek hostility by mentioning the idyllic setting of his father's home, *arboribusque obtecta* (2.300). Through language that seems almost suggestive of Mt. Ida, Vergil reminds the reader of family and home just as Aeneas begins to understand that his horrifying vision of Hector is the immediate future for Troy. The metaphor used of Aeneas at this point is that of the shepherd.[58] In hindsight he recognizes that his initial reaction of shock and horror to the events around him was justified and that he should have continued along a path of protection and escape for the flock. He now employs in metaphor the *flamma* (2.304) which he had described as brought by the Greeks (2.256); the fire seeks to take his pastoral homeland, accented by

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motivation to ensure his devotion to his mission" (42). He identifies the prophecies as *apotreptic*, those which provide "negative motivation," and *protreptic*, those which force the hero to consider the future and his destiny. Hector's vision in the *Aeneid* seems both *apotreptic*, in that it warns, and *protreptic*, in that it reveals a glimpse of the future for both Troy and Aeneas.

[58] David West, "Multiple-Correspondence Similes in the *Aeneid*," *Journal of Roman Studies* 59 (1969): 40-9. West calls this a bilateral simile, since it involves "details in both simile and narrative." W.R. Johnson, *Darkness Visible* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976). Johnson says regarding the simile, "…in blurring its image, in stressing the shepherd's ignorance of what, precisely, is happening, it renders a confused and indistinct emotion" (77). Kathryn Chew, "*Inscius Pastor:* Ignorance and Aeneas' Identity in the *Aeneid*," *Latomus* 61 (2002): 616-27. Chew notes the implied dual meaning of shepherd as "peaceful nurturer and aggressive protector" of sheep (616), and that "Aeneas' confusion here results from his lack of inner direction and from the conflict between his instinctual drive and the behavior expected of him by the gods" (619).

segetem (2.304), *montano* (2.305), *agros* (2.306) and *silvas* (2.307). Nothing will escape the fire, neither crops nor cattle. The metaphor provides a nice contrast between his pastoral familial homeland and the savagery of war which has oppressed the country for years. The truth of the situation, *fides* (2.309), is contrasted with Greek treachery, *insidiae* (2.310). He will soon participate in the bloodshed and deception of the nocturnal invasion, which will lead only to a bad outcome.

As soon as Aeneas recognizes the home of Deiphobus aflame, he begins to become inflamed himself, and his ability to make profitable decisions becomes "scorched" as well.

> Arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis,
> sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem
> cum sociis ardent animi; furor iraque mentem
> praecipitat, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis. (2.314-7)

Aeneas' assessment of his mindless actions is powerfully critical. Words such as *amens*, *nec sat rationis* suggest a state of confusion; *animi ardent*, *furor iraque mentem praecipitat* suggest that he is in fact consumed by the flames around him.[59] He utterly fails to heed the prophecy which Hector delivered. He and his Trojan comrades will be as the fields in the previous metaphor, *praecipitis silvas* (2.307), taken by storm, *rapidus torrens* (2.305). In fact, he realizes as much confessing that his will be a noble death.

Immediately after his decision to defend Troy and die doing so, Aeneas encounters, as if by some divine providence, Panthus, the priest of Apollo, bearing those items mentioned by Hector, *sacra manu victosque deos* (2.320). He is accompanied by

[59] West notes the similarity between *ardent*, *furor*, and *praecipitat* with lines 316-17: *cum sociis ardent animi*; *furor iraque mentem praecipitat*, *pulchrumque mori succurit in armis* (42-3). The Trojans are truly being consumed by the fire and war about them. They will "burn" just as the fields, representing Trojan fields, in the simile did.

his own grandson, as if a familial reminder to Aeneas. If Hector's message has not been powerful enough to convince Aeneas to depart with both his native gods and his family, perhaps this providential arrival will. Panthus too is described as *amens* (2.321) just before he relates to Aeneas the events which he has witnessed. He is "mad" because of the events which he sees around him. The tragic catastrophe of the night will make heroes of those who think clearly; the remaining will be swept away by the fighting, confusion, and fire. Aeneas should be in a mental state to observe Panthus' reaction, but he reacts in a similar fashion. The message from this priest of Apollo is the equivalent of Hector's own: *Fuimus Troes*, *fuit Ilium* (2.325). A more obvious indicator of Troy's fate is Panthus' description of Sinon himself mingling insult with fire. Sinon has brought the fire which burns Troy, and any who hope to escape will have to avoid the fire figuratively and literally, by refraining from joining battle in vengeful anger and by leaving Troy. Aeneas has seen the home of Deiphobus conquered by Vulcan, and now Panthus has described Troy under siege, including both Jupiter and Mars in his elaboration. This foreshadows Venus' later revelation to Aeneas, that the will of the gods is at work all around him. For now, Panthus offers the following message: flee, take your family, take Troy's religion, the city burns as a result of treachery, the gods have participated in Troy's fall. This priest of Apollo echoes the revelation of Hector in many ways, for he is a *sacerdos* (2.319), he bears *sacra manu victosque deos* (2.320), and he serves as a familial reminder with his *parvum nepotem* (2.320). Yet Aeneas fails to understand. This much he reveals in his recollection of events. Aeneas is not trusting his intuition in making decisions and determining his fate. He states that he is carried into battle, *in flammas et in arma feror* (2.337). The gods convince him to react in such a way, *numine*

divum (2.336), as does Erinys (2.337). In the same manner that the Greeks received the protection of the gods, Aeneas is similarly driven by them. He misunderstands the message as one who fails to comprehend an oracle and resists inevitable fate.

The Sacrifice – The Victim Unwilling

Thus far Aeneas has seen Hector in a dream, witnessed the home of Deiphobus in flames, and encountered Panthus, who confirmed what Hector had foretold and offered reminders of departure, family, and religion. Despite these urgings, Aeneas is in danger of failing to fulfill his fate of escaping Troy. Next, he will witness Cassandra being dragged from the temple of Minerva, further evidence of Troy's inevitable fate. He will be a victim of the fate of all Trojans, watching and sharing in sorrows, should he not react to the message given to him by Hector.

Among other Trojan youths who gather with Aeneas on Troy's final night is Coroebus, one who fights for Troy in the hopes of obtaining the hand of the beautiful Cassandra in marriage.[60] The prospective son-in-law to Priam is described by Aeneas as "mad," *insano Cassandrae incensus amore* (2.343).[61] His love for Cassandra makes him act with temerity. He decisions make him another example of one whose judgment is tainted by the situation at Troy. He is caught by the fire of love and by the fire which consumes the city. Consumed in this way, it is not his fate to survive Troy. Coroebus stands as the warrior counterpart to Cassandra, who will not participate in the fighting.[62] The tradition regarding Cassandra was consistent in two ways: one, that she was dragged

[60] See *Mikra Ilias* fragment 24 for the only other mention of Coroebus as a suitor. Vergil chose him over Othryoneus, who perished in the *Iliad* (13.365).
[61] Thalia Papadopoulou, "Cassandra's Radiant Vigour and the Ironic Optimism of Euripides' Troades," *Mnemosyne* 53 (2000): 513-27. Papadopoulou notes the use of fire as a symbol of destruction in *Troades* (517-19). Anderson emphasizes the "beacons" in *Agamemnon* (127-9). Coroebus' desire for Cassandra has him caught in the city as it burns. Only those who can detach themselves will survive.
[62] See Hughes on *The Male Valuation of Women* and *The Women of Troy* in the epic tradition (14-32).

from a temple by Ajax; and two, that she had the power of foresight, which none believed.[63] Given these limitations, Vergil chose to utilize the more obscure figure of Coroebus in describing how he too will lose his life trying to defend the falling city. Coroebus complements Cassandra in that he is raging in his love for her, while she is often seen raging in madness.[64] The difference between the two is that she understands what is happening and what will happen. She would be able to aid Aeneas in his journey, but by fate he would not believe her. Instead, Aeneas is able to observe the fate of Coroebus and perhaps learn from what he sees.

In his speech to the gathering Trojan warriors Aeneas speaks the thoughts that he had previously considered with himself. He asks his comrades if they are willing to do as he has decided, to die a noble death. The city has been abandoned by the gods, it is aflame, there is little else to do but die in arms. In retrospect he confesses that the young Trojans are quick to be driven by anger, *sic animis iuvenum furor additus* (2.355). The fact that he is surrounded by young Trojans further clouds his ability to think clearly. The metaphor which follows suggests a number of ideas to the reader.

> …Inde, lupi ceu
> raptores atra in nebula, quos improba ventris
> exegit caecos rabies catulique relicti
> faucibus exspectant siccis, per tela, per hostis
> vadimus haud dubiam in mortem mediaeque tenemus
> urbis iter; nox atra cava circumvolat umbra. (2.355-60)

The language evokes the grim circumstances and the hopelessness of the situation. Although the sentiment is that death is certain, the words chosen by Aeneas relate his confusion at the time: *caecos*, *improba nebula*, *nox atra*, and *cava umbra*. The

[63] Compare Apollodorus, *Lib*. 3.12.5; Hyginus, *Fab*. 93; Servius, on Vergil, *Aen*. 2.247.
[64] Papadopoulou, "…the bacchic portrayal of Cassandra in the play [*Agamemnon*] functions as a sign which foreshadows the destruction of both Cassandra's natal household and the household of her 'husband' Agamemnon, which is described as Cassandra's envisaged vengeance on her enemy" (517).

darkness of the setting which he described earlier, just before Hector appeared, continues: the blindness and cloudiness suggest confusion, while the night and shade suggest death.[65] Aeneas seems to confess as he relates the event that, in retrospect, he should have been able to see through the clouded thought of rushing headlong into certain death. After all, there were the *relicti catuli* and their *siccis faucibus* to consider. The wolf, however, is a naturally carnivorous animal which must provide for and defend its young. This is what the Trojan youths do for their nativeland. This is movement away from the *pastor* who defends the sheep from the wolf. As suggested by the *pastor* metaphor, there is no defense from the torrential fire. Aeneas now becomes a part of the fighting, even though his inclination to do so is understandable. The image is also suggestive of Romulus, who will found the city of future Trojans. The she-wolf will care for the children of the shepherd, Faustulus. Aeneas is becoming the wolf, but he should be acting as a shepherd in this situation; and yet, like the she-wolf, his intentions are nurturing and protective. He and the Trojans at this moment are as Romulus and his young cronies were, plundering the countryside.

Just before Aeneas and his comrades witness Cassandra being dragged from the temple, they decide to adorn themselves with Greek armor in an effort to attack the enemy. One of the proponents of this idea is Coroebus. Aeneas describes him as animated by the successes of the attack, *successu exsultans animisque* (2.386). Coroebus

[65] Mark D. Northrup, "Like Dreams That Delude the Senses: Aeneas' Moral Failure and Vergil's Imagery of the Insubstantial," *Ramus* 7 (1978): "The night and shadow which envelop Aeneas for the duration of his furious defense of the city are, of course, real; but they have a second, figurative significance as well: they symbolize death – both the death which threatens Aeneas from every quarter and the death which the Trojan hero himself brings to his Greek foes" (30). James C. Abbot, "The *Aeneid* and the Concept of *dolus bonus*," *Vergilius* 46 (2000): 59-82. Abbot says, "The mention of the altar upon which Coroebus dies, the eulogy of Rhipeus, and the reference to Panthus' devotion and priestly office have the effect of making Coroebus' justification for the Trojan stratagem seem not only foolish, but also hollow and self-defeating" (66). Abbot concludes that the *Aeneid* on a larger scale confirms his assertion.

has misread *fortuna*, and even confesses his awareness of the *dolus* of the act, citing the mitigating circumstances of war. It is far from the noble death that Aeneas had previously suggested. He further acknowledges the absence of divine aid, *haud numine nostro* (2.396). Nevertheless the Trojans are successful for a time, sending many Greeks to their deaths. Success on the battlefield is not always a sign of divine favor or future prosperity. This Aeneas now realizes. He clearly states his ambivalence regarding the divinities, *Heu nihil invitis fas quemquam fidere divis* (2.402). This sentiment is a prelude to what follows, and evidence of the difficulty of understanding divine will with respect to one's own actions and conflicting claims of *pietas*. He is frustrated by his inability to determine when his actions are in accord with divine will and when he acts against what has been ordained. Reflection on the issue has made him wiser.

Aeneas and his Trojan comrades catch sight of Cassandra as she is dragged from the temple of Minerva.[66] Anderson has noted the similarity between this event and the slaying of Priam.[67] As with Hector, there are references to the eyes, but these are of Cassandra and not Aeneas. She is not watching as he observes her. While the feet of Hector were bound, the hands of Cassandra are. As Hector's hair was stiff from blood, Cassandra is dragged by her hair. The language is once again suggestive of religious devotion. The term *virgo* implies devotion to Minerva, whose temple now fails to protect Cassandra. Aeneas gives a powerful description of Cassandra's burning eyes and the

[66] Sabina Mazzoldi, *Cassandra, la vergine e l'indovina* (Roma: E Poligrafici Internazionali, 2001). Mazzoldi considers the evolution of the myth regarding Cassandra dragged by Ajax at the temple of Athena.
[67] Anderson delineates the similarities between the episodes of Cassandra and Priam as they seek refuge at their respective altars (49-50).

utility of seeking divine aid, *ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra* (2.405).[68] The eyes are supposed to help one to understand, but Cassandra's merely burn as they look toward the heavens for help; she has been caught by the fire which burns Troy. Aeneas should realize that no help will arrive; Cassandra must already know this. Rescue will only be temporary for her, as she is fated to become the concubine of Agamemnon. This event conveys to Aeneas the futility of defense. This becomes increasingly evident as Coroebus falls, the first slain by Greek soldiers, at the altar. His folly was that he followed his passions and not his reason. He committed his life to winning the hand of Cassandra, and he died attempting to do so. He fell at the altar of the goddess who abandoned Troy. Vergil mentions the *adyta* (2.404) but not their desecration, often an element in this particular episode, although this is very nearly a sacrifice. The victim, Cassandra, was dragged away like a beast of ill omen acting against divine will. Troy will certainly be sacrificed on this evening, but Aeneas may see himself in Cassandra; he does not have to be among the sacrificed. He moves closer toward his fate in this episode, but may yet escape. In Vergil's version of this episode, there is on the part of the Greeks a lack of respect for the unnamed divinity as Cassandra, despite seeking asylum, is dragged helplessly away. Troy is fated to burn, but there may still be divine support for Trojan existence elsewhere.

