FURTHEST VOICES IN VIRGIL'S DIDO
I

'We have to stop somewhere, but we also have to face the fact that any particular stopping-place is therefore our choice, and carries with it ideological implications.'

Don Fowler [1]

'Magnus est Maro'.

I. L. La Cerda [2]

Part one

Reading Dido – in the *Aeneid* and beyond – has always been an intensely charged literary and political game. A sensitive, loving woman, Dido offers Aeneas a real alternative to the complex business of setting Rome in motion, and her death shows the enormous price there is to pay in terms of human fulfilment and happiness for the sake of empire building. How more or less sympathetic and straightforward she is seen to be is of course crucial to our perception of Aeneas as epic hero, and to the meaning of the *Aeneid* as a whole. It is only natural that throughout the 20th century, and into the 21st, critics have overwhelmingly packaged this fascinating character as the archetypical 'other voice' to the poem's teleological (not to say 'Augustan') plot.

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[1] D. P. Fowler 1997: 25 = 2000: 127-128.
[2] La Cerda: vol. 1, p. 441.

This comfortable opposition rests to a significant extent on a one-sided reading of Dido's emotional intricacies. Already ancient poets and readers, from Ovid to the Christians, vigorously edited Virgil's Dido to produce their own challenge to his epic. Building upon Heinze's influential treatment, modern critics have favoured a comparable approach: current readings emphasize the image of a loving and forlorn heroine whose short outbursts of rage and fury are evanescent – and justified. Yet as I set out to show here, a reading that is willing to delve further into the intertextual complexities of Dido's character, and to probe the relation between intertextual trace and unconscious impulse [3] in Book 4, reveals a darker, more thrilling and suspenseful narrative than modern critics have often allowed themselves to imagine.

This paper started life as a note on a famous and much debated passage at the heart of the book, where Dido's intricate, opaque language appears to convey more than meets the eye. I decided to retain its original inductive structure even as it grew to chart more widely the complexities of Virgil's construction of Dido's character in other sections of Book 4, and Ovid's rewriting of Dido in his *Heroides* [4].

1. At a crucial juncture in the sequence of events that lead to Aeneas' departure and Dido's suicide, the queen makes a desperate attempt to persuade Aeneas to postpone his plans. She addresses her sister Anna and begs her to approach him (424-436) [5].

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[3] I hope to be able to offer a theoretical justification of my reading strategy elsewhere. Here I will freely resort to concepts such as 'textual unconscious' (with implied inverted commas) trusting that the way I use them is clear enough, but I also want to acknowledge an important debt to Francesco Orlando's masterful work. It is in any case worth pointing out that whenever I attribute feelings and emotions (conscious or otherwise) to Dido or other characters I actually intend to refer to the text's own linguistic construction of those feelings.

[4] This paper is part of a wider study of Dido's characterization and models. It should be read in conjunction with Schiesaro 2005, which develops some closely connected issues.

[5] Text and apparatus, here and elsewhere, are Mynors'. Commentaries (and basic works of reference) are referred to by name only, except when the date of publication is relevant to the discussion and is therefore specified, or when reference is made to the introduction or other narrative parts. A convenient list of Virgilian commentaries can be found in Knauer 1964: 13-17.

‘i, soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum:
non ego cum Danais Troianam exscindere gentem
Aulide iuravi classemve ad Pergama misi,
nec patris Anchisae cineres manisve revelli:
cur mea dicta negat duras demittere in auris?
quo ruit? extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti:
expectet facilemque fugam ventosque ferentis.
non iam coniugium antiquum, quod prodidit, oro,
nec pulchro ut Latio careat regnumque relinquat:
tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori,
dum me mea victam doceat fortuna dolere.
extremam hanc oro veniam (miserere sororis),
quam mihi cum dederit cumulatam morte remittam.’

436 dederit *MPp* : dederis *ω Seru.* cumulatam *Ppω, Seru.* : cumulata *Mb?*; -ris -tam *‘Tucca et Varius’,* -rit -ta *‘male quidam’ ap. Seru.*

Already DServius [6] reached the conclusion that Dido here *perplexe locuta est* [7], and in fact the entire speech is dense, allusive, and complex, as befits a tragic heroine who is gradually realising the enormity of the approaching catastrophe. The peculiarly intricate last few lines have much worried scholars – again, at least since Servius. Just about every word in line 436 has spurred sustained critical analysis: the alternative between *dederit* and *dederis*; between *cumulatam* and *cumulata*; the interpretation of *morte* and that of *remittam*, have all been hotly debated. In spite of Peerlkamp’s despondent prediction that ‘haec nemo unquam intellexit, neque intelliget,’ a reasonable degree of critical consensus appears to have crystallized around the text printed above since the middle of the 19th century, with Ribbeck’s critical edi-

[6] DServius on 436, quoted in full later, p. 74. Cf. Pöschl’s 1962: 84-85 succinct but useful analysis.

[7] Among later commentators, La Cerda (apart from displaying his usual mastery of literary models and nuances) is more attuned than most to the complexities and ambiguities of Dido’s words, in Book 4 in general, and in this section in particular – terms such as *dissimulare*, *insinuare*, *latere*, *ambages*, *circuitus* recur. See for instance his sharp note on 419-420 (La Cerda: 441), where he rightly argues that *si potui tantum sperare dolorem, / et perferre, soror, potero* ‘insinuat, non posse se perferri, quia id non potuit sperare’, or on 422 *te colere* (cf. n. 172). I plan to return to the issue elsewhere.

tion (1859) [8]. Pease's paraphrase gives a view shared by most contemporary interpreters: 'I beg this last favour – pity your (poor) sister –, and when he shall have granted it my death will return it with interest' [9]. Aeneas, not Anna, should grant the *venia* of a short delay, the *extremum … munus* mentioned at 429: hence *dederit*, not *dederis*, a simplification predictably inspired by *miserere sororis* in the line before [10]. Pease intentionally preserves almost all the different nuances enshrined in the ablative *morte* [11]. *Cumulatam* refers back to *veniam* [12], in a well established use of the verb ('to increase, augment, enhance') [13], while *remittere* takes the place of the more common *referre* or *reddere* [14].

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[8] The text *dederit cumulatam* is then printed by Ladewig, Schaper[6] (1870); Forbiger[4] (1872-75); Sabbadini (1884-88[1]); Page (1894-1900); Mackail (1930); Sabbadini (1930); Buscaroli (1932); Pease (1935); Paratore (1947); Austin (1955); Mynors (1969); Geymonat (1973, 2008); Williams (1972). On *dederis* cf. n. 10, on *cumulata* below pp. 75-81.

[9] Pease on 436. Cf. also Austin on 436: 'and when he has granted this kindness to me, I shall repay it a thousandf old at my death.'

[10] *Dederis* was long the standard reading, accepted among others by La Cerda, Heinsius, Burman, Heyne-Wagner, up to and including Forbiger[3] (1852). After the success of Ribbeck's choice of *dederit*, only Conington, Nettleship retain *dederis*. J. Henry 1853 and 1857 prefer *dederit*, but J. Henry 1873-92 returns to *dederis*. Vivona 1898: 431 believes that the bulk of 416-436 was originally spoken by Dido herself to Aeneas, but Virgil later changed the narrative pattern for variation's sake: *dederis*, which Tucca and Varius must have read in Virgil's autograph, would testify to the original plan. On the contrary, Sabbadini 1900 argues that the original version of the passage (without 431-434, and with no mention of Anna), featured *dederit*, with *morte* as an instrumental; subsequently Virgil introduced Anna, switched to *dederis*, and gave *morte* a temporal sense. But Sabbadini's 1930 edition prefers *dederit*, cf. also Sabbadini 1910-20: ix-x, where *dederis* is regarded as an 'espediente provvisorio.' This primitive version of the text lacked 431-434, and assigned no role to Anna; but in the later version *cumulatam morte remittam* contradicts the context – and *dederis* was therefore revived by those seeking to eliminate the contradiction (against the possibility that surviving mss. of the *Aeneid* may preserve variant readings see in general Geymonat 1995: 297-298). A recent attempt to revive *dederis* (Murgia 1987) has been effectively refuted by Casali 1999.

[11] The addition of 'my,' however, is not neutral, and occludes possible further meanings: see paragraph 3 below.

[12] Contemporary editors, unlike most of their predecessors, usually avoid placing a comma after *dederit*. Some 'old editions' punctuated rather after *cumulatam* (Conington on 435-436).

[13] *Old s. v.* 5, e.g. Cic. *Phil.*14.30 *ea* [sc. *praemia] quae promisimus studiose cumulata reddemus*.

[14] Cf. Liv. 24.48.3 *ut in tempore et bene cumulatam gratiam referant*, but cf. Mart. 5.59.3 *quisquis magna dedit, voluit sibi magna remitti*.

I will return to these and other issues later, for in the first instance I want to dwell on a point which does not appear to have attracted much curiosity, let alone concern, namely the nature and import of the *venia* which Dido begs of Aeneas [15]. Her request appears simple enough: *tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori* (433). The meaning of *inanis* is sometimes difficult to pin down in Virgil [16], but in this case commentators and translators appear to agree: 'a few vacant hours' (Conington); 'time without action (on your part)' (Pease); 'a mere nothing – just time' (Day Lewis) [17]; 'time, a blank time' (Austin) [18]. At one level *inane* is meant to appeal to Aeneas' point of view – the time Dido asks for would be of little use to him anyway because weather conditions are not favourable to navigation in the winter season: he might as well await favourable winds and an easy departure, *facilemque fugam ventosque ferentis* (430). But *inane* also reassures Aeneas that, should she be granted it, Dido will not use this time to try and rebuild their relationship or to persuade him to stay at Carthage, as she makes clear at 431-432 and as Servius clumsily translates in the promise that she would not seek sexual intimacy (*sine officio coeundi*) [19]. It is not essential, at this stage, to enquire whether Dido is consciously dissimulating her hopes to revive the *coniugium antiquum* or is actually convinced that all hopes are to be abandoned, and is ready to resign herself to a final farewell. The fact, however, that she is deploying an argument Anna had already suggested as a way to delay

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[15] A different kind of *veniam* had already played a role earlier in the book, at Anna's own suggestion: *tu modo posce deos veniam, sacrisque litatis / indulge hospitio* (50-51). The repetition at 436 is part of a pointed series of contrasts between the beginning of Dido's love story and its tragic conclusion, cf. p. 105.

[16] See Scarcia 1984-1991. In this context there may be a shade of the technical meaning *inane tempus* = κενὸς χρόνος = 'blank time' (*Old s. v.* 8) as used in ancient discussions about music and metrics, e.g. Quint. 9.4.51: cf. M. L. West 1992: 266 nn. 30-31, and, below, n. 38.

[17] Cf. 'mere time' (Clausen 2002: 93), all in J. Henry's footsteps (1873-92: 3.175).

[18] 'Poco tempo' (Canali), 'un momento di requie' (Scarcia), 'tempo solo' (Calzecchi Onesti), 'un moment, presque rien' (Perret; cf. Peerlkamp: 'quasi rem non magnam').

[19] Cf. La Cerda (explicatio ad 425-436): '[sc. *inane*] nam illud erit exigui commodi, cum caritura sim voluptate matrimonij', and Tilly's decorous translation (London 1968): 'free from passion'.

Aeneas' departure and thus creates a chance for their relationship to blossom is in itself revealing [20].

No intertextual models are usually invoked for Dido's request, yet a remarkably similar one plays a crucial role in a text to which this book of the *Aeneid* is indebted in many important respects. In Euripides, Creon orders Medea to go into exile ὡς τάχιστα (321) [21], but the woman reassures him of her good intentions and obedience, and begs for a short reprieve (340-342):

> μίαν με μεῖναι τήνδ' ἔασον ἡμέραν
> καὶ ξυμπερᾶναι φροντίδ' ἦι φευξούμεθα
> παισίν τ' ἀφορμὴν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ...

Creon reluctantly agrees (350-356) [22]:

> καὶ νῦν ὁρῶ μὲν ἐξαμαρτάνων, γύναι,
> ὅμως δὲ τεύξηι τοῦδε. προυννέπω δέ σοι,
> εἴ σ' ἡ 'πιοῦσα λαμπὰς ὄψεται θεοῦ
> καὶ παῖδας ἐντὸς τῆσδε τερμόνων χθονός,
> θανῆι· λέλεκται μῦθος ἀψευδὴς ὅδε.
> νῦν δ', εἰ μένειν δεῖ, μίμν' ἐφ' ἡμέραν μίαν·
> οὐ γάρ τι δράσεις δεινὸν ὧν φόβος μ' ἔχει.

Her request to Creon distinguishes Euripides' Medea both from her Apollonian counterpart and from some related characters such as Hypsipyle and Ariadne, and is essential to the development of her plot of revenge: it is precisely thanks to the short delay extracted from the king – the one day which dramatic conventions require for the unfolding of a tragic plot – that Medea can accomplish her plans, as she remarks in the monologue which follows (371-375):

> ὁ δ' ἐς τοσοῦτον μωρίας ἀφίκετο
> ὥστ', ἐξὸν αὐτῶι τἄμ' ἑλεῖν βουλεύματα

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[20] 4.51-53 *indulge hospitio causasque innecte morandi, / dum pelago desaevit hiems et aquosus Orion, / quassataeque rates, dum non tractabile caelum.* Ovid will expand the point, see later p. 215 (SIFC 2/2008).

[21] Cf. also 274, 335.

[22] Lines 355-356 are excised by Nauck, followed by several editors (a full list in van Looy 1992: 126), including, recently, Diggle, but not Page, van Looy (with reservations) and Mastronarde. A few editors condemn 356 but spare 355.

> γῆς ἐκβαλόντι, τήνδ᾽ ἐφῆκεν ἡμέραν
> μεῖναι μ᾽, ἐν ᾗι τρεῖς τῶν ἐμῶν ἐχθρῶν νεκροὺς
> θήσω [23], πατέρα τε καὶ κόρην πόσιν τ᾽ἐμόν.

Indeed a brief delay is all she needs: μείνασ᾽ οὖν ἔτι σμικρὸν χρόνον, / ... / δόλῳ μέτειμι τόνδε καὶ σιγῆι φόνον (389-391) [24].

Virgil's *tempus inane* is consistent with μίαν ... ἡμέραν and σμικρὸν χρόνον (note for instance Conington's translation), but a further implication emerges through the intertextual model: *inane* conveys, with a different emphasis, the same reassurance implicit in Medea's insistence on μίαν, the single most important element of her exchange with Creon. Thanks to her insistence, Creon himself is convinced that the short time he finally grants Medea will not be enough for her to commit any of the crimes he fears. In the light of this model, however, Dido's *inane* rather rings as an unrequested apology, almost a *Verneigung*: Medea's time has surely been anything but 'empty' [25]. Is it reasonable to suspect that Dido's request, too, is fraught with similar dangers?

Seneca in his *Medea* will make Creon's train of thought even more transparent (285-296) [26]:

> ME. Per ego auspicatos regii thalami toros,
> per spes futuras perque regnorum status,
> Fortuna varia dubia quos agitat vice,
> precor, *brevem* largire fugienti *moram*,
> dum extrema natis mater infigo oscula,
> fortasse moriens. CR. Fraudibus *tempus petis.*
> ME. Quae fraus timeri *tempore exiguo* potest?

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[23] Here Medea appears to be planning Jason's death as well (Mastronarde *ad loc.*), but if the future tense is seen as modal then a *suggestio falsi* rather than an outright false prediction may be involved (Collard 1988: 314 n. 10).

[24] An alternative version of the Carthaginian myth of origins (*Suda s. v.* Φοινίκων ἐγκέφαλοι) also involved the request for 'a little time.' Stranded on the coast of Libya, the Phoenicians refugees ask the locals to welcome them νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, which the latter interpret as 'just one day and one night', the former as 'night and day', i.e. 'forever': Scheid, Svenbro 1985: 336-337 (the ruse recurs in other Greek myths of foundation as well). Cf. n. 93 below.

