

Virgil, Aeneid 4

Mnemosyne Supplements

MONOGRAPHS ON GREEK AND
LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Executive Editor

C. Pieper (*Leiden University*)

Editorial Board

K.M. Coleman (*Harvard University*)

A. Heller (*University of Tours*)

C.C. de Jonge (*Leiden University*)

J.J.H. Klooster (*University of Groningen*)

T. Reinhardt (*Oxford University*)

VOLUME 462

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/mns

Virgil, Aeneid 4

Text, Translation, and Commentary

By

Lee M. Fratantuono

R. Alden Smith



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at <https://catalog.loc.gov>
LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2022035360>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 0169-8958

ISBN 978-90-04-52143-8 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-52144-5 (e-book)

Copyright 2022 by Koninklijke Brill nv, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill nv incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Hotei, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill nv via brill.com or copyright.com.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

Preface and Acknowledgments VII

Introduction 1

Text and Translation 43

Commentary 101

Bibliography 933

Index Locorum 955

Index Nominum 976

Index Rerum 978

Preface and Acknowledgments

Book 4 of Virgil's *Aeneid* is a delight to work through closely, with a careful eye to the poet's literary and artistic antecedents. Monographs have been devoted to the incalculable influence of the shortest book of Virgil's epic on subsequent examples of the "poetical, philosophical, or manuplastic creations of the master spirits of mankind," to borrow from James Henry's remarkable prose. The present volume is offered as part of the ongoing conversation of readers of the tragedy of Dido and Aeneas across time and space. It is presented with sincere and profound gratitude to the work of our predecessors in Virgilian studies, and with the ardent hope that scholars and students of Virgil will find something of use in these pages in the ever new, ever ancient practice of reading the premiere epic of Augustan Rome.

Our methodology and division of labor has been similar to that for our editions of Books 5 and 8: Smith has been responsible for the lion's share of the work on the critical text; translation; and introduction, and Fratantuono for the commentary. Both, however, worked closely on each part, and we accept responsibility jointly for the finished product. Amicable differences of interpretive opinion are acknowledged now and again in the notes.

The fourth *Aeneid* is the book of Dido, as Buscaroli entitled his somewhat underappreciated commentary. Among other women of literature and history, Dido is a triple (at least) Medea (Euripidean; Apollonian; Ennian); she is Cleopatra VII Philopator. Homer's Calypso; Circe; and Nausicaä lurk throughout. She is consciously composed by the epic poet in his *Odyssey* as a contrasting figure to the Volscian heroine Camilla (herself the new Penthesilea) of his *Iliad*. Laden with these difficult, formidable comparisons and literary/historical antecedents, Dido is depicted with the same sensitivity and respect that the poet accords to his Rutulian antagonist Turnus. Suffice to say, readers with an interest in the not entirely unhelpful dichotomy of pessimistic and optimistic interpretations of the *Aeneid* may find that one of the editors has a somewhat bleaker reading of Virgil after working through Book 4, not least because of our interpretation of the ominous historical implications of *Tum Iuno omnipotens*, etc. from the book's closing scene, and our reading of Book 4 as being a book of Juno's triumph (as ultimately is Book 12 too). Book 4 is as much the drama of Juno and Venus as of Dido and Anna; it is a book in which Aeneas; his son; even the ghost of his father all loom large alongside the vision of the future Hannibal (Roman history composed again in the future tense), and the great naval victory of Augustus at Actium over Cleopatra and her besotted paramour. Every verse of the book is pregnant with the splendor and tension of the nascent Roman

Golden Age. We have tried to be respectful of the vast scope of Virgilian critical responses, even if one of the editors may seem now and again to have been taken overmuch with the sentiments of Sforza's *Il più prezioso tesoro spirituale d'Italia: l'Eneide* (Milano, 1952).

We have consciously refrained from indulging overmuch our passion for the Virgilian *Nachleben* (one noteworthy exception being *Heroides* 7). The already long commentary could have been significantly expanded had we not exercised serious restraint in this regard in particular; so too the introduction. We have not striven to amass exhaustive parallel passages from any period; Pease has made this easier, given his encyclopedic coverage in this area. Some will feel that the notes could be shorter still. We continue to hope that Virgilians will find the pages of such relatively unappreciated late antique and Renaissance poets as Dracontius and Marullus as worthwhile as we have, if only for some insight into how Virgil was being read by would-be successors in a world that had not yet soured on mythological verse. The *Roman d'Énéas* remains for us a cherished monument of Virgilian criticism, more so than the ninth canto of the *Henriade* of Voltaire, or the fourth book of Oppian with its piscatory passions.

Suffice to say, Book 4 presents textual problems of the sort not found nearly so often in the pages of Books 5 and 8. Book 4 exhibits evidence of composition that did not receive the poet's *ultima manus*, and contains passages where it is uncertain what Virgil's final choice would have been of possibly variant authorial readings. Absent further evidence from newly discovered or collated papyri, it is impossible to render a definitive verdict on certain vexed passages in this book; interpretive analysis ultimately offers a subjective game with which to unravel interesting textual knots. We do not feel that commentators and literary critics must eschew (cautious) speculation. We have consciously tried to present a balanced view of diverse scholarly viewpoints, even as we have made clear our own positions on controversies. Guided by our predecessors, we have learned much during the process of composing this volume—sometimes from our own students, who present fresh eyes and perspectives for material that so many have studied so (not to say too) closely. In textual matters we have registered amicable disagreement and debate only on the knotty problems of verse 54. Here we have decided to print a 54a and a 54b, not because we wish to trigger apoplexy because of our unorthodox method, but for the sake of clarity in our exposition. Evidence of textual temerity may be found at 584, where we have resurrected Hermann 1847; cf. 224–225, where we have heeded the wisdom of Kraggerud 2017.

In fine, the fourth *Aeneid* is a difficult book, for all the gains that its great exposure, popularity, and frequent analysis have obtained. Indeed, sometimes

these factors can mitigate against sober, detached exposition of a crux. Pease; Buscaroli; and Austin may be the giants of critical commentary here, and we have profited much from plumbing their depths. Forbiger has helped us significantly, especially with later Latin verse *comparanda* as hints to true readings. But the challenges of the book are such that sometimes it seems that Stephenson alone has solved a difficulty, in the unassuming pages of his priceless elementary commentary. Similarly, Bertha Tilly's underappreciated Palatine Classics edition often provides just the right help where others are silent (like her Book 12, it is a marvelous school volume). O'Hara's revision of Page is characteristically masterful. We can only wish that the notes of Ingo Gildenhard had extended to the entire book. Butler's small pre-war Oxford edition of Book 4 contains occasional gems; Mackail remains as deserving as ever of Austin's praise. Gerhard Binder's recent (2019) three-volume *Aeneid* from Trier has been a *vademecum*. So too Kraggerud's *Vergiliana*; and, as always, the Thomas and Ziolkowski *Virgil Encyclopedia*. We continue to follow Horsfall in citing the *EV passim*, if only because (astonishingly) it remains relatively neglected in anglophone Virgilian work. Adema's *Tenses in Virgil's Aeneid* is indispensable; so also Dainotti 2015. Nelis 2001 is a *sine qua non* for any work on the *Aeneid*. Sisul 2018 on the topos of *mors immatura* deserves special mention among recent works.