The Prophecy – Fire Consumes the Mad

The message for Aeneas up to this point is that resistance is futile for the Trojans. Hector informed him of this much. Panthus confirmed his dream, and Coroebus' fate should help Aeneas to learn from his mistakes. He has seen the house of Deiphobus in

[68] As Skutsch notes, compare Ennius, *Annales*, 1.48 (*manus ad caeli caerula templa tendebam lacrumans et blanda voce vocabam*); and Jocelyn, Ennius, *Alexandros* line 32 (*sed quid oculis rapere visa est derepente ardentibus*).

flames and has witnessed the violation of Cassandra, yet he survives. This, however, fails to enlighten him. He continues deeper into the burning city, into the heart of the palace. In recollection, he acknowledges that not even *pietas* or Apollo could save Panthus from perishing. The gods are fickle and capricious. Aeneas must learn when to trust his own instincts and his own observations, especially when guided by deities favorable to him. Thus far he has failed to proceed as Hector had advised and as the fate of Coroebus and Cassandra urge. Troy has been. Aeneas must trust the dream of Hector and Hector's advice to collect the sacred objects of Troy and proceed to establish a new homeland.

By utilizing Coroebus and the scene at the altar of Athena, Vergil is able to mold an episode which emphasizes the pathos of the event, describing an act that was a prevalent part of the artistic tradition, while also allowing Aeneas to vicariously experience an essential component of the tragedy of the fall of Troy. Employing Coroebus gave Vergil the freedom to manipulate both the details of Coroebus' experiences of the night and his death and its meaning for Aeneas. Vergil chose to utilize these very sorrowful images so that Aeneas could witness the pain, remember the past, and understand his own role in the events of his homeland.

Vergil's employment of Cassandra is interesting in that while she does not speak directly to Aeneas, he is able to witness what happens to her, thus sharing in the manifest sorrow of the survivors of Troy and perhaps learning from what he sees of the prophetess. It is necessary for Aeneas not only to understand fully what that final night of Troy involved for the royal family, but to realize his own fate in contrast to that of his fellow Trojans, both warriors and wives alike. While it is the fate of any suitor of Cassandra to die as a

result of his mindless belief that he could drive away the Greeks and win the hand of the aloof prophetess, it is the fate of Cassandra herself to bear the sorrows of a fallen city which had amassed such grandeur. Aeneas is able to see the event, to understand the sorrow, and to survive as well.

Polites

The Altar – Palace in Ruin

Aeneas, succumbing to his "mad" state, maintains the warrior tradition in defending his homeland. He continues to ignore the prophecy of Hector. He climbs to the roof of Priam's palace and subsequently views what amounts to the sacrifice of Troy – the slaying of Priam at his altar. The language Aeneas uses to describe the event is religious in nature.

> …Vidi ipse furentem
> caede Neoptolemum geminosque in limine Atridas,
> vidi Hecubam centumque nurus Priamumque per aras
> sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacraverat ignis.
> Quinquaginta illi thalami, spes ampla nepotum,
> barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi
> procubere; tenent Danai qua deficit ignis. (2.499-505)

The stage is set for a sacrilegious sacrifice. Neoptolemus advances in his savagery in defiance of Trojan gods.[69] The reverence of Priam contrasts sharply with the impious violence of Neoptolemus. Priam is drawn to the inevitable and futile defense of his family. He has, as Hector had, no alternative. Aeneas, in ignoring the first glimpse of foresight, the apparition of the mangled Hector coupled with his admonition, is able to witness a second death of Troy and further Greek savagery. The fates are aiding him, but

[69] Knox examines the "snake" metaphors and language involving Laocoon, Androgeos, and Pyrrhus. Bernard Fenik, "The Influence of Euripides on Vergil's *Aeneid*" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton, 1960) suggests the influence of Ennius for lines 2.499-502 (26).

at the moment he is undecided. Also in this passage are the recurring themes of home, family, and religion. The fifty beds suggest not only the inner and private areas of the palace, but the family itself, *ampla nepotum*.[70] The image of fire returns as a symbol of Troy's destruction: one who burns in anger will burn along with Troy. Blood and fire now desecrate the areas which were previously sacred for sacrifices and with fires.

With the stage set, Priam proceeds to meet his end at Troy, just as Hector did. The enemy is within the city, inside the sacred doors, and in the very heart of his home. The language which Aeneas uses accentuates the sacred setting of Priam's death.

> Aedibus in mediis nudoque sub aetheris axe
> ingens ara fuit juxtaque veterrima laurus
> incumbens arae atque umbra complexa penatis.
> Hic Hecuba et natae nequiquam altaria circum,
> praecipites atra ceu tempestate columbae,
> condensae et divum amplexae simulacra sedebant.
> Ipsum autem sumptis Priamum iuvenalibus armis
> ut vidit, 'Quae mens tam dira, miserrime coniunx,
> impulit his cingi telis? Aut quo ruis?' inquit.
> 'Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis
> tempus eget; non, si ipse meus nunc adforet Hector.
> Huc tandem concede; haec ara tuebitur omnis,
> aut moriere simul.' Sic ore effata recepit
> ad sese et sacra longaevum in sede locavit. (2.512-25)

Aeneas contrasts the peaceful Trojan altar with the stormy Greek attack.[71] The language which depicts the Trojans as suppliants includes *sedebant* and *sacra sede*, *condensae* and *amplexae*. The tree itself is peaceful as it shades the altar, *incumbens* and *complexa*, and religious as it represents Apollo and literally hugs the altar. It is a symbol connoting peace. Although the altar should afford protection to the helpless Trojans, Aeneas' use of the term *umbra* foreshadows the futility of its protection, suggesting that

[70] Compare *Iliad* 6.242-50: Priam's palace; 22.63: θαλαμους κεραιζομενους: "ravaged bedrooms."
[71] Sklenar notes the "deceptive quiet" of the setting in The Death of Priam. He notes that the "women and the doves are united as examples of ultimate defenselessness," in "*Aeneid* 2.506-558," *Hermes* 118 (1990): 67-75. West defines the simile involving the doves as a "unilateral simile" (42).

they will all be shades regardless of their actions. Hecuba confirms this with her use of *moriere*, which implies the prophetic power of her words, *effata*. It is as if she is the Sibyl herself proclaiming the inevitable. Hecuba points out the alternative to the warrior code to Priam: supplication to the gods. The future of Troy was decided when Hector fell. The warrior mentality is futile when the gods have abandoned a city. The time is for concession and withdrawal. This becomes apparent to Priam and eventually to Aeneas as well. Aeneas, when recounting the events to Dido, understands in hindsight the religious significance of his witness to these events. The gods have abandoned Troy; it is fated to fall. He, however, is not fated to fall with it.

The Sacrifice – The Altar Profaned

The poetic manner in which Vergil describes the actual death of Polites highlights on the one hand the savagery of Neoptolemus, and on the other the victimization of Polites.[72] Polites symbolizes the sacrificial animal refusing to die, thus signifying a bad omen and sacrilege.[73] Polites surveys the home of Priam, but Aeneas chooses the ambiguous *lustrat* (2.528), which sometimes means "to purify," to describe his desperate search.[74] The abundance of domestic terminology evokes the elaborate inner parts of the palace: *porticibus* and *atria* (2.528). Polites falls before the eyes of Priam and Hecuba (*ora parentum*, 531), which intensifies the pain which Priam continues to see his sons

[72] See E. A. Gardner, "A Lecythus from Eretria with the Death of Priam," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 14 (1894): 170-185; Matthew I. Wiencke, "An Epic Theme in Greek Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 58 (1954): 285-306. Gardner and Wiencke trace the vase painting tradition including the scene and its variations.

[73] Donald Mills, "Vergil's Tragic Vision: The Death of Priam," *Classical World* 72 (1978): 159-66, notes the similarity between Vergil's lines at 2.528-9 and *Iliad* 22.131, in which Achilles pursues Hector. Priam helplessly watches his sons perish in both instances.

[74] R. D. Williams, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Tertius* (Oxford: The University Press, 1962), notes that this is a word of "religious associations" used three times in Helenus' prophecy (136).

endure.[75] The death of Polites occurs as Priam wrestles with the idea of supplication. Polites was not yet in a pose of supplication, but he was running deeper into the palace, toward his elderly father, who would embrace supplication, just before he witnessed his son's death. A similarity in language suggests that Hector, too, had encountered such brutality. While Hector *effundere largos fletus* (2.271), Polites *fudit vitam* (2.532). The eyes of Hector were filled with mourning, and the eyes of Priam are filled with the vision to cause such mourning. The fire that Aeneas mentions as he sees the vision of Hector, the burning of the Greek ships, is now transferred to a burning Neoptolemus, *ardens* (2.529). The final connecting element is the blood. While Hector's hair is stained with his own blood, Polites spills his blood on the altar near which Priam stands. This is the razing of Troy, the murder of its king, the abolition of the royal youth, the anti-funeral and defiling of its gods. The religious language of the passage heightens the pathos and further signifies, given the profanation of Priam's altar in this way, that the gods must have abandoned Troy. Troy must be destined to fall on this night. Priam's own words suggest that the killing by Neoptolemus is sacrilegious, especially when compared with Achilles' return of Hector's body. Aeneas begins to realize the futility of defense and of Trojan altars.

> 'At tibi pro scelere,' exclamat, 'pro talibus ausis
> di, si qua est caelo pietas quae talia curet,
> persolvant grates dignas et praemia reddant
> debita, qui nati coram me cernere letum
> fecisti et patrios foedasti funere vultus…' (2.535-9)

[75] Elizabeth Block, "Failure to Thrive: The Theme of Parents and Children in the *Aeneid*, and its Iliadic Models," *Ramus* 9 (1980): 128-149, describes the inability of parent figures to provide adequate protection or security for children in the *Aeneid*. "The central theme of the poem is the birth of Rome, and the relation of the past to the future; this relation is personified as that between parent and child, but within the temporal frame of the poem it brings tragedy rather than hope" (144).

The character of Neoptolemus is highlighted by terms such as *scelere*, *talibus ausis*, *letum*, *foedasti*, and *funere*, which is what this is for all of Troy – its death.[76] On Polites' side, the terminology expresses the justice which the gods should honor: *pietas*, *caelo*, *grates dignas*, *praemia debita*. Finally, Priam employs language which implicates the relationship between father and son, and the father witnessing the son's death: *patrios vultos*, *nati*, and *coram*. Just as Hector embodied the anti-funeral while surrendering the *Penates* to Aeneas, the sacrifice of Polites shows savage impiety, in the figure of Neoptolemus, and familial piety in the form of Polites.[77] Polites is young and outmanned by Neoptolemus and his Greek comrades. There is only one refuge for the pious – the sacred altars. Yet to succumb to the desire to flee to the altars is to surrender the city and to be killed.

Aeneas' description of the death of Priam emphasizes physical aspects as seen in previous episodes.

> …Hoc dicens altaria ad ipsa trementem
> traxit et in multo lapsantem sanguine nati,
> implicuitque comam laeva, dextraque coruscum
> extulit ac lateri capulo tenus abdidit ensem.
> Haec finis Priami fatorum, hic exitus illum
> sorte tulit Troiam incensam et prolapsa videntem
> Pergama, tot quondam populis terrisque superbum
> regnatorem Asiae. Iacet ingens litore truncus,
> avulsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus. (2.550-8)

Neoptolemus drags Priam to the very altar where he recently sought shelter. He slips, like a sacrificial victim, in the blood (*sanguine*) of his own son (*nati*). The physical

[76] Sklenar cites the "moral indignation" implied by *foedare* (71) and calls the portrayal a "polluted sacrifice" (73).
[77] Bowie observes the parallel between the mutilation of Hector and the abuse of Priam (472). See "The Death of Priam: Allegory and History in the *Aeneid*," *Classical Quarterly* 40 (1990), 470-81. Gerald Petter, "Desecration and Expiation as a Theme in the *Aeneid*," *Vergilius* 40 (1994): 76-84, cites the scenes with Priam and Polydorus as motifs of "desecration."

aspects seen in both the Hector and Cassandra episodes return in this description, as Neoptolemus drags Priam with his left hand (*laeva*) by the old man's hair (*comam*). The image of the head (*caput*) reaches a gruesome point, as it is described as torn from its shoulders (*umeris*), the body left nameless.[78] The anti-funeral as symbolized by Hector is revisited in this Greek attempt to abrogate Trojan civilization. The workings of fate are prevalent in the scene (*fatorum* and *sorte*), as are the images of fire and blood (*sanguine* and *incensam*). The shore becomes an image of displacement and departure. Aeneas will see this locale of arrival and departure in other episodes. For now, he begins to recognize that Trojan civilization has been destroyed.

Aeneas must realize that flight in this case is an act of loyalty and is his burden and responsibility. At this point, however, he is unsure about what it means to be *pius*. Priam was as his fifty daughters and Hecuba – seeking shelter and the protection of the gods. He begged for justice from the gods – that Neoptolemus be repaid fittingly for his actions. Fate has spoken: Polites, Priam, and Troy must fall. It is, however, the gods that enable Aeneas to be a spectator to these events. He begins to resist his natural inclination to defend Troy and to understand the meaning of what he sees and what he is told. This portent has a profound effect on Aeneas: immediately after seeing the slaughter of Polites and Priam, Aeneas thinks of his own father. Fate is helping Aeneas to understand his role.

Although there is no mutilation in the scene with Polites, the savagery and sacrilege of the acts draw comparison with the mutilated Hector. Aeneas has moved closer to his own immediate future, which will be his death at Troy, unless he acts to

[78] For a full discussion of the scene see Bowie, 470-81. Knight notes the "transference and combination" employed by Vergil in the description of both the nature and location of Priam's death (92).

prevent that fate. It is as if the scene offers Aeneas a glimpse of what still may come for him, as he himself becomes Polites, and for Anchises, as his father becomes Priam. This reminder of the father and son relationship will eventually spur Aeneas toward his own family. He realizes that loyalty to homeland was futile for Hector, and now for Priam. Aeneas is *pius*, and must therefore be loyal, but he must also comprehend the workings of fate and his role within such workings. As a leader, he must consider what will be best for the Trojans and act accordingly.[79] Aeneas is clearly not afraid of dying, but the sacrilegious aspects of the slaughter of Polites and Priam frighten him. The event forces him to consider his own family.[80] He can avoid the paradox that entrapped Hector – to die protecting his homeland, which would fall as a result of his death. Aeneas can only escape burning Troy with his family.