[25] Heyne on 433: '*tempus inane* est, quo nil agitur' (quoting Val. Fl. 3.656 *has tolerare moras et inania tempora*).

[26] For Ovid's reworking of the Virgilian scene in his *Heroides* see later, p. 214 (SIFC 2/2008).

CR. Nullum ad nocendum *tempus angustum* est malis.
ME. *Parum*ne miserae *temporis* lacrimis negas?
CR. Etsi repugnat precibus infixus timor,
unus parando dabitur exilio *dies.*
ME. Nimis est, recidas aliquid ex isto licet;
et ipsa propero [27].

Indeed, Seneca amplifies the resonance of the *dies*-motif by having Medea reflect explicitly – twice – on its strategic importance, first at 399-400 (*segnis hic ibit dies, / tanto petitu ambitu, tanto datus?*), then more extensively at 420-425:

laxare certe tempus immitis fugae
genero licebat – liberis unus dies
datus est duobus. non queror tempus breve:
multum patebit. faciet hic faciet dies
quod nullus umquam taceat – invadam deos
et cuncta quatiam.

As he rewrites the tragedy of *Medea* in the form of a Virgilian *cento* heavily influenced by Seneca's play, Hosidius Geta will use Dido's words to express Medea's request for extra time (78-80): *non iam coniugium antiquum, quod prodidit, oro: / tempus inane peto: liceat subducere classem; / extremam hanc oro veniam.*

Ennius' *Medea exul* [28] probably contained a similar exchange between Medea and Creon. Although we cannot read the whole scene, lines 229-231 Jocelyn hark back to Medea's considerations at Eur. *Medea* 373-375, and show that this Medea, too, is fully aware that the day's delay foolishly accorded her is a formidable weapon for her *ira* [29]:

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[27] Medea's *nimis est* is also double-edged. She ostensibly reassures Creon that a day will be plenty for her to prepare her exile, and she is as eager to leave at this stage as he is too see her leave. But *nimis est*, taken in isolation and set off by the pause which follows, also means what it says – the time Creon has unguardedly granted her will undoubtedly be 'too much'.

[28] On the title of the play and the attribution of fragments see Jocelyn 1967: 342-350, especially 346, 348.

[29] See Jocelyn 1967 *ad loc.* A detailed stylistic analysis of the fragment in Lennartz (1994) 212-238, with further bibliography.

> ille traversa mente mi hodie tradidit repagula
> quibus ego iram omnem recludam atque illi perniciem dabo
> mihi maerores, illi luctum, exitium illi, exilium mihi.

2. Dido's request for a short reprieve has attracted almost universal sympathy, and critics have therefore proved unusually keen to take her words at face value, at least in this respect. All she asks for, after all, is a bit of 'empty time' with no obligations and no consequences for Aeneas' mission: *vis à vis* such an innocent demand his refusal appears even more hard-hearted and callous [30].

The sympathetic interpretation of *tempus inane* has encouraged critics to smooth out considerable difficulties in the analysis of Dido's speech even before we reach its tormented last line – famously 'the most difficult in Virgil' (Conington) [31], or at least 'an outstanding example of Virgilian mystery' (Austin) [32].

Let us consider, first, *requiem spatiumque furori*, which rounds off, probably more as a predicate than an apposition, line 433 ('some empty time, which would be *requies et spatium* for my *furor*'). '*Spatium* alone would be difficult with *furori*, but *requiem spatiumque* combine to mean 'a resting-time', Austin shrewdly observes: he is not alone in acknowledging, then silencing, the difficulty. *Requiem spatiumque* may well be modelled on the more common *tempus et spatium*, but the latter does not contain any potential dissonance, because *tempus* and *spatium* neatly overlap (almost redundantly), whereas *requies* and *spatium* – effect and cause – do not. There is no ambiguity, for instance, in the nurse's recommendation to Clytemnestra, in Seneca's

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[30] In the economy of the plot as engineered by Juno and Venus at the beginning of the book (90-128) time is not altogether irrelevant; as Anna recommends in her first address to her sister she should create *causas … morandi* (51) to detain Aeneas.

[31] A definition echoed in the title of Sabbadini 1900: 'Il verso più difficile dell'*Eneide* (IV 436)'.

[32] So difficult and mysterious, indeed, that Peerlkamp and Gossrau could not countenance Virgilian authorship, and excised it alongside 435 (La Cerda, *explicatio* ad 425-436, mentions earlier opinions that *miserere sororis* was a gloss, to be deleted together with 436). Wagner, too, wonders (*ad loc.*) whether 436 should not be excised. Cf. Bellessort 1925: 115: 'Ce passage est probablement un de ceux que Virgile eût modifié s'il avait pu corriger son poème.'

Agamemnon, to take time before heeding her rage: *proin quidquid est, da tempus ac spatium tibi: / quod ratio non quit saepe sanavit mora* (129-130), even if, interestingly, the queen seems far from convinced by this line of thought: tragic characters seldom live their lives according to Otto's *Sprichwörter*[33].

But in Virgil's line, as Paratore points out (*ad loc.*), the Latin words can have the desired sense of 'a resting-time' only if we allow that both *hysteron proteron* and *zeugma* are simultaneously at work: logically *spatium* must precede its result *requiem*, but, unlike *requiem … furori*, *spatium … furori* unlocks a rich seam of exegetical ambiguity. Translators and commentators generally iron out the problem by tacitly implying that the one correct interpretation of *spatium* is that of 'interval'[34]: 'a respite and breathing-space for my passion' (Conington); 'requie e intervallo al furore' (Canali); 'a breathing space for her passion' (Clausen); 'rest and respite for my passion' (Austin), 'pausa e pace al furore' (Calzecchi Onesti). Only a few strive to preserve the complexity of the Latin word-order – notably Perret: 'un peu de calme, quelques jours pour mon délire'[35]. Ovid allows for no ambiguities: *tempora parva peto, / dum freta mitescunt et amor, dum tempore et usu / fortiter edisco tristia posse pati* (*Her.* 7.178-180)[36]. Yet it is well-known that Virgil does exploit the 'momentary and evanescent' ambiguity produced by juxtaposing words which, once the full meaning of the sentence is clear, turn out to be otherwise syntactically connected[37].

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[33] For further comparisons with the Seneca passage see Tarrant *ad loc.* and Otto 1890 *s. v. mora*. St. *Th.* 10.703-705 harks back to Virgil's line: *ne frena animo permitte calenti, / da spatium tenuemque moram, male cuncta ministrat / impetus.*

[34] This meaning of *spatium* is rarer (*Old s. v.* 9), and normally used with verbs which signal it.

[35] It may be interesting to note that Mackail ('the last of Virgil's great Romantic critics': Quinn 1963: 31) and Day Lewis, who appear to be at least partially attuned to the potentially ominous implications of these lines, are both poets rather than, or more than, professional classicists. On Mackail (1859-1945), who trained as a classicist but became Professor of Poetry at Oxford in 1906, cf. also S. J. Harrison 1990: 3.

[36] On the meaning of Virgil's *doceat dolere* and its difference *vis à vis* Ovid's *edisco pati* see later, p. 215 (SIFC 2/2008).

[37] Clausen 2002 (1987[1]): 43 (from which my quote is taken), 71-72, 77, cf. O'Hara 1997: 250-251.

The problem is real. Assuming that *spatium* here means '(a stretch of) time' – as it normally does when followed by a dative – [38] a literal translation of the *iunctura* would have to be 'peace[,] and time for *furor*', a distinctly ambiguous and potentially disturbing meaning especially if we consider the pause after *requiem* [39]. We should not hasten to paper over this difficulty by 'decoding' the Latin words, but, rather, recognise the rewarding interpretive scenario opened up thanks to the double-edged meaning of *spatium furori* alongside *requiem furori* [40]. Again, it will not do to force an optimistic resolution by implying *leniendo* or the like, as, for instance, Day Lewis does as he translates: '…just time to give rein to despair and thus calm it' [41]. *Spatium furori* may *also* be interpreted as 'time for my *furor* to calm down', because ancient ethical theory (and common-sense advice) do point out that the best way to deflate anger and other strong emotions is to allow them to run their course for a while (obstacles can only intensify their strength, as Ovid points out in the case of Pentheus: *Met*. 3.566-71); but this is neither the only possible interpretation of Virgil's line, nor indeed the most straightforward.

A theoretical restatement of this type of advice is offered by Seneca at *de ira* 3.39. At first, *ira* cannot be contained: *primam iram non audebimus oratione mulcere: surda est et amens. Dabimus illi spatium* (39.2); afterwards, *quies* will help to assuage anger (39.3 *initia morborum quies curat*): *omni arte requiem furori dabit* (39.4). Both Clytemnestra's reaction to the nurse's advice, and Seneca's reasoning in *de ira* make clear that 'giving time to *furor*' retains the more ominous sense of 'a time and space for my fury': things will definitely get worse before they

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[38] *OLD s. v.* 10. Note, in connection with the use of *inane* discussed above, n. 16, that *spatium* is also used to denote 'a pause' in music (*OLD s. v.* 16).

[39] Cf. for instance Valerius Flaccus 2.356: *et deus ipse moras spatiumque indulget amori*. The *deus* is Jupiter, the lovers Jason and Hypsipile.

[40] While it is natural to assume that Dido is talking here about her *furor*, her words may also be taken, in part, as a criticism of Aeneas' own *furor*, the cruel folly (see e.g. 4.309-311), as she sees it, of his hasty departure.

[41] An early suggestion in La Cerda (*explicatio* on 425-436): 'peto *requiem spatiumque*, non amoribus, non blanditiis, sed *furori* meo mitigando … Solet enim primo impetus esse furor, qui postea assuetudine est dolor'.

can get better, before *ratio* will eventually be in a position to reassert its control over passion. *Spatium* is the first step in the path to recovery, but it is also a time for anger to express itself without restraint, because there is no reasonable way to contain such an outburst of passion in its prime. But what can happen while *furor* is allowed space and time to spend itself?

3. Arguments about the meaning and implications of the ablative *morte* [42] at line 436 also date at least as far back as Servius [43]. Three closely connected issues are at stake: (i) the precise syntactical function of *morte* (instrumental, temporal, or both?) [44]; (ii) which type of death

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[42] There is no need to emend *morte*, and attempts have in any case been discouraging. The least perverse proposal is probably the Delphin edition's *cumulatum* ('I will send him away with my death to crown and reward him' [Conington]), whose aggressive sarcasm is quite extreme (hence Klouaček's *cumulatum munere mittam*). Ribbeck, not on form, proposed *monte* (Ribbeck 1866: 95: '[i]immo magnos conieci reginam promisisse montes auri argentique aliorumque praemiorum in tam exigui beneficii gratiam'); Schrader ventured *sorte*, which is too technical. Vivona 1898: 430-431 argues that Dido must have expressed the same feelings of her Ovidian counterpart at *Her.* 7.181, something along the lines of 's'ei mi concederà questo favore, mi salverà dalla morte', i.e. (tentatively) *quam mihi cum dederit, tum ablata morte remittam*. Other attempts are listed – and rejected – by Pease 1935: 361. Heinze 1915: 115 n. 38 interprets the transmitted text thus: 'I will reward it in good measure, even with my life,' while remarking that the meaning of Dido's 'obscure' words would have been clearer if the author had written *cumulatam vel morte remittam,* i.e. 'even in death.'

[43] *Morte* plays an equally interesting role at 4.17 *postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit*, where Lyne 1989: 31 brilliantly shows that the ablative is at work with both *fefellit* and *deceptam*. The equation between death and deception, in itself plausible given the context, can also be seen as an early instance of a propensity to amalgamate heterogeneous categories which later grows to more alarming proportions, see later p. 206 (SIFC 2/2008). On similar ambiguities created by ablatives in Virgil see Jackson Knight 1966: 264-265 and O'Hara 1997: 249-250.

[44] La Cerda (*explicatio* ad 425-436), who reads *dederis*, recognizes that *morte* could mean either 'cum ipsa moriar' or 'si opus fuerit, moriar pro te', but does not suspect that suicide may be hinted at (though Wagner may have him in mind among those who '[d]e morte voluntaria … haec accipiunt', and with whom he disagrees *ad loc.*). Forbiger[2] (1845-46) on 436 first explicitly remarks that *morte* could equally well be seen to refer to Dido's natural death, or to her suicide: 'Annam quidem haec de naturali morte intelligere vult soror, ipsa autem iam de caede sibi inferenda cogitat.' The ambiguity between the instrumental and temporal meanings is recognized by several modern commentators (Conington, Page, Pease, Buscaroli, Williams), but denied by Austin. Sabbadini 1900 argues that the meaning shifted from the instrumental to the

is alluded to (natural or voluntary?); and (iii) who is expected to die (Dido alone, or others as well?).

Word order, context and Latinity make it natural to consider *morte* as an instrumental. 'By her death', Dido would align herself to unlucky lovers such as Damon in *Eclogue* 8 [45], who, when he is spurned by Nysa, presents his death [46] as an *extremum … munus* (*Ecl.* 8.60) [47]. The connection between Dido's and Damon's words is clearly flagged by *extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti* at line 429 [48]. Her death would be a 'gift' to Aeneas, presumably because it would remove any remaining obstacle to his plans [49]. If this passive-aggressive threat were unequivocally perceptible, however, Anna would have cause to worry about Dido's suicidal plans. But with a reasonable amount of goodwill *morte* could be regarded as a less threatening indication of time [50]:

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temporal in the context of Virgil's reshaping of the passage (see above n. 10). Paratore (on 436) and Cartault 1926: 324 privilege the instrumental meaning alone, but highlight (esp. Paratore) the ambiguity of the line. Recent discussions in Murgia 1987: 56-57 and esp. Casali 1999: 106-113.

[45] As Servius (on 436) already pointed out.

[46] The connection between *munus* and suicide is debated, see Clausen on *Ecl.* 8.60. The model is Theocritus, *Id.* 3.25-27 (with Hunter *ad loc.*); cf. [Th.] *Id.* 23.20-21.

[47] The dialogue with *Eclogue* 8 is extensive. Shortly before his passive-aggressive threat, Damon devotes a stanza to Medea (the passage is complex and much discussed, see Coleman and Clausen *ad loc.*): *saevus Amor docuit natorum sanguine matrem / commaculare manus. crudelis tu quoque, mater. / crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille?* (47-50). *Saevus Amor* harks back to Ennius: *Medea animo aegro amore saevo saucia* (*Medea exul* 216 Jocelyn), which also stands behind the all-important opening line of Book 4 (mediated, there, via Cat. 64.249-250, but also looking at Apollonius' Medea, 3.286-287; see Clausen 2002: 75-76, and later, n. 327), while *improbus* is echoed at *Aen.* 4.412 (see later, p. 92 and n. 146). Also, *Ecl.* 8.64-109 describes a magic incantation closely mirrored in *Aen.* 4.506-521 (Faraone 1989; Scarcia 1991): see later.

[48] A comparable train of thought is found in Apollonius' Medea, who would prefer to be slaughtered by Jason rather than be abandoned by him: her death – she points out bitterly – would come as 'due gratitude' (4.375 ἐπίηρα ... ἐοικότα) for all the help and love she has bestowed on him.

[49] Servius' matter-of-fact reasoning –'nam si eam odio habet restat ut eius morte laetetur' – resonates in Dryden's harsh translation (with *dederis*): 'If you in pity grant this one request, / My death shall glut the hatred of his breast.' Traglia 1983: 153 paraphrases 'mi conceda quest'ultimo favore, che gli restituirò ridandogli piena libertà con la mia morte.' A similar interpretation in Fairclough, Brown 1908 *ad loc.*: Dido would be planning to 'deliver him [*sc.* Aeneas] from her forever.'