It has been a pleasure to have the *editio altera* of Conte's Teubner as we have progressed through this book, alongside his 2021 companion Virgilian *parerga*. The appearance of the *post mortem* collection of papers of the much lamented and much missed Nicholas Horsfall at the end of 2020 was a welcome pleasure in a challenging, pandemic-ridden year: *Fifty Years at the Sibyl's Heels* was not enough for a scholar whose works have been veritable classical breviaries for us, and Fratantuono is happy to have had the chance not so much to review the volume for *Vergilius*, as to praise the author. The completion of the Pinkster *Oxford Latin Syntax* was a particular boon for our work; we note also the appearance in summer 2021 of Cairo's impressive monograph on Virgilian *fata*. It is impossible to have included every relevant source; omission should not be construed as condemnation or willful exclusion. Not every Virgilian bimillenary volume of papers has been consulted. In general we have not been able to incorporate work that appeared after December of 2021.

A note on our text, which differs from existing critical editions in readings from several vexed passages. We have erred on the side of amassing more rather than less detail in the apparatus, partly to correct minor errors of transcription in Geymonat, and (more importantly) to defend our choice of certain variant readings. With regard to the manuscripts, we have inspected all the capital and Carolingian witnesses either in person or via electronic copy or

both. We acquired digitized photographs of those papyrus fragments that were not accessible in person. Here we thank the J. Pierpont Morgan Library in New York for facilitating inspection of the P. Colt Nessana Collection, as well as Professor Mark DePauw (Leuven) and the maintainers of the Trismegistos database.

The present volume could not have been produced without the assistance of our academic institutions. We are indebted to the resources of Baylor University and of The National University of Ireland-Maynooth. Once again we are thankful to those who have made our work possible, among whom two Virgilians merit special note for their continuing support of our endeavors. Michael Putnam remains a cherished correspondent on Latin verse, and we are appreciative as ever for his generous sharing of his learning on Virgil. So too Karl Galinsky, whom we congratulate for his emeritus status, and for his continuing work on explicating the Augustan Age.

We thank also our colleagues both at home institutions and in the field who have aided us both in practical and intangible ways, among whom we would mention by name only some here: Emily Allen-Hornblower, Silvio Bär, Sergio Casali, William Desmond, Rachel Donnelly, David Engels, Joe Farrell, Carmen Fenechiu, Hunter Gardner, Filomena Giannotti, Caitlin Gillespie, John Hamilton, Thomas Hibbs, Jeff Hunt, David Jacks, Ken Jones, Peter Knox, Egil Kraggerud; Cynthia Liu, Ella Liu, Matthew McGowan, Michael McOsker, Blaise Nagy, Damien Nelis, Jim O'Hara, Sophia Papaioannou, Eva Parmenter, Rina Quaratarone, Hannah Rogers, Alessandra Romeo, Peter Schenk, Ana Sisul; Caroline Stark, Josiah Stephens, Cynthia Susalla, Richard Thomas, Eleonora Tola, and Jamie Wheeler. Antonio Cussen was kind enough to send both editors complete sets of his very welcome 2018 *El milenio según Virgilio* volumes.

Librarians made this book possible. In particular, we thank Bill Hair; Janet Jasek; Billie Peterson-Lugo and J. Mark Thompson at Baylor, and the library staffs at the Vatican; Sankt Gallen; Verona; Napoli; Hamburg; Wolfenbüttel; and Oxford. Booksellers are unsung heroes in classical studies: Fratantuono is grateful to Sholto Campbell of Muir of Ord.

As ever, we are indebted too to the exemplary support of our Brill editorial staff, especially Mirjam Elbers and Giulia Moriconi. The suggestions and advice of the anonymous referee vastly improved the finished product; all errors that remain are our own.

Lastly, this volume is offered in particular dedication and humble thanks to two Virgilian scholars who have been a great inspiration to us in our work on Book 4. Both of the dedicatees have been generous, persuasive guides to our study of the text and interpretation of the poet. We offer this scholarly gift to Gian Biagio Conte (whose warm invitation to Pisa inspired Smith at the com-

mencement of his career), and to Egil Kraggerud (whose correspondence and example have provided much help to Fratantuono), as part of the celebrations of their eightieth birthdays. *Buon compleanno* and *takk skal du ha*.

Book 4 has been an inspiration; Book 9 is our aspiration.

Lee M. Fratantuono

R. Alden Smith

Introduction

τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἢ μὲν Εἰράς λεγομένη πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν ἀπέθνησκεν, ἢ δὲ Χάρμιον ἤδη σφαλλομένη καὶ καρηβαροῦσα κατεκόσμιε τὸ διάδημα τὸ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς. εἰπόντος δὲ τινος ὀργῆ: ‘καλὰ ταῦτα, Χάρμιον:’ ‘κάλλιστα μὲν οὖν,’ ἔφη, ‘καὶ πρέποντα τῇ τοσοῦτων ἀπογόνῳ βασιλέων.’ πλέον δὲ οὐδὲν εἶπεν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὴν κλίνην ἔπεσε.

PLUTARCH, *Antony* 85.4

• • •

Dydo qui por amor s’occast; | onques ne fu meilleur païene | s’elle n’eüst amor soutaine, | mais elle ama trop follement, | savoirs ne li valut neant.

Roman d’Enéas 2225–2229 PETIT

• • •

Does it repent thee of the hour thou hast spent with her?

HENRY’S coda on Phoenician Elissa

• •

The fourth book of Virgil’s *Aeneid* brings to a close the first third of the epic, thus occupying a structural place that will elicit comparisons to the similarly positioned Books 8 and 12. *Aeneid* 4 is the book of Punic Elissa or Dido.¹ It has a venerable poetic *Vorleben* that notably includes the fourth book of an earlier Latin epic, Lucretius’ *De Rerum Natura* (focused as it is on the perils of erotic passion).² It is deeply indebted to the account of the love affair of Medea and Jason in Books 3–4 of the Hellenistic *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, a work of the same Ptolemaic Egypt whose last monarch would be Cleopatra VII Philopator (the veritable Dido of the Augustan Age). From Virgil’s own pen,

1 The former appellation seems to be a personal name, the latter more properly a title; see further on this question the commentary *ad* 335.

2 Cf. the imperial Greek poet Oppian, who would devote the fourth book of his *Halieutica* to the erotic behavior of sea creatures.

