Introduction

The *Aeneid* begins and ends with deeds provoked by memory. The epic's action opens with Juno's devastating attack on the Trojan fleet, an assault that springs from the goddess' "unforgetting anger" (*memorem . . . iram*, 1.4).[1] Eleven books later, when Aeneas stands over Turnus in the poem's final lines, remembrance drives him to act. Turnus pleads for his life and seems to succeed, but his fortune changes when Aeneas sees that he wears as spoils the baldric that once belonged to Pallas. Characterized by the narrator as a "monument of violent grief" (*saevi monimenta doloris*, 12.945), the baldric spurs Aeneas on to slay Turnus in a sudden and savage rage. These bookends to Vergil's poem showcase the traumatic energy and narrative fashioning that mark the characters' engagement with memory in the *Aeneid*. Juno and Aeneas both react with fury to their recollections of earlier suffering (Juno to wrongs associated with the Trojans, Aeneas to Pallas' death), and both seek to avenge their remembered losses (Juno by casting the Trojans into oblivion, Aeneas by reshaping the memory of Pallas' defeat).

That remembering elicits an active response is not surprising in the epic genre. The heroes of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* frequently act upon their recollections, such as when Achilles returns Hector's body after Priam prompts him to think of his father (*Il.* 24.456–7 and 507–12) and when Odysseus decides to leave Calypso's island behind for Penelope (*Od.* 5.214–24). Vergil, though, endows memory with a unique role in his epic, intertwining the process of recollection with a crucial leitmotif: the challenge of being part of a group that survives traumatic events only to face the daunting task of remembering what was lost. A tincture of pain and hope, disbelief and certainty, attends many of the characters' interactions with memory as they reimagine their own and their societies' stories.

Complementing and complicating the characters' engagement with memory, Vergil figures the song of the *Aeneid*'s narrator as an act of

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[1] The text of Vergil is from Mynors 1969. All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

recollection and commemoration. The narrator creates a vast social memory for his Roman audience, a fashioning that simultaneously showcases his own mnemonic power and reveals the challenges he faces in controlling his story's emotional ramifications. The narrator makes his control of memory apparent at the poem's beginning, when he heralds his own artistic production. The words "Arms and the man I sing..." (*Arma virumque cano...*, 1.1) open the epic, and the narrator's first-person verb stakes an aggressive claim to the creation of his song and, thereby, of a commemoration of Aeneas' story.[2] The rest of the epic explores the repercussions of this commitment. Continuing to characterize himself as deeply invested in constructing a memory of what he sings, the narrator focuses on his ability to control how his song is remembered in his rhetorical questions, apostrophes of characters, and invocations of the Muse.

Vergil's epic explores the movement between past and future and, above all, the question of how individuals and groups negotiate that perilous journey: the Trojans face the task of founding a new city after their old one is destroyed, and the narrator strives to represent age-old deeds which sometimes show uncomfortable similarities to Rome's recent civil wars. Memory governs these transitions from past traumas to future paths, but, in spite of memory's prominence in the *Aeneid*, its role in the poem has not received a commensurate level of attention. Scholars consider that topic only occasionally, and, for the most part, their evaluations take too rigid an approach.[3] In a series of studies that offers numerous insights, and is perhaps the most influential exploration of memory in Vergil's epic, David Quint argues that the *Aeneid* "elevates the therapeutic effects of forgetting into one of its explicit themes."[4] Quint's essential claim, though, sets too strict an opposition between remembering and forgetting. He writes that remembering is an unproductive process while forgetting allows the Trojans to escape from a cycle of loss, yet this book will show that the process of memory in the *Aeneid* typically blends remembering and forgetting, as characters simultaneously emphasize certain aspects of the past and

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[2] Vergil links memory and song together in the programmatic beginning to *Georgics* 3: "I will sing of you also, great Pales, and you, shepherd from Amphrysus, who must be remembered, and you, woods and streams of Mount Lycaeus" (*te quoque, magna Pales, et te memorande canemus | pastor ab Amphryso, vos, silvae amnesque Lycaei*, *G.* 3.1–2). Here, song is depicted as an art form appropriate for responding to the need for something or someone to be commemorated. See a similar statement at *Aen.* 10.793.

[3] The most significant recent studies of memory in the *Aeneid* are Quint 1982, 1989, and 1993 E. Henry 1989; Hardy 1991; Most 2001; and Scarth 2008.