[50] A clear-cut temporal use of *morte* without an adjective or genitive is hard to parallel even in archaic authors. Already Plautus favours *in morte* (Leumann, Hofmann, Szantyr

Dido would simply be promising that 'at her death' (at whatever time, and for whatever cause) she will gratefully reward Aeneas' *venia* [51]. These radically different messages have different addressees in sight. Anna, not for the first or the last time credited with a limited flair for lateral thinking, is not expected to surmise that 'at death' may point to an imminent future, let alone to pick up the *Eclogue* intertext. At some level, however, Dido must expect Aeneas to detect the desperate message lurking in her words, and – hopefully – be persuaded to reconsider his departure.

The absence of any explicit indication of whose death is meant with *morte*, however, gives Dido's words a threatening overtone consonant with the implication of the Euripidean intertext we have been discussing – and this is far from surprising at the conclusion of a speech whose very first line saw Aeneas metamorphosed from a cherished *hospes* (4.10) [52] into a haughty *hostis* [53]. DServius (on 436) reports that

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147-148); at *Miles* 707 *mea bona mea morti cognatis didam* (Lindsay), where in any case *mea* qualifies *morte*, Leo adopts Lindemann's emendation *mea bona in morte*, quoting as parallels *Men.* 411 and Cic. *Caec.* 10. Cf. also Bennett 1914: 381. But occasionally *morte* can be regarded as a borderline case between causal and temporal. Leumann, Hofmann, Szantyr 132 quote Lucil. 755-756 M. *morte huic transmisit suam / scolen*, to which one could add Ter. *Andria* 799 *eius morte ea ad me lege redierunt bona*, and Virg. *Aen.* 3.333-334 *morte Neoptolemi regnorum reddita cessit / pars Heleno* (Horsfall *ad loc.*: abl. either causal […] or perhaps of time, as used by V. with words not themselves of any temporal force; cf. 629 [*discrimine tanto*], 1, 672 *tanto cardine rerum*, 4, 502 *aut graviora timet quam morte Sychaei*, with ref. to Antoine 1882: 189 ss., 232 ss.).

[51] There is no need, and no way, to pin down what the queen may specifically have in mind as a reward. Murgia 1987: 56, reading *dederis*, thinks, along established lines, of 'an inheritance, and probably succession as queen.' Casali 1999: 111-112 and 118, with *dederit*, believes that Dido is offering a retraction of her curse (cf. 4.380-384), more favourable travel conditions, and, by extension, a future of peace between Romans and Carthaginians.

[52] On Aeneas as *hospes* see Gibson 1999.

[53] The emphatic *hostis* at 424 could well be gesturing towards Euripides' *Medea* and its pervasive use of ἐχθρός. Medea consistently regards Jason and his family as her enemies (278, 383, 734, 750, 765, 767, [782], 797, 1050, 1060; note the concentration in Medea's speech at 764-810), whom she must conquer (374, 765, 921). Medea sees herself as an equal to Jason, who by his betrayal has violated the social norms regulating relations among ξένοι: 'Medea thus takes on the traits of the insulted chieftain' (Mastronarde 2002: 9 and on 383). Jason is indeed ἔχθιστος (467; he will return the compliment at 1323). Aegeus and the Nurse share her point of view as well as her

the potentially aggressive meaning of *morte* taken as an instrumental had been spotted by early critics: 'alii ita intellegunt: 'reddam illi gratiam, occidam illum'; nam alibi ait (600) *non potui abreptum divellere corpus?* sed hoc totum sorori dicit.' Very few modern interpreters acknowledge that 'by death' at line 436 could also be read as a threat to Aeneas [54], and those who do hasten to rule out the possibility, perhaps because they implicitly share Mackail's warning that 'it would be quite out of place to make [Dido] end this piteous appeal on a note of savage irony' [55]. Not DServius, however, who precisely at this stage in his explanation adds the intriguing remark 'an perplexe locuta est, *ut solent loqui mali aliquid molientes*?' (my emphasis) [56].

This is plainly a case in which the decision of where to stop in the search for 'further voices' is shaped by our exegetical expectations [57]. If Dido is to be the forlorn victim of Aeneas' callousness, she cannot at this stage, as she begs for a short delay, be allowed to nurture any violent thoughts against the man she is still desperately trying to hold on to. But Austin misses the point when he thinks that expanding the reach of *morte* to include Aeneas as a victim would represent Mackail's 'note of savage irony.' First of all, this possible interpretation should not be seen as an alternative, but as an addition to the passive-aggressive meaning of *morte* which would foreshadow Dido's suicide. Secondly – and this is the essential point – there is no question of Dido being conscious of the threat against Aeneas which, try as we might,

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vocabulary (95, 744). The significance of the motif is well explained by Medea herself at 506-508 – Jason's actions have caused an inversion of normal affective relations, and as a consequence she has become 'an enemy to my own kin … and made foes of those I ought not to have armed.' The Nurse had analysed the situation along similar lines early in the prologue: νῦν δ' ἐχθρὰ πάντα, καὶ νοσεῖ τὰ φίλτατα (16).

[54] Murgia 1987: 56, *contra* Casali 1999: 113 n. 22.

[55] Mackail 1930: 151, endorsed by Austin *ad loc.*

[56] An intuition shared by a master of stylistic analysis and – in his youth – a disciple of Freud, Leo Spitzer: 'To every emotion, that is, to every distancing from our normal psychological state, corresponds, in the field of expression, a distancing from normal linguistic usage; and, conversely, […] a distancing from usual language is a sign of an unusual psychological state.' (Spitzer 1951: I.4). Riffaterre 1987, especially 371-374, restates the principle in explicitly psychoanalytic terms.

[57] Cf. D. P. Fowler 1997: 25 = 2000: 127-128, quoted in the heading.

we simply cannot write out of *morte*. No: Dido cannot be fully aware at this stage of the violent impulses she feels against Aeneas, and which she will voice much later, just as she cannot (consciously) know that her request for *tempus inane* connects her with an ominous intertextual model.

Awareness of the Euripidean intertext – and a willingness to explore the meaning of *morte* to the full – thus add a crucial layer of signification to Dido's words. We therefore have (i) the quasi-temporal, reassuring meaning 'at [my] death', which is intended to deceive Anna and succeeds in doing so because it can be understood to refer to a form of future material gratitude towards Aeneas; (ii) a passive-aggressive meaning – 'my suicide will be Aeneas' recompense,' which Anna is not expected to detect, but – arguably – a well-read Aeneas is; and finally, (iii) a latent aggressive meaning: Dido's words imply a possible revenge against Aeneas, who will be 'recompensed with *his own* death' for his cruel treatment of Dido. This last meaning is also activated by the intertextual memory, but is not supposed to be detected by either Anna or Aeneas, in case it results in the failure of Dido's request to see her lover. We will return to this particular issue [58].

4. The variant reading *cumulata* is known to Servius (he does not endorse it) [59] and read in the Mediceus, but has not been very popular among modern editors and critics, if nothing else because it can *prima facie* be dismissed as an haplography [60]. It was championed by Heinsius (followed by Burman), who objected to the repetition of

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[58] Note a comparable plurality of interpretive levels in Medea's statement at 341, where ἦι φευξούμεθα can mean both 'by what road we shall go into exile,' 'in what manner we shall go into exile,' and 'in what manner we shall live in exile': 'Creon is to understand the first and third, the audience may also hear the second' (Mastronarde on 341).

[59] Servius on 436: 'male quidam legunt *quam mihi cum dederit* (id est Aeneas) *cumulata morte remittam*, et volunt intellegi 'acceptum ab illo beneficium mea morte cumulabo et sic relinquam", an explanation which actually implies *cumulatam* (Sabbadini 1930, apparatus *ad* 436). Servius' explanation may be at the root of La Cerda's insertion of *relinquam* in the text instead of *remittam*.

[60] Sabbadini 1900. Murgia 1987 and Casali 1999 do not discuss the relative merits of the two readings.

-am, but offered no comments about its meaning. It was also initially preferred by Henry [61], who takes *cumulata morte* to signify – metaphorically – [62] 'a state of misery exceeding death,' and interprets lines 435-436 as follows: 'I will remit (cease to trouble him with my love) in accumulated death, i.e. in a condition worse than death' (for the expression he compares – *e contrario* – St. *Th*.11.581 *mors imperfecta*) [63]. But Henry subsequently [64] changed his mind, opting for *cumulatam* and making no mention of his earlier preference. However, Forbiger's summary of Henry's interpretation – 'mors quasi multiplex' – probably lies behind Pascoli's translation of *cumulata morte* [65] as 'con una morte moltiplicata' [66] – Dido pictures herself dying a thousand times over once Aeneas will have left again (as she fears) after granting her the small delay she is desperately seeking [67]. Although Henry and Pascoli both insist on the metaphorical value of

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[61] In 1851, during a visit to Leipzig (J. Henry 1853: ix-x), Henry shares his interpretation with Forbiger, who records it in Forbiger[3] 1852, its first public mention. Henry subsequently discusses it himself in J. Henry 1853: 61-66 and 1857: 260-261. Forbiger[4] 1872-75 mentions both Henry's original interpretation, and the fact that he has withdrawn it, 'ut, quid nunc de eo statuat, nesciam.' Conington[3] 1876 also discusses Henry's reading (finding it 'absolutely impossible'), while Conington-Nettleship[4] 1884, appearing after the publication of vol. 2 of *Aeneidea* in 1878 (J. Henry 1873-92), drops the reference altogether.

[62] J. Henry 1853: 64: 'cumulata' is added to 'mors', not merely to heighten the expression, but to place it beyond doubt that 'mors' is taken, not in its literal, but in its metaphorical, sense.'

[63] Snijder 1972 – apparently unaware of Henry and Pascoli – accepts *cumulata* and interprets *morte* as 'a dying away, mortification' of Dido's love for Aeneas, who should therefore feel free to linger in Carthage without any fear that their relationship might resume.

[64] J. Henry 1873-92: 745-748.

[65] '[L]ezione del Mediceo, la vera': Pascoli 1892 *ad loc.*

[66] Thus, incidentally, supporting Traina's 1989: 94 intimation that Pascoli must have used Forbiger.

[67] 'La frase *cumulata morte* è volutamente equivoca: deve valere per Anna: – alla mia morte, quando ne sarà giunta l'ora… –. Ma Didone dentro sé intende: – con morire non una volta sola, ma più, con una morte moltiplicata –, perché quel tempo che Didone chiede, non farà se non irritare la sua passione e accrescere il dolore per la necessaria partenza, che ogni giorno, pensandola nel futuro, vedrà in atto di avvenire nel presente.' Anna, on the other hand, will simply interpret *cumulata morte* as 'alla mia morte, quando ne sarà giunta l'ora', taking *cumulata* in the sense of *plena, perfecta, matura* (cf. e.g. Virg. *Aen*. 6.745 *perfecto temporis orbe*).

mors, and thus refer it exclusively to Dido's terminal sadness, Pascoli's translation comes tantalisingly close to an interpretation of *cumulata morte* – 'with abundant death' – which would substantially increase the risk of reading in Dido's word an unwelcome 'note of savage irony.' The problem, therefore, is not, as Pease would have it, that *cumulata* has 'no very good meaning' [68], but that such a meaning would not easily square with the common assumption that Dido's speech to Anna is humble and resigned.

Alternatively, *cumulata morte* could also be an ablative absolute [69]. Taking *cumulare* in the sense of 'coacervare' [70] ('with death piled up high,' 'with accumulated death') [71], it would conjure up a striking visual image which would further magnify the ambiguity of the context, especially if we consider *mors* here as *abstractum pro concreto* for 'corpse.' This use is safely attested in poetry before and after Virgil [72]. Although there are no direct Virgilian parallels for it, *mors* has the material sense of 'gore' at *Aen.* 9.348 (*multa morte recepit*), where Servius paraphrases 'cum multo cruore' [73]; on the other hand, Virgil presents several instances of *funus* = 'corpse' [74].

Dido's *cumulata morte* would evoke an image of extensive death and destruction for which Lucretius offers a significant model in his description of the carnage provoked by the plague. At a climactic

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[68] Pease on 436.

[69] For comparable expressions cf. Liv. 22.2.8 *cumulatis sarcinis*; Colum. 10.152 *cumulatis … glebis*; Curt. 6.6.29 *stipitibus cumulatis* ('ammucchiando tronchi su tronchi', trad. Gargiulo). Cf. also Luc. 8.729 *non pretiosa petit cumulato ture sepulchra*.

[70] *TLL* 4.1383.21ff.

[71] An interpretation entertained but quickly rejected by both Pease and Mackail. La Penna 1971: 458 also rejects *cumulata morte* ('aggiungendovisi la morte').

[72] Cat. 64.362, Prop. 2.13.22, Manil. 4.665. Cf. also Cic. *Cluent.* 201, *Sest.* 83, *Mil.* 86, and *ThLL* VIII.1504.41 ff., with Hagendahl 1936: 337-338 and Hofmann, Szantyr 1965: 2.749.

[73] Hardie *ad loc.* suggests that Virgil's 'bold use' might have been eased by the analogy with Gk. φόνος, both 'slaughter' and 'gore.'

[74] *Aen.* 2.59, 6.150, 6.510, 9.491. Other instances in Cat., Prop., Ov., Sen. trag., Luc. etc. (*ThLL* VI.1605.36 ff.). Both *mors* and *funus* are used in this sense because the word *cadaver* was considered unsuitable for poetry: Norden on *Aen.* 6.150, Axelson 1945: 49, and P. G. Fowler 1983: 547-548. The influence of Gk. θάνατος must also have been at work. Note also that at Eur. *Med.* 374 νεκρός = 'corpse': 'make three of my enemies into corpses' (Mastronarde *ad loc.*).

point in the final narrative of *De rerum natura*, the disease spreads without hindrance among humans and animals alike, and mutual contagion *cumulabat funere funus* (6.1238) [75]. (Note, incidentally, that Dido's love had been considered a *pestis* by Juno as early as 4.90). A similar image is found in Lucretius 3.71, where he describes the depths of depravation to which men can sink in their senseless quest for riches and power: *sanguine civili rem conflant divitiasque / conduplicant avidi, caedem caede accumulantes* [76].

Here *funus* is used in the concrete sense of 'corpse,' as in Liv. 26.41.8 (*ut aliud super aliud cumularetur funus*) but the author of *Bellum Hispaniense* will conflate the Lucretian imagery and the concrete use of *mors* in a related passage with distinctive poetic overtones [77]: *non solum morti mortem aggerabant, sed tumulos tumulis exaequabant* (5.6). Apart from the influence of Lucretius, a possible Ennian model has been suggested [78]: indeed the image of heaped corpses retains a strong expressionistic flavour which would not sound out of place in the *Annales*, perhaps in a context similar to Acc. *trag.* 317 R.^{2} = 138 Dangel *nec perdolescit fligi socios, morte campos contegi*, which also depicts a large-scale massacre and features *mors* in the sense of 'corpse' [79].

After Virgil [80], the use of *cumulare* in contexts describing mass slaughter remains productive [81], for instance in Lucan (4.571 *strage*

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[75] P. G. Fowler 1983: 548: '*cumulare*, although common in an extended meaning, strongly suggests a physical heap,' as explicitly brought out 6.1262-1263 *quo magis aestu / confertos ita acervatim mors accumulabat*. The image may have influenced Virg. *Georg.* 3.556-557 *iamque catervatim dat stragem [*sc. *Tisiphone] atque aggerat ipsis / in stabulis turpi dilapsa cadavera.*

[76] On the specific form of this and similar expression cf. Landgraf 1888: 162.

[77] See the detailed analysis by Pascucci 1965: 173-174 and Diouron 1999: 63.