Georgic 4 is also powerfully echoed in *Aeneid* 4, as the story of Dido and Aeneas brings to mind certain aspects of the equally doomed union of Eurydice and Orpheus,³ and as apian imagery and lore from the fourth *Georgic* is recalled in the story of the nascent Carthage,⁴ the city whose queen Elissa may prove in the end to be something of an incomplete M/Elissa or bee.⁵

The *Nachleben* of the story of Dido and Aeneas encompasses countless works of the literary, visual, and musical arts. Indeed while it may be the shortest book of the poem,⁶ *Aeneid* 4 has likely inspired the greatest number of artistic *hommages* of any in Virgil's verse.⁷ Within just a few years of the publication of the *Aeneid*, Ovid reacts to Virgil's account of these doomed lovers in his *Heroides*, and Apollonius is by no means the only influence on Valerius Flaccus' Flavian epic treatment of the story of Jason and Medea. Virgil's Aeneas provided a model, too, for Statius' Theseus and, albeit more obliquely, for Augustine's literary persona in his *Confessions*. That Monica plays a role evocative of Dido in that work (at least in terms of being a noble woman left behind by the protagonist in Africa), has not been lost upon Augustinian scholarship.⁸ Even the imperial Greek poet of the *Halieutica* devoted his fourth book to ichthyological loves and passions.

Besides the realms of literature and other arts, *Aeneid* 4 engages the Augustan historical reality of the poet's own day in dramatic fashion. Its particular focus is in response to the dramatic events of the affair between the disgraced triumvir Mark Antony and his Egyptian paramour Cleopatra. While literary antecedents and *comparandae* for Dido include *inter alias* the Medeas of Euripides, Apollonius and Ennius,⁹ from the recent history of Virgil's own

3 On connections between the end of Book 4 to the Orpheus and Eurydice epyllion of the close of *Georgics* 4 and the Orphic, eschatological mystery of *Aeneid* 6, see Raabe 1974, 149–152.

4 Cf. *Aeneid* 1.430–436.

5 Cf. our commentary *ad* 335; also J. Grant, "Dido Melissa," in *Phoenix* 23 (1969), 380–391; Fratanuono 2008.

6 Interestingly, the closing book of the second third of the epic is of similar length, while the final book of the poem is the longest.

7 Multiple monographs would be needed to explore the *Aeneid* 4 afterlife in detail and with the attention the subject of the book's reception deserves. The present volume makes no effort to be comprehensive in its treatment of the field, and our references to *Nachleben* are unapologetically idiosyncratic.

8 Cf. Spence 1988, 59: "Monica plays out the fulfilled Dido, not the foreshortened, frustrated version found in the *Aeneid*." Note also Carol Ramage, "The Confessions of St. Augustine: The *Aeneid* Revisited," *Pacific Coast Philology* 5 (1970), 54–60; MacCormack 1998, 97–99; O'Donnell *ad Confessions* 5.8.15.

9 Useful here is C. Collard, "Medea and Dido," in *Prometheus* 1 (1975), 131–150; note too Y. Baraz, "Euripides' Corinthian Princess in the *Aeneid*," in *Classical Philology* Vol. 104, No. 3 (July 2009), 317–330.

Roman world Carthage's queen incarnates the charms and hazards of the Alexandrian monarch Cleopatra.¹⁰ This engagement with recent Roman political and military history is balanced with the poet's equally compelling concern to explore the relationship of Rome and Carthage across three wars in what was for Virgil a somewhat distant past, not least in the naval combat of the First Punic War and the devastating efforts of Hannibal to secure victory for his African empire. The archaic Latin poet Naevius had already explored the problem of Roman-Carthaginian relations in epic verse, and Virgil would enter the literary fray with a much more recent African war to provide additional historical underpinning for his story of the mythic origins of what would become Rome, a Rome engendered by the struggles of Aeneas and his followers; founded by Romulus; and then revived and reinvested with fresh meaning by Octavian, the adopted son of Julius Caesar. As a tangible declaration of his recreation of Rome as connected with its mythical forebears, Octavian in 27 B.C. allowed the Senate to augment his name with the fitting honorific Augustus.¹¹ Thus, the Augustan culture was to be one of augmentation and renewal, renewal that would come only in consequence of the defeat and suicide of Cleopatra and her lover Antony at the close of decades of civil war in the Republic (not to say Empire).

Dido is reminiscent of the Apollonian Medea as well as the Homeric Calypso. Alongside the literary antecedents for *Aeneid* 4 from the world of epic, Virgil draws from the works of Greek and Latin tragedy to a degree that is unparalleled elsewhere in his poem. The poet's epic account of Dido's involvement with Aeneas is presented as a virtual recreation of a tragedy from the Attic stage or from the theater of republican Rome, and not only from the repertoire of tragedies devoted to Dido's comparand Medea. No book of the *Aeneid* is as influenced by the traditions of the stage, and no book is as reflective of the poet's interest in the arena of forensic oratory: this is Virgil's book of grand speeches, as Dido and Aeneas fence and parley in a rhetorical battle that evokes the splendor of the Ciceronian oratory of the late republic. And because it a *livre d'amour*, *Aeneid* 4 rests also on its composer's careful reading of the tradition of Greek and Roman lyric and elegy. Catullus is a major influence on Virgil, and not only in the neoteric epic of his c. 64 with its Ariadne and her own poetic reincarnation in Dido. Every verse of the fourth *Aeneid*, in

10 Cf. J.M. Benario, "Dido and Cleopatra," in *Vergilius* No. 16 (1970), 2–6; also E. Krummen, "Dido als Mänade und tragische Heroine: Dionysische Thematik und Tragödiendition in Vergils Didoerzählung," in *Phoenix* Vol. 36, No. 1/2 (2004), 25–69.

11 On Octavian's augmentation of his name cf. Galinsky 1996, 315–318.

fine, is replete with echoes across genres and centuries, and we duly remember how much literature at Virgil's disposal has been lost to his postmodern critics.

Together with all of these literary concerns that are interwoven with Roman history both more distant and all too recent, *Aeneid* 4 also draws on the contemporary Augustan focus on sociological questions related to marriage, morality, and the Roman family. Many of these problems are inextricably linked to Virgil's pervasive interest in the question of Roman identity and the realities incumbent on a people whose origins lie both in the East of Troy and the West of Italy. If Africa is an intermediate step for Aeneas' Trojan exiles between Troy and Italy, it is also a powerfully posed turning point¹² in which Aeneas is confronted with the temptation of living a life not unlike that of Antony and Caesar in Alexandria, a life that may have more in common with the opulence of Priam's Troy than with the pastoral Italy that is depicted in *Aeneid* 7, that rugged world that is celebrated by Numanus Remulus in his contemptuous retorts to the Trojans at the cost of his own life in *Aeneid* 9. That Italy of pastoral warriors will be incarnated in memorable, splendid color in *Aeneid* 11 with the enigmatic character of Camilla, a figure who will be revealed to be in some sense an anti-Dido (indeed, the odd-numbered books of the second, Iliadic half of the *Aeneid* are particularly devoted to the exploration of Rome's Italian and ultimately dominant origins),¹³ Lavinia may be the destined wife of Aeneas, but she is a shadowy figure in the epic for all her importance to the plot. Creüsa and Amata are memorable but fleeting female characters. Dido and Camilla are the two mortal women on whom Virgil lavishes his greatest attention. And, in some sense at least, Dido will recall the Cleopatra of Alexandria, and Camilla the Cleopatra of Actium.