> At me tum primum saevus circumstetit horror.
> Obstipui; subiit cari genitoris imago,
> ut regem aequaevum crudely vulnere vidi
> vitam exhalantem; subiit deserta Creusa
> et direpta domus et parvi casus Iuli. (2.559-63)

Aeneas must resist the temptation to submit to the savagery typical of Neoptolemus. Aeneas considers his family, his home, and his father. The reminder of his immediate family has helped him to avoid vengeful response. However, just after considering his father, wife, and son, he immediately considers the Trojan forces around

[79] Mills, "The death of Priam is the emotional climax of the second book and the complete meaning of the event is crucial for Aeneas' understanding of his political destiny in the world at large" (165).
[80] Mills recognizes the "positive, creative function" of Priam's death as it "paves the way for the creation of the new order" (166). The truly powerful force is that Aeneas is provided the opportunity to witness the event rather than recklessly risking his own death and the end of Trojan culture.

him. Before resolving to head home, he realizes that he is alone. He is still wavering between defense and flight.[81]

Religious language dominates the description of the death of Polites. Sacrilege is an element in his death as well as in the death of Priam. Aeneas receives a glimpse of what may be his own fate if he fails to react. While Hector represented Aeneas' potential future, had he not listened to fate, Polites represents his movement toward the fate of Hector, Troy, Priam, and Polites, his own immediate future, which is quickly becoming the present. Aeneas is in the center of the palace, meeting his potential fate in the present. He is very nearly drawn out of that fate of death, perishing with Troy, by the reminder in Priam of his own father, son, and wife.

The Prophecy – Altar Profanation

Vergil utilized the idea of a son of Priam slain before the father's eyes, but chose to leave the more common version of Astyanax's fate unmentioned, since Aeneas would not have witnessed the event. He determined, however, to include the death scene before the father's eyes, within the palace, and at his family altar, which would defile the customary place of sacrifice. This accents the father and son relationship so prevalent in the *Aeneid*. Vergil utilized Polites as a sacrilegious sacrifice, a part of an event which was to edify Aeneas as a leader and move him closer toward his fate. It would take more familial aid to drive Aeneas along his journey.

The fateful privilege of viewing the horror of Greek savagery fails to teach Aeneas to consider his movements carefully and with forethought. For he immediately sees Helen at the shrine of Vesta, and he considers exacting revenge for all Trojan

[81] See Peter J. Burnell, "Aeneas' Reaction to the Defeat of Troy," *Greece & Rome* 29 (1982): 63-70, for a delineation of the Roman opinion of Aeneas' reaction to burning Troy.

suffering on her. If he were to do so, he would cast himself headlong into the thoughtless and brutal savagery which is so pervasive around him. He himself would be defiling the temple of Vesta with the bloodshed of vengeance. He would be driven more by *furor* than by *pietas*. Helen is no warrior, she is not a murderer, and she is not alone in her guilt. Most importantly, she is seeking refuge at a shrine. Aeneas' vengeance at this point would be blind and purposeless. Yet his anger is so strong that Venus herself must appear to remind him of his purpose. Aeneas has thus far received three prophecies from the gods, and he has resisted them all. He seems to acknowledge as much in his account of events. He is acquiring an understanding of the past and its impact on the present and future. Helen is alive as she sits on the *sede* (2.568) at the altar of Vesta. Here the image of fire returns, fire in the temple, and the fire to exact a penalty that burns in the soul of Aeneas. He is close to becoming Neoptolemus at this point. Hecuba foretold just as Hector: Troy will fall. Yet Aeneas still fails to get the message. All the elements of homeland that Aeneas sees destroyed, Helen will soon see.

> 'Scilicet haec Spartam incolumis patriasque Mycenas
> aspiciet, partoque ibit regina triumpho,
> coniugiumque domumque patris natosque videbit
> Iliadum turba et Phrygiis comitata ministris?
> Occiderit ferro Priamus? Troia arserit igni?
> Dardanium totiens sudarit sanguine litus?
> Non ita. Namque etsi nullum memorabile nomen
> feminea in poena est nec habet victoria laudem,
> exstinxisse nefas tamen et sumpsisse merentis
> laudabor poenas, animumque explesse iuvabit
> ultricis flammae et cineres satiasse meorum.' (2.577-87)

Aeneas' thoughts reveal his confusion and anger. He believes that it may satisfy the Trojan dead to kill Helen. He is ambivalent regarding the deed, as suggested by *nefas* and *nec habet victoria laudem*, yet he almost succumbs to the flames to which

Hector succumbed, the inability to understand the purpose behind one's actions and to discern a purpose which is in accordance with the gods. Aeneas is angry that, while Helen may see her own home and family, his home is burned, with the blood of Trojans left on the shore. His thoughts move from elements of family and nativeland, to the razing of his own homeland, to the need for retribution and justice. He wonders if the only means for retribution is blind vengeance. Finally it takes the direct intervention of the gods to prevent him from such an act. Aeneas sees justice in killing Helen, but Venus reminds him of the true powers at work – the gods.

> Nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras?
> Quid furis aut quonam nostri tibi cura recessit?
> Non prius aspicies ubi fessum aetate parentem
> liqueris Anchisen, superet coniunxne Creusa
> Ascaniusque puer? Quos omnis undique Graiae
> circum errant acies et, ni mea cura resistat,
> iam flammae tulerint inimicus et hauserit ensis.
> Non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisa Laecaenae
> culpatusve Paris, divum inclementia, divum,
> has evertit opes sternitque a culmine Troiam. (2.594-603)

At that point Venus grants Aeneas the clarity of vision to see Neptune, Juno, and Athena working against the Trojans.[82] If Aeneas were to kill Helen, he would give in to savagery. Aeneas needs to acquire the wisdom necessary to determine how to act in times of tragedy. Venus grants Aeneas understanding that he did not have previously. The dream of Hector, the dragging of Cassandra, and Polites' death should have taught Aeneas to follow his fate, but he resisted. He was at the heart of Priam's palace, all things Trojan, at the very shrine whose protection was entrusted to him, and he

[82] Mario Di Cesare, *The Altar and the City: A Reading of Vergil's Aeneid* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974): "Anchises knows already what Aeneas has barely begun to learn – that the gods, not the Greeks, are destroying Troy; that *fatum* transcends human endeavors and ignores human *pietas*" (54).

considered partaking in the savagery which defiled the Trojan gods. Venus finally urged him on his way.

Creusa

The Altar – Flee, Goddess Born

The state of confusion which began when Aeneas awoke continues as he makes his way through burning Troy. In the midst of flight from the city, Anchises urges Aeneas to flee quickly, using the words that Hector had used earlier – *fuge*, *nate* (2.733). This is another reminder to Aeneas that his fate lies elsewhere. While the message will prove to be one that is fortuitous for Aeneas, in that Creusa is not fated to accompany him further, it is unclear what Anchises may suspect or actually knows regarding the situation. Did he actually see Creusa or think of her? Was he motivated by a divinity to speak in this way? Vergil does not make it obvious whether Anchises is aware of any fateful events. In fact, Anchises seems to be as clouded in his thinking as Aeneas is at this point. It is fortunate that his urging actually becomes sound advice – something that is in accordance with divine will. We can assume that he spoke the phrase because, as Aeneas indicates, he actually saw what he said he did, Greek soldiers, and that he, just as Aeneas, failed to think of Creusa. Aeneas later discovers that their forgetfulness is in keeping with divine will.[83]

In an effort to explain his neglect of Creusa, Aeneas considers the role of divine will in his forgetfulness: *Hic mihi nescio quod trepido male numen amicum confusam eripuit mentem* (2.735-6). He wonders whether her absence is a result of her own action

[83] Lisa Burton Hughes notes Creusa's insistence that Aeneas not blame himself for her fate (188). It has been a divinely approved event. See also Christine G. Perkell, "On Creusa, Dido, and the Quality of Victory in Virgil's *Aeneid*," in *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, ed. Helene P. Foley (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1981), for a comparison of the Creusa and Dido episodes, and a more critical view of Aeneas' actions and analysis of the nature of his *pietas*.

or that of a god, *fato* (2.738). He says that he saw nothing crueler that night than this final twist of fate, the loss of his wife, who was so close to escape, *quid in eversa vidi crudelius urbe* (2.746). The party of Trojans reaches the temple of Ceres, a sacred place and still unoccupied by Greek invaders, *Cereris sedemque sacratam* (2.742). Only Creusa has failed to reach the destination, while all others are there. The father, the son, and the Penates are safely out of the reach of the Greek soldiery in this ancient temple. The escape was successful but for the loss of Creusa; yet her loss very nearly brings Aeneas back to that state of mindlessness which might even now thwart his fate.

> Quem non incusavi amens hominumque deorumque,
> aut quid in eversa vidi crudelius urbe?
> Ascanium Anchisenque patrem Teucrosque penatis
> commendo sociis et curva valle recondo;
> ipse urbem repeto et cingor fulgentibus armis. (2.745-9)

When Aeneas says that he entrusts the Penates to his comrades, he acknowledges that he is the primary caretaker of the divinities. Anchises was holding them only because the hands of Aeneas were stained by blood from battle. He realizes his role as both religious and martial leader. At this point, however, he again forsakes the prophecy of Hector, this time as a result of his devotion to his wife. He does not explain his thoughts at this point, only the fact that he will proceed back into the fallen city.

Having seen Hector's mangled form, the slaying of Coroebus, the capture of Cassandra, as well as the murder of Polites and Priam, Aeneas now has the opportunity to avoid the end of Trojan civilization and his own death at Troy. Yet he determines to revisit the fiery city, an act which could bring about his demise. Re-entering the city brings Aeneas back to the state of confusion which he had previously drifted through. The language echoes the places he traversed earlier in the night: *obscura limina portae*

(2.752). He attempts to survey or purify his dark journey with sight, *per noctem et lumine lustro* (2.754). He reacts physically to revisiting the city, *horror ubique animo* (2.755) and to what he sees – a synopsis of what he should already understand – the fact that the Greeks now hold Trojan temples. The images of home, temple, family, and fire return to his eyes.

> Inde domum, si forte pedem, si forte tulisset,
> me refero: inruerant Danai et tectum omne tenebant.
> Ilicet ignis edax summa ad fastigia vento
> volvitur; exsuperant flammae, furit aestus ad auras.
> Procedo et Priami sedes arcemque reviso:
> et iam porticibus vacuis Junonis asylo
> custodes lecti Phoenix et dirus Ulixes
> praedam adservabant. Huc undique Troia gaza
> incensis erepta adytis, mensaeque deorum
> crateresque auro solidi, captivaque vestis
> congeritur. Pueri et pavidae longo ordine matres
> stant circum. (2.756-67)

The Greeks hold the home. The flames of Troy burn to the heavens themselves, *ad auras* (2.759). Aeneas proceeds back into the palace of Priam and sees that the Greeks occupy the temple itself. The passageways, like the one that Polites recently surveyed, are now vacant. Aeneas' description of what he sees is more realistic and sober than his previous descriptions. The reality of the atmosphere of the palace is that the Greeks have what they really wanted, all the treasures, *praeda…Troia gaza* (2.763) and everyday objects of the Trojans, *mensae deorum crateresque auro solidi*, *captivaque vestis* (2.764-6). Aeneas describes without emotion the bowls, tables, and garments which the Greeks plunder. They represent the wealth that Troy once held, and the absent protection of Trojan gods; but these wares have been snatched from temples that once burned for the gods, now burning for the destruction of Trojan gods. As Aeneas revisits

these misfortunes, he is more sober; but as he calls for Creusa, he is again in danger of becoming *amens*. He may still become Hector.

The Sacrifice – Victim Rescued

When Aeneas sees the image of Creusa, he recognizes the physical elements that he witnessed in Hector, Cassandra, and Polites. His hair stands and his voice is caught as she appears before his eyes. Although he previously said that he would not see her again, he does see this image of her, larger than her actual size and suggestive of a goddess. With this description, Aeneas distinguishes between the Creusa he had known and the figure he sees before him. He relates that he "stood agape," *obstipui*, as he did when he saw the death of Priam. Where his anger brought him nearly to his death earlier in the night, now his grief is in danger of doing so. It is at this point that Creusa, now a divinity, addresses (*adfari*) him with clear instructions, similar to those given by Hector earlier.

> Quid tantum insano iuvat indulgere dolori,
> O dulcis coniunx? Non haec sine numine divum
> eveniunt; nec te hinc comitem asportare Creusam
> fas, aut ille sinit superi regnator Olympi.
> Longa tibi exsilia et vastum maris aequor arandum,
> et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva
> inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris:
> illic res laetae regnumque et regia coniunx
> parta tibi; lacrimas dilectae pelle Creusae.
> Non ego Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumve superbas
> aspiciam aut Graiis servitum matribus ibo,
> Dardanis et divae Veneris nurus;
> sed me magna deum genetrix his detinet oris.
> Iamque vale et nati serva communis amorem. (2.776-89)

Creusa begins her speech by chastising Aeneas for indulging in mindless grief. Although she is touched by his devotion, in venturing back into the captured city, he is putting his personal desires before the well-being of his Trojan comrades. She goes to

great length to convince him of the divine will at work in her apotheosis: *numine divum*, *fas*, *sinit*, *superi regnator Olympi*. The gods manipulated the destruction of Troy, but now they guide both her transformation and his survival. With more specific instructions than he had previously heard, she tells him of his kingdom, wife, and happy times to come. All that he has lost in this night will be regained. He must drive back the tears and move away from a fate like that of Hector. She persuades him to do this and reassures him by relating her own good fortune, having become a divinity. She closes her speech as Venus did earlier in the night, reminding Aeneas to consider Ascanius. Aeneas resists grasping her message, attempting rather to hold her with his tearful eyes, arms, and hands. He describes his attempt as similar to a dream, then returns to his comrades. Thus, he has re-entered fallen Troy, but has survived the confusion and madness of the night (*consumpta nocte*). Creusa has convinced him, finally, of the need to leave this past behind. He came face to face with his potential future. He very nearly perished as Hector did, but is rescued by divine aid, and catches a glimpse of Creusa's apotheosis.