[78] Pascucci 1965: 174. On other possible Ennian reminiscences see later nn. 101 and 104.

[79] The only pre-I century b. C. attestation of *cumulo*, however, is from a fragment by Caecilius Statius (230 R.^{2}) quoted by Cicero (Cic. *Cael.* 73): *nunc meum cor cumulatur ira* (a stern old man is talking). Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.197 *aggerat iras.*

[80] Where a comparable image can be found at *Aen.* 11.207: *confusaeque ingentem caedis acervum*.

[81] The negative use of *cumulo* to denote the piling up of evils seems also to be borne out by other passages, such as Cic. *Verr.* 3.85: *haec tam parva civitas … cumulata aliis tuis maioribus iniuriis*, or *Cat.* 1.14 *nonne etiam incredibili scelere hoc scelus cumulavisti?*

cruenta cumulata ratis) and Statius (*Theb*.10.655 *exanimes circum cumulantur acervi*), but especially in Silius, where, of course, we contemplate the eventual outcome of the rift between Carthaginians and Rome: *et iam corporibus cumulatus creverat agger* (1.418), *cumulantur acervo / labentum* (14.609: in the context of a plague), and *cumulatam strage virorum* (15.406, with *cumulatam* in the same position as in *Aen.* 4.436) [82]. Although a different sense of the verb is implied, Medea's words at Sen. *Med*.147 are also worth mentioning: *alto cinere cumulabo domum* [83]. In keeping with the ominous implications of *morte*, *cumulata morte* would graphically evoke – with the support of impressive and memorable models – the spectre of extensive slaughter. Mass funeral pyres, corpses accumulated one on top of the other, would be a suitable form of revenge on the part of the queen who has been horribly wronged, and, shortly later, she will be sorry that she has not inflicted such a punishment on Aeneas, his son, his companions and his descendants (600-602) [84]. The 'piling up' of corpses evoked by *cumulata morte* is conveyed, in Euripides, by the rhythm and structure of the line where Medea envisages multiple homicides (374-375: τρεῖς τῶν

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[82] Silius displays a remarkable interest in the creative potential afforded by overblown images of masses of bodies. See for instance 8.659-660 *iam stragis acervis / deficiunt campi*, or (even better) 8.668-669 *pons ecce cadentum / corporibus struitur*.

[83] For other possible connections between the play and *Aen*. 4 see later, p. 84.

[84] Cf. also 612-620. Of course the Trojans' instinctive feeling as they approached Carthage's shores was a deep-seated (and seemingly justified) fear: only divine intervention will cause their hosts to set aside their *ferocia / … corda* (1.302-303), but danger is always lurking beneath the surface (cf. e.g. 1.539-540), and to Jupiter they remain 'an enemy people' (4.235): Schiesaro 2005: 91-93 cf. Nelis 2001: 71-73. Note the gloomy characterization (*pace* Austin's insistence [on 1.159] on 'peace and safety') of the natural harbour the Trojans find upon their arrival near Carthage, which displays the typical features and colours of *loca horrida*, much as it offers, for the time being, a welcome respite. Mention of the Nymphs, too, is not entirely reassuring, given their later role in Dido's 'wedding' (see below p. 108 on the deceptive stillness of water see later n. 122), and the fact that later in the tradition (Ovid and Silius) Anna will have to metamorphose into a nymph in order to escape Lavinia's revenge (see later pp. 96-99) thus bringing to a close the story of the Carthaginian sisters. Anna's new abode as described by Silius (8.197-198) echoes 1.167-168. Ovid, characteristically, will tease out the negative connotation of the scenery by echoing it as a backdrop for Ino's suicide at *Met*. 4.525-527. The emphasis on details such as overhanging rocks and great heights inject a Bacchic flavour in the description – both Dido and Ino will turn into 'Bacchae.'

ἐμῶν ἐχθρῶν νεκροὺς / θήσω, πατέρα τε καὶ κόρην πόσιν τ᾽ἐμόν) [85]; in Ennius, a similar effect is reached through the careful balancing of symmetrical elements, repetition and assonance [86]. In Virgil, by the anaphoras at lines 600-601 and 605-606, where Dido regrets that she has not killed Aeneas, his son and his companions, and *memet super ipsa dedissem* (606) directly conveys the relevant spatial detail.

5. While *cumulata* deserves more attention than it normally attracts, the accusative *cumulatam* is doubtless the correct reading at line 433, since the image of devastation which *cumulata morte* conjures up could not – of course – be explicitly voiced at this stage, or Dido's request would collapse. But neither can *cumulatam* ever fully dispel the shadow of *cumulata* and its threatening implications. The phonetic texture of line 436 is striking, and has rightly attracted attention: the number of *m* is so large that Highet [87] suggests it may try to replicate Dido's sobs as she speaks [88]. As we hear the line (indeed, to a certain extent, even as we read it) the difference between CUMULATAMORTE and CUMULATAMMORTE effectively disappears [89]: word-order and phonetic effects conspire to make *cumulata morte* perceptible as a censored thought inescapably embedded within the accusative *cumulatam* in agreement with *veniam* [90]. Even as we print *cumulatam*, the text still

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[85] Note also that νεκρούς is a predicate: 'make three of my enemies into corpses' (Mastronarde on 374).

[86] Cf. Lennartz 1994: 213-238, esp. 218-220.

[87] Highet 1972: 137.

[88] Note the 'perceptible alliteration' of *m* (as well as *p*) in Euripides' Medea speech at 340-347, 'perhaps expressive of [her] earnest tone' (Mastronarde *ad loc.*). The very name 'Medea' frequently favours alliterative patterns in *m*, notably in Seneca's tragedy (Traina 1981: 123-129).

[89] Cf. Allen 1978: 31. The difference in pronunciation between single and double consonants does not prevent puns: Ahl 1985: 57. Sabbadini 1900 argues that the sequence caused the 'errore di copiatura' *cumulata*.

[90] Romans were fully attuned to the existence of 'acoustic intratexts' (Schork's 1996 label), as attested – e.g. – by the famous wordplay on *cauneas* = *cave ne eas* reported by Cic. *div*. 2.84. See later n. 233. In general, see Ahl 1985 for Latin, and the pioneering work of Silk 1974: 173-193 on 'aural interaction' in Greek (esp. 191-193 on 'aural suggestion', a category which is relevant here). On Virgil cf. also Simonetti Abbolito 1995: 178-181.

enables us to glimpse the flash of revengeful destruction in Dido's request, and an underlying set of emotions of which Dido is as yet unaware.

Dido's repressed emotions emerge in the shape of an allusion to Medea's deceitfully meek request and in an image of mass death which the reader is allowed to overhear, but which remains safely unavailable to the characters involved. We cannot establish for sure at what level of consciousness Dido nurtures the feelings of revenge which seep through her words. The possibility that 433-436 are a fully-fledged *Trugrede* intended to bring Aeneas back and kill him cannot be unequivocally discounted, but neither can her continuing passion. Indeed, her insistent denial at 431-432 (*non … oro / nec …*) is a transparent vehicle for voicing her unsuppressed desire to return to the *coniugium antiquum* and keep Aeneas at Carthage, and it would be hard to dismiss it as a rhetorical ploy. As ever in Virgil's poem, Dido is a character of staggering emotional intensity and complexity, and precisely because of its depth her love for Aeneas can leave room, if betrayed, for violent revenge.

6. Instead of doubling his efforts to leave Carthage, Aeneas, even if *certus eundi* (554), falls asleep, and is visited by Mercury, who admonishes him to hasten his preparations because he is surrounded by dangers (560-570) [91]:

> 'nate dea, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos,
> nec quae te circum stent deinde pericula cernis,
> demens, nec zephyros audis spirare secundos?
> illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat,
> certa mori, variosque irarum concitat aestus.
> non fugis hinc praeceps, dum praecipitare potestas? [92]
> iam mare turbari trabibus saevasque videbis
> conlucere faces, iam fervere litora flammis,

[91] E. L. Harrison 1982 and Feeney 1998 provide valuable readings of this rather neglected episode.

[92] This line is fairly close to Eur. *Med.* 372; note, incidentally, the syntactical similarity between the construction *potestas* + inf. and the Greek accusative absolute ἐξόν+ inf.

si te his attigerit terris Aurora morantem.
heia age, rumpe moras. varium et mutabile semper
femina.'

Mercury's second appearance in the book has often been criticised both for its supposed structural irrelevance and for unjustifiedly attributing to Dido violent thoughts of revenge, although *dolos dirumque nefas* could easily be seen as a fitting anticipation of (at least) [93] her suicide plans [94], and the images of turmoil conveyed by *mare turbari trabibus* and *conlucere faces* read as Mercury's restatement of Dido's explicit threat at 382-387. Indeed, as the Trojans at sea glimpse from a distance the flames of Dido's funeral pyre (a *tantus … ignis* which appears to be engulfing the city's *moenia*) they are filled with dark fears: *notum … furens quid femina possit* (5.6) [95]. And yet

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[93] Dido's association with *dolus* should not surprise. Even if we discount any ominous implication, she was after all renowned for the ingenious way in which she acquired Carthage's land: in Medieval English the common noun 'dido' means, *inter alia*, 'trick' (Bono, Tessitore 1998: 2-3). Scheid, Svenbro 1985: 337 argue that Dido's alternative name Elissa, to be connected with ἐλίσσειν 'to deceive' (as in Eur. *Or.* 889-894, A.R. 1.463), points to a Greco-Roman origin for the foundation myth of Carthage (but see n. 24 for an alternative etimology). Note that Gk. Μήδεια is also traced to the Indoeuropean stem **med*, of both μέδω and μήδομαι whose semantic spectrum includes 'to think', 'to plot', and 'to treat with magic rites' (cf. Homeric μήδεα 'thoughts, designs'), and which is in turn connected with the stem **me* of μῆτις: see Chantraine 1968: 1959-60 *s. v. medeor*, and Usener 1948: 160-163. On Roman stereotypes about *fides Punica* see Horsfall 1973-74, Prandi 1979, Hexter 1992: 345-347; on Medea as an archetype for cunning and magic prowess, and the characterization of Corynth, her home and Sisyphus', as the home of *sophismata* (as in Pind. *Ol.* 13.52-56) see Detienne, Vernant 1974: 176-179.

[94] Moles 1987: 159: 'Mercury's sexist views and warning that Dido is dangerous are accurate.'

[95] Mercury foresees that unless Aeneas departs fortwith the Carthaginians will pursue the Trojan ships (with *trabibus* = 'ships' or 'oars'), set fire to any of them still ashore, and possibly (Pease) hurl *faces* against their ships. The sequence is somewhat confused, thus anticipating Dido's irate and incoherent remarks at 592-594: *non arma expedient totaque ex urbe sequentur, / diripientque rates alii navalibus? ite, / ferte citi flammas, date tela, impellite remos!* It is in any case significant that the destruction of the ships by fire is envisaged here as well, after being first mentioned as early as 1.525 (*prohibe infandos a navibus ignes*). It will actually occur in Book 5, where Bacchic, Dido-like Trojan women do in fact set fire to the fleet (659-666: note that 666 *respiciunt atram in nimbo volitare favillam* echoes 5.3-4 *moenia respiciens* [sc. *Aeneas], quae iam infelicis*

'how far [Dido] was from such a plot may be judged from her unhappy gropings in 534f.' remarks Austin, who then proceeds to state that Mercury is simply lying, and Dido 'has no plots against [Aeneas] to do him personal injury' [96]. The situation is arguably more complicated. At a structural level, for instance, E. L. Harrison has persuasively shown that Mercury's double intervention is modelled on *Iliad* 24, and the Roman god displays the same degree of independent initiative which characterises his Greek counterpart [97]. In the *Iliad*, Hermes first escorts Priam on his mission to Achilles (24.334-338), but once the king falls asleep in the Greek camp he returns a second time, appears to Priam in his sleep, and warns him that he is surrounded by dangerous enemies (24.679-688). According to Mercury, Aeneas, too, has failed to comprehend fully the violence of Dido's feelings and their destructive (and self-destructive) potential, and has therefore taken her harsh words at 381-386 as a temporary emotional outburst which should not be taken at face value. The time elapsing between Aeneas' acceptance of Mercury's initial order, and his actual departure after the god's second intervention is crucial to the unfolding of Dido's tragedy, and is crucially characterised as 'borrowed time' fraught with anxiety [98]. Nor is Mercury's second message ideologically vacuous: as a Jupiter-endorsed purveyor of *Logos* the god's appearance marks the stark contrast between the divine and human views of the events taking place at Carthage [99].

Elissae / conlucent flammis, with *conlucent* taken up in turn from 4.567 *conlucere*). The Bacchic connotation of the scene is guaranteed by Ascanius' words (672-673) *en, ego vester / Ascanius!*, a luckier (if seemingly unnoticed) take on Eur. *Ba*.1118-1119 ἐγώ τοι, μῆτερ, εἰμί, παῖς σέθεν / Πενθεύς (the word order is noteworthy).

[96] Austin on 563, cf. Feeney 1998: 122 on Mercury's characterisation as 'the archetypal liar.' For other negative opinions, and the suggestion that the appearance is not real, but just a figment of Aeneas' imagination (as argued e.g. by Steiner 1966: 53), see E. L. Harrison 1982: 29-30. Pease, however, believes 'the spirit already shown in 4, 384-386, and, still more, the rage soon to burst out […] go far to explain it' (in a similar vein cf. Conington on 563, and Paratore on 563). If Mercury is indeed a figment of his imagination, it would appear that Aeneas has subconsciously grasped the menace lurking in Dido's words.

[97] E. L. Harrison 1982: 12-15; 32.

[98] E. L. Harrison 1982: 23-24 is very good on the significance of Aeneas' belated departure.

[99] Feeney 1998: especially 115-116.

Within this Homer-inspired narrative framework, an Euripidean intertext plays a decisive role once more: Mercury's *si te his terris Aurora morantem* (568) unequivocally reflects Euripides *Medea* 352-354 [100], εἴ σ' ἡ ἰοῦσα λαμπὰς ὄψεται θεοῦ / καὶ παῖδας ἐντὸς τῆσδε τερμόνων χθονός, / θανῆι) possibly via Ennius' *si te secundo lumine hic offendero moriere* [101]. This allusion has been noticed by critics since La Cerda, but regarded as an inert verbal borrowing (or, in any event, a non-threatening intertext). Once we appreciate the similarities between Dido's and Medea's requests, however, we must infer that Mercury's almost verbatim repetition of Creon's words acquires a much more substantial significance: not only does it valorise in retrospect the presence of the Euripidean intertext at 433-436, but it also confirms to Aeneas that Dido is liable to turn into a revengeful Medea dominated by *ira*. Seneca's own version of the scene (*Medea* 297-299) is – again – close to the Euripidean model and its earlier Latin incarnations [102]:

> capite supplicium lues,
> clarum priusquam Phoebus attollat diem
> nisi cedis Isthmo.

We are now in a position better to understand the harsh tone of Mercury's words. Aeneas has conspicuously failed to grasp the full meaning of Dido's message, and most importantly the intertextual reference which would have revealed its threatening potential. Aeneas,

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[100] The parallel was pointed out by De La Cerda, followed only by Conington, Forbiger, Buscaroli and Pease. Paratore points rather to Hom. *Il.* 18.268-269 (also mentioned by De La Cerda), which may well be in the background to Euripides' line.