Nor must we look only for other characters in the epic who seem to evoke Carthage's suicidal queen allusively or thematically: Virgil explicitly recalls the Dido narrative at several critical junctures in his poem, not least in Aeneas' encounter with her shade in the underworld (6.450–476), a passage that combines powerfully with the queen's death by sword in Book 4 in painting Dido as a new Ajax (both *epicus* and *tragicus*)—as if the multifarious and multivalent correspondences occasioned by Virgil's shortest book were not already inter- and intratextually rich.¹⁴

12 Virgil balances the turning point of Africa in Book 4 with that of Sicily in Book 5: the one locale looks back to Troy, the other looks forward to Italy.

13 For a start to a vast subject cf. here T. Ramsby, "Juxtaposing Dido and Camilla in the *Aeneid*," in *The Classical Outlook* Vol. 88, No. 1 (2010), 13–17.

14 Dido is recalled at 5.570–572, of the horse of Iulus at the *lusus Troiae*; 9.266, of a crater

We have a dazzling array, then, of tissue-like allusions to literature and history, and the poet's epic commentary provides a glimpse of the past in the future tense. Dido is Cleopatra, and yet 1) her very interaction with Aeneas; 2) her curse on the Trojan hero and his descendants; and 3) the death by which the validity of her imprecation is secured look forward to the Punic Wars that were in the distant past for Virgil and his contemporaries. Along the way, the narrative of Dido and of Aeneas offers a literary parallel to the relationship of Cleopatra and Antony that provides trenchant commentary on the vision of the nature of Rome as promoted in the Augustan renewal that came as the elixir to cure decades of internecine strife for the children of Romulus and, yes, of Aeneas. All books of Virgil's epic are laden with these densely packed issues. But the shortest book of the poem provides one of the clearest cases of the poet's engagement with both literature and history, with the distant, mythic past and the recent events in what would be known as the Augustan settlement. *Aeneid* 4 is a good example of how a discrete episode of an epic is carefully interwoven with the larger narrative thrust of the poem, a technique that is on display too in the parallel case of the anti-Dido of the Iliadic *Aeneid*, the virgin huntress Camilla.

Not surprisingly, then, Book 4 has drawn forth the talents of numerous scholars and textual critics. Anglophone standalone works on the book include the monumental 1935 commentary of Arthur Stanley Pease and the much shorter but no less important 1955 edition of Roland Austin for the celebrated "Oxford Reds." Corso Buscaroli's 1932 Italian *Aeneid* 4 is a rich mine of philological and stylistic treasures. School commentaries on the book abound, and several merit special praise for their distinguished treatment of the many grammatical and textual difficulties of this book. The little editions of Stephenson (1888) and Tilly (1968) are noteworthy here, as is the more recent (2012) work of Ingo Gildenhard on the earlier sections of the book. Jim O'Hara has revised the Victorian Page for a contemporary audience. Butler's 1935 *Aeneid* 4 is arguably superior to his 6.¹⁵ The Budé collection has now added a volume on the Servian commentaries on Book 4 to join its 6.

given as a premature prize by Ascanius to Nisus and Euryalus; 11.72–77, of the fateful robe woven by Dido that is used as Pallas' burial shroud. The second and third of these allusions are undeniably ominous, while the first occurs in the context of a mimicry of war.

15 O'Hara's volume is especially useful for collecting convenient references to much of his exemplary Virgilian criticism from his articles and other books. Gildenhard's volume does not labor as much under the exigencies of a series, and is only regrettable for its not co-

An expanded note on Pease's commentary is merited here. Pease's work is famous for its vast repository of parallel passages (though it does the editor a grave injustice to remember him only for this). The present work does not seek to regurgitate all the material from Pease's lists, but it does seek to highlight parallels (not all to be found in Pease, notwithstanding its ambitious and laborious comprehensiveness) that seem to be particularly apt and especially illustrative of the poet's point. Users of Pease are reminded here as well that the *addenda* and *corrigenda* offered in an appendix to the volume are of great value. For the philosophical considerations at play in the story of Dido and Aeneas, Pease is of inestimable value; for his attention to Virgil's tragic diction and concern for the poet's portrayal of Carthage (*inter al.*), his achievement is rightly considered monumental.

Neither Pease nor his contemporary Buscaroli spend much time on literary criticism, for which commentaries like that of Austin are justly celebrated. Austin's Dido is an eminently tragic, sympathetic figure. Our depiction of Dido throughout the commentary may seem to emphasize too much the more negative aspects of her character (both with respect to her literary and her historical parallels). For this we offer no apology, even as we offer some context of the genesis of our appraisal.

Generally speaking, the scholarly tradition has been kind to Dido in the nineteenth, twentieth, and into the twenty-first centuries. James Henry's impressive prose in his massive *Aeneidea* has done much to set the tone for a mostly positive reading of Dido, though none can compare with the notorious condemnation of Aeneas and related sympathy for his abandoned lover that is characteristic of Page's Victorian school commentary. The present work considers Dido through the prism of Augustan Roman realities and a Cleopatra-infused analysis that redounds negatively, we would argue, to the depiction of both Dido and Aeneas (he is, after all, Antony until Mercury finishes his Jovian mission to see to the extrication of the Trojan hero from Carthage). This negative reading does not deny the palpable presence of a strong vein of admiration for the impressive Dido, rather after the manner of Horace's depiction of Cleopatra in c. 1.37. It does, however, also come as part of what we argue is a deliberate juxtaposition of the Eastern Dido with the Western Camilla, a pairing that fits into the poet's aforementioned concern with explor-

vering the entire book on account of the demands of school examination texts. The Bell's Illustrated Classics series has an underappreciated set of *Aeneid* school commentaries; its Warman 4 is like the small Stephenson volume in being immensely helpful on certain points of Virgilian syntax.

ing the problem of Roman identity—a problem that cannot be separated from Augustus' program in the wake of the war with Cleopatra and her Roman lover.¹⁶

Related to the question of the positive or negative reception of the queen is the problem of her age. We have followed Wendell Clausen in concluding that she is younger rather than older.¹⁷ Cleopatra was in her early twenties when her relationship commenced with Caesar, and in her late thirties at the time of Actium and its Alexandrian aftermath. While Virgil is notoriously vague with such matters as age and appearance of characters, we argue that Dido is presented as being at the same age as her historical comparand was when Caesar arrived in Egypt, and indeed in something of a similar situation of peril. Unlike Cleopatra's experience with Caesar, there would be no Caesarion, and certainly no path to Actium.