[4] Quint 1989, 28. Most 2001 picks up on these arguments and writes that the Trojans' need to forget their past is "condensed within the development of their leader Aeneas, who... must learn... that he must forget the past in order to remember his future" (162).

leave others behind, forgotten.[5] Just as Quint's work suffers from the stark opposition it poses between forgetting and remembering, the studies of Elisabeth Henry and Robert Hardy are likewise hurt by their adherence to a binary approach. The opposition they explore is set along a political axis: although each advances perceptive readings of individual passages, both figure memory's role as part of the epic's approval or disapproval of the nascent Augustan principate and the idea of empire, a perspective that deprives memory of much of its complexity and nuance.[6]

This book aims to move beyond these dichotomies. Along with engaging with Vergilian scholarship open to considering the epic's multiple perspectives, it also joins in the ongoing discussion of memory in the humanities and social sciences. Offering terms and concepts that help to articulate crucial moments in the *Aeneid*, current investigations of memory argue that it is a complex and multi-layered process.[7] These studies' broadest conclusions – that memory "is socially and culturally constructed,"[8] a product of a person's own characteristics and present circumstances as well as the society to which he or she belongs – allow for a richer engagement with many of the questions raised by memory's role in the *Aeneid*.[9] Although this understanding certainly does not match the Roman's so-called art of memory,[10] an example of the "static model of recollection" which was

[5] Scarth 2008 also does not view memory as a constructed process. Instead, she argues that the epic's characters avail themselves of the "art of memory" in their interactions with the past (see n. 10 for a description of the "art of memory"). According to Scarth, the characters' recollections are not "consolidated from key elements of their experiences and prone to distortion, like our memories, but were intended, in the manner of elite mnemonic training, to be retrieved and viewed like a photograph and then translated into a form of verbalized expression" (2008, 5).

[6] E. Henry 1989 argues that the epic presents us with a hero who is in control of his emotions and whose actions foreshadow later Roman success, while Hardy 1991, building on the arguments of Parry 1963 about the epic's different voices, claims that memory's role in the epic contains traces of praise for empire but also raises questions about the human cost of establishing and maintaining rule.

[7] The early twentieth-century writings of Frederic C. Bartlett and Maurice Halbwachs were foundational for much of this later work, and excerpts from their writings, along with dozens of other important treatments of memory ranging from the eighteenth century to the present day, can be found in the collection of Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy 2011. Erll and Nünning 2010 present a compilation of articles providing an overview of major areas in memory studies.

[8] Küchler and Melion 1991, 7.

[9] These questions concern not just the role of memory in the epic's action, but also how the epic positions itself as a social memory. Vervliet and Estor 2000 and Grabes 2005 offer collections that explore different methods of studying literature as social memory.

[10] Utilized by orators to recall topical subjects (*res*) and exact words (*verba*), this art consists of memorizing a real or imagined building and then placing images associated with whatever needs to be remembered in each of the building's niches. When the appropriate time arrives, the orator moves through the building in his mind and sees images that remind him of the necessary information. The major ancient illustrations of this technique are *Ad Herr.* 3.16–24; Cic. *de Or.* 2.86.351–4; and Quint. *Inst. Orat.* 11.2.17–22. For more on the "art of memory," see Blum 1969; Yates 1974; Favro 1996, 7; Knape 1997, 11–13; Small 1997; Sorabji 2006, 22–34; and Möller 2009, 224–31. For a critique of the practicality of this sort of mode of recollection, see Eco 1988, 259.

4   Introduction

the dominant conception of memory's operation all the way to St. Augustine,[11] the manner in which memory functions in a society need not be the manner in which that society thinks memory functions.[12] Current approaches open up problems and complexities of remembrance and commemoration, an opening which leaves behind the unproductive binarism of remembering versus forgetting. The willingness of this recent work to recognize ambiguity complements the general shift in Vergilian studies away from the overly simplified rubric that sets the *Aeneid* as either optimistic or pessimistic, pro- or anti-Augustan.[13] Instead of viewing memory chiefly through the lens of these uncomplicated but ultimately false oppositions, this book explores more open-ended issues related to how individuals represent the past and what impact those representations have on larger groups.