The Prophecy – Remember Iulus

When Aeneas returns to the gathering of Trojan survivors, he seems to have a new sense of awareness of his own purpose and role. He notes the size of the group and their willingness to follow his leadership. As the new day begins, with Mt. Ida and his past in the background, Aeneas is prepared to leave behind the thresholds of Troy. He is prepared to cross the proverbial mountains en route to his new kingdom. He lifts his father on his shoulder, just as he will carry the memories of his past, but will leave what has been lost. The final night of Troy included seeing Hector in his dream, witnessing the death of Coroebus as he saved Cassandra, watching the murders of Polites and Priam,

and determining along with his father and family the route to departure. After losing Creusa, he returns to find his wife, only to have her relate her own journey and emphasize what Hector had already said: flee, along with the Penates and your son. While the visions of Hector, Cassandra, and Polites involved sacrilegious elements, and in his return to Troy Aeneas witnessed more sacrilegious plundering, the vision of Creusa is of a different nature. Her appearance is evidence that the gods favor of Aeneas' departure.[84] Creusa confirms his understanding of his purpose and redirects him on his course.[85] From this point, we will see Aeneas grow in his understanding of his role and increasingly become more of a spiritual leader of the Trojans.

Book 2 – Fuge, Nate

Aeneas' description of the events of his final night at Troy began with a familial apparition from the primary representative of Trojan valor and future rule, Hector, and ended with the primary representative of his link to his Trojan past, Creusa. Their messages were the same – that Aeneas leave Troy behind. Between these apparitions were two episodes which revealed the depths of Greek savagery and the risks of both defense and supplication. Aeneas describes these events to Dido's court with language

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[84] Lisa Burton Hughes notes the parallel between Creusa and Thetis in Euripides' Andromache, "…Thetis appears at the end of Andromache as a *dea ex machina*. She advises her mortal husband not to grieve, predicts a happy outcome for Andromache, and foretells of the perpetuation of her husband's line as well as the line of the Trojans." (185); see also "Vergil's Creusa and *Iliad* 6," *Mnemosyne* 50 (1997): 401-23 for similarities between Aeneas and Hector as displayed in Book 2 of the *Aeneid* and Book 6 of the *Iliad*. See also, Marco Fernandelli, "Presenze tragiche nell'Ilioupersis virgiliana: su Aen.2.768-794 e Eur. Andr. 1231-1283," *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi del testi classici* 36 (1996): 187-96.

[85] Hughes notes the importance of Creusa, Andromache, and Hecuba living in the memories of Aeneas and Ascanius. She further says, "The *Aeneid* drastically increases the scope of human suffering so that all men, even the hero in his prime must embrace pain, and loss, and suffering as an inexorable part of life. And it is the memory of the past Troy, and the hope and promise of a new Troy that sustain all" (246). Susan Ford Wiltshire, "In Book 2 Hector gives over his public authority to Aeneas. At the close of the same book, Creusa gives up her place in his private realm" (72) in *Public and Private in Vergil's Aeneid* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1989). Webb says, "[the episode's] specific function is to break down the strongest personal link by which Aeneas is attached to his Trojan past – namely his love for his wife, who has gone missing during the escape from the city" (44).

that highlights the messages of each episode. The scene with Hector foreshadows darkness, an overturned Trojan world, and death. That of Cassandra suggests madness, rage, and blindness. The scene with Polites and Priam intensifies the collision between the serene evening and the raging Greek invasion. This collision culminates in the confrontation of supplication versus defilement and in the profanation of Trojan altars. The final familial episode, that of Creusa, traces a journey back into this world, only to have the apparition confirm a peaceful outcome. The language is of madness, darkness, and fire. Aeneas' description cannot convey the hope of Creusa's message, for he is unable to fathom a fortunate future. The interplay in language and prophecy between the previous three episodes is collected in one final plea – that Aeneas leave his homeland.

Each of the episodes of the children of Priam is characterized by religious language, sacred imagery, holy articles, and divine influences. Aeneas suggests the fate of Troy at the outset of his description; he mentions the role of the fates and the gods in allowing Sinon to succeed. Hector's message emphasized the religious aspects of Troy which were being entrusted to Aeneas. Just before the Cassandra episode, Aeneas again mentions the unfavorable deities, while he highlights both the place of her abduction and her unspoken request for divine explanation. The horror of this defilement of Troy is further detailed in the Priam scene, in language that emphasizes the contrast between the supplicant and the savage. In the final episode of the book, Aeneas revisits all these aspects of Troy's fall, only to receive the same message which he had received at the outset – flee. The struggle for Aeneas for the duration of the night was whether to flee or fight. It took a variety of horrifying experiences to convince him to depart.

In each of the episodes there is a description of physical traits. In the Hector vision, the eyes are for mourning while the feet and hair were instruments of his mutilation. Aeneas speaks first, in an effort to mourn the vision, but his questions are inconsistent with the image and the message. In the Cassandra episode, hair is still a means for abuse, while hands and eyes are employed in supplication. The eyes of Polites seek shelter, which only brings him before the eyes of his father. The hand in the scene belongs to Neoptolemus, who first holds Polites and later drags Priam by his own hair. The hands are agents of fighting or supplication, the hair is used for abuse, the eyes are for mourning. These physical elements are employed for mourning in the final familial episode, with Creusa, in which Aeneas' voice summons her until her appearance, at which point it clings in his throat; his eyes receive the revelation, and his hair stands. His earlier descriptions focused on physical attributes of victims. Those physical attributes now depict Aeneas' aspects of mourning. He alone has survived. He must now learn how to mourn and to survive the deceased.

Each familial episode offers Aeneas a glimpse of what his own fate might be should he not comply with divine guidance. Hector shows that one who opposes fate will end up as Hector did. Cassandra and Coroebus suggest that defense is futile. As Aeneas moves deeper into the palace, he moves closer to the fate of Polites and Priam. After he leaves Troy, realizing that Creusa is lost, he returns to all that he had witnessed before. Her apparition may even offer him a glimpse of his own future, as she clearly tells him that good things will follow this final night for Troy. He must leave his past behind. He must learn to survive the dead. All of the episodes are religious in tone, revelatory in language, and motivational. With each scene, Aeneas has an opportunity to learn more

about his destiny. He seems to highlight his understandstanding of this as he describes the events of his final night at Troy.

CHAPTER 4 – THE CHILDREN OF PRIAM IN BOOK 3

Polydorus

The Altar – Unwelcome Offerings

As Aeneas assumes the leadership of the Trojan refugees, he also gradually assumes many of the religious responsibilities of the assembly, which he reveals in his address at Dido's court. At this point it is Anchises who is making decisions; Aeneas still seems preoccupied with his immediate past.[86] Although Aeneas finally recognizes the certainty of events regarding Troy, he accepts with some reluctance the necessity for departure to foreign lands, *desertas quaerere terras auguriis agimur divum* (3.4-5).[87] He understands and confesses this need for departure, and further acknowledges that the future is still uncertain, *incerti quo fata ferant* (3.7). Aeneas summarizes his relinquishing of the past and his movement into the future as follows:

> litora cum patriae lacrimans portusque relinquo
> et campos ubi Troia fuit. Feror exsul in altum
> cum sociis natoque, penatibus et magnis dis. (3.10-12)

Echoing phrases heard throughout Troy's final night, Aeneas describes himself as *lacrimans*, just as Hector was in his appearance to Aeneas. He begins to accept what

[86] David Quint, "Painful Memories: *Aeneid* III and the Problem of the Past," *Classical Journal* 77 (1981): 30-38. Quint recognizes the shared leadership between Anchises and Aeneas which is prevalent in Book III. The acquisition of leadership is a process for Aeneas. George Sanderlin, "Aeneas as Apprentice – Point of View in the Third *Aeneid*," *Classical Journal* 71 (1975-76): 53-56. Sanderlin asserts that Aeneas is "learning the art of statesmanship and the rites of religion from his father Anchises" (53). While he notes their shared leadership, he confesses Aeneas' prominent role where religious affairs are concerned.

[87] Aeneas further neglects the prophecy offered by Creusa. Catherine Saunders, "The Relation of *Aeneid* III to the Rest of the Poem," *Classical Quarterly* 19 (1925): 85-91, suggests that Creusa's prophecy gave unspecific information. H. Akbar Khan, "Exile and Kingdom: Creusa's Revelations and Aeneas' Departure," *Latomus* 60 (2001): 906-15, concludes that Creusa's message "plays a part in motivating Aeneas' voyage from Delos to Crete" (915). Whether one considers the vague nature of prophecy, the events of Troy's final night, or his current mindset, the fact remains that he has yet to express a willingness to adhere unconditionally to divine inspiration or commit himself to this unclear mission assigned by fate.

Hector attempted to convey to him, and Panthus confirm: that Troy is no longer (*Troia fuit*). He notes that he is now carried (*feror*) onto the deep sea, away from his homeland of Troy, where he was previously compelled to defend Troy, *in arma feror* (2.337). In addition to understanding that Troy has fallen and that it is his fate to lead the Trojan survivors to a new land, he realizes that his role is that of religious leader. He does in fact have what was prescribed by Hector, Venus, and Creusa: his comrades, his son, the Penates, and *magnis dis*.

Aeneas gives no description of the journey from Troy. In his retelling of events, the Trojans arrive in Thrace, prepared to test the ground for city building.[88] By omitting the details of his travel, Aeneas emphasizes the fact that they are still very close to Troy.[89] In his description of Thrace, however, there are elements of ill omen.[90] Perhaps Aeneas realizes this only in hindsight. The land is described as Martian, with a reference to Lycurgus, whose fate it was to be destroyed by Jupiter. Its people were allies to Troy in earlier times, while fortune permitted, *dum fortuna fuit* (3.16). He establishes in his retelling of events what he fails to recognize at the time. The divinities are not in support of a Trojan colony there. Aeneas again describes himself as driven (*feror*, 3.16) to this region, but he understands in hindsight that the act was against the will of the gods,

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[88] Robert B. Lloyd, "*Aeneid* III: A New Approach," *The American Journal of Philology* 78 (1957): 134. Lloyd notes what has been previously observed, that Aeneas "disregards prophecies of mortals or their shades (except Anchises)" (134). Were that not so, Aeneas would not be stopping so quickly with intention to settle in Thrace. He is clearly not trusting prophecy or his reading of it. Quint points out the similar errors in determining to settle at Thrace and Crete, "In both cases the Trojans are reassured by religious rites in the alien lands which are identical to their own" (31).

[89] Webb notes the following regarding the portent of Polydorus, "During the period of the wanderings the hero's retrospective tendencies are manifested in his desire to terminate his nomadic way of life at the earliest possible opportunity and to return to a settled form of existence with his Trojan followers. It is to prevent his attempting to do so in Thrace that is the principal function of the portent of Polydorus…" (43) and, "[the portent of Polydorus] marks the beginning of a more receptive attitude on [Aeneas'] part to contact with the supernatural" (44).

[90] Marco Fernandelli, "Invenzione mitologica e tecnica del racconto nell'episodio virgiliano di Polidoro," *Prometheus* 22 (1993): 247-73. Fernandelli analyzes the similarities between the stops at Thrace, the island of the Strophades, and the island of the Cyclops, Sicily.

moenia prima loco fatis ingressus iniquis (3.17). He understands the subtle clues which enable one to make propitious decisions, in accordance with the will of the gods.

After deciding to proceed with appropriate religious rites for founding a new city, Aeneas undertakes the necessary sacraments.

> Sacra Dionaeae matri divisque ferebam
> auspicibus coeptorum operum, superoque nitentem
> caelicolum regi mactabam in litore taurum. (3.19-21)

Aeneas acts as religious leader of the Trojans in performing the sacrifices. He begins to take control of his own destiny as religious leader, as indicated by *ferebam*, a noteworthy contrast to the previous *feror*. At one moment he is carried to Thrace, and then he begins to bear the sacraments himself. He is slowly taking charge of his situation as guided by the gods. In his recognition of the gods, he mentions Venus as primary benefactor, while alluding to other major divinities. He recognizes the importance of all the gods, but also reveals the faith that he has in her support. He also realizes the importance of sacrificing to other divinities, in particular Jupiter. Aeneas has moved from witnessing the mutilated Hector, the profanation of the altars of Priam, and the divine form of Creusa, to undertaking sacrifices himself. The care of the Trojan altars has been entrusted to him, safe from Greek plundering.

The Sacrifice – Flee Cruel Lands

Aeneas describes the setting of the sacrifice using language reminiscent of the altar of Priam and the home of Anchises: *Forte fuit iuxta tumulus*, *quo cornea summo virgulta et densis hastilibus horrida myrtus* (3.22-23). The tree is a reminder of Venus, the tree which stood near the altar of Priam, as well as those that sheltered the home of Anchises. The myrtle is described by Aeneas as *horrida* for reasons which will shortly

become apparent to his audience. In gathering branches from the tree Aeneas seeks to provide cover for the altar, reminiscent of the altar at Troy. At that moment, however, the "bristling" of the tree is transferred to Aeneas, who reacts to the prophecy with a horror similar to that he felt so recently at Troy. His description of the event reminds his audience of his previous experiences.[91]

> Nam quae prima solo ruptis radicibus arbos
> vellitur, huic atro liquuntur sanguine guttae
> et terram tabo maculant. Mihi frigidus horror
> membra quatit gelidusque coit formidine sanguis.
> Rursus et alterius lentum convellere vimen
> insequor et causas penitus temptare latentis:
> ater et alterius sequitur de cortice sanguis. (3.27-33)[92]

What Aeneas sees is a reminder of the sacrilegious bloodshed which he witnessed at Troy. The *atro sanguine* reminds him of the dark journey which he just completed; the *terram* represents the land he left, which is itself stained with blood. His response is similar to those he has had before, with his physical reaction to the prophecy and his own blood joined in the experience of what he learns is his cousin Polydorus. The blood of Polydorus moves the blood of Aeneas; the bonds of kinship make this revelation profoundly meaningful. When Aeneas persists in tearing the tree, in its deeper hidden parts, the blood finally emanates from the top. It is at this point, as he ponders the "face"

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[91] Cyril Bailey, *Religion in Virgil* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), 13-14. Bailey notes the merging of the natural with the supernatural in this event, as well as the "state of mind" of Aeneas in understanding the event. He recognizes Aeneas' description of the portent as *mirabile monstrum*, "a wondrous warning." In this way Aeneas acknowledges that he understands that the omen meant to educate, and he learned not only its obvious message, but gained a willingness to be open to omens.