The question of Aeneas' behavior and morality in *Aeneid* 4 cannot be divorced from that of Dido's. The assignment of blame and fault for the spectacular disaster that emerges from the love of these two characters has been a preoccupation of scholars since antiquity.¹⁸ Aeneas is still very early in his heroic quest as the first third of the epic draws to its ominous close. The door will be closed on Dido when we meet her again in the Fields of Mourning of Book 6; on Aeneas when we encounter him with Turnus at the close of the epic.

Books 4, 8, and 12 of the *Aeneid* do more than cordon off their quadripartite divisions of the epic. They append a final, summary statement to each of their respective thirds of the poem in ways that define Aeneas' character, even as they affirm or challenge the poem's outcome. This outcome ultimately is the foundation of Rome itself as expressed anew, in Virgil's day, through the principate of Rome's most recent hero, Augustus Caesar. It was envisioned as the rebirth of Rome in the presence of a new Aeneas, one who had no negative history of sexual escapade with the Dido of his day, in contrast not only with his rival and adversary Antony, but also even with Rome's newest divinity, Julius Caesar.

Carefully and deliberately, Virgil proceeds from the death of Dido at the close of Book 4 to the image of Cleopatra's suicide on the shield of Aeneas at the end of 8, and then ultimately to Aeneas' slaying of Turnus as both Book 12 and the epic draws to its finish. It is no coincidence that Turnus is compared to

16 It is interesting to compare the critical receptions of both Dido and Camilla: the former has enjoyed more positive than negative appraisal, the latter the reverse.

17 Cf. Clausen 2002, 211–212.

18 For a good start on a vast problem, see especially J.L. Moles, "Aristotle and Dido's Hamartia," in *G&R* 31.1 (1984), 48–54.

a lion in Punic fields at the very start of Book 12 (4–8), as part of a marked sense of parallel between the characters. While Dido takes her own life and Aeneas is more or less indirectly involved, the decision to slay Turnus is his own, absent divine intervention or instigation.¹⁹ The Dido episode is not some mere interlude in Virgil's reimagining of the Homeric *Odyssey*, some *hommage* to the Calypso episode and little more. Introduced in Book 1, its narrative and themes are recalled even to the last scene of the poem.²⁰ Not without reason are we reminded of Punic fields as the last book of the epic commences.

We may proceed now to an examination and analysis of some of the main threads of argument and narrative development in Virgil's fourth book, as we introduce material that will be expanded at length *ad loc.* throughout the commentary, and as we explore further some of these themes and echoes. Book 4 lends itself to such overviews, given that it is one of the most neatly divided books in the epic, the only one whose structure is announced by a verbal signal (*at regina*) that serves both to highlight its tripartite division and to celebrate its central character. It is not so much episodic as focused sharply on one drama, even if the narrative may be envisioned as occupying some months as Aeneas winters in Carthage.

Book 4 closes the poem's first third, the only third of the epic in which the vast majority of the action takes place outside Italy. Given its position and importance to the poem, it is perhaps not surprising to find that it commences forcefully, even tersely:

at regina graui iam dudum saucia cura
 uulnus alit uenis et caeco carpitur igni.
 multa uiri uirtus animo multusque recursat
 gentis honos; haerent infixi pectore uultus
 uerbaque nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.

Aen. 4.1–5

As aforementioned, Virgil opens his fourth book with a noticeable adversative, *at regina* ("But the queen", 4.1), thus closely linking it to the end of the preceding book wherein Aeneas concludes his rather lengthy account of his travels after

19 Aeneas asserts that it is the Arcadian Pallas who is sacrificing Turnus; Pallas, we note, was buried in one of the cloaks that Dido had woven for Aeneas (11.72–77): Virgil makes an explicit connection between the loss of Pallas and the memory of the sojourn with the Carthaginian queen.

20 On the presence of the specter of Dido in the last scene of the poem see Newman and Newman 2005, 51–52, 141–142, 166.

the fall of Troy.²¹ Although Virgil usually prefers to employ a temporal subordinator, such as *cum* or *dum*, the adversative *at* (which only here is used to open a book), suggests that resistance will be a key feature of what follows. Book 3 closes with the death of Anchises, a figure whose ghost looms large over what follows in the drama of Dido. One cannot easily imagine Aeneas pursuing his affair with Dido with his father alive with him in Carthage. Anchises is the key absentee figure in the book, an invisible yet palpable presence that paves the way for his signal importance to Book 5 (not to mention 6).

Furthermore, this *at regina*—a virtual tolling of a bell—recurs twice more in the short book. Scholars have long noted this repetition that divides the book into three dramatic “acts” (or into three plays of a trilogy, we might think) that heighten the antithetical nature of the passion shared by the book’s two protagonists.²² That passion is fittingly symbolized by fire, as the book advances from images of the fire of love to that of the flames that consume a ruined city. Book 2 (with its powerful narration of the closing act of the Trojan War by Aeneas) had already introduced this feature as the key factor in the toppling of Troy. Aeneas’ tale of the fall of Troy had captivated Dido as she listened spellbound to his adventure; her love for him was deepened with every passing detail of his story. Now the flames that have been a vital feature of Aeneas’ account have become metaphorical, as the queen is slowly destroyed by a flame as unconquerable as that which destroyed Priam’s Troy. Like a burning city might be, Dido is herself lapped at by fire, though in her case a hidden one (*caeco carpitur igni*, 4.2). Her city, Carthage, will not be sacked or burned (at least not yet), but *she* will be, for she is to be “conquered” by Aeneas like a city, and she will effectively fall to Aeneas’ very sword.²³ Dido is thus all too intimately associated with Carthage: her fall prefigures the ultimate destruction of her city, which will meet its end like Priam’s city in another age. For images of the destruction of cities will provide grim decoration for the stage painting of Dido’s suicide, in foreshadowing of the eventual ruin of Carthage by Rome in the climax of the long Punic Wars in 146 B.C. Whether or not we accept the allegorical reading that the three acts of Book 4 correspond to the three destined wars of Rome and Carthage, we are left with an unquestionable allusion to the inevitable destruction of Rome’s

21 Further on the Latin adversative particle *at*, cf. the classic article of Homer F. Rebert, “The Origin and Meaning of Latin *at*,” *Classical Philology* 24 (1929) 169–175. See also Smith 2011, 116.

22 Noted years ago by A.J. Bell, “Virgil and The Drama,” *The School Review* 13 (1905): 458–474. More recently, cf. Holzberg 2006, 65, 150 ff.; Fratantuono 2007, 99.

23 Cf. Quint 2018, 72, who enlarges on the flame turning from metaphor to “real” when Dido’s body is consumed on the pyre.

Mediterranean rival, a destruction that is prefigured in the ruin of Dido. Book 4 opens with metaphorical flames; Book 5 will open with a glimpse (however obscured) of the results of Dido's all too real pyre.