[101] This line, quoted by Cic. *Rab. Post.* 29 as the typical utterance of an imperious king, was assigned to Ennius' *Medea* by Scaliger, followed by Vahlen^2 (264-265) and Ribbeck (224-225 R.^{2}), but not by Jocelyn 1967: 349, who argues that it could belong to any number of Republican plays. The line, however, does appear to fit unusually well at this juncture in Ennius' play (Jocelyn's reservations are based mostly on issues of transmission). An Ennian flavour could possibly be perceived in the rare use of *trabes* in the sense of 'ships' at line 566 (Austin *ad loc.* with bibliography), one of only two such occurrences in Virgil (cf. *Aen.* 3.191), which is first found in *Medea exul* 208-209 Jocelyn: *utinam ne in nemore Pelio securibus / caesa accidisset abiegna ad terram trabes* (*Ann.* 616 V.^{2} = spur. 9 Sk. may be spurious).

[102] La Cerda on 568 referring to Ennius and Seneca: 'uterque Euripidi haesit.' Hosidius Geta's centoneary *Medea* restores Virgil's line to Creon (102).

clearly, hasn't read Euripides' *Medea* [103], and is therefore as *demens* (562) as the king, who, in Medea's own words, had 'come to such a degree of folly' (371) that he granted her the delay she was craving because he had failed to comprehend what was at stake [104].

Mercury's statement that Dido *dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat* (563) [105] is justified by his (unsurprising) superior awareness of the complexity of Dido's emotions and mental processes [106]. Even if the queen is not yet conscious of her vengeful feelings, her words at 435-436 open a window onto an array of conflicting impulses: she is resigned to her fate and yet desires one last chance to revive the relationship with Aeneas; she is ready to threaten suicide to manipulate him, but she also entertains in earnest the thought of killing herself; she begs for 'just a bit of time' yet is also drawn to the example of Euripides' irate Medea, even if it will take some more time before she becomes fully aware of these destructive feelings (600-606).

Metaphors play an important – and underestimated – role in Mercury's speech. *Varios … irarum concitat aestus* (564) picks up and confirms the narrator's almost identical words at 532, *saevit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu* [107], and thus portrays Dido in the throes of an emotional storm whose ultimate outcome is unclear. Elsewhere Virgil relies extensively on aquatic metaphors when describing a character's hesitation between different courses of action [108]. Note for instance *Aen.* 12.486-487: *heu quid agat? vario nequiquam fluctuat aestu, /*

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[103] To reverse Wilamowitz' famous dictum about Seneca's own Medea (1919: 3.162).

[104] Cf. also Ennius' *traversa mente* at 229 Jocelyn.

[105] Cf. Creon's reaction to Medea's request in Eur. *Med.* 316-317: ἀλλ' ἔσω φρενῶν / ὀρρωδία μοι μή τι βουλεύηις κακόν.

[106] Note that *dolos* is generic, and although we can connect it with the possibility that Dido might have decided to act upon her revengeful instincts before it was too late, it can also be seen to refer to the *fraus* which Dido is plotting behind her sister's back (4.675). Ovid's Medea will echo this line at *Her.* 12.211 *viderit ista deus, qui nunc mea pectora versat*. *Dolus* is a also a key element in the characterization of Seneca's Medea. See e.g. the interaction *donis / dolus* at *Med.* 882.

[107] *Saevio* can be referred to winds, seas, storms: *OLD s. v.* 3a.

[108] On the Greek background to metaphors associating mental upset with a stormy sea (esp. for such verbs as χειμάζω and ταράσσω), see Sansone 1975: 71. Cf. also Segal 1969: 32 on similes involving the sea used to describe intense passion, and primarily in reference to Seneca, Lotito 2001: 15-20 (with further bibliography).

diversaeque vocant animum in contraria curae, where Turnus' deliberations are introduced by a variation on Dido's *'en, quid ago?'* (4.534) [109], and *diversae* recalls *varium*. Or again *Aen.* 8.18-21 [110]: *quae Laomedontius heros / cuncta videns magno curarum fluctuat aestu, / atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc / in partisque rapit varias perque omnia versat*, with *varias*, again, and *versare* [111], which Mercury refers to Dido – albeit in a different sense – at 4.563 [112]. Euripides' *Medea* had mined this very same set of metaphorical associations [113], which are, to be sure, common enough, but appear to be particularly appropriate in a narrative context where sea and seafaring play a significant role [114].

It is in this specific context that we should read Mercury's closing statement. *Varium et mutabile semper / femina* (569-70) is an easy target for criticism because it is usually interpreted as a more or less lighthearted [115] prototype of 'la donna è mobile' – and thus would indeed represent an unjustified, callous remark *vis à vis* Dido's devotion and suffering [116]. I would like to suggest, however, that by expanding upon the nautical metaphors suggested by *concitat* [117] and *aestus* at line 564 [118]

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[109] Heyne, Forbiger, Ribbeck, Pease and Austin point to Eur. *Med.* 502 as a possible (though inevitably not exclusive) model for Dido's *aporia*.

[110] Cf. DServius' note on *Aen.* 8.19: *fluctuat aestu: utrumque verbum de mari est*.

[111] For *versare* used in connection with the sea cf. *Aen.* 6.362 *nunc me fluctus habet versantque in litore venti*.

[112] Cf. also *Aen.* 12.665-668, with Traina *ad loc.*

[113] Seneca's will follow suit (abundantly): *quid, anime, titubas? ora quid lacrimae rigant / **variam**que nunc huc ira, nunc illuc amor / diducit? anceps **aestus** incertam rapit; / ut saeva rapidi bella cum **venti** gerunt, / utrimque **fluctus maria** discordes agunt / dubiumque **fervet pelagus**, haut aliter meum / **cor fluctuatur**. ira pietatem fugat / iramque pietas – cede pietati, dolor* (937-943).

[114] Mastronarde 2002: 35.

[115] Feeney 1998: 121-122 talks of 'sprightly misogyny.' Hardie 1991a: 14 perceives instead 'a deeper and sombre truth behind the rhetoric,' alerting to the instability of Dido's role as a female leader.

[116] 'Mercury is lying, as he lied in 563' (Austin on 569). Cf. Lyne 1989: 48: '[Mercury's statement] is flatly untrue and meant to strike us as such.' *Contra*, Tupet 1976: 263.

[117] For *concitare* of winds stirring up a storm see *OLD s. v.* 2(a).

[118] The adjective *varius* (*variosque irarum concitat aestus*), is mirrored at 12.831 in reference to Juno (*irarum tantos volvis sub pectore fluctus*). On *aestus* cf. Fantham 1975: 8 nn. 3-4.

(and prepared by *fluctuat aestu* [119] at 532) Mercury's apophthegm rather reflects a traditional analogy [120] between woman and the sea [121]: both can turn suddenly and unpredictably from benevolence to rage, and as a consequence their apparently peaceful demean or cannot be trusted [122]. They are attractive, but dangerous, forces of nature [123]. Dido, a woman at the mercy of the elements, can shift from lull to tempest [124] – as lines 566-567, moving on from metaphor to description, attest [125]. Propertius 2.9.31-36 offers a pertinent term of comparison – note especially the role played by *ira* [126]:

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[119] Cf. the use of *fluctuo* at *Aen.* 10.680 (with a comparable correspondence between inner mental processes and the setting), with S. J. Harrison *ad loc.*, and of *fluctus* at 12.831, above n. 118. See also Brown on Lucr. 4.1077.

[120] See Murgatroyd 1995, esp. 16-17, who examines some important Hellenistic models (above all Meleager, *A.P.* 5.156). Cf. also Menander, *Monostichoi* 371, p. 54 Jäkel, and Aesop. *fab.* 168 and 207 Perry.

[121] The Virgilian master text of the gender dynamics set in motion by the association between women and sea is to be found in the storm scene at the beginning of the poem, where the storm engulfing Aeneas and his fleet is presented as a manifestation of Juno's *doli* and *irae* (1.130), while Neptunus – compared to a *pietate gravem ac meritis … virum* (1.151) – restores order with masculine authority: *ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulcet: / sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor* (1.153-154). Cf. also 7.586-590, where Latinus – *velut pelagi rupes* (586) – steadfastly resists his people's demand to wage war (the masses are a assimilated to women and children for their lack of self-control). Cf. also n. 132 below. I plan to return to this issue elsewhere.

[122] Cf. Lucr. 2.555-558: *… ut videantur et indicium mortalibus edant, / infidi maris insidias virisque* ***dolumque*** */ ut vitare velint, neve ullo tempore credant, /* ***subdola*** *cum ridet placidi pellacia ponti* (with *aestus* following at 562; note the antropomorphic *ridet*). Cf. also 5.1004-1005: *nec poterat quemquam placidi pellacia ponti /* ***subdola*** *pellicere in* ***fraudem*** *ridentibus undis*, and see Noussia 2001: 284-286. Ovid's Dido expands on the theme at *Her.* 7.53-56 – hardly innocently: *quid, si nescires, insana quid aequora possunt? / expertae totiens tam male credis aquae? / ut pelago suadente etiam retinacula solvas, / multa tamen latus tristia pontus habet.*

[123] See for instance Segal's 1969: 24-33 remarks about the 'suggestive ambiguities' (32) between destruction and nourishment in Ovidian water landscapes.

[124] One may also compare Tib. 1.5.75-76 *nescio quid furtivus Amor parat. utere quaeso, / dum licet: in liquida nat tibi linter aqua*, if *liquida* is taken to imply 'running', i.e. shifting (as the woman's favour: cf. line 70 *versatur celeri Fors levis orbe rotae*).

[125] At line 531 *rursusque resurgens* iconically conveys the notion expressed by *ingeminant*, and may also suggest the toing and froing of storm-waves (for *surgere* used of seas and rivers see *OLD s. v.* 9; for *ingemino* cf. *Georg.*1.333 *ingeminant austri et densissimus imber).*

[126] Note, also, Propertius' threatened 'aggressive' suicide in the lines immediately following (37-39), and the final exclamation *sanguis erit vobis maxima palma meus* (40).

sed vobis facilest verba et componere fraudes:
hoc unum didicit femina semper opus.
non sic incerto mutantur flamine Syrtes [127],
nec folia hiberno tam tremefacta Noto,
quam cito feminea non constat foedus in ira,
sive ea causa gravis sive ea causa levis.

This attitude is expounded at length in Semonides' iambus 'de mulieribus', fr. 7.27-42 West [128]. The punch-line which rounds off this section of the poem (42) is much disputed, but if ἀλλοῖος is taken to mean 'changeable', 'mutable' [129], it would represent a very close parallel for Mercury's own *sententia* [130]:

Another [*sc.* type of woman] he made from the sea; she has two characters. One day she smiles and is happy … But on another day she is unbearable to look at or come near to … Just so the sea often stands without a tremor (ἀτρεμής), harmless (ἀπήμων), a great delight to sailors, in the summer season; but often it raves (μαίνεται), tossed about by thundering waves

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A similar theme is developed at 2.5.11-13, though there *amantes* of both sexes are compared to the mutability of seas and clouds. In Hor. *carm*. 3.9.22-23 Lydia calls the poet *levior cortice et inprobo / iracundior Hadria.*

[127] Cf. Sall. *Iug.*78: *nam ubi mare magnum esse et saevire ventis coepit, limum harenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. Syrtes ab tractu nominatae.* Cf. also Prop. 3.19.7-8 and 3.24.15-16 (the latter in the context of a sustained metaphorical discussion of erotic travails as navigation, cf. Fedeli *ad loc.*). Aeneas had already had trouble with this treacherous and fast-changing features of the landscape during the storm at the beginning of the poem (1.111 and 1.146), where an expression such as *furit aestus harenis* (1.107) suggests an analogy between the stormy seas and the *ira* of Juno. *Syrtis* recurs again at 4.41. On the possible echo of *Absyrtus* in *Syrtis* see later n. 216.

[128] Horace's *Ode* 1.5 (on which see Nisbet, Hubbard) shows the continuing appeal of this set of metaphorical associations, as the poem weaves sea and nautical metaphors in the description of the love affair between Pyrrha and the *puer*. While the tone is far removed from the drama of *Aeneid* 4, and, consequently, the analogy with the sea only conveys the woman's emotional unreliability, darker images such as *aspera / nigris aequora ventis* (6-7) are noteworthy.

[129] Pellizer 1990: 129-130. Note some old translations into Latin quoted *ad loc.*: 'ingenio … mutabili' (Buchanan); 'marisque instar indolem semper variam habet' (Koeler); 'è l'oceano cosa mutabile' (Leopardi).

[130] For proverbial expressions about the analogy between the woman's and the sea's rage see Pellizer 1979: 31-32; on the diffusion of Semonides' text in Hellenistic culture, Pellizer, Tedeschi 1990: xlii-xliii.

(βαρυκτύποισι κύμασιν φορεομένη). It is the sea that such a woman most resembles in her temper; like the ocean, she has a changeful nature (ταύτηι μάλιστ᾽ ἔοικε τοιαύτη γυνὴ/ ὀργήν· φυὴν δὲ πόντος ἀλλοίην ἔχει) [131].

The naturalistic metaphor presupposed by Mercury's statement also contributes to explain the 'rather dry and scientific tone' [132] of his *sententia*, which aims to express, as befits a god, a general truth [133] (a 'law of nature') [134] grounded in authority and experience [135].

Criticism of Mercury's 'slander' fails to take into account that his words do not come as an isolated sentence, but complete a gradual process of understanding which has progressed at different speeds for Aeneas on the one hand and for the narrator and his readers on the other. Unlike Aeneas, Mercury is aware of Dido's anguished monologue at 534-552, which betrays a troubled and unpredictable state of mind,

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[131] Translation Lloyd-Jones 1975: 43 (a different translation in Lloyd-Jones 1975: 73). The whole section 37-42 may however be an interpolation: Verdenius 1968: 141, but see also Loraux 1978.

[132] Lyne 1989: 50, who attributes the tone to Mercury's contempt for Dido (see later n. 135). But the technical flavour of *mutabile* finds a parallel in *tractabilis*, which the narrator refers to Aeneas at 4.439, yet Anna had used in connection with the weather at 4.53 *dum non tractabile caelum*. *Tractabilis*, too, is mostly used of physical things (before Virgil, already Cic. *Att*.10.11.3 applies it to persons). Seneca elaborates on Virgil's images at *Ph.* 580-582, where the nurse compares Hippolytus' imperviousness to that of a rock unmoved by the waves of feminine seduction: *ut dura cautes undique* ***intractabilis*** */ resistit undis et lacessentes aquas / longe remittit, / verba sic spernit mea* (cf. Fantham 1975: 3-4). When Dido and Aeneas meet again in the Underworld, the queen is as resistant as a *cautes* to Aeneas' soothing words: *illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat / nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur / quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes* (6.469-471).

[133] 'Il predicato al neutro anziché al femminile generalizza' (Sabbadini on 569).

[134] The combination of *varius* and *mutabilis* occurs again at *Aen.* 11.425-426: *multa dies* ***varii****que labor* ***mutabilis*** *aevi / rettulit in melius*, in Turnus' rousing – and solemn – reply to Drances. Though – here – positive in outlook, Turnus' statement still focuses on the unpredictability of events. Note also Curtius Rufus 4.14.19 *breves et mutabiles vices rerum sunt, et fortuna numquam simpliciter indulget.*

[135] Lyne 1989: 49 detects 'refinements of unpleasantness' in Mercury's use of the neuter forms (cf. Conington on 569, who speaks of 'contempt'), and the 'ironic' use of *femina*. On the 'predicative use of the neuter adjective in *sententiae*' see McKeown on Ov. *Am*. 1.9.4, with Kühner, Stegmann 1.32 and Hofmann, Szantyr 444 (who posits a possible Greek influence), and Sabbadini, above n. 133. The use of *femina* may also be explained, however, as a balancing element *vis à vis* the negative statement of *varium et mutabile* (perhaps with a concessive colour: 'even a (respectable) lady is still …').

and barely conceals her resentment both against the Trojans' *periuria* (542) and Anna's reckless advice (548-549) [136]. Aeneas' delay may well suggest that he is far from eager to depart, of course, but also surely implies that he does not take Dido's threats (380-87) at face value. Mercury begs to differ. Henry's rebuttal [137] – endorsed by Pease – that Dido was unswervingly loyal to Aeneas, rather misses the point of these lines, since the god is referring here to Dido's emotional fluctuations and warns Aeneas that her begging for a reprieve at 435-436 is not necessarily her final reaction to his departure. After all, even her welcoming generosity towards the Trojans had been unexpected, and Venus had to intervene to make sure that Dido would not change her attitude – *ne quo se numine mutet* [138]. Now, for a second time, a god is concerned that the queen's feelings may undergo a sudden transformation, and, as Martianus Capella explains (5.485), turn *ex amore in odium* [139].