[92] Vergil's use of *radicibus* echoes Euripides' description of Polydorus as πτορθος (*Hecuba*, 20), a "young branch." Fernandelli delineates Vergil's reliance upon and departure from Euripides. See Fenik for similarities between Vergil's Polydorus scene and that of Euripides in *Hecuba*. Richard F. Thomas, "Tree Violation and Ambivalence in Virgil," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 118 (1988), observes that Aeneas persists in violation of the tree, and notes its similarities to other passages in Vergil. Michael C. J. Putnam says, "He [Aeneas] exemplifies the banished hero at his most unsure, the wanderer desirous of steadying knowledge acquired even through violence, the sacrificer who pollutes, the would-be re-creator of his people whose act of disturbance only reveals murder and death" (52) in *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

of the tree, that he begins to consider the meaning of the event. He decides that it is necessary to appease the local divinities, among them Mars, before making any further attempts to grapple with the branches. He fails to understand the meaning of the prophecy, until the tree itself speaks.[93]

> 'Quid miserum, Aenea, laceras? Iam parce sepulto,
> parce pias scelerare manus. Non me tibi Troia
> externum tulit aut cruor hic de stipite manat.
> Heu fuge crudelis terras, fuge litus avarum:
> nam Polydorus ego. Hic confixum ferrea texit
> telorum seges et iaculis increvit acutis.' (3.41-46)

Polydorus asks Aeneas why he mutilates his form, which seems to mean, "Why are you continuing to participate in mutilation?" He refers to Aeneas' need to care for his pious hands. Aeneas is trying to be the religious leader of the Trojans, but his decision-making is still cloudy; and in the presence of the mutilated Polydorus, he is still among things Trojan and reminders of his past. He does, however, have unfinished religious business to attend to, namely the burial of Polydorus. The message of this prophecy is offered more clearly, however, than those in previous familial episodes. This is a land of further treachery and warfare. Using the same word that Hector, Anchises, and Creusa used (*fuge*), Polydorus urges Aeneas to flee Thrace. The gods oppose this land as the home of Aeneas' Trojan race.[94]

> Tum vero ancipiti mentem formidine pressus
> obstipui steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit (3.47-8)

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[93] One wonders if Vergil is being almost comical in his depiction of Aeneas as priest. Either Aeneas is a novice to this type of thing, given his continued efforts with the tree and his pondering of the omen, or this event is truly extraordinary, even among ominous experiences.

[94] Robert Lloyd, "*Aeneid* III and the Aeneas Legend," *The American Journal of Philology* 78 (1957): 382-400. Lloyd on "the tracing of current institutions into the legendary past" states, "The retracing of political, religious, or social institutions into the legendary period is central to almost every episode of the tradition: the Aeneadae repeatedly found cities, build shrines, initiate practices…" (388).

Aeneas' reaction to this ominous sight is similar to his reaction to previous prophetic statements: his hair stands, his voice sticks, and he is amazed. The power of these images is enough to spur Aeneas to think about his role and decisions. Aeneas learns to recognize these horrifying yet prophetic situations, and begins to consider them more deeply. He probes for meaning beyond the surface of events. Their discovery of Polydorus may not be pure coincidence; there may be a divine purpose in it.

Polydorus was a potential survivor of the fall of Troy and heir to the Trojan throne. He should have been able to avoid the invasive treachery of the Greeks, but did not: *res Agamemnonias victriciaque arma secutus fas omne abrumpit* (3.54-5). Aeneas calls the greed exhibited by the Thracian king *sacra*, "accursed."[95] He continues to question the role of the gods in his life when even Jupiter, the guardian of strangers, fails to protect. The depth of his own horror and concern is evident in the phrase *Postquam pavor ossa reliquit* (3.57). Aeneas needs time to process the event and its meaning. Shortly thereafter he adjusts to his role as religious leader, consulting the elders of his Trojan assembly and his father.[96] It is interesting that Aeneas still needs assistance in determining the meaning of the prophecy, given that Polydorus specifically instructed Aeneas to leave the land. Aeneas needed the affirmation of the elders of his group to confirm what he had interpreted. He needed to know that they were still willing to follow his lead. The decision made, the following description recalls concisely the events of the final night of Troy, with all of its funerary, sacrificial, and sorrowful language.

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[95] Williams translation.

[96] Lloyd notes, "We must likewise be wary of attributing Aeneas' willingness to submit every question to his father and abide by his decision to weakness on the part of this character, for this is a most important aspect of his filial *pietas*. In connection with his religious devotion, which is here related, we should observe not only Aeneas' complete obedience to divine will as interpreted by his father, but also the dominant part he plays in the conduct of the series of formal sacrifices…" (144).

Ergo instauramus Polydoro funus: et ingens
aggeritur tumulo tellus; stant manibus arae,
caeruleis maestae vittis atraque cupresso,
et circum Iliades crinem de more solutae;
inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte
sanguinis et sacri pateras, animamque sepulcro
condimus et magna supremum voce ciemus. (3.62-8)

Aeneas leads the performance of the burial, but his description is filled with the noting of duties shared by all.[97] The earth is heaped up to a massive size (*ingens*) for a tomb, which is reminiscent of the temple in the palace of Priam (*ingens ara*, 2.513). The altars stand for the *manes*, the first opportunity for appropriate burial for Trojan losses. They are *maestae* as was Hector in his appearance to Aeneas. The recurring theme of darkness in sacrificial situations now takes on a more positive note as the modifier of the tree of a goddess. The hair returns as an image of sorrow, not blood-soaked as was Hector's, or a tool for seizure as was Cassandra's, but a symbol of the necessary process of mourning, movement toward healing. The household wares seized by Greeks in their toppling of Troy now return as elements of the Trojan funeral. The voice which previously clung to the jaws or called out in sorrow now sings out in summons to appease the spirits of the dead. Aeneas leads this burial of a Trojan cousin subjected to Greek treachery. He leads the ceremony himself as he buries his Trojan past, with his words indicating that his hair, voice, and blood are now a part of the ceremony of the burial, but not the burial itself. He has escaped the fallen Troy and buried his past.

[97] A.W. Allen, "The Dullest Book of the *Aeneid*," *Classical Journal* 47 (1951): 119-123. Allen notes, "The burial of Polydorus is described with a solemnity and a minuteness of detail which seem to imply a particular significance in the funeral rites themselves." Furthermore he states, "The real importance of Polydorus is that he serves for us as a symbol of all those who died at Troy" (121).

The Prophecy – A Buried Past

Once in Thrace, Aeneas proceeded to perform the religious rites involved in founding a new city. When he discovered the unburied Polydorus, he was reminded of the horrors of Greek treachery. This episode meant a number of things for Aeneas. First, it confirmed for him that the royal house of Priam was no longer. There would be no reclamation of the city of Troy. Second, it provided Aeneas with the valuable information that Thrace was not the land fated for Trojan settlement. In this way Aeneas was encouraged to depart for other lands. Third, it demanded of Aeneas, as religious leader, his completion of the burial of Polydorus, and even further burial of his Trojan past.[98] He will continue to grapple with the fate of fallen Troy. Finally, it encouraged Aeneas to continue in his growth as leader of the Trojans. He must be thoughtful in his consideration of divine will and the manner in which the gods aid and inform humans. Essentially, he must cultivate wisdom.[99] He is afforded opportunity; he must know when it exists and how and when to take it.

Penates – Altar, Sacrifice, Prophecy

Soon after Aeneas and his comrades leave Thrace, they reach Delos. Aeneas again emphasizes that he is carried to this place (*huc feror*), suggesting that his role in determining his own fate is passive at this point; it is the gods who are spurring his

[98] Webb notes the similarities of the familial portents, "There is also a sense in which the portent of Polydorus furthers the process begun by the ghosts of Hector and Creusa in Book 2. Like them Polydorus is a dead Trojan, and like them he symbolizes the death of all things Trojan" (43). Lloyd notes that the "formal sacrifice occupies a particularly important role here not only in further demonstrating the religious piety of Aeneas and his followers, but in the opportunity afforded the author to retrace current Roman practice back into the legendary period" (141).

[99] Webb cites the event as "the beginning of a more receptive attitude on [Aeneas'] part to contact with the supernatural" (43).

actions.[100] He has yet to determine that he must be more active in deciding matters of movement. He is relying on the actions rather than suggestions of divinities at this point. Upon arrival at Delos the Trojans are greeted by King Anius, a priest of Apollo and friend of Anchises. The fact that he is a priest of Apollo foreshadows the role played by Helenus later and the fact that Aeneas will need to perform similar functions for the Trojans. His warm reception of the Trojans in conjunction with the calm harbor of Delos indicates that the divinities are favoring the Trojan endeavor there. There must be something to be gained by the Trojans; a step in Aeneas' journey must be fulfilled by his arrival at Delos. Shortly thereafter Aeneas performs the sacrifices in an attempt to garner advice from the gods, namely Apollo.[101] This is a promising step in Aeneas' maturity in that he not only takes the initiative in performing the rites, but he even asks directly for an omen to both inspire and guide the Trojans. This nicely illustrates his administrative and religious capacities as leader of the Trojans. The voice of Apollo replies that the Trojans are to seek the land of their ancestor. Anchises immediately responds that Crete, a rich land with many cities, is the origin of their progenitor, Teucer.[102] One wonders both at his hasty mention of its wealth, and the absence of Anius, Apollo's priest and Anchises' friend, in this conversation. After his interpretation of the oracle, Anchises himself proceeds to sacrifice to the gods for a safe journey. This episode displays both

[100] Lloyd notes the "formulaic" language of arrivals and departures in Book 3, but confesses that "the expression at these important junctures is calculated to sustain a mood which was announced in the introduction" (140) of the book.
[101] In considering some of the "hopelessly contradictory" scenes in the book, Saunders notes that "Apollo is precisely the proper guide for the Trojans in Book III; not only is he particularly associated with the sending out of Colonies, but he is the great augur Apollo, whose revelations of the future are required by the underlying motif of this book" (88). She further notes his influence in other areas of the work.
[102] Horsfall notes the common "motif" of the befuddling oracle and its muddled interpretation. For Aeneas, however, the process of receiving and interpreting divine will and aid is just that – a process. Oracles are not presented solely for the sake of confusion. They are presented for the wise; the ignorant will never make any proper use of them.

Aeneas' willingness to seek divine assistance and the unfortunate intervention of Anchises.[103] Given the aid already provided by fate to Aeneas, there is a need at this point for him to assume responsibility for Trojan leadership, but he is unwilling at the moment to do so.[104]

After the Trojans arrive at Crete, Aeneas acts hastily in building his city walls there.[105] The Trojans endure barren fields, plague, and a lack of grain. Anchises' reading of the oracle was clearly erroneous and the decision to settle in Crete has these ill-omened effects as a result.[106] Anchises decides that the Trojans must return to Delos to consult the oracle of Apollo. The divinities respond by allowing the Penates to appear to Aeneas in a dream.[107] Aeneas and the Trojans need further advice.

> Nox erat et terris animalia somnus habebat:
> effigies sacrae divum Phrygiisque penates,
> quos mecum ab Troia mediisque ex ignibus urbis
> extuleram, visi ante oculos astare iacentis
> in somnis multo manifesti lumine, qua se
> plena per insertas fundebat luna fenestras;
> tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis:
> 'Quod tibi delato Ortygiam dicturus Apollo est,
> hic canit et tua nos en ultro ad limina mittit.

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[103] Quint notes, regarding the shared decision-making of Aeneas and Anchises: "Throughout the book Anchises shares the leadership of the Trojan expedition with Aeneas. Aeneas defers to his father with the exemplary piety for which he is renowned, and it is difficult at times to determine just which of the two men is in charge" (30).

[104] Quint further notes that Anchises' interpretation of the oracle stems from a desire for "what is familiar and recognizable" (32). He also says that for the Trojans, living in the past is an impossible and ill-omened venture.

[105] Rebecca Armstrong, "Crete in the *Aeneid*: Recurring Trauma and Alternative Fate," *Classical Quarterly* 52 (2003): 321-340. Armstrong delineates the many associations with the land in the *Aeneid*.

[106] Clara Shaw Hardy, "Antiqua Mater: Misreading Gender in *Aeneid* 3.84-191," *Classical Journal* 92.1 (1996): 1-8. Hardy confirms that Anchises' reading of the oracle was accurate, given that his interpretation was literal and driven by "religious considerations," since Crete was "both the home of the Trojans' maternal ancestors, and the origin of the Magna Mater herself" (4). Hardy further states, however, "The lesson Anchises must learn from the correction [of the Penates] is that it is 'difficult, perhaps impossible' to know the will of the gods, even when they want you to know it" (6). This, in fact, is thematic of the entire book and even supports the idea that the prophetic journey is for Aeneas more than Anchises.

[107] Lloyd analyzes the episodes in Book 3, noting that the first three episodes indicate to Aeneas "where they are to settle," the middle three clarify "signs and perils," and the last three "begin the partial fulfillment of what has been forecast." He further recognizes the geographic movements of the Trojans from the Aegean, to Western Greece, to Magna Graecia (133-151).

> Nos te Dardania incensa tuaque arma secuti,
> nos tumidum sub te permensi classibus aequor,
> idem venturos tollemus in astra nepotes
> imperiumque urbi dabimus. Tu moenia magnis
> magna para longumque fugae ne linque laborem…' (3.147-60)

The language in this description of the appearance of the Penates is reminiscent of previous experiences related by Aeneas. He begins by establishing an atmosphere similar to that of Hector's appearance (*nox*, *somnus*, *oculos*, *fundebat*). Reminding his audience of the events of Troy's final night, he notes his role in bearing the Penates out of the burning city (*sacrae divum*, *penates*); he rescued those who will now aid him. Their prophecy will guide him.[108] They are visiting the "palace" of Aeneas (*limine*, *fenestras*), with its light shining brightly from the moon (*lunae*). That Aeneas employs the same language as in his description of events at Troy, but this time in relating a clearly positive message, suggests that he is putting the past to rest. This prophecy is direct, clear, and positive. While it echoes the events of the past, it suggests a fortunate future. Furthermore, the message emphasizes the relationship between the Penates, or divinities, and Aeneas, with the many references to "we" and "you." They have been under his care, and now he will benefit. They note that they will raise his walls and his children. They spur him to move from Crete, telling him precisely where to travel. Furthermore, they warn him of the long journey and trials ahead. The command *fuge* has grown into an extensive *fuga*. Aeneas learns that his journey will not be as quick as he seemed to wish. Familial prophecy previously involved much mourning for him; this prophecy brings more direct information and wisdom. The fact that the Penates appeared to

[108] Webb notes what he calls the "protreptic" function of this supernatural encounter in that it "provides Aeneas with motivation and encouragement which turn his aspirations towards the future and the new Troy which must be built in Italy" (45).