Yet long before the "fall" of the queen, there are numerous signs that point toward her romantic relationship with Aeneas ending badly, signs that accord with the reader's awareness that this affair likely will end in disaster, with no quiet handover of hero to destiny as with Calypso and Odysseus. Dido's constant worry and lack of inner peace suggest that the queen is incapable of anything approximating (however anachronistically it may seem) the idyllic security of Epicurean peace, what we might label *securitas* or freedom from care, known to Virgil not only from the treatises of Epicurus and the poet's own friend Philodemus, but also in verse from Lucretius' relatively recent Epicurean epic *De Rerum Natura*.²⁴ Its opposite, anxiety (*cura*), veritably swirls around Dido's character. One could wryly observe that no one could be in possession of *securitas* in the presence of a slow and inextinguishable fire consuming them from within: medical metaphors abound alongside philosophical considerations throughout the poet's tale of the doomed queen. Virgil's fourth book corresponds to his poetic predecessor Lucretius' fourth book, and it is no surprise that philosophical concerns about anxiety, erotic passion, and indeed the role of the immortals in human affairs pepper its verses. The Dido of the opening of Book 4 would have profited from reading the fourth book of Lucretius, though the omnipresent complicating factor in Virgil's epic is the active interference of the immortals (a complication denied by Lucretius).

Thus it is entirely appropriate that within Virgil's theological schematization,²⁵ Dido's love for Aeneas was engendered by the deliberate actions of Venus and Cupid as narrated by the poet in his account of his hero's landing in Carthage in Book 1. Book 4 rounds off the story of Aeneas and Dido with the chilling account of the consequences of the machinations of the capricious goddess in mortal affairs. In Book 4 the interference of Aeneas' divine mother with respect to Dido will be joined by the equally consequential involvement of the powerful immortal antagonist of Aeneas and his Trojans, the great goddess Juno. Virgil is concerned throughout his epic with the problem of free will and human agency in a world that is marked by divine intervention and the pervasive, ineluctable force of fate and destiny. Here as elsewhere in the poem, Virgil seems to begin to arrive at something of a resolution of the problem of

24 See Julia T. Dyson, "Dido the Epicurean," *Classical Antiquity* 15 (1996), 203–221.

25 On which cf. Feeney 1991, 129–187.

the uneasy coexistence of mortal free will and immortal tinkering in human affairs by focusing on that which is known and unknown by various characters at critical, decisive moments in their story.

In *Aeneid* 4 Virgil compels his readers to confront the question of whether or not the immortals ever seem to instigate something that is difficult to imagine would have happened absent divine involvement. Has anyone been any more surprised by the incipient relationship between Aeneas and Dido than they are by Antony's involvement with Cleopatra, or indeed Caesar's before him? At the same time, Virgil presents his cast of immortals and orchestrates his divine machinery such that the goddesses and gods of his epic are never mere tropes. They are characters in their own right alongside the poet's mortals, possessed of their own agendas and occasionally interfering in the poem in ways that cannot be explained by recourse to this or that metaphorical retreat from confessing their divine presence. Indeed, from the very commencement of the poem Juno complains about such divine actions as Pallas' killing of the Lesser Ajax, and we might think of Diana's commissioning of Opis to slay Arruns, and also of the grotesque spectacle of Laocoön's death. In *Aeneid* 4, the principal arena for the involvement of the immortals on the human plane is in the most hackneyed and time-worn of dramas: amatory passion. One of Virgil's great achievements in the book is his ability to make a theme that was all too susceptible to worn out treatment refreshingly vigorous and novel, even as it engages with so many similar tales from literature and history across time and space. As we shall explore below, if there is any surprise in the Dido-Aeneas story it is that the Carthaginians did not manage to slay the Trojan castaways on arrival; this is the act of divine intervention that arguably results in something we might not have expected otherwise. The tale of love is more banal, even if Virgil's great skill is to imbue the time-worn with a quality of refreshment and vigor.

The love affairs of the mighty and powerful are often supremely consequential. That between Dido and Aeneas will occasion incalculable results for Carthage and Rome alike. And yet the book begins with a scene of sisters, a *tableau* that is as indebted to Sophocles' depiction of Antigone and Ismene as it is to the bedrooms of biological sisters in every age and locale, as Dido converses with Anna about her feelings for Aeneas:

“Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent!
quis nouus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes,
quem sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis!

...

si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset,
huic uni forsan potui succumbere culpae.

Anna (fatebor enim) miseri post fata Sychaei
 coniugis et sparsos fraterna caede penatis
 solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem
 impulit. agnosco ueteris uestigia flammae.”

Aen. 4.9–11; 18–23

Dido's words bear the authentic ring of someone falling in love, laden as they are with stark imagery that problematizes the situation and reflects her passion. She acknowledges that the relationship, from its inception, involves a *culpa* (19) that is derived from her violation of her vow to Sychaeus, even as she recognizes the fire arising in it (23). Virgil enlarges upon Dido's volatility within a few lines, as he has her declare that she would rather the earth swallow her than that she should break her vows to Sychaeus (24–27). And yet we know that she will. As Charles Segal has argued, her amatory passion for Aeneas is something that Dido needs little help to accomplish: “No divine intervention was required to depict Dido's falling in love with Aeneas.”²⁶

Anna's response serves only to drive Dido on in her passion, as the queen's sister (who plays the role of counselor/tragic nurse/confidante) adopts a point of view that is virtually “Epicurean,” stating that the shades cannot have care for human troubles:

id cinerem aut manis credis curare sepultos?
 esto: aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti,
 non Libyae, non ante Tyro; despectus Iarbas
 ductoresque alii, quos Africa terra triumphis
 diues alit: placitone etiam pugnabis amori?

Aen. 4.34–38

Anna is of course unaware (as is Dido) of the efforts of Venus and Cupid in Carthage in Book 1. Aeneas is privileged with occasional divine visitations; Dido is accorded such a privilege only with Iris in her death agonies. Anna is a near evangelist for Epicureanism, even as she operates in a world in which the immortals do, after all, seem to take quite an active interest in human affairs.

In her capacity of confidante, Anna parallels the role of Medea's sister Chalciope in the Hellenistic *Argonautica*.²⁷ In a manner similar to Apollonius' char-

26 Such is the summation of Charles Segal in his “Dido's Hesitation in *Aeneid* 4,” in *The Classical World* 84 (1990–1991), 1–12 (conveniently reprinted in S. Quinn 2000).

27 *Arg.* 3.672–744. Cf. Pease *ad* 4.8, 4.31. More generally on Apollonius and Virgil, see Klingner 1967, 443, 450 *et passim*.

acter in her attendance of Medea, Anna encourages Dido in the relationship. In Apollonius, however, Chalcioppe had the additional motive of preserving her sons from her father's wrath, and Medea does not confide in Chalcioppe the way Dido does in Anna. For Anna, there is no motive expressed, but we find simply sisterly affection interlaced with Epicurean desires for pleasure and *securitas*, the latter of which is driven by Anna's acute awareness of Dido's precarious political situation in north Africa. Anna follows up on her exposition of Dido's political circumstance with regard to Iarbas with further fundamentally practical political advice:

nec uenit in mentem quorum consederis aruis?
 hinc Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello,
 et Numidae infreni cingunt et inhospita Syrtis;
 hinc deserta siti regio lateque furentes
 Barcaei. quid bella Tyro surgentia dicam
 germanique minas?