By combining a literary study of the *Aeneid* with the careful application of these new analyses of memory, this book aims to enrich our interpretation of memory's function in the epic and increase our appreciation of the *Aeneid*'s engagement with larger dialogues about the role of the past in Augustan Rome. Its main argument is that memory in the *Aeneid* acts as a social and narrative mechanism for integrating a traumatic past with an uncertain future. For both the narrator and characters alike, remembering and commemorating the past and present are painful but necessary ways to move forward, a process that comes to challenge the epic's audience as well. The book's first three chapters analyze memory's role within the epic's action, concentrating on the Trojans' transition to Italy (Chapter 1), Aeneas' relationship with Troy (Chapter 2), and his interactions with Dido (Chapter 3). Chapter 4 treats the narrator's characterization of his own relationship with memory, and Chapter 5 focuses on the issue of mnemonic control in *Aeneid* 12 as it relates to the epic's characters, narrator, and audience. The Conclusion argues that there are several properties associated with recollection and commemoration throughout the epic, properties that invite the epic's characters and narrator to engage with memory at the same time as they frustrate that engagement.

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[11] Alcock 2002, 2. Ancient beliefs, beginning with Plato and Aristotle, envisaged "memory as a storage receptacle from which images can be retrieved at will" (Küchler and Melion 1991, 3). Casey 1987, 3–7, offers a brief overview of the shift in the theoretical understanding of memory over time.

[12] Farrell 1997 shows that, in at least one instance, the Romans' engagement with memory did not match up with their theoretical beliefs about its reproductive quality. He argues that one of the very passages that describes the "art of memory," Cic. *de Or.* 2.86.351–4, actually reveals the sort of dynamic changes and manipulation of an anecdote that fit in well with a modern understanding of remembering.

[13] For an overview and evaluation of these two different schools of criticism, see Johnson 1976, 8–16; Stahl 1990, 179–82; Galinsky 1996, 4–5; and P. Hardie 1998, 94.

The boundaries and character of memory

An outline of what the words "memory" and *memoria* designate in English and Latin shows a considerable amount of range, and, as a prelude to this study, it is necessary first to consider what those words may signify and then to establish how the process of memory is characterized in Vergil's epic. The English word "memory" has a wide and varied array of meanings.[14] Excepting its technical uses,[15] it can designate both the process of remembering and what is remembered.[16] The process of remembering may be either conscious or unconscious, and an individual may remember something either because he experienced it (natural memory) or learned it (learned memory).[17] The Latin word *memoria* shows a similar expanse of meanings, though its denotations are specific to Roman culture. Uwe Walter's excellent overview of the different uses of *memoria* shows that the word can denote both the content and process of memory. An illustrative list of its reference points might include memories passed down by earlier generations; the practice of *damnatio memoriae*; the memorization of literature as a school exercise; and the conception of the *mos maiorum* as a sort of memory.[18] And, outstripping the meanings associated with "memory" and *memoria* in English and Latin, the number of subjects studied under its heading is expanding at a rapid pace, moving beyond an individual's recollection of the past to include, for instance, areas of social history and literary interaction.[19]

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14 As Fentress and Wickham 1992, x, note, the word "memory" "can include anything from a highly private and spontaneous, possibly wordless, mental sensation to a formalized public ceremony."

15 Such as uses that describe electronic storage and the properties of material goods; in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (Gove 1993), these are definitions 6 and 7, respectively.

16 In Gove 1993, definitions 2a and 4a concern the process of memory; and definitions 2c and 4b concern the contents of memory. In *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Simpson and Weiner 2009) definitions 2a, 2b, 6a, and 7a all relate to the process of remembering, while 2c and 3a relate to the thing or person remembered. (The same range can be seen for the words "remembrance" [in Gove 1993 definitions 2a and 3 concern the act of remembrance or the ability to remember, while 4 concerns the content that is remembered] and "recollection" [in Gove 1993 definition 2a relates to the action or ability to recall something to mind, while 2b denotes the contents that are recalled].)

17 See definitions 1–4 in Gove 1993 for this range. See Casey 1987, ix; Fentress and Wickham 1992, xi; and Bergmann 1994, 226, on the expansiveness of what is indicated and impacted by the process of memory.

18 Walter 2004, 26–35. *OLD* 1, 2, and 3 concern the process or faculty of remembering; and *OLD* 4, 5, 7, and 8 concern the contents of memory. In the *TLL*, IB2 generally relates to the process of memory, while IB1 generally relates to the contents of memory (specifically thought of as a part of the spirit).