Part two

7. Dido's words to Anna at lines 416-436 mark a decisive stage in her emotional journey from love to revenge, and really raise the stakes in the battle of wills with Aeneas. Not only has he decided to leave, thus prompting Dido's first violent rebuke at 365-387. Now he reiterates his decision even in the face of a seemingly minimal request from a woman who appears no longer enraged, but submissive and almost humble. Even if he is not keen to give Dido a last chance to revive

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[136] The tone of Dido's first words to her sister – *i, soror* (424) – is somewhat surprising, cf. DServius on 416: 'Anna prope invidiose, quia ipsa nuptias suaserat.' *I* had been used only once before in the poem, at 4.381, with evident sarcasm (note Pease's defensive remarks on 424). Further use in the poem is certainly sarcastic at 9.634, possibly at 7.425-26 (but cf. Horsfall *ad loc.*), while 6.546 (twice) is emphatically positive. Cf. Brink on Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.76, Leumann, Hofmann, Szantyr 837 and Bessone on Ov. *Her.* 12.204, with further bibliography.

[137] J. Henry 1873-92: 2.803.

[138] *Aen.* 1.674, cf. above n. 84.

[139] See already Heyne on 569: 'h.l. tantum eo pertinet, quod in muliebri animo summus amor in summam saevitiam et immanitatem verti potest, ut adeo Aeneae de salute cogitandum sit.' Similarly Pascal *ad loc.*, criticised by Buscaroli *ad loc.*

their relationship (her primary, if dissimulated, objective) he could at least grant her a final farewell and receive in exchange the retraction of her curse [140] and a more peaceful journey toward his final destination. By making Aeneas snub Dido's request without appeal, Virgil massively orients the readers' emotional allegiances in her favour and against Aeneas [141]. Her subsequent hatred, the final malediction, and its gruesome historical consequences [142], will be presented as the result not so much of Aeneas' decision to depart (which can after all be blamed on a Fate he cannot control), but more directly – as Pease remarks – [143] of his gratuitous unwillingness to grant her the *tempus inane* he could easily spare without scuppering the main plan.

This is a line of thinking which the text itself encourages. Before detailing her request to Aeneas, Dido offers an inverse *captatio benevolentiae* as she points out that she is *not* one of his enemies, specifically not one of the Greek leaders who attacked Troy (425-427), nor has she dug up Anchises' tomb [144]. There is no contextual need for Dido to recall these historical truisms [145], even if the alternative strategy of

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[140] Cartault 1926: 324 (cf. n. 139 below); Austin on 436; Casali 1999: 116.

[141] Christian authors will go further, and rewrite the story of a chaste Dido. For a brief account of readers' reaction to Dido's plight see Farron 1980.

[142] Casali 1999: 118: 'Aeneas behaves … also in such a way as to provoke the curse which, in the "fictional world" of the poem, is the cause of the sufferings and future sorrows of the Trojans in the second half of the *Aeneid* and of thousands of people through the centuries of conflict between Rome and Carthage.' Had Aeneas agreed to delay his departure, Dido would have 'repaid him with interest' by turning her curse into a blessing: Casali (2004-05): 163-164. This assumes that Dido is to be taken at face value when she claims, among other things, that she no longer seeks the *coniugium antiquum*, and would be entirely satisfied by some *inane tempus*.

[143] Pease 1935: 34: '*After* this scene and the failure of her subsequent appeal to Aeneas [4.416-449], her unrestrained love turns to an equally intense hatred'; E. L. Harrison 1989: 16: '*After* many futile attempts through Anna to delay Aeneas' departure, Dido's mental disintegration begins (405ff.)' (emphases mine).

[144] An act which the Carthaginians had committed (Liv. 26.13.13, on Hannibal), and the Romans abhorred: it threatened the extinction of the polity (cf. Hor. *Ep*.16.13-14, with Watson). The desecration was attributed to Diomedes in an alternative version of the story recorded by Varro (Servius on 4.427; D'Anna 1989: 159-196, and p. 96 below), the same according to which Anna was Aeneas' lover (cf. 4.421-23). It is significant that these two references to the 'Varronian' plot emerge side by side in this passage.

[145] The mention of *Aulis* is particularly poignant given the analogy between Dido's and Iphigenia's situations: see DuBois 1976 and Schiesaro 2005: 95.

reminding Aeneas of all the benefits she has actually bestowed on him has already proved ineffectual (4.317 and 373-376). To a Roman audience, however, Dido's words would surely have evoked the young Hannibal's oath to be a relentless enemy of Aeneas' descendants [146]. Silius, ever an astute reader of the *Aeneid*, adds to what we know from historical sources the telling detail that the oath was sworn on Dido's *manes* [147], thus making explicit the connection between Dido's death and Hannibal's hostility which the *Aeneid* already plots as a direct consequence of Aeneas' desertion and Dido's curse at the end of Book 4 (622-629) [148]. But while this long-term malediction is only readable *sous rature* in Dido's *excusatio non petita*, its evocation introduces an element of dissimulation in the context in which it is uttered. Indeed, Quintilian quotes *'non ego cum Danais Troianam exscindere gentem / iuravi'* as an instance of *aversio* [149], a form of dissimulation through which *aut aliud expectasse nos aut maius aliquid timuisse simulamus* (9.2.39) [150]. The perception of an immediate threat – that Dido may turn against Aeneas, acting as a Hannibal *ante litteram* just as he will eventually follow in the queen's steps – is hindered in this context both by the easily discernible allusion to Hannibal's oath, which points to a distant future, and by the reassuring precedents Dido's words evoke. Upon their arrival, as they beg *prohibe infandos a navibus ignes* (1.525), the Trojans emphasize in similar terms that they have no hostile intentions: *non nos aut ferro Libycos populare penatis / venimus, aut raptas ad litora vertere praedas; / non ea vis animo nec tanta superbia victis* (1.527-529); and Achaemenides' frank admission that he had been an enemy of the Trojans' (3.602-603 *scio me Danais e classibus unum / et bello Iliacos fateor petiisse penatis*) paves the way for reconciliation [151].

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[146] Polyb. 3.11, Liv. 21.1.4, Nep. *Han.* 2.4, Appian. 6.2.9, Mart. 9.43.9.

[147] 3.118-119 *hanc mentem iuro nostri per numina Martis, / per manes, regina, tuos.*

[148] A detailed analysis of the oath in Tupet 1980, who rightly insists on its connection with Dido's final curse in *Aen.* 4.

[149] According to modern classifications, *aversio a materia* (Lausberg 1969: 244).

[150] On Ovid's take on these lines see Casali 2004-05: 158-164.

[151] The repetition of *populare* at 4.403 in connection with the Trojans' preparation for departure retroactively calls into question the earnestness of their statement. Note

At least since Heinze, critics have been inclined to chart Dido's psychology as a linear trajectory between distinct, well-defined stages, an organic development from love to hatred: 'Each new phase in the outward course of events leads to a new phase in her inner development; and each of these phases represents as purely as possible one particular state of mind, uncontaminated by any other' [152]. Heinze's assessment clearly reveals his penchant for 'classic' dramatic forms and organic, well-constructed characters [153]. After sensing Aeneas' betrayal, Heinze's Dido moves in an orderly way from 'painful surprise' to 'scornful hatred', then from 'humble renunciation' to 'despair', and finally – after line 604 – from 'anger and thirst for revenge' to 'sublime peace'[154]. There is little room, in this scene-by-scene crescendo, for any non-linear commingling of disparate emotions [155]. Heinze's influential approach inevitably favours the systematic occlusion of any threatening overtone from Dido's words at 416-436 [156]. At that stage Dido is in her phase of 'humble renunciation'[157], if not outright 'self-abasement' [158] and therefore, to repeat once again Mackail's comment, 'it would be quite out of place to make [her] end this piteous appeal on a note of savage irony' [159]. Outright hostility and feelings of revenge will be allowed only at a later stage, only once Aeneas' obdurate denial has forced her into a 'demented state of delirium', and she is no longer her normal

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also that Achemenides' *spargite me in fluctus vastoque immergite ponto* (605-606) anticipates 4.600-601 *non potui abreptum, divellere corpus et undis / spargere?*

[152] Heinze 1915: 103.

[153] On some aspects of the Heinze's cultural background see Schiesaro 2006.

[154] Heinze 1915: 103.

[155] Heinze 1915: 103: '[Virgil] does not describe a gloomy, irregular oscillation of the emotions: his Dido is not tossed this way and that by the conflict of passions. On the contrary, the tragedy strides to its conclusion in a clear and controlled fashion.'

[156] He had been authoritatively preceded by Christian writers, who, as they recast Dido as an *exemplum* of matronly virtue which comprehensively ignores her plight in *Aeneid* 4, can be seen to inherit and magnify Virgil's own displacing strategy.

[157] Heinze 1915: 103.

[158] Pease 1935: 35 n. 263. Cf. e.g. Cartault 1926: 324, according to whom the request for a 'court répit' 'c'est une façon de retirer les menaces de vengeance qu'elle a proférées contre Enée', or Perret (1978-80) 3.189 'Le contenu de cette proposition [433-436] apparaît par contraste avec les menaces de la veille … et les fureurs qui renaîtront le lendemain.'

[159] Mackail 1930: 151, endorsed by Austin *ad loc.*

self [160]. Henry puts it unequivocally: 'Dido […] was unchangeably and devotedly attached to Aeneas, whom, if she did not pursue with fire and sword, it was not that *his* inconstancy did not so deserve, but that *her* magnanimity disdained, and *her* still-subsisting passion forbade' [161].

Awareness that Dido's words to Aeneas through Anna contain an implicit threat does much to complicate Heinze's linear analysis [162]. It endows Dido's character with a more nuanced and tormented psychological profile, one in which conflicting emotions are not neatly distinct from each other but interact in unpredictable fashion [163]. Indeed, the Euripidean intertext creates a compelling tension between the dominant motif of Dido's deepening despair and the slow emergence of a perceptible – if repressed – sense of danger for Aeneas and the Trojans. Mercury's much criticised 'superfluous' [164] second intervention (560-570) acquires a different significance if we assume that from his divine (if not omniscient) [165] point of view [166] (and our intertextual

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[160] Heinze 1915: 104. According to Heinze 1915: 110 n. 16, 'Virgil has portrayed Dido in such a way that the *inhumanitas* involved in, for example, killing Ascanius and serving his dismembered limbs to his father as a Thyestian meal would not appear natural, however justifiable or not one might consider such an act to be.' Cf. Pease 1935: 35 '*Only here* [*sc.* 4.600-602, 615-620] appear those characteristics of barbarism and inhumanity which the Romans were wont, perhaps unjustly, to associate with the people of Hannibal'; Paratore 1947: 11: 'un vago progetto che Didone agiterà *solo* al culmine del suo sfogo e già con la coscienza della sua impraticabilità' (emphases mine).

[161] J. Henry 1873-92: 2.803.

[162] It also complicates Thomas' 2001: 162 assertion that Dryden's Dido is 'more dangerous than the Virgilian text suggests.' Dryden emphasizes the menacing aspect of her character, but he takes his cue from the *Aeneid*. Thomas' Dido is unequivocally unthreatening and sympathetic (cf. 159).

[163] As rightly remarked, for instance, by La Penna (1984-91) 55: 'Didone, come la Medea di Euripide e Apollonio, è eroina del dubbio: ci sono ondeggiamenti, sia nell'azione sia nei monologhi.'

[164] Heinze 1915: 113 n. 34, albeit 'as far as the narrative is concerned, but not from a technical point of view.'

[165] A concept now usefully problematized by Culler 2004.

[166] Mercury's first message to Aeneas had already established his access to a superior source of knowledge, see e.g. the echo of Jupiter's question at 235 in Mercury's words at 271. Comprehensiveness and objectivity, however, are not the qualities mortals should expect from Mercury (or other gods, for that matter). Here, for instance, the *Zephyros … secundos* encouragingly mentioned at 562 quickly turn into opposing winds at 5.2 (*fluctusque atros Aquilone secabat*), only to return (5.32-33: *secundi /*

competence) Dido's words fail to sound entirely reassuring: her entreaties carry too many traces of Medea's 'sweet-to-hear' words [167]. Aeneas' delay is thus suffused with an air of danger, and his early-morning departure becomes narratively motivated – there are dangers in store if he awaits a new dawn at Carthage. The whole tragic colouring of the central section of Book 4 is strengthened: there is even more of a reason for Aeneas to leave swiftly, and no less cause for Dido to feel angry.

If we accept that Dido's speech to Anna betrays unconscious feelings of revenge, we can gain a fuller image of her psychological complexity and development in the second half of the book. Love and hatred, self-humiliation and revenge emerge not so much as polar extremes in a gradual, painful journey of discovery and despair, but as conflicting emotions which repeatedly vie for predominance in Dido's troubled heart. If we allow that Dido's psychological evolution is less linear than Heinze suggests, we quickly realize that her words to Anna are not isolated in suggesting the coexistence of contradictory, mostly

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… *Zephyri*) once Aeneas (unexpectedly for him) realizes that Sicily ought to be his next destination (28 *flecte viam velis*).

[167] Cf. Eur. *Med*. 316 λέγεις ἀκοῦσαι μαλθάκ' (Creon to Medea), and esp. 776 μολόντι (*sc.* Jason) δ'αὐτῶι μαλθακούς, when Medea outlines her revenge. The adj. μαλθακός, which encodes Medea's deception, resurfaces in Dido's *mollis aditus* (423) – she will exploit Anna's 'sweet approach' in dealing with Aeneas (*mollis* carries further complex overtones, see n. 174). Ennius makes Medea directly aware of the deceiving nature of her soothing words: *nequaquam istuc istac ibit; magna inest certatio. / nam ut ego illi supplicarem tanta blandiloquentia / ni ob rem* (222-227 Jocelyn). *Blandiloquentia* (not otherwise attested in archaic or classical Latin, as Jocelyn points out) is interesting in the light of the words with which Dido (probably, not certainly: M. Barchiesi 1962: 477-479) addresses Aeneas in Naevius: *blande et docte percontat, Aenea quo pacto / Troiam urbem liquerit* (fr. 23 Barchiesi). Attempts have been made to build upon this fragment the image of a Circe-like Naevian Dido, who would wheedle Aeneas into talking with insinuating charm (*blande*) and cunning (*docte*), but see M. Barchiesi's (1962) 479-481 *caveats*. However, in *Aen*. 1.670-672 *nunc Phoenissa tenet Dido blandisque moratur / vocibus, et vereor quo se Iunonia vertant / hospitia* (Venus recruiting Cupid) *blandis … vocibus* focalizes Venus' worries about the effect Dido is having on her son, and may almost be seen as a gloss on the narrator's definition of the Carthaginians as *bilinguis* (1.661): *quippe domum timet* [sc.Venus] *ambiguam Tyriosque bilinguis* (see above n. 93 on *fides Punica*). The Homeric model is Athena's speech to Zeus about Calypso, *Od*. 1.56-57.

repressed feelings. In fact these include not just a desire for revenge against Aeneas, but also a degree of resentment *vis à vis* Anna, both for her role in encouraging Dido to pursue a relationship fraught with dangers (548 *his, germana, malis oneras atque obicis hosti*) [168], and for her excessive closeness to Aeneas [169]. According to an alternative version of the legend, which Virgil in the main rejects [170], it was Anna, not Dido, who attracted Aeneas' love at Carthage: recollection of this discarded story-line [171] allows us to appreciate the full import of Dido's words at 421-423: *solam nam perfidus ille / te colere* [172], *arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus; / sola viri mollis aditus et tempora* [173] *noras* [174].