Aen. 4.39–44

Anna's exposition here of *Realpolitik* goes beyond the Epicurean ideal of *securitas*, for it does not account for the disdain, as voiced by Lucretius, for the political ladder customary for Roman nobility:

sed nil dulcius est, bene quam munita tenere
 edita doctrina sapientum templa serena,
 despiciere unde queas alios passimque uidere
 errare atque uiam palantis quaerere uitae,
 certare ingenio, contendere nobilitate,
 noctes atque dies niti praestante labore
 ad summas emergere opes rerumque potiri.

DRN 2.7–13

Anna's advice, on the one hand, brings together the blunt truth of Lucretius' philosophical admonition with the flavor of characteristically Roman practicality. On the other hand, whereas Lucretius would admonish his reader to rise above and thus to be able to look down on such vain pursuits, Anna points out that Dido lives in the very world that Lucretius describes, one fraught with unsavory political realities. And beyond the significance of any Lucretian echo here, how long a woman, even a queen, can hold out without a male consort in such a world is a question that also has the overtones of the political jockeying of the period of the second triumvirate. In this instance in particular, it

is hard not to think of Cleopatra, who had aligned herself first with Caesar and then with Mark Antony (and who may have sought some accommodation with Octavian as well) before succumbing to the asps' venom. There is commentary here too on the relationship of client monarchs with the Roman Republic, a political problem whose most negative expression in the history of the republic's Mediterranean expansion (at least in the view of Augustan propagandists) would be the war waged by Cleopatra that would be resolved by Octavian and Agrippa in the waters off Actium. Juno is more aware of the political realities at play in the relationship between Aeneas and Dido than her adversary Venus; she is focused throughout on delaying the Trojans from arriving in Italy, while for Aeneas' divine mother the point is to ensure that the Carthaginians do not do what they are presented as being all too prone to do: harass the Trojans.²⁸

Virgil quickens the Epicurean pulse of the fourth book by using the narrative voice to establish unequivocally a connection to Lucretius via an apostrophe on the ignorance of seers:

ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido
 candentis uaccae media inter cornua fundit,
 aut ante ora deum pinguis spatiaturo ad aras,
 instauratque diem donis, pecudumque reclusis
 pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta.
 heu, uatum ignarae mentes! quid uota furentem,
 quid delubra iuuant? est mollis flamma medullas
 interea et tacitum uiuit sub pectore uulnus.

Aen. 4.60–67

The narrator's apostrophic vocative in line 65 alludes rather unambiguously to a more general, celebrated Lucretian exclamatory accusative: *o miseris hominum mentis, o pectora caeca!* (*DRN* 2.14). It is no coincidence that this is the very line that follows the passage of Lucretius cited above. Here the poetic context is important: Virgil describes Dido as not simply carrying out these religious rites officiously, but rather as driven intensely by her passion, as the lines that close this citation indicate (66 ff.). These acts highlight both the conflict that she feels in her soul about abandoning her vows to Sychaeus, as well as the conflict that the inconsistent Epicurean advice Anna has given to her has engendered. These

²⁸ Cf. 1.299–300. The Carthaginians may have been expected to have tried to slay the shipwrecked Trojans; Jupiter sends Mercury to see to the safety of the victims of the Junonian storm.

religious rites will not be efficacious, we might think; those later in the book will prove to be rather more successful.

Romantic distractions predictably bring the construction of Dido's city to a halt. Dido's condition does not, to be sure, go unnoticed by the gods, who appear in Virgil's poem in quite unlike the manner in which Epicurean gods are imagined. Yet the fact that Virgil avails himself of Epicurean ideas and Lucretian language should not be taken as some cypher or clue to his personal philosophy, or even to the philosophy that he wants to be the prevailing one for this epic or even this book. Nor should it suggest that he is unaware of the implicit *Anachronismus*. Rather, as the poetic craftsman, Virgil is working within not simply the self-imposed limitations of his epic genre, but also within a poetic world generally, a world in which the primary items of commerce are words along with the imagery that combinations of words evoke. The words do not belong only to the poet or even the genre: they belong to poetry, literature and even prose. Virgil draws on the images and ideas of his predecessors to create in his own poem something novel—something new precisely because it is not new, but it is old, or it is, at least, couched in “old” terms. In a nutshell, that is how allusion works: it is like a color on the brush of the painter, not necessarily creating the sketch, but coloring the way it will be perceived.

Another significant moment as the plot unfolds is Dido's hesitancy as she crosses the threshold:

reginam thalamo cunctantem ad limina primi
 Poenorum exspectant, ostroque insignis et auro
 stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.
 tandem progreditur magna stipante caterua
 Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo;
 cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,
 aurea purpuream subnectit fibula uestem.

Aen. 4.133–139

As Segal observes, Dido's hesitation “... is a last saving instinct, a natural pull back to the safety of her home and her goals before she enters upon her hard *fata* ...”²⁹ Segal's emphasis on the participle *cunctantem* is apt, for it signifies great emotional significance for Dido and is her last chance to turn back before allowing herself to fall fully in love with Aeneas: “Dido is at a point of no return, and there are heavy consequences to taking that step outside.”

29 Segal in S. Quinn 2000, 94.

Virgil's description of Dido in her hunting attire recalls the earlier description of Diana, to whom Dido was explicitly likened when, surrounded by youths, she approached Juno's temple in the first book:

regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido,
 incessit magna iuuenum stipante caterua.
 qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi
 exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae
 hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa pharetram
 fert umero gradiensque deas supereminet omnis
 (Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus):
 talis erat Dido ...

Aen. 1. 496–503

The passage is replete with intratextual significance, not least for the eventual presentation of Camilla as an anti-Dido, a true Diana as opposed to one who essentially playacts Diana in a manner not dissimilar to how Venus did the same when visiting her son on his first landing in Dido's realm (1.314 ff.).³⁰ Venus is no Diana, and whatever her state while living as a widow in north Africa before the arrival of Aeneas and his Trojans, Dido is also no Diana. Virginity is the non-negotiable prerequisite for admittance into the sorority of Diana-like women, and even the chaste widow succumbs to her passion for Aeneas in a manner that proves to be altogether the antithesis of the model of the divine huntress.