19 For an idea of what can be studied under the rubric of memory, see Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy 2011, and for a discussion of the recent increase in memory studies in the past several decades (sometimes termed the "memory boom"), see ibid., 3–62, as well as Davis and Starn 1989 and Van

The capaciousness of memory's significance is a boon to this project, as is recent scholarship in the burgeoning field of memory studies.[20] A study of memory in the *Aeneid*, however, which tried to encompass all the subjects related to "memory" and *memoria*, would be far too diffuse and, just as importantly, potentially alien to how the *Aeneid*'s characters and narrator think about and engage in recollection and commemoration. The characters' and narrator's use of the vocabulary of memory offers a foundation for the analysis of the *Aeneid*'s representation of these processes.[21] A survey of the *Aeneid*'s vocabulary of memory yields a nine-word set of nouns, adjectives, and verbs that unequivocally refer to either remembering or forgetting and together articulate a set of precise characteristics for the process of memory. These words, designated here as the *Aeneid*'s core vocabulary of memory, are *immemor*, *meminisse*, *memor*, *memorabilis*, *monimentum*, *oblivisci*, *oblivium*, *recordari*, and *reminisci*. Taken together, they appear a total of sixty-seven times in the epic, with their occurrences ranging from a low of three in a book (*Aeneid* 10 and 12) to a high of ten (*Aeneid* 4).[22] While they vary in their significance, the six words linked with remembering (*meminisse*, *memor*, *memorabilis*, *monimentum*, *recordari*, and *reminisci*) are all connected with the process of bringing something that would otherwise be absent to the forefront of a person's mind. These words typically denote the process of remembrance, the person who remembers, or that which is remembered.[23] Turnus' pre-battle exhortation to his troops in *Aeneid* 10 offers a characteristic example: "Now let each man remember his wife and his house" (*nunc coniugis esto | quisque suae tectique*

Dyke and Alcock 2003, 19–21. See n. 62 for scholarship that considers subjects related to Roman memory.

[20] See pp. 21–23 for a more detailed discussion of the aspects of this new critical work that will be utilized here.

[21] This focus excludes other subjects sometimes studied under the rubric of memory, such as generic memory or reception history, whose links are tenuous at best with the actual interactions with memory that occur within the *Aeneid*. (See Herzog 1993 for an example of an article that largely focuses on generic memory and the *Aeneid*; Most 2001 considers generic memory alongside examples of memory within the *Aeneid*'s action.) Scholars have shown connections between intertextuality and the theme of memory within a text (see J. Miller 1993 and Barchiesi 2001, 130), and, while this book does not study Vergil's allusions under the heading of memory, it does consider instances where intertextual "remembering" and remembering within the action of *Aeneid* occur at the same time.

[22] These totals are calculated from Wacht 1996. J. Miller 1993, writing on Ovid's poetry, considers a similar group of words under the heading of the "vocabulary of memory."

[23] This characterization of memory does not depart far from the conception of memory in ancient Rome. Similarly, a survey in the *OLD* and *TLL* of Late Republican usage for the nine words listed above shows a focus on the process of remembering someone or something which would otherwise be absent along with the content of that memory.

memor, 10.280–1).[24] Turnus tells his men to turn their attention to people and things which are not present, indicating that their wives and houses should be at the forefront of his men's minds in order to inspire valor. The three words associated with forgetting (*immemor*, *oblivisci*, and *oblivium*) describe an opposite process, whereby something is lost from a person's mind that would otherwise be able to be recalled. An example comes during Aeneas' trip to the underworld, when Anchises explains to him how certain souls "drink in long oblivion" (*longa oblivia potant*, 6.715) from the Lethe River, a drink that causes the souls to lose any memory of their earlier existence.

The *Aeneid*'s vocabulary of memory characterizes remembering as a mental process that makes present something that would otherwise be absent. This process can be differentiated based on what is remembered. A remembrance can bring to a character's mind content that is either temporal or non-temporal. A temporal recollection carries something from the past, while a non-temporal memory concerns an obligation or a simple piece of information. No absolute divide exists between these two categories, as the moral weight of an obligation is sometimes attached to an action that occurred in the past.

Non-temporal recollections take place less frequently and are generally less complex than temporal recollections. These non-temporal engagements occur when an obligation or piece of information comes to the front of a person's mind. For instance the word *memor*, used temporally in the epic's fourth line to denote Juno's anger as unforgetting of past incidents,[25] later signifies that Cupid is "mindful of his Acidalian mother" (*memor ille | matris Acidaliae*, 1.719–20).[26] In this latter instance, *memor* signifies that Cupid remembers his obligations to his mother, not an earlier incident such as when Venus gave him this specific order.[27] Another example of non-temporal memory appears in *Aeneid* 4, where Jupiter notices that Aeneas and Dido, "because of their love, have forgotten their better reputation" (*oblitos famae melioris amantis*,

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[24] Harrison 1991, ad loc. compares this passage with a number of "similar exhortations of troops evoking home and family," including a passage in the *Iliad* (15.662–3) where memory governs the mental action.