Aeneas rather than to Anchises is a clear confirmation of his leadership. Anchises' interpretation of the oracle was incorrect; he should allow Aeneas to be the primary leader of the Trojans, both martial and divine.

Aeneas' reaction to this apparition contains many of the elements noted in previous familial episodes.

> Talibus attonitus visis et voce deorum
> (nec sopor illud erat, sed coram agnoscere vultus
> velatasque comas praesentiaque ora videbar;
> tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor)
> corripio e stratis corpus tendoque supinas
> ad caelum cum voce manus et munera libo
> intemerata focis. Perfecto laetus honore
> Anchisen facio certum remque ordine pando. (3.172-9)

Aeneas' emphasis on his physical reactions suggests a transition for him. Again he is struck by the vision, as he recognizes its significance. He recognizes the veiled hair of the shades, their faces and appearance. The voice of the gods becomes the voice of Aeneas, and is no longer an indication of mourning, but an instrument of praise to the deities. He is dripping with cold sweat, which almost seems to quench the fires which burned, as had his homeland, in his memory for such a time. He immediately offers thanks, performing the necessary religious ritual, and then proceeds to inform his father of the event. Aeneas has become the primary religious leader of the Trojans. This episode suggests the use of the hands and voice for giving thanks. He is the prophet. Anchises' belated recognition of the confirmation of Aeneas' dream only serves to highlight his need to surrender further decision-making to Aeneas.

The events that follow reveal what the Penates had foretold. The journey of his flight will indeed be long and arduous. Upon leaving Crete the Trojans meet with a

storm at sea. They arrive at the Strophades and proceed to slaughter cattle and offer a sacrifice to Zeus, almost as an afterthought. They slaughter the cattle upon entering the harbor; there is no divine recognition or request for omens, merely haste. Their hunger gets the best of their patience. The setting itself, with its trees and haunting shadows, is suggestive of the sacred grove,[109] with ominous implications. The Trojans are negligent in their haste. This is the type of thoughtless action from which Aeneas needs to refrain. There is no escaping the long journey and fate. Once Aeneas becomes patient, wisdom follows. Shortly thereafter, the Harpies proceed to harass the Trojans and the Trojans attack back. Celaeno reveals that the trials of the Trojans are far from over, and that perhaps they should not have remained on the island at all. Hunger will be the punishment for the actions of the Trojans. The reaction of the Trojans to the prophecy of Celaeno is grave; Aeneas, however, seems to still be hopeful of future events. After the Trojans arrive at Leucata, they immediately offer sacrifice to Zeus, no doubt learning from their previous experience. Aeneas notes that the Trojans are "purified by offerings to Zeus." They begin to heal themselves in the respite, conjuring up their Trojan customs.

Helenus

The Altar – A Buried Past

The scene of the Trojan arrival at Buthrotum is immediately reminiscent of Troy and its religious implications.[110] Aeneas notes that even the prospect of confirming the

[109] Maurizio Bettini, "Ghosts of Exile: Doubles and Nostalgia in Vergil's parva Troia (*Aeneid* 3.294ff.)," *Classical Antiquity* 16 (1997): 8-33. Bettini indicates the religious connotation consistently implied by *lucus* in Vergil (14).

[110] D. F. Bright, "Aeneas' Other Nekyia," *Vergilius* 27 (1981): 40-47. Bright characterizes Buthrotum as a land of the dead and draws parallels with Book 11 of the *Odyssey*. Debra Hershkowitz, "The *Aeneid* in *Aeneid* 3," *Vergilius* 37 (1991): 69-77, reads *Aeneid* Book 3 as a "mini-epic which structurally reflects the *Aeneid* as a whole" (70). She further says, "Such a reading allows Book 3 not only to look back to the

rumors about Helenus renders him dumbfounded: *Obstipui miroque incensum pectus amore compellare virum et casus cognoscere tantos* (3.298-9). This line captures his love for his scorched fatherland and his reaction to its fate, which he has now absorbed and internalized. He does move forward; he has moved toward learning and overcoming not the fates of Helenus, but his own. It also echoes the long journey which he travels, as Aeneas now desires to learn more of the tasks before him, *tot casus* (1.9). He seeks helpful information from Helenus as he did Hector, *compellare virum* (2.280).[111] He then describes his encounter with the mournful Andromache.

> Progredior portu classis et litora linquens,
> sollemnis cum forte dapes et tristia dona
> ante urbem in luco falsi Simoentis ad undam
> libabat cineri Andromache manisque vocabat
> Hectoreum ad tumulum, viridi quem caespite inanem
> et geminas, causam lacrimas, sacraverat aras. (3.300-5)

As Aeneas interacts with Andromache and Helenus, he catches a glimpse of the mourning which he has experienced, and the direction in which he must move. He has surpassed Andromache, who still lives in the past, hopeful for her lost husband, and Helenus, who tries to establish an inadequate model of their lost city. The use of *progredior* and *linquens* illustrates his subliminal acknowledgment of the need to move on. The language in this episode is reminiscent of previous events. The *sollemnis dapes* and *tristia dona* suggest the wealth of Troy and its eventual loss. The gifts are somber reminders. Andromache grants offerings to the dead, as Aeneas must, but she also calls out with her voice and offers her tears; she is still in a process of mourning but not

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Trojan past from which Aeneas separates himself throughout the book, but also, perhaps more importantly, to look forward to Aeneas' future" (70).

[111] Lloyd comments, "Buthrotum, as combined with Dodona, was for many reasons suited for development as the scene of the fullest and the clearest revelation the Trojans receive in the book, and in general to occupy the place of central importance in the journey from Troy to Drepanum" (392).

healing. The ashes further remind the reader of burned Troy; Andromache is calling out for what no longer exists. The green turf suggests the potential for new growth, but she continues to focus on the empty tomb. She calls for a previous life, one which will not return. Her emphasis on Hector is a further indication of the inadequacy of Helenus as the king of a new Troy.[112] While his settlement is not cursed by the gods, it does not have quite the blessing that Aeneas' undertaking does.

When Andromache first sees Aeneas, she asks whether or not he is real, if he is a shade of himself. Her reaction is reminiscent of Aeneas' own when Hector first appeared to him on the evening of Troy's fall. Compared in such a way with Hector, Aeneas is now the leader of the potential Trojan state, and the one who understands prophecy. Andromache, however, is as Aeneas was when Hector appeared to him, living in the past. Her lamentation for the past is evident in her pouring forth of tears and filling the grove with cries. These are reminders of previous Trojan episodes. The *manisque* (3.303) and *tumulum* (3.304) are reminders of Polydorus (3.63); *implevi clamore locum* (3.313) undoubtedly reminds Aeneas of his own search for Creusa, *implevi clamore vias* (2.769); the *ara* reflects back to the *ingens ara* (2.513) of Priam's palace, the spot where Polites and Priam perished, and the temple from which Cassandra was pulled with her *ardentia lumina* (2.405); Hector himself wept in his appearance to Aeneas, *effundere largos fletus* (2.271), as Andromache does, *lacrimasque effudit* (3.312) in this visit from Aeneas. With

[112] Bettini recognizes that while Helenus has furthered his burden of the inadequate imitation of Troy by marrying one so intent upon the intangible past, Andromache has sought to duplicate her own previous existence as the wife of a Trojan prince. Richard B. Grimm, "Aeneas and Andromache in *Aeneid* III," *The American Journal of Philology* 88 (1967): 151-162. Grimm notes that "Andromache regards herself still as the wife of the dead Hector" (153). See Fenik for Euripidean influence (*Troades*, *Andromache*, and *Hecuba*) on Vergil's scene with Andromache; he says, "But through the vast disparity between the impossible and inadequate dream of a resurrected Troy and the brilliant actuality of the union of Trojan and Italian, of Troy and Latium, the greatness of Rome and the real mission of Aeneas are most successfully manifest" (31).

all of these reminders present for Aeneas, he still serves to calm her raging, and asks her questions which will encourage her to recall her present state and what is real. The mourning which continues to consume Andromache prevents her from living a life anew. She still lives in the past, clinging to the hope of recreating or revisiting Troy and Hector. Witnessing this helps Aeneas to understand the role that Troy will have in his future; Troy was his past, but will live on in his memory and customs. As a result of Aeneas' efforts, the Penates will be rescued. They, along with Trojan civilization, although forever changed, will be transplanted. Andromache reveals in her response that she will never actually live a life separate from Troy; she in fact wishes that she had perished there. One facet of Aeneas' journey is that he no longer wishes to have perished at Troy; he wishes to live and fulfill his destiny according to fate. Once Andromache has spoken of her own fate, she proceeds to ask Aeneas how he came to land in Buthrotum, and how Ascanius is. She subtly reminds Aeneas that the future of Trojan culture rests with him. For Andromache, Ascanius is another reminder of her past, because of his similarity to Astyanax.[113] For Aeneas, he is a reminder of the future, in that he will embody his uncle, Hector. When Aeneas leaves Andromache, she is still in tears which Aeneas calls *incassum* (3.345), still mourning her past, despite her relatively favorable situation and potential future.[114]

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[113] Louis H. Feldman, "Ascanius and Astyanax: A Comparative Study of Vergil and Homer," *Classical Journal* 53 (1957-58): 361-366. Among other things, Feldman asserts that Andromache recognizes the "reversal of roles" which she and Creusa have endured. He also says that Ascanius' destiny "transcends" Aeneas' and that the wishes that Aeneas has for his son (labor) differ from that of Hector (valor) (364).
[114] Bettini on Andromache: "The parva Troia of Epirus is a Troy in deterioribus: a fact that its inhabitants would probably be quick to admit. But would Andromache be willing to make such an admission, when she has turned these "doubles" and ghosts into the very meaning of her existence?" (21). As Skutsch notes, compare *Aen.* 3.344 (*talia fundebat lacrimans longos ciebat)* with Ennius' *Ann. 1.35 (talia tum memorat lacrimans*).

The Sacrifice – Rites Restored

Unlike Andromache, Helenus has no difficulty in recognizing Aeneas and his comrades. He is clearly marked out as a noble son of Priam in Aeneas' use of terms such as *heros* and *comitantibus*.[115] He leads the Trojans to his own *limina*, but this is a Troy which is unable to duplicate its motherland. It is a small Troy, an imitation Pergamum, with an arid Xanthus, and spacious porches which seem to lack an adequate citizenry.[116] Nevertheless it is described by Aeneas as an ally city, and the allies proceed to feast in what seems to be a celebration of their own survival and reunion.[117]

Little time is spent on this reunion, however, before Aeneas takes it upon himself to seek out the wisdom of the prophet Helenus. His characterization of Helenus as a prophet is quite thorough and generous. Aeneas clearly emphasizes this aspect of Helenus' legend in recounting the event to his audience. The events surrounding the fall of Troy have crystallized in Aeneas a greater understanding and acceptance of things divine. He actively seeks prophetic aid from those capable of rendering it. He wants help from Helenus.

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[115] Grimm notes two reasons for Vergil's characterization of Helenus which seems to embody a "certain impersonality and distance." First, it is a proper prophetic mood considering his role in relation to Aeneas, and second, his prophecy is embedded between two episodes of considerable pathos, both involving Andromache and her preoccupation with the past. Helenus therefore seems to accept his own fate complacently. Putnam says, "The last great temptation to Aeneas in book 3 is to avoid the demands of history and yield to a life of withdrawal which focuses on the illusory, if agitated, re-creation of past feelings in a temporal scheme already known and experienced, and shuns a more demanding commitment to the unknown, even if such a credo also enforces on occasion a seemingly unheroic acceptance of fate…the prophet's [Helenus] reply reorients Aeneas and his listeners toward the immediate future and the tangibility of a hitherto evanescent Italy" (57) in *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

[116] Bettini delineates the false elements of Helenus and his kingdom (8-33). Wiltshire says, "At Buthrotum Aeneas observes the futility of efforts to simulate a Troy solely in the private realm" (75).

[117] Christopher P. Jones, "Graia Pandetur Ab Urbe," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 97 (1995): 233-241. Jones recognizes the reconciliation of Greek and Trojan adversaries in anticipation of a modified world.

Helenus will aid Aeneas with a lengthy and detailed prophecy, but he will first serve as a model for Aeneas in his priestly rituals.

> Hic Helenus caesis primum de more iuvencis
> exorat pacem divum vittasque resolvit
> sacrati capitis, meque ad tua limina, Phoebe,
> ipse manu multo suspensum numine ducit,
> atque haec deinde canit divino ex ore sacerdos (3.369-73)

Aeneas' observation of Helenus just before he reveals the prophecy of Apollo reminds the reader of previous episodes in which Aeneas describes the head, hands, and voice of family members. In this particular familial revelation, Aeneas sees the divine Helenus at work. He sacrifices according to his Trojan custom. He asks the gods for peace. He removes the fillets from his head (*capitis*), which draws attention to the release of human trappings, an unwillingness or inability to see divine will and aid. Helenus then leads Aeneas to the palace of Phoebus by his hand *(manu*). Aeneas himself seems to be under the influence of the divine here. Then Helenus sings out (*ore*) the prophecy. Aeneas clearly becomes a part of the prophetic process and is influenced by the details of Helenus' rituals. If these details were not new to Aeneas, then he would not have felt the need to mention them, or he would not have been *suspensum* by the event.