The emphasis in this comparison is on how Dido's loveliness stands out amidst the youths who crowd her (1.497 *magna iuuenum stipante caterua*). This simile evokes Homer's Nausicaä from *Odyssey* 6, who is likened to Artemis in a comparable manner (*Od.* 6.102–108), though the Homeric comparison is more appropriate than the Virgilian. In the related *Aeneid* 4 passage, Dido now plays the role of the huntress, thus making her a worthy companion to Aeneas as they embark on the expedition, for the hero is himself described as Diana's fraternal counterpart:

30 The bibliography is considerable; for a start cf. H.N. Couch, "Nausicaa and Dido," in *The Classical Journal* Vol. 37, No. 8 (May, 1942), 453–462; G.S. Duclos, "Dido as *Triformis* Diana," in *Vergilius* No. 15 (1969), 33–41; M.K. Thornton, "The Adaptation of Homer's Artemis-Nausicaa Simile in the *Aeneid*," in *Latomus* T.44, Fasc. 3 (juillet-septembre 1985), 615–622; M.P. Wilhelm, "Venus, Diana, Dido and Camilla in the *Aeneid*," in *Vergilius* Vol. 33 (1987), 43–48; G.C. Polk, "Vergil's Penelope: The Diana Simile in *Aeneid* 1.498–502," in *Vergilius* Vol. 42 (1996), 38–49; Fratantuono 2006.

ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnis
 infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iungit.
 qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta
 deserit ac Delum maternam inuisit Apollo
 instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum
 Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi;
 ipse iugis Cynthi graditur mollique fluentem
 fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro,
 tela sonant umeris: haud illo segnior ibat
 Aeneas, tantum egregio decus enitet ore.

Aen. 4.141–150

The Aeneas-Apollo simile of Book 4 neatly responds to and balances the Dido-Diana comparison from Book 1. While the association of Aeneas to Apollo is not problematic especially in an Augustan epic that might be expected to highlight the programmatic god of the regime, there is a significant difficulty in associating the lovers with the divine siblings—an association that Philip Hardie has identified correctly as evocative of the world of Ptolemaic royalty and incestuous sibling marriages such as that of Cleopatra and her younger brother.³¹ Disquieting associations lurk not far under the lovely comparisons of the mortal hero and heroine to the stunning divinities. The fact that the locus for the *Aeneid* 4 simile is a hunt adds to the picture: we are in the world of Diana the huntress, but we are very removed from the *milieu* of a virgin goddess of animals and the exercise of her sylvan pursuits as Dido-Diana and Aeneas-Apollo proceed not only to the hunt but to their disastrous erotic destiny. The comparisons of the two main characters of the book to the divine siblings introduces a complex web of allusions that reach both backwards and forwards in the epic, allusions that ultimately are of great significance in light of the importance of Apollo and Diana to the Augustan program. In the end, we are left with a sense that while Aeneas may fittingly be associated with Apollo, there is no way in which Dido may fulfill the Diana role. If we had any doubt as to the inappropriateness of the comparison, Virgil paints Dido as a wounded deer at 4.69 ff., such that the woman who was associated with the huntress in Book 1 is reduced to being the hunted prey in Book 4. If we were still unable to appreciate the poet's point, he has ensured that the locus for the union of Dido and Aeneas is a hunt.

Dido hesitates before proceeding to the hunt, a fact that may be something of a surprise given that on her initial advent in Book 1 she had been associ-

31 P. Hardie, "Virgil's Ptolemaic Relations," in *The Journal of Roman Studies* 96 (2006), 25–41.

ated with the consummate huntress. The delay of Dido from advancing to the hunt is nothing less than the poet's commentary on the problematic nature of what is in progress. Virgil compels his audience to view the scene of the hunt as if in parallax, with the resultant disquiet reflective of the perils afoot. The woman who is not, after all, a Diana is depicted appropriately enough as hesitating to advance to what should be her characteristic activity. This hunt will end not in the manner of some splendid adventure in the realm of Diana and her wild animals, but in the sexual union of Dido and Aeneas in a manner most unbecoming to the association of the queen with the quintessential virginal goddess.

Beyond Dido's hesitation here, one sees that with her crossing of the threshold, as Segal also demonstrates in his aforementioned article, Dido "not only leaves behind one future for another; she is also leaving behind one story-pattern for another: she abandons the role of the self-sufficient queen of book 1 ... for that of the abandoned woman in love ..."³² Segal's point is cogent: Dido is stepping from the world of the queen who has not yet fully commenced her love affair with Aeneas into the world in which, within just a few lines, that love affair will be consummated, and from that point there is no turning back. The adverb *tandem*, Segal shows, brings the hesitation to a close and represents the final step in the progress of Dido's personal amatory journey.

The scene in which the joint Junonian-Venusian plan regarding the union of Dido and Aeneas is brought to pass is itself thoroughly dramatic. Virgil describes fires aglow (resuming the theme of the significant flame yet again), this time appropriated to create the aura of the torches at a Roman wedding:

speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem
deueniunt. prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno
dant signum; fulsere ignes et conscius aether
conubiis summoque ulularunt uertice Nymphae.

Aen. 4.165–168

The atmosphere itself is described as acting the part of witness to the ceremony, and nymphs are present to carry out the ritual of ululation. The nuptial liturgy is eminently ominous, occurring as it does during a divinely inspired storm. The poet divulges to the reader the consequences of the plan of the two goddesses, in one of Virgil's moments where he is not at all ambiguous:

32 Segal in S. Quinn 2000, 97.

ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
 causa fuit; neque enim specie famaue mouetur
 nec iam furtiuum Dido meditatur amorem:
 coniugium uocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam.

Aen. 4.169–172

It is not surprising that Dido interprets the event as their marriage, as for her to do so is simply to follow the lead of the principal deity of Carthage, Juno, who is the Roman goddess of marriage. Conversely, that Aeneas should view the encounter in the cave and the relationship that develops from it as sexual more than nuptial is equally unsurprising, as he is the son of Venus. Venus is the mother of Cupid, Aeneas' brother Amor. But Venus is herself not so much the Roman love goddess as she is the Roman sexual goddess. Thus the fact that Dido follows the Junonian interpretation of the event and Aeneas the Vene-real should perhaps not be as puzzling as it is often portrayed. In fact, only if it were not to come about in that way should the reader be surprised. The relationship between Dido and Aeneas will be a sexual one more than a marital one; for Aeneas there is no marriage, and indeed in this his line of thinking is eminently proto-Roman, with implicit and attendant comment on the relationships of Caesar and Antony with Cleopatra.³³

In the cave, as we saw, there are several strong symbols that lend themselves clearly to the notion of a wedding. Yet, on the sexual side, one could easily say that Aeneas has entered with Dido into much more than a *locus amoenus* or even merely a welcome shelter amid a fierce storm.³⁴ Rather, inasmuch as it is a cave, it is a setting that is suggestive of sexuality, as well.³⁵ The atmosphere, the location, and even the ululation of the nymphs are evocative of a *hieros gamos*, a divine wedding that has sensual, sexual associations (as befitting its evocation in the poet's historical context of Ptolemaic royal marriage). James O'Hara rightly compares Lucretius' description