[25] "Unforgetting anger" (*memorem . . . iram*, 1.4). See *OLD* 5: "(of actions, feelings, etc.) Showing remembrance, unforgetting."

[26] See *OLD* 2: "Mindful of one's obligations, grateful." *immemor* shows a similar branching of temporal and non-temporal meanings: it can mean "Not remembering, forgetful" (OLD 1) or "Not remembering one's obligations, etc." (*OLD* 2a).

[27] As Servius remarks, "'But mindful of his mother' means that Cupid is mindful of his mother's orders" (AT MEMOR ILLE MATRIS *hoc est praeceptorum matris*).

4.221). Here again, the memory-word refers to an obligation, not a past incident.[28]

The majority of characters' interactions with memory in the *Aeneid* are temporal in nature. In these cases a person remembers something from the past or thinks about how future generations will remember the present. The *Aeneid*'s opening book offers examples of both sorts. Juno's "unforgetting anger" (*memorem . . . iram*, 1.4) shows how the goddess remembers events from earlier times, an interpretation confirmed by the subsequent list of such incidents in 1.25–8. Not too much later, after Aeneas has barely survived the sea storm caused by Juno, he tells his men that "perhaps one day it will be pleasing to remember even these things" (*forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit*, 1.203). Here, Aeneas ventures to think of a time in the future when his men will recollect with pleasure incidents they are suffering through now. These two examples hint at the range of people or events that may be remembered, as well as the different sorts of interactions one may have with memory. Juno's thoughts on the past are a private mental sensation, while Aeneas shares his ideas about the function of memory in a public speech. Moreover, as later examples will show, the person or event that is remembered or envisaged as remembered may be real or imaginary. What binds these instances together is that they focus on a different time period.

Within this range of interactions that characters have with temporal memory, one motif consistently repeats itself: the events a character remembers are presented as something that he or she personally experienced in the past. Aeneas' speech to his men upon landfall, quoted above, shows this feature, as do Dido's words to Aeneas shortly after meeting him (1.619; 623–6):

> atque equidem Teucrum memini Sidona venire . . .   619
> . . . tempore iam ex illo casus mihi cognitus urbis   623
> Troianae nomenque tuum regesque Pelasgi.
> ipse hostis Teucros insigni laude ferebat   625
> seque ortum antiqua Teucrorum a stirpe volebat.
>
> And I indeed remember that Teucer came to Sidon . . . Already from that time Troy's fall was known to me, along with your name and the Pelasgian kings. Teucer himself, although an enemy, used

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[28] Although a sense of obligation is usually felt, this non-temporal use of memory sometimes focuses solely on the retention of pieces of information. Examples include Palinurus' inability "to remember the way" (*meminisse viae*, 3.202) to Italy in the midst of rainstorm. See 5.25 for a similar instance of Palinurus setting his ability to sail somewhere as dependent on his memory, although here the memory could be either of information or of past experience, since he refers to the route to Sicily; in the example at 3.202, though, Palinurus must be referring to his memory of information about the way, not his experience of the way, since the Trojans have never before sailed to Italy.

to say that the Trojans were of noteworthy renown, and he maintained[29] that he had been born from the Trojans' ancient race.

Dido introduces her speech as a representation of a recollection (*memini*) and then proceeds to describe something that she witnessed at an earlier time. As C. J. Fordyce notes, Vergil greatly prefers the present infinitive to the perfect as the object of *meminisse*, with that tense making a past event "live again" both for the speaker and audience.[30] The vitality of the present infinitive brings Dido's past experience into the present and transforms this prior event into something that she experiences once more.

The nine words listed above, all explicitly linked with memory, establish the sort of mental operations this book studies. This vocabulary characterizes memory as a process that makes present something that is absent, a process generally temporal in nature and closely connected with one's own past. The consistency of this characterization allows for the book to consider passages that describe a mnemonic process without using any core memory words. Some of these instances are not linked by any commonalities and must be considered individually as they arise, but a significant number have their mnemonic associations highlighted by what is here termed secondary vocabulary of memory. This secondary vocabulary is not as firmly defined as the core vocabulary described above, for there are a number of words that have the potential to sometimes, although not always, be connected with the process of memory. The four words considered here (*abolere*, *memorare*, *monere*, and *repetere*) often occur in the context of words from the *Aeneid*'s core vocabulary of memory.[31] In a text as multivalent as the *Aeneid*, where Vergil manipulates and plays with the meaning of words,[32] such associations add to the mnemonic undertones of these four words and increase the possibility that they may indicate on their own that a process of memory is occurring.