The prophecy of Helenus begins by confirming what Celaeno had prophesied, that the journey to Italy will not be an easy one.[118] He further gives Aeneas a clear indication of his arrival at the selected site for his new city in the form of the white sow with a litter of thirty. He also gives Aeneas a specific ritual for the custom of sacrifice, which he is to maintain for future generations. This is an indication that Aeneas needed instruction in

[118] W.H. Semple, "A Short Study of *Aeneid*, Book III," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 38 (1955): 225-240. Semple says on Helenus' prophecy: "it is clearly a rough draft which has not been revised. The long prophecy is like a verse itinerary. Apollo's seer has none of Apollo's cryptic brevity" (235-6).

that regard from Helenus. Finally, he instructs Aeneas to honor Juno with his reverence.[119] His encouragement on this front is unusually strong. Aeneas seemingly had much to learn from Helenus about religious rituals and his future as well.

While Aeneas is active in his interaction with Helenus, Anchises is preparing the ships for sailing. Although Anchises the patriarch seems to be relegated to a subordinate role, Helenus still addresses Anchises respectfully in the farewell. He does, however, refer to him as "fortunate in the devotion of his son," *felix nati pietate* (3.480). Given the situation from which the two return and Aeneas' recent assertive leadership, this is a noteworthy recognition. Anchises is fortunate in Aeneas' devotion. Although Helenus respects Anchises as the elder and patriarch, he acknowledges the fate of Aeneas as leader of the Trojans. Andromache seems to relinquish the future as she parts with Aeneas and the Trojans. In her address to Ascanius, she mentions those physical traits noted so many times previously by Aeneas – the eyes, face, and hands. Andromache will be left in the past, as the future resides in Ascanius. She does, however, give Aeneas a reminder of his Trojan past and his obligation to it. He does not need to recreate Troy, but he needs to keep its memory alive in his own deeds. In his closing comments to Helenus, Aeneas affirms this goal: to build a Troy in spirit, if not necessarily in fact.

The Prophecy - Foundations

The Helenus episode is the second instance of prophetic aid from a family member which Aeneas receives after his departure from Troy. Within the burning city, the familial encounters encouraged Aeneas to do what was difficult for him, flee his homeland. The Polydorus and Helenus episodes encourage Aeneas to journey even

[119] Lloyd: "The performance of the rite to Juno, prescribed by Helenus, is designed to provide an august precedent for Roman sacrificial custom" (394).

farther from Troy. They also inspire Aeneas to perform religious rites as the leader of his Trojans.[120] Aeneas learns to remain open to the disclosure of divine will and to consider his role in accordance with it.[121] The religious language is still present, but the sacrifices have shifted from human and Trojan subjects to the process of mourning for lost Trojans and Troy. Aeneas now must learn to live with his past and understand its role in the history of his people.[122] He should maintain the memory of Troy, but not at the cost of present and future living. The typical signs of human life – the eyes, hair, hands, and voice, previously used by Greek attackers to mutilate and destroy Trojan society, have found their way into representation of mourning, and even into the restoration of Trojan religious rituals, as in the Helenus episode. Troy has been, and yet it has also been survived by some Trojans. Trojan culture will continue, primarily in its religion - the foremost of ancient practices, that which permeated all. Aeneas has learned from these familial episodes, literally where to go, how to mourn for Troy, how to read and follow divine will, and how to be the primary martial and religious leader of the Trojans. It is this that he will pass on to his descendants. Finally, the Helenus episode offers Aeneas a glimpse of what he may become if he continues to establish Trojan colonies which are

[120] While Sanderlin emphasizes the nature of Aeneas as an apprentice in Book 3, he concedes, "When Aeneas does act as leader, he is often concerned with matters of religion…Vergil uses the first person singular when he has his hero pluck boughs to wreathe an altar, pray to Apollo, have a vision, dedicate a shield, ask Helenus for advice in his role as prophet, or observe the omen of the four white horses" (55). He is indeed a valued apprentice.

[121] Semple notes regarding the Trojans: "They are religious men; they believe in the power and interest of the gods; they feel themselves to be dependent on and responsible to the supreme beings, with whose will and purpose they wish their new city to be wholly in accord" (238), and on the entire book, "Book III has this in common with the whole poem: it is the story of Aeneas' search for the will of heaven and of his sacrificial resolve to endure all hardships if he may arrive at that certainty" (239).

[122] Allen makes the following observation, "In this episode, too, we have another sign of the irreparable break with the past. Just as Aeneas performed the last rites for Polydorus, so Andromache and Helenus, who are a reborn but lesser Troy, now bestow the final gifts, the *dona extrema* (3.488) of their kin, upon Aeneas and Ascanius: as the burial of Polydorus symbolized the death of the past, so now the followers of Aeneas seem to be undergoing a kind of death to the past in the preparation for their new life in Italy" (123).

not divinely sanctioned. The colony of Helenus is not Troy, and yet cannot successfully separate itself from Troy. This is not what the gods and fate have in mind for Aeneas and his Trojan followers. His understanding of the power of fate with respect to his purpose increases, as shown by his description of Helenus' colony. The settlement of Aeneas will be and must be different.[123] He must learn to live with his past without being consumed by it. His future will be greater than his past. His understanding of this develops as he traverses the Mediterranean, and he is unconditionally open for motivation by the time the gods finally command him in that direction at Carthage. While Helenus gives Aeneas prophetic aid, and teaches by example the role of the priest, he also displays for Aeneas what he may become if he fails to establish a town in accordance with divine will. It will be another imitation Troy; this is not his fate.[124]

Book 3 – Vivite, Felices

Aeneas departs from Troy with the understanding that his homeland has been destroyed. His description of the events of the night highlight the fact that the episodes with the children of Priam had a prophetic and motivational impact on his actions and his understanding of his role. Once he leaves Troy, he travels in the same haphazard manner that had characterized his decisions on Troy's final evening. The language which he uses to describe scenes involving the children of Priam in Book 3, Polydorus and Helenus, shows that his experiences on that night still weigh heavily on his mind. At the same time, with each succeeding event he displays a heightened willingness to consider divine

[123] The essential difference is that Aeneas bears the Penates, which represent divine aid and a true continuation of Troy, its essence, and that he embodies *pietas*. His sense of devotion is unwavering, even in the face of the deaths of Dido and Turnus.
[124] Bettini, "In Vergil's parva Troia we find the two opposite extremes of possible responses to exile: nostalgic obsession with one's own identity or, alternatively, detachment, amnesia, forced assimilation" (31). Aeneas must remember, retain, yet remove and resettle.

aid and prophecy, which he neglected to utilize before. His experiences are making him wiser.

Ignoring the details of Creusa's prophecy, Aeneas hastily settles at Thrace. While he does undertake the necessary religious rites, his persistence in them reveals a rashness in his actions. His description of the mutilated Polydorus reminds him of his homeland and its citizenry. Polydorus represents Aeneas' past and his need to bury it. Polydorus will require that Aeneas bury him, and in doing so Aeneas will bury his Trojan past and begin the mourning process. It is his burden to survive Troy. When he recognizes that the tree is Polydorus, Aeneas feels the same physical reactions he felt at Troy. The difference is that by burying Polydorus, the Trojans are able to reconcile the fact that they will survive and must move toward the future. There is no need to forget the past, but one cannot live in it either. The scene with Polydorus convinces Aeneas to depart from Thrace. Polydorus symbolizes both the Trojan past and the Trojan future should they settle there. Aeneas must consider the movements of fate.

Aeneas' description of the apparition of the Penates is reminiscent of his description of the evening just before Hector appeared to him. The message is clear and helpful, which suggests that Aeneas has indeed survived Troy, and should consider more closely divine revelation. Just as the dream of Hector was accurate, so will future visions. Aeneas must learn to trust his recognition and interpretation of divine will. The physical reactions that he has as a result of the vision are emblematic of the movement he has made from one who survives, to one who mourns, to one who lives. He recognizes the voice, hair, and appearance of the Penates; he uses his own voice and hands to praise

the deities which aid him. He has learned to receive divine inspiration and prophecy. He believes the message.

Aeneas finally recognizes his role as a survivor of Troy and leader of Trojans, as we see in his interaction with Andromache and Helenus. The distance between Andromache's handling of the past and Aeneas' is tremendous. While Andromache continues to look back and hope for what is lost, Aeneas finally begins to look forward and hope for the fortunate future, as both his conversation with Andromache and his inquiries of Helenus show. Aeneas finally requests divine aid, becomes moved by the process, and learns the religious rituals at the same time. He embraces not only divine prophecy but his role as religious leader of the Trojans. He commits himself fully to fate and weighs divine guidance in determining his actions.

CHAPTER 5 – CONCLUSION

Pain and Discovery

Aeneas's experiences in Books 2 and 3 are of pain and discovery. The scenes involving the children of Priam in those books contribute to the pathos of Troy's fall and prophecy for Aeneas. His familial contacts are an important part of his decision-making and learning. Occurring at crucial times, they encourage and spur him on his journey. While Troy burns around Aeneas, and dangers abound at sea and on his travels, these familial experiences offer aid, frequently with a supernatural or divine lining. At the very least, this is how they seem to Aeneas, as he looks back at his adventures, describing them to others at Dido's court. The episodes have increased his understanding of his purpose as afforded by fate; his *pietas* has been strengthened.[125] These experiences will affect the decisions that he makes later. Although the episodes involving the children of Priam may seem different from one another, they may be interpreted as motivational, religious, and prophetic. This, according to Aeneas' description of them, is a recurring theme in them. They help Aeneas accept fate and understand his role within its machinations.[126]

Motivation

[125] Viktor Pöschl: "To the hero, Aeneas, the memory of Troy and the hope for Rome are holy obligations, and in their fulfillment he displays *pietas* which is nothing else but doing his duty to gods, country, ancestors, and descendants. 'Duty' here, however, is not a response to the dictates of reason, but a response to love, and is without the harsh associations evoked by the word" (40) in *The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the Aeneid*. Translated by Gerda Seligson (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962). Wiltshire notes Aeneas' efforts to reconcile public and private *pietas* (135-38).

[126] Gilbert Highet notes, "The predictions given to Aeneas are so arranged as to show his gradual awakening to the significance of his mission" (102) in *The Speeches in Vergil's Aeneid* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

The scenes involving the children of Priam in Books 2 and 3 are motivational. Each seeks to move Aeneas in a certain direction, sometimes literally and sometimes figuratively. The dream of Hector serves as harbinger of the news that will take Aeneas the entire evening to accept: the fall of his homeland. In his mutilated form as the symbol of Troy, Hector's message conveys meaning both symbolically and linguistically – *fuge*. Aeneas' inability or unwillingness to grasp this omen is indicated by the questions which he asks of Hector. Hector's reply further emphasizes the necessity of his apparition, for he himself could not save Troy, and therefore Aeneas will not either. Despite these words and images, Aeneas awakens to a city under attack, and seeks to defend it.

Aeneas participates in the "madness" around him, becoming consumed by "burning" rage. He chooses, along with a group of Trojans, among them Coroebus, to participate in the deception of the night by pretending to be a Greek soldier. That this action is fruitless becomes obvious when Coroebus, a fateful proponent of the venture and beloved of Cassandra, falls in an attempt to rescue the prophetess. The episode should teach Aeneas the futility of defending the city and participating in the "madness," since Cassandra herself is the victim of Greek irreverence at the Trojan sanctuary. Instead, Aeneas moves deeper into the doom of the Trojan palace. There he witnesses the murder of a son of Priam and the king himself at the palatial altar. The depravity of these episodes finally spurs Aeneas to consider his family before his homeland, which now seems to be lost. He seeks his father, wife, and son.

After Aeneas and his family determine to flee the city, he is faced with a graver challenge to his commitment to leave his homeland, for his wife Creusa gets lost en route. He returns to the captured and burning city in an effort to find Creusa, only to

have her apparition appear to him with a prophetic message – *fuge*. He has what Hector instructed him to take: the Penates. He must leave his past behind him, including his wife.

When Aeneas and the Trojans disembark in Thrace, they begin, rather hastily, to establish a new home there. While performing religious rites, Aeneas discovers the remnants of Polydorus, a son of Priam. Polydorus instructs Aeneas, just as Hector and Creusa before him – *fuge*. That Aeneas is unwilling to undertake the breadth of his burden is apparent in his desire to settle quickly and near his former home. Polydorus, through both his mutilated appearance and his message, instructs Aeneas to depart. Coming shortly after a rather positive message from Creusa, this is a reminder that the journey is long and far. After he commits himself to the arduous task of seeking Hesperia, Aeneas stops at Buthrotum to seek advice from Helenus. Helenus not only tells him details of his journey, but instructs him to visit the Sibyl and appease Juno. In this way the visit is encouraging and motivational.

To varying degrees and in differing circumstances, then, the scenes involving the children of Priam are motivational for Aeneas, and sometimes inspirational. They tell him to leave and to continue on his journey. Although he hesitates and stops along the way, he eventually reaches his destination, fulfilling what has been offered to him according to fate.

Religion

The scenes involving the children of Priam are suggestive of the religious and sacred, all the more meaningful given the true nature of Aeneas' task – the guardianship of the Penates. The scenes express the religious in three ways: in recurring language

which echoes not only sacral themes but also reminds Aeneas of his previous familial encounters; in the tone in each scene which suggests the impending prophecy; and in the depiction of the children of Priam as sacrificial victims or as priests conducting sacrifice.

The most predominant image in the scenes involving the children of Priam is fire. In Hector's appearance, there is fire in the setting, the event, and the message (2.56, 2.76, 2.89). After Aeneas awakes and becomes part of the fighting, fire is a symbol of rage, until Aeneas sees the burning eyes of Cassandra (2.316, 2.337, 2.405). As he moves into the palace of Priam, Aeneas considers the altars where Priam tended the fires (2.502), but now Greek flames hold the home (2.505). Later that evening, when Aeneas returns for Creusa, he re-enters his homeland, witnessing the same flames which consumed the city earlier (2.757, 2.758). After Aeneas recalls the smoking ground of his homeland left behind (*humo fumat*, 3.3), he fails to mention fire in the burial scene of Polydorus. Before Aeneas reaches Buthrotum, the Penates appear to offer prophecy to Aeneas and remind him of the burning home which he has survived (3.149, 3.156). While in Buthrotum, Aeneas has a burning desire in his heart to question Helenus (3.298), and there are ashes (3.303) and their warmth (3.308) at Andromache's tomb of Hector. For Aeneas, fire disappears as an image of destruction and becomes ash: Troy has already burned.