While Virgil confines himself to oblique hints at a potentially very different plot-line, the erotic undertones of Anna's and Aeneas' friendship receive a fuller airing later in the tradition. As they meet again in *Fasti* 3 Aeneas is at pains to point out to Lavinia that his welcoming of

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[168] As confirmed by *Her.* 7.191, where Anna is *meae male conscia culpae*.

[169] Lyne 1989: 31-32 also sees traces of 'unfair (and perhaps largely unconscious) resentment' in Dido's characterisation of Sychaeus' death as a betrayal (4.17, see above n. 43).

[170] Apart from Dido's words at 421-423, traces of this alternative plot also emerge as the text hints at how similar, indeed almost interchangeable, the two sisters are, see 4.8 *unanima*, with Schiesaro 2005: 105.

[171] About which see D'Anna 1989: 159-196. See above n. 144.

[172] As noticed by Nonius, who includes this passage under *colere* = *diligere* (p. 250 M.). La Cerda *ad loc.*: 'An in verbo *colere* latet aliquid? Hoc verbum pro *amare*, interdum veteres dixerunt, sicut *cultores*, pro *amatores*', and shortly afterwards, noting the ritual overtones of *colere* 'ergo quis sciat, an hic Dido aliquid suspicetur de zelotypia, usaque sit obscuro verbo, et ambiguo, indicans Annae ritualitatem, quae ad se virum pellexerit? praesertim cum addat *perfidus*, perinde, in me perfidus, quia rivalis meus, et tui cultor.'

[173] This line is echoed by Silius' Anna when she first addresses Aeneas: *cui sic verba trahens largis cum fletibus Anna / incipit et blandas addit pro tempore voces* (8.79-80): *pro tempore* echoes *tempora noras*, and *blandas* fully develops the erotic undertone of *mollis* (see the following note).

[174] Significantly, Virgil shows Aeneas reasoning in terms which are subsequently attributed to Anna: *sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noras* (422-423) echoes *temptaturum aditus et quae mollissima fandi / tempora, quis rebus modus* (293-299). *Mollis* (about which see also n. 167 above) conveys a sense of insinuating indirectness, bordering in Aeneas' case on cowardice (examples in *Old s. v.* 13 (a)), in Anna's on flirtatiousness (*Old s. v.* 16, Pichon 1902 *s. v. mollis*: as used at *Aen.* 4.66 *est mollis flamma medullas*). La Cerda rightly compares an erotic intertext, Tib. 2.4.19 *ad dominam faciles aditus per carmina quaero*.

the now derelict exile is the least he can do for the sister of his saviour: *'hanc tibi cur tradam, pia causa, Lavinia coniunx, / est mihi: consumpsi naufragus huius opes. / orta Tyro est, regnum, Lybica possedit in ora. / quam precor ut carae more sororis ames.'* (629-632). But Lavinia, unimpressed by this display of belated *pietas*, and clearly well-versed in the finer points of the tradition, suspects more is at stake than meets the eye (633-636), and reacts by playing Dido *furens,* rather than Dido *hospes*: *non habet exactum quid agat: furialiter odit, / et parat insidias et cupit ulta mori* (637-638), a nod to *Aen.* 4.563 (*illa dolos dirumque nefas sub pectore versat*) which is followed by the appearance of Dido's ghost warning Anna, as Mercury had Aeneas, that she must leave in haste what has become an hostile setting. But *cupit ulta mori*, a transparent reworking of Dido's final curse, further complicates the picture. Aeneas left behind in Carthage, the Romans' own Thebes [175], a world of ill-defined boundaries, incestuous tensions, blurred gender identities [176], a household (and a land) *ambigua* (1.661) both because potentially untrustworthy and disturbingly confused [177]. He is too similar to Dido, in many respects almost a double, or worse, given Rome's founding myth, a brother [178]; both Dido and her sister are attracted to him, and he may well be to both; his own son [179] is, at times, a substitute object of attraction for the queen [180]; Dido herself is a woman per-

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[175] For Thebes as a locus without 'a viable system of relations and differences' (including sexual ones), see Zeitlin 1990; on Carthage and Thebes in Virgil and Ovid Hardie 1990.

[176] As well as untrustworthy, Romans are fond of depicting Carthaginians as effeminate, their use of *tunicae* with sleeves representing a favourite polemical target (as explained by Gell. 6.12): cf. *Aen.* 9.614-616 (see n. 289), with Enn. *Ann.* 325 V.^{2} = 303 Sk. and several Plautine references listed by Skutsch *ad loc.*

[177] See *OLD s. v. ambiguus* 5 (a), 6, 7.

[178] Further discussion and bibliography in Schiesaro 2005: 96-97.

[179] Initially (1.657-660) a disguise for Aeneas' own half-brother, Cupid; when Venus talks to him she refers to Aeneas as *frater … Aeneas … tuus* (1.667).

[180] A trace of this ambiguity may be detected in Silius' narrative as well. When she lands in Latium Anna encounters Aeneas and Ascanius together, and while she immediately recognizes Aeneas's well-known face, she falls at his son's feet (8.73-74). She then tells Aeneas that in her despair Dido both embraced Ascanius' statue and gazes at Aeneas' portrait (8.91-93, with *nunc … nunc* underlining the parallelism between the two gestures). Aeneas replies in kind: *iuro caput, Anna, tibique / germanaeque tuae dilectum mitis Iuli* (8.106-107).

forming male roles [181]. But can he really leave 'Carthage' behind? Now that he has fulfilled his destiny, and married Lavinia, we discover that history is all too ready to repeat itself. Analogies between Dido's and Aeneas' lives as exiles are no less striking than those now linking Anna to Aeneas [182]. This time even their names are uncannily similar [183], and so will be their destiny, since Aeneas also metamorphoses into a *numen* after being swallowed by the Numicius (Ov. *Met.* 14.581-608), the same river which has become Anna Perenna's abode. 'Feminine' waters ultimately engulf Aeneas as he merges with his double – and Dido's.

Lavinia, whom Virgil encourages readers to see as Dido's opposite, turns out to be no less emotional, and just as prepared to plot revenge in stealth as she feels threatened. She, too, can hate 'like a Fury' (*furialiter*), thus showing that Juno's power is as momentous in Latium as it was in Africa (Aeneas himself will eventually succumb), and did not abate after Amata's suicide [184]. In this context, Aeneas' request that Lavinia treat Anna with sisterly love – *precor ut carae more sororis ames* (632) – is more ominous than reassuring.

As he stages his own *Aeneid* Silius adds substantially to the intricacies of Anna's story, although the authenticity of a crucial central section, known as *Additamentum Aldinum* (8.144-223), is disputed [185]. More explicitly than in *Fasti* 3, Anna's reappearance in *Punica* 8 alerts to the continuing power of repetition and regression. Here Aeneas is literally 'seized anew' – *repetitus* (8.104) – by his love for Dido, once again mediated by her *Doppelganger* sister, and allows himself a sentimental walk down memory lane, looking back (8.108 *respiciens*) at the tragic outcome of his sojourn at Carthage [186]. As Aeneas, Anna and

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[181] The complexities inherent in Dido's sexual identity and role are highlighted by the unexpected presence of Caeneus alongside the queen in the *Lugentes campi*: see G. S. West 1980, and n. 369 below.

[182] For a Virgilian anticipation of this connection see above nn. 144 and 171.

[183] Ahl 1985: 309-315. The slope is indeed slippery: 'Anna' is in turn easily connected to 'Hannibal.'

[184] Spence 1999: 88-89 offers perceptive remarks on the parallel role of *furor* in Carthage and Rome.

[185] A strong defence of authenticity, and further bibl., in Brugnoli, Santini 1995.

[186] *Respicere* is always a loaded act for Aeneas. It is his failure to look back that prevents him from noticing Creusa's disappearance (*Aen.* 2.736-740), and when he does

Dido re-enact their triangle with different roles, Dido's appearance as Mercury-cum-Hector (8.168-183) credits Lavinia with very much the same aggressive instincts we have been tracing in Virgil's Dido: *'his, soror, in tectis longae indulgere quieti, / heu nimium secura, potes? nec, quae tibi fraudes / tendantur, quae circumstent discrimina, cernis?* (168-170). Dido, to be sure, describes Lavinia's train of thought with the same words Mercury had applied to hers in *Aeneid* 4: *iam tacitas suspecta Lavinia fraudes / molitur dirumque nefas sub corde volutat* quotes *illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat* (4.563) [187].

Other sections of Book 4 offer substantial evidence, I believe, of hostile feelings on Dido's part, and thus help shape a fuller account of her psychological complexity. They are (i) the authorial introduction to Dido's words to Anna (412-415); (ii) her dream in the anguished night after this last entreaty has been rejected (465-473); and finally, (iii) the magic rites at 504-521. Just as important are two short, poignant passages where Dido voices impossible retrospective wishes, first that it has not been possible for her to lead her life *more ferae* (550-552), and then that she has not hurt Aeneas while it was still possible (600-602). The interpretation of these passages which I have offered elsewhere [188] forms an integral component of the present discussion.

8. Virgil had introduced Dido's words to Anna at 416-436 with an emphatic authorial statement (412-415):

> improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!
> ire iterum in lacrimas, iterum temptare [189] precando
> cogitur et supplex animos summittere amori,
> ne quid inexpertum frustra moritura relinquat.

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look it is too late: *amissam respexi* (741) (for the Orpheus and Eurydice model see Schiesaro 2003). So, too, as he leaves Carthage, and looks back when Dido's pyre is already burning (5.3 *respiciens*). Ovid's Anna will behave in a similar fashion: *moenia respiciens* (*Fast*. 3.566).

[187] On Anna in Ovid and Silius see also later, p. 208 (SIFC 2/2008).

[188] Schiesaro 2005.

[189] *Temptare* can have erotic connotations:. cf. Tib. 1.2.17 with Maltby *ad loc.* and Prop. 1.3.15 with Fedeli *ad loc.*

which clearly recalls and condenses Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.445-449 [190]:

> σχέτλι᾽ Ἔρως, μέγα πῆμα, μέγα στύγος ἀνθρώποισιν,
> ἐκ σέθεν οὐλόμεναί τ᾽ ἔριδες στοναχαί τε πόνοι τε,
> ἄλγεα τ᾽ ἄλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ἀπείρονα τετρήχασι·
> δυσμενέων ἐπὶ παισὶ κορύσσεο, δαῖμον, ἀερθείς,
> οἷος Μεδείηι στυγερὴν φρησὶν ἔμβαλες ἄτην.

This striking authorial intervention, with its 'hymnal flavour' [191], introduces a pivotal development in both the action of the *Argonautica* and the character of Medea, the killing of Absyrtus (4.391-481). The unusually strong [192] metanarrative question which follows (450-451)[193] enhances the prominence of the apostrophe by stressing the enormity of the crime which Medea has devised and which the narrator is now going to describe in detail. Virgil establishes an emphatic link with his Greek model [194] not only by translating *verbatim* the first two words of Apollonius' line as a 'motto', but also by faithfully replicating the internal echo of σχέτλιε, which the narrator applies to Eros at 445 after Medea refers it to Jason a few lines earlier, at 376 [195]. Similarly, Dido calls Aeneas *improbe* at 386 [196], and *Amor* is labelled in the same way at 412 [197].

Medea devises the killing of her brother after she fathoms Jason's betrayal. She is furious (4.391), and excogitates a μέγαν δόλον (4.421) to stave off her demise (her lover had effectively agreed to return her to the wrath of Aeëtes in exchange for a safe voyage home). Under the

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[190] Note, however, that the reference to Apollonius, already in La Cerda and Heyne, is afterwards mentioned only by Forbiger, Conington, Buscaroli and Pease.

[191] Hunter 1993: 116 n. 68.

[192] Livrea 1973: 143; Paduano, Fusillo 1986: 585; Hunter 1993: 116.

[193] Virgil inverts Apollonius' sequence, and has the apostrophe (412-415) follow, rather than precede, the narrator's metanarrative intervention (408-411).

[194] A comparable link may be established – *via Aen.* 4 – between Apollonius' line and *Aen.* 3.56-57 *quid non mortalia pectora cogis, / auri sacra fames*: Jacobson 2005b.

[195] The connection between σχέτλιος at A.R. 4.376 and *Aen.* 4.386 does not appear to be mentioned in commentaries, or in Nelis 2001.

[196] As Medea calls Jason at Ov. *Her.* 12.204.

[197] As at *Ecl.* 8.49 and 50.

combined strength of Eros and Ate (4.445-449) Medea metamorphoses into a fully tragic character: her insistence on the betrayal of χάρις [198], her worries about the enemies' scorn (389) [199], the entrapment of Absyrtus with devious words and beautiful garments [200], the mention of Ate – these are all details which strongly convey the centrality of tragedy in this part of the epic poem [201]. It is exactly at this point that Apollonius' Medea turns into the protagonist of Euripides' play.

I suspect that Virgil's transparent allusion at 4.412 is designed precisely to evoke this momentous development in the story of Medea [202], and to cast an ominous shadow over Dido's words at 416-436. As *improbe Amor* prepares readers for the threatening implications of her message to Aeneas, the allusion can be considered, retrospectively, as the opening salvo in a sequence of carefully balanced clues which punctuate the text for the next two hundred lines, and coherently, if covertly, develop the theme of Dido's intermittent and repressed murderous intentions.

Direct as the evocation of Apollonius undoubtedly is [203], Virgil's strategic manipulation of his model is evident, too. *Improbe Amor* is a direct translation of σχέτλι᾽ Ἔρως which bypasses Catullus' *sancte puer* (64.94), but Virgil abruptly cuts off the text to which he alludes: he writes out Apollonius' apotropaic gesture at 4.448-449 [204], reduces to a one-liner his insistent description of the sufferings caused by Love (445-447), and shifts the emphasis from the pain that Love can inflict (ἔριδες, στοναχαί, πόνοι, ἄλγεα) to the actions Love forces to accomplish.

These innovations are all part of a coherent attempt to tame a passage which in its original context heralded the description of the most

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[198] Paduano 1972: 217.

[199] Paduano 1972: 222.

[200] Hunter 1993: 60-61.

[201] Paduano 1972: 217, 223-223. Note, however, that Paduano rightly stresses the fundamental continuity of Medea's character, who, even as the young woman in love of Book 3, is never a 'shy' *Mädchen* who suddenly turns into a dangerous sorceress. Cf. Paduano, Fusillo 1986: 581. On a different line Kenney 2001: 267-268.

[202] Although, of course, subsequent events differ, as remarked by Nelis 2001: 165.

[203] Apollonius' own opening words also appear to replicate Theognis 1231-1234, but on the relationship between the two texts see Vetta 1980: 37-39.

[204] Hunter 1993: 116 n. 68.

violent of violent crimes. In the *Aeneid*, *improbe Amor* is suitably removed from the curse Dido utters at 381-387 [205], and instead follows the elaborate description of Aeneas' preparations to depart and the pain they inflict on Dido; most significantly, *improbe Amor* introduces Dido's final, desperate appeal to Aeneas through Anna at 416-436. Indeed, the context invites us to recognize that Love is *improbus* precisely because it can turn a proud [206] woman like Dido into a *supplex* ready to humiliate herself in the vain attempt to retain her unfaithful lover (413-415), not because it can push her to act as Medea did [207]. (It should be noted, however, that Dido's self-characterization as a suppliant is in itself suspect, for already Euripides' Medea manages to overcome Creon's resistance, in the scene we have been referring to, by posing – deceptively – as a suppliant) [208].