[29] For this interpretation of *volebat*, see Conington 1884, ad loc.; Austin 1971, ad loc.; and *OLD* 18.
[30] 1977, ad 7.206.
[31] *Fama*, *imago*, and *nomen* could easily be included in this list as well, although they relate to memory less frequently than the four words listed above. For examples of these words' association with memory in the *Aeneid*, see pp. 58, 82–3, 120, 130, 135, 137, 142, 144, and 183 (*fama*), pp. 47–8, 62, 89, and 178 (*imago*), and pp. 63, 97–8, 114, 147, and 173 (*nomen*). For consideration of the goddess *Fama* and the concept *fama* in the *Aeneid*, see P. Hardie 2012, 78–149.
[32] See Lyne 1989 for some of the techniques through which Vergil grants poetic force to ordinary words, often through employing them in surprising combinations or exploiting the expected sense of a word. Vergil's expansion of his vocabulary of memory can be regarded as a somewhat similar phenomenon, as he brings out further significations from these four words both through their context and through their juxtaposition with words from the epic's core vocabulary of memory. For an ancient critique of Vergil's practice of using standard words in a new way, see Donatus' *Life of Vergil* 44 and Lyne 1989, p. 18 n. 65 on Donatus. See O'Hara 1996 for a consideration of Vergil's etymological wordplay.

Examples involving *abolere* and *repetere* are representative of how words from this secondary vocabulary are linked with memory and thereby become able to indicate on their own that memory is in play. The verb *abolere* generally means to destroy something,[33] but another meaning comes to the fore in *Aeneid* 4. As Dido nears her suicide, she says, "It helps to destroy all the monuments of that wicked man" (*abolere nefandi | cuncta viri monimenta iuvat*, 4.497–8). Here, *abolere* could mean simply "to destroy," but the presence of *monimenta* as its direct object brings out a mnemonic resonance.[34] When it occurs at 11.789, this same resonance appears even without the presence of any word from the core vocabulary of memory: "Allow, father, for this disgrace to be destroyed by my arms" (*da, pater, hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis*, 11.789). Spoken by Arruns, who goes on to deny his wish for any commemorative "trophy" (*tropaeum*, 11.790) for himself, *abolere* hints that he wants not just to destroy his enemy, but also to make any memory of his foe's battlefield exploits disappear.

An example involving *repetere* reinforces how the *Aeneid*'s core memory vocabulary can bring out implications of remembering in a secondary vocabulary word, thus enabling that secondary word to designate the process of memory on its own elsewhere. In *Aeneid* 12 Aeneas addresses his son: "Since you will soon become a man, take care to remember and let both your father Aeneas and your uncle Hector rouse you as you seek examples of your people with your mind" (*sis memor et te animo repetentem exempla tuorum | et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitet Hector*, 12.439–40). *Memor* introduces the idea of remembrance in this passage, and *repetentem* echoes it, indicating that Ascanius ought to use his memory to look back for examples of Aeneas and Hector's actions.[35] Earlier in the epic *repetere* brings in the idea of remembering on its own: "For my father Anchises (now I remember) left such secrets of fate for me" (*genitor mihi talia namque | (nunc repeto) Anchises fatorum arcana reliquit*, 7.122–3). Here, as part of Aeneas' introduction to his recapitulation of his father's words, *repeto* communicates to Aeneas' audience that he is currently remembering something from the past.[36]

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[33] See *OLD* 1 and *TLL* 116.46–117.33.

[34] The *TLL* denies this meaning here, instead cataloguing 4.497 as the first entry under the more typical meaning of "to destroy" and taking care to comment that Servius makes his gloss (*a memoria tollere*) wrongly (see *TLL* 116.46–8). Vergil innovates in introducing this mnemonic use of *abolere* at 1.720 (for discussion of this example, see pp. 99–100).

[35] Tarrant 2012, ad 439 also interprets *repetentem* as indicating the process "of calling to mind past events or persons."

[36] Mnemonic associations come to the fore in the other appearance of *abolere* in the epic, and the same can be said for about a quarter of the instances of *monere* and *repetere*. The other use of *abolere* occurs at 1.720 (where it appears in the context of *memor*). *Monere* occurs twelve times in the epic and it takes on a possible mnemonic resonance (see *OLD* 1 and 3; and *TLL* 1406.76–1410.10) in