A second image in the scenes of the children of Priam is blood. Blood soaks the long hair of Hector (2.277). In their defense of the city, Aeneas and the Trojans are willing to offer their own blood (2.366). In the palace of Priam, the image of blood reaches its most ghastly, as Polites "pours out his life along with his blood" before the eyes of Priam (2.532-3), and Pyrrhus drags Priam to the altar in the blood of his son

(2.551). Blood is absent from Aeneas' description of his meeting with Creusa, perhaps because she has become a bloodless shade and because her prophecy brings a positive omen. Blood returns prominently in the scene with Polydorus, mentioned three times in Aeneas' description of the dreadful tree (3.28, 3.30, 3.33). In two of the descriptions the blood is that of Polydorus in the form of the tree; in the middle description it is the blood of Aeneas curdling from fear. The blood of Polydorus causes a physical reaction in the blood of Aeneas, suggesting their familial tie. Later in the episode, Aeneas notes the blood of victims (3.67) offered for the burial of Polydorus. Blood is absent from his meeting with Helenus, again perhaps because its implication is of good fortune. Thus, the images of blood and fire, suggestive of burning altars and sacrifices, are prevalent in the scenes involving the children of Priam.[127]

The altar is a recurring image in the scenes of the children of Priam. In Aeneas' dream of Hector the altars serve as part of the instructional burden given to Aeneas (*adytis penetralibus*, 2.297). Cassandra is dragged from the altar of Athena (*adytis*, 2.404). The altars are noted by Aeneas in Priam's palace (2.501); Hecuba encourages Priam to seek the protection of the altar (*ara*, 2.513). Pyrrhus slays Priam at the very altar where the women of the royal family sought protection (2.550) and near the spot in the courtyard where his son Polites was killed before his eyes. When Aeneas returns to the city he notes the burning temples (*adytis*, 2.764). In Thrace Aeneas seeks to secure timber for his altars (*aras*, 3.25); the Trojans then build altars for the burial of Polydorus (*arae*, 3.63). In Buthrotum Andromache lights altars for Hector (*aras*, 3.305). The altar

[127] The dream of Cassandra in Quintus Ennius' *Alexandros* 41 (*adest adest fax obvoluta sanguine atque incendio*) emphasizes the images of blood and fire (Jocelyn).

represents a place for the destruction of Trojans in Book 2, but a place for the burial of Trojans in Book 3.

Darkness and shade are used to varying effect by Aeneas in his descriptions of these scenes in Books 2 and 3. Aeneas describes the time just before the dream of Hector rather ominously, as the sun sets and a great shade embraces the land (*umbra*, 2.251). Aeneas employs the image of shade later to describe the Trojan attempts at defense (*nox atra cava circumvolat umbra*, 2.360). In the palace of Priam, shade for the altar is provided by the laurel tree, highlighting the idea that the gods no longer provide protection for Trojans, even in the palace, even at their altars (2.514). When Aeneas decides to return to the city to seek Creusa, he travels through the dark doorways (*obscura limina*, 2.752) and casts his calls into the shade (*umbram*, 2.767) until he sees the shade or image of his lost wife (*umbra*, 7.772). In the Polydorus episode, darkness is embodied by the cypress (*atra*, 3.64). Otherwise, the term *umbra* seems to be replaced in Book 3 by *manes*, representative of the dead, as in the burial of Polydorus (3.63) and at the tomb of Hector built by Andromache (3.303). Darkness seems to dissipate for Aeneas as his journey becomes easier, his instructions become clearer, and as he moves toward acceptance of surviving the familial dead.

A final recurring religious image is that of victims and sacrifice. Hector, whose body was disfigured by Achilles, represents the mutilated victim. He is a symbol of forsaken Troy. Cassandra is the victim unwilling to be sacrificed – at once embodying the defilement of Trojan altars and the abandonment of the gods. Polites represents the slaughter of the fleeing victim, regardless of divine disapproval. Creusa's fate is the first indication that Trojans will survive the fall of Troy. The victim rescued by the gods, she

avoids brutality and captivity. Her message is one of promise for Aeneas. Polydorus is the victim requiring burial. He will teach Aeneas to bury his Trojan past. Helenus represents for the Trojans movement from victim of the sacrifice to officiant in the sacrifice. He instructs Aeneas to perform the rites – Troy has been buried. It is time to live and to survive the dead.

Prophecy

The scenes involving the children of Priam are prophetic in two ways: Hector, Creusa, Polydorus, and Helenus present straightforward information about the future in the messages which they convey to Aeneas, while the episodes of Cassandra and Polites are latently prophetic, as they provide Aeneas a glimpse of what his future might be. Hector informs Aeneas of Troy's fate and of the religious burden awaiting Aeneas. The fate of Cassandra suggests to Aeneas that he should avoid martial participation. Polites too discourages defense. Creusa convinces Aeneas to leave behind his homeland and Trojan past. While Polydorus inspires Aeneas to bury his Trojan past and learn to mourn it, Helenus instructs Aeneas to survive his Trojan past and to maintain religious devotion. In each of these episodes, the child of Priam offers Aeneas a glimpse of his own potential fate. He may become Hector, should he not flee Troy. He moves closer to that fate, as he proceeds toward and through the palace, witnessing the experiences of Cassandra and Polites. Creusa is the promise of divine benevolence, encouraging him to survive. Polydorus embodies Aeneas' survival of Troy, offering him a glimpse of his fortune should he remain in Thrace, rather than continuing to his new home. Finally, Helenus shows Aeneas that there will be no future Troy, that one cannot live in the past. In each

instance Aeneas learns something about his fate from the experiences of the children of Priam.

One element in Aeneas' story which seems to heighten its pathos and interact with the prophecies is his repeated use of physical description.[128] Hector appears before Aeneas with bloody hair, pierced feet, and weeping eyes. Cassandra is dragged from the temple with hands in bonds, pulled by her hair, eyes to the sky. The eyes of Polites are represented by his frightened flight; the hand of Pyrrhus holds him. The eyes also represent the father who will view his death, Priam. The voice of outrage speaks out, but just before the king is dragged, much like Cassandra, by hair and hand to his death. The physical descriptions heighten the pathos of the fates of these Trojans. These physical elements, however, are not only exhibitions of mutilation, tools for savagery: their significance is for the living who witness them. Aeneas' physical reactions to the horrors which he witnessed are noteworthy. Although Aeneas believes he is speaking to Hector, he does not absorb the horror of the image. Similarly, witnessing the fate of Cassandra, although it forced him to question divine motivations (*Heu nihil invitis fas quemquam fidere divis*, 2.402), did not induce in him any state of physical shock. He did express physical shock, however, after he saw the deaths of Polites and Priam (*obstipui*, 2.560). Then, in the episode of Polydorus, his physical reactions become more pronounced, as his hair stands, his voice clings, and he stands in wonder (3.48). The use of physical elements to represent his reactions shows that Aeneas puts the emphasis on himself as survivor of Troy. Hair, voice, and fillets figure in mourning in the burial of Polydorus (*crinem*, 3.65; *voce*, 3.68; *vittis*, 3.64). The employment of physical elements culminates

[128] See Jeanne Dion, *Les Passions dans l'oeuvre de Virgile: poetique et philosophie.* Nancy: University Press, 1993. Dion notes the symptoms of horror (364).

in the prophecy of Helenus, as he removes the fillets from his head (*vittas*, 3.70; *capitis*, 3.71), leads Aeneas by the hand (*manu*, 3.72), and speaks the prophecy (*ore*, 3.73). Aeneas moves from physical description of Trojan victims of sacrifice to description of Trojan survivors in mourning. Andromache herself seems to acknowledge a desire to focus on surviving Troy, when she notes the similarity between Ascanius and Astyanax (*Sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat*, 3.490). It is Aeneas' fate to survive and look forward, Andromache's to look back toward her perished son.

Final Encounter

The scene with Deiphobus in Book 6 offers a nice comparison with the episodes with the children of Priam, already considered from Books 2 and 3.[129] Deiphobus reminds Aeneas of his experiences during Troy's final night and helps Aeneas to finally put his past behind him, as he prepares for the challenges which await him on Italian shores.

> Atque hic Priamiden laniatum corpore toto
> Deiphobum vidit, lacerum crudeliter ora,
> ora manusque ambas, populataque tempora raptis
> auribus et truncas inhonesto vulnere naris.
> Vix adeo agnovit pavitantem ac dira tegentem
> supplicia, et notis compellat vocibus ultro: (494-499)

In his description of the encounter Aeneas immediately recognizes Deiphobus as a child of Priam (*Priamiden*), noting his mutilated form (*laniatum*, *lacerum*). Aeneas details the disfigured aspects of Deiphobus' face (*populata tempora*, *raptis auribus*, *truncas naris*). The language is reminiscent of previous acts of savagery: the murder of Priam at the altar (*truncus*, 2.557) and the murder of Polydorus (*obtruncat*, 3.55). Deiphobus is the

[129] See Thomas M. Falkner, "Hector and Deiphobus: An Interpretation of *Aeneid* 6.494-547," *Classical Bulletin* 67 (1981): 33-36; Charles Fuqua, "Hector, Sychaeus, and Deiphobus: Three Mutilated Figures in *Aeneid* I-VI," *Classical Philology* 77 (1982): 235-240; Pamela Bleisch, "The Empty Tomb at Rhoeteum: Deiphobus and the Problem of the Past in *Aeneid* 6.494-547," *Classical Antiquity* 18 (1999): 187-226.

reminder of Hector's apparition foretelling the fall of Troy and proof of the events of that night. The depth of his disfigurement is a reminder of the sacricial elements witnessed by Aeneas. The fact that Aeneas has no physical reactions of his own to the event (*obstipui*) suggests that he is no longer shocked by the events of his past and he has adequately put it aside as part of his memory, but not part of his future. Aeneas employs similar language in the description of his address of Deiphobus (*compellat vocibus*). This is another familiar encounter for him. Aeneas then asks whether his funeral rites for Deiphobus were adequate, using language reminiscent of previous familial scenes:

> Tunc egomet tumulum Rhoeteo litore inanem
> Constitui et magna manis ter voce vocavi. (6.505-506)

The *tumulum* is a reminder of the tombs of Polydorus (3.22, 3.63) and Hector (3.304); the *litore* is reminiscent of Priam's death (2.557) and the location of Polydorus (3.21); the *manis* were cited in Polydorus (3.63) and at the tomb of Hector (3.303). Hector's tomb, too, was *inanem* (3.304). These elements are reminders that Aeneas not only buries his family but his past along with them. Deiphobus then assures him that he has done so effectively.

Finally, Vergil describes Aeneas' meeting with his father using the physical aspects so prevalent in the familial scenes described by Aeneas in Books 2 and 3. Anchises is described as *tetendit palmas* and *effusaeque genis lacrimae et vox excidit ore*, phrases which echo scenes with Cassandra and Hector; Aeneas' attempts to embrace his father are described by Vergil precisely as his attempts to embrace the image of Creusa:

> Ter conatus ibi collo dare brachia circum;
> ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago,
> par levibus ventis volucrique simillima sonmo. (6.700-703)

The positive, prophetic affirmation and divine approval of Aeneas' fate which concluded Book 2 also concludes Book 6. Aeneas has dealt with the events at Troy at his Trojan past. He is poised for his future labors.

Considerations

The question now becomes: what does this weaving, meandering, and nebulous coincidence of prophecy and event mean about Aeneas and his motivations, decisions, and actions? If in fact these episodes are motivational, religious, and prophetic, then what does that say about Aeneas? The familial portents clearly attempt to aid Aeneas on his fated journey. According to Aeneas' own retelling of events, he becomes more open to the revelations of prophecy as he proceeds along his way. Furthermore, the focus on the religious aspects of his burden, the Trojan Penates, becomes more important as he describes events. He seems increasingly to undertake his role as religious leader. At the same time, familial ties are strengthened; these episodes with the children of Priam reinforce the value of family and their sacred significance. This complements Aeneas' strong allegiance to his own father and son.

One wonders if there may in fact have been alterior reasons for Aeneas' descriptions of events at Dido's court. Given the fact that the legend surrounding Troy had found its way to her kingdom, he may have emphasized the details of the events to pique interest; he may have attempted to have the story "live up" to its legendary status; he may have wanted to describe the horror of the events as explicitly as possible; he may have wanted to emphasize the familial aspects of the events, including as many of the members of Priam's house and their tragic fates as possible. My inclination is to say that he witnessed the horror of Troy's fall and wanted to communicate it; he felt a warrior's

devotion to his homeland and wanted to show it; he acted nobly on behalf of his family and wanted it known. He did not do everything in the best possible way that night and on his subsequent travels, but he learned to follow his fate. He acted for his country, family, and comrades: *pietas*.

This is the "final piece of the puzzle" where Aeneas' motivations are concerned. Initially, his devotion is to his country along with his family. Once he acknowledges that Troy will fall, he departs. Shortly thereafter, his devotion is to his wife, as he re-enters the city in search of her. He realizes that she will not accompany him, and departs. Throughout Book 2 Aeneas is faced with the choice of death in defense of country or departure. It takes much to convince him to leave. He later shows devotion in a religious sense by burying Polydorus. Finally, he reconfirms his devotion to the gods through the prophecy of Helenus and his instructional rites. Aeneas is driven by a sense of duty in each of these situations. In the front of his mind is first Troy, then Ascanius - the past, until he accepts a different future. Once he accepts his fate, fate drives his decisions. He grows and changes in his perception of his fate and the will of the gods. Just as he becomes more accepting, welcoming, and trusting of familial prophecy and divine aid, he also becomes more assertive in his actions which concern the future of the Trojan state.

Vergil seems to employ a scattered, meandering, and nebulous description of events at Troy to represent Aeneas' mindset during the evening of its fall. The recurrence of similar imagery emphasizes the importance of those events to Aeneas and their sacred nature. Those experiences leave Aeneas with a vivid memory of what the Trojan state was and of what happened to it. The scenes serve as instructional vignettes crucial to the preservation of Trojan culture and memory. They also strengthen for Aeneas the

conviction necessary to follow the dictates of *pietas* in difficult situations. Aeneas not only survived Troy, he lived it. In his quest for a new Troy, he carries with him the memories of Hector, Cassandra, Polites, Priam, Creusa, Polydorus, and Helenus.

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