While the novel context, and the use of words such as *supplex, precando, summittere* and *frustra* (not to mention *moritura*), strive to emphasize the difference *vis à vis* Apollonius' model, they cannot fully erase its menacing nature, which still lurks in Dido's request to Aeneas, and alerts the reader that in the queen's mind love and hate, resignation and revenge continue to coexist: there is more to link Dido's verbal violence of 381-387 to the desperate appeal of 416-436 than meets the eye [209].

Just as the allusion to Euripides' *Medea* surfaces twice, at lines 433 and 568, so, too, the Apollonian intertext heralded at 412 finds a crucial confirmation later in the book. Directly after Mercury spells out to Aeneas how dangerous it is to delay his departure (and in so doing

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[205] Hosidius Geta will push in the opposite direction; it's Medea herself who exclaims *improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?* (12).

[206] As conveyed by the plural *animi* at 4.414 (see Austin *ad loc.*).

[207] By drastically condensing the apostrophe, Virgil also suppresses the sea metaphors which punctuate Apollonius' lines (Catullus 64.94-98 has *iactastis* and *fluctibus*), and associate the effects of Eros to a storm (Hunter 1993: 117 n. 72). These metaphors, however, play an important role in the surrounding context, see above p. 85. Moreover, as Hunter 1993: 117 n. 72 rightly notes, at 408-410 Dido is looking out at the sea.

[208] The specific language of supplication occurs repeatedly in the scene with Creon (324-351), at 326, 336 and 338. See Mastronarde 2002 on 324-351.

[209] On the repetition of *i* at 381 and 424 see above n. 136.

confirms the relevance of the Euripidean intertext to Dido's message at 433-436), Dido finally displays an awareness of her murderous feelings. By now, of course, it is too late, because Aeneas is gone, and Dido can only express her regret at not having acted earlier (600-606):

> non potui abreptum divellere[210] corpus et undis
> spargere? non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro
> Ascanium patriisque epulandum ponere mensis?
> verum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna. fuisset:
> quem metui moritura? faces in castra tulissem
> implessemque foros flammis natumque patremque
> cum genere extinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem.

In this sustained fantasy of counterfactual revenge[211] Dido brings together a number of notable paradigms (including Pentheus' *sparagmos*)[212], but lines 600-601 refer unequivocally to the *maschalismos*[213] of Medea's brother Absyrtus[214]: the repetition *abreptum/absumere*[215] could perhaps be seen as a phonic reminder of the man's name[216]. Although the most detailed description of the murder is offered in the *Argonautica* (where Jason strikes the fatal blow) Dido's words recall a different (older) tradition[217], according to which Medea herself is the murderess. This is the version mentioned by Euripides' Medea (lines

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[210] Cf. Gossrau *ad loc.*: 'Baccharum more.'

[211] The late, anonymous *Epistula Didonis ad* Aeneam (AL 71 Sh.B.= 83 R.) transforms *non potui …?* into *poteram* (93, 95): but *amor* prevented commission of such a *nefas*. I return to Virgil's passage later, p. 201 (SIFC 2/2008).

[212] See later, p. 201 (SIFC 2/2008).

[213] A ritual form of slaughter normally practiced by someone who believes to have been wronged – an assumption more operative for Dido than for Medea at this stage: Glotz 1904: 62-64, Delcourt 1939: 162.

[214] 'Brotherly slaughter' is evoked, in a quite different, but still intriguing sense, at 4.21: *sparsos fraterna caede penates*. Hosidius Geta's *Medea* (9) applies the expression to her own killing of Absyrtus, whose ghost makes an interesting, if all too brief, appearance in the play (390-391).

[215] *Absumere* appears to be used frequently of multiple deaths, cf. *OCD s. v.* 7 (a), (c).

[216] A similar effect, as Philip Hardie suggests, may be traced in the early mention of *Syrtis* in Book 1 (see above n. 127).

[217] Bremmer 1997: 86. Later sources resurrect this version of the myth, see Bremmer 1997: 86 n. 11 (but Callimachus fr. 8 Pfeiffer does not bear Bremmer's reading: D'Alessio 1996: 389 n. 53).

167 and 1334), who, however, commits the crime next to the family hearth before leaving Colchis: by blending the two different strains of the tradition Virgil engages at once with both Euripides and Apollonius, foregrounds Medea's responsibility, and places Absyrtus' death in a marine setting which is appropriate to the narrative context [218].

The final part of Dido's outburst (604-606) establishes yet another link with the *Argonautica* [219]. Medea, too, had threatened to throw herself onto a pyre as soon as she had sensed Jason's betrayal (4.391-393):

> ὣς φάτ᾽ ἀναζείουσα βαρὺν χόλον· ἵετο δ᾽ ἥ γε
> νῆα καταφλέξαι διά τ᾽ †ἔμπεδα† πάντα κεάσσαι,
> ἐν δὲ πεσεῖν αὐτὴ μαλερῷι πυρί.

The image also reinforces the thematic coherence of this central part of the book [220]. At 407-409 the verb *fervere* evoked the Trojans' sedulous preparations which Dido watches in despair (408 *cernenti*); later, at 566-567, Mercury warns Aeneas that if he lingers any further at Carthage he will wake up to see the shores alive with flames (*videbis / conlucere faces, iam fervere litora flammis*); at 594 Dido, in her frenzy, gives orders that the Trojan ships be set on fire (*ferte citi flammas*); and finally, at 604-605 she regrets not having burned the ships while she could [221].

The Apollonian references at 386-412 and at 600-601 frame Dido's tortuous transition from despair to resignation to hatred by evoking the most gruesome, indeed most tragic section of the *Argonautica*. Within the larger narrative compass framed by these allusions, the symmetrical intertextual references to Euripides' revengeful Medea, at 433-436 and 568, opens a troubling vista onto Dido's feelings and intentions.

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[218] A.R. 4.391-481; Eur. *Medea* 167, 1334. Cf. Pease on 4.600 and Mastronarde 2002: 47-48.

[219] Nelis 2001: 168, with further bibliography.

[220] On the imagery of Book 4 (in a different perspective), see Newton 1957 and Ferguson 1970. In general, Otis 1963, *index s. v.* 'symbol.'

[221] Dido's impossible desire neatly parallels the Trojans' deep-seated fear as they reach Carthage's shores, when they beg of her *prohibe infandos a navibus ignes* (1.525). Their subsequent disclaimers (527-529) anticipate Dido's somewhat puzzling remarks at 4.425-427, see above p. 91.

9. Dido's unconscious is at the centre of our attention in the section which immediately follows her speech to Anna. After Aeneas has steadfastly refused to yield to her entreaties (437-449), distress overcomes the queen, as the first thoughts of suicide begin to crowd her mind (450-451). She performs rituals which yield ominous intimations (452-457), and begins to hallucinate: she seems to hear the voice of her dead husband Sychaeus calling her from the grave (460-461), while an owl emits mournful sounds (462-63). There follows (465-473) a detailed description of Dido's dream, especially remarkable, to begin with, because unlike other dreams in the poem it does not display any ostensible prophetic function, but is meant to offer an insight into Dido's inner feelings. Precisely because of its lack of any practical narrative purpose (this is the only 'symbolic' dream in the *Aeneid*) [222] it stands out as a crucial stage in her psychological development.

As a whole, this section of the narrative is closely comparable to an earlier part of the book [223] (lines 54-89) where Virgil describes Dido as she finally yields to her feelings for Aeneas (54-55: *his dictis impenso animum flammavit amore / spemque dedit dubiae menti solvitque pudorem*). After Dido performs a series of rituals whose outcome remains pointedly unclear (56-67), she is overcome by a sort of Bacchic frenzy (68-69 *uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur / urbe furens*) [224]: the narrator compares her to a doe who is chased and eventually wounded by a *pastor* (71 *agens*). Dido experiences a series of hallucinations: she cannot sleep (82), constantly sees and hears Aeneas even when he is not around (83 *illum absens absentem auditque videtque*), and when she sees Ascanius she is reminded of his father (84-85 *aut gremio Ascanium genitoris imagine capta / detinet, infandum si fallere possit amorem*).

A number of specific textual pointers underlines the connection between the two passages. Note for instance the emphasis on *sola* at 82 and 467; the parallel between *relinqui* (466) and *relictis* (82), if the

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[222] Steiner 1952: 48-51, at 49.

[223] For interesting aspects of Virgil's framing technique in Book 4 cf. E. L. Harrison 1976: 101-103.

[224] On Bacchic elements in various sections of the *Aeneid* see now Bocciolini Palagi: 2007.

latter is taken to mean 'just abandoned by Aeneas' [225]; the chasing of the pastor *agens* the doe (71) and Aeneas pursuing Dido (465 *agit*; cf. 471 *agitatus*); the analogy between *peragrat* (73) and *longam … / ire viam* (467-468).

The evocation, at this particular juncture, of Dido's painful falling in love is especially significant. At one level, the parallelism heightens the pathos of her present predicament by recalling – just as Aeneas has irrevocably turned his back on her – the intensity of Dido's feelings, the high hopes she nurtured (note 55 *spem*), and the sacrifices she has made in order to pursue her love (again 55, *solvitque pudorem*). All this has gone horribly wrong. At the same time, the parallelism invites a retrospective evaluation of the rites Dido performed at 56-67 in order to obtain 'peace' (56 *pacem*). This has clearly not happened, and Dido's abandonment of *pudor* has not gone unpunished. The obvious negative outcome of the rites described at 450-455 belatedly fills in a detail which had not been mentioned in the earlier scene, namely whether those rites had actually succeeded. Lines 65-66 refuse to settle the question of what Dido reads, or believes she can read, in the *spirantia … exta* (64) she inspects, offering instead an ambiguous, intentionally double-edged narratorial comment [226]. The space thus created between the inconclusiveness of the rites at 56-67 and the explicit negativity of those performed at 450-455 is the setting of Dido's tragedy. The *vates* who are unable to help at 65 return to haunt Dido with their ominous prophecies at 464-465. This sinister context in which past prophecies and dead husbands return to Dido in the moment of her deepest anguish indirectly raises the issue of her culpability, as readers are reminded that the placatory rites she attempted failed to achieve their goal.

Sychaeus plays an unexpectedly large role in this section (457-465):

> praeterea fuit in tectis de marmore templum
> coniugis antiqui, miro quod honore colebat,
> velleribus niveis et festa fronde revinctum:
> hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis

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[225] As already suggested by DServius, cf. Pease *ad loc.*
[226] As O'Hara (1993) well shows.

> visa viri, nox cum terras obscura teneret,
> solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo
> saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces;
> multaque praeterea vatum praedicta priorum
> terribili monitu horrificant.

Much as Dido (and the narrator) describe his 'return' in ostensibly affectionate terms (note for instance 458 *colebat* and 459 *festa*), his coming back to centre stage can hardly be reassuring. Indeed, as an uncanny *revenant* – this is his second appearance to Dido since his death – [227] who implicitly reasserts his rights over his former wife, Sychaeus' voice physically embodies the powerful sense of guilt which begins to grip Dido at this stage [228]: the text suggests a disturbing contiguity between his *voces* and those of the owl, a bird traditionally associated with the underworld and the dead, who now emits a *ferale carmen*. Dido rediscovers the sense of guilt which she experienced, but silenced, at the onset of her passion for Aeneas. Now this guilt is externalised, and materialised in the ghost of her dead husband, whose memory she has betrayed, and who has come back to reclaim her (460-461 *vocantis /… viri*) [229]. Now the predictions of the *vates*, long unclear or misinterpreted, resurface as Dido (and the readers) come to realise the glaring absence of any positive omen since the very inception of her love story with Aeneas [230]. As Sychaeus calls from the grave, he unexpectedly realizes the *adynata* which Dido relied upon in her initial oath (4.24-29):

> 'sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat
> vel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
> pallentis umbras Erebo noctemque profundam,

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[227] On the first, shortly after his death, see later n. 243.

[228] Moles 1987 adroitly disentangles the issue of Dido's guilt (cf. also Moles 1984).

[229] Ovid (*Her*. 7.101-102) significantly emphasises this point: *hinc ego me sensi noto quater ore citari; / ipse sono tenui dixit 'Elissa, veni!'* (note the force of *cito*, with its legal implications).

[230] One may wonder whether at line 464 the reading *piorum* (attested in **M**, and known to Servius) doesn't have more going for it than the near-unanimous consensus of modern editors for *priorum* (**F P** Lactantius) would suggest. In support of *piorum* cf. 6.662 *pii vates*, and Mackail; *contra*, among others, J. Henry and Pease.

ante, pudor, quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo.
ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores
abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulcro.'

Lines 457-465 precipitate a poignant comparison between Dido's two marriages. The reference to Sychaeus in *coniugis antiqui* (458) recalls *coniugium antiquum* at 431, thus establishing a marked contrast between the lasting bond between Dido and her first husband and the short-lived *coniugium* of sorts she enjoyed with Aeneas [231]. The verbal coincidence is all the more fascinating because of the ambiguity of *coniugium antiquum* – is Dido referring here to the relationship she used to enjoy with Aeneas in the past [232], before his betrayal, or to the 'old-fashioned marriage' she is willing to forgo in exchange for a little more time together, a less formalised relationship [233]? The contrast is further carried through in the decoration of the altar: Sychaeus' is adorned *festa fronde* (459), while shortly afterwards Dido will place Aeneas' portrait on a pyre covered *fronde … / funerea* (506-507). Finally, the owl singing from the top of the house (462 *culminibus*) a dirge whose lugubrious sound is conveyed by the abundance of *u* sounds in lines 459-462 [234], invites comparison with the ululations of the Nymphs from above the cave where Dido

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[231] Silius glosses *coniugis antiqui* with *curas … priores* at 8.146-147 (part of the *Additamentum Aldinum*, see above p. 98): *me quoque fors dulci quondam vir notus amore / expectat curas cupiens aequare priores* (*aequare* hints phonically at *antiqui*).

[232] When Dido meets Sychaeus in the Underworld, he is once again her *coniunx … pristinus* (6.473): at least in death, she has been able to undo history.

[233] In such a densely textured set of lines it is not out of place to notice one more instance of polysemy: *quod prodidit oro* intriguingly conceals – yet voices – the 'unconscious' (and metrically impossible – not a problem for wordplay [AHL 1985: 56]) *quod prodidi TORO* (an anticipation of 4.496-497 *lectumque iugalem / quo perii*; for *torus* as an instrument of betrayal cf. Prop. 3.20.25 *pollueritque novo sacra marita toro*). For a comparable example of 'acoustic intratext' at *Aen.* 7.122-123 (*hic domus, haec patria est, genitor mihI TALIA namque / (nunc repeto) Anchises fatorum arcana reliquit*) and 4.408 (*quis tibi tum, Dido, cernentI TALIA sensus*) see Schork 1996. At 4.408 Servius tantalisingly remarks: *totum hic magna prosphonesi dictum est: plus enim est in re quam in verbis: quamvis enim totum dictum non sit, tamen et cogitatur et capitur ab auditore.*

[234] Also noticeable in Ennius *Ann.* 45-46 V.^{2} = 43-44 Sk.: *voce, videtur, verbis.*

and Aeneas consummated their union (168 *summo vertice*) [235]. The whole section, in other words, is shot through with the typical features of a well-established theme, the wedding-as-funeral [236], which will also play an important role in Dido's dream [237].

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[continues]

[235] Cf. Ov. *Met.* 6.430-432 (the wedding of Procne and Tereus): *Eumenides tenuere faces de funere raptas, / Eumenides stravere torum, tectoque profanus / incubuit bubo thalamique in culmine sedit.*

[236] SEAFORD 1987.

[237] See later, p. 197 (SIFC 2/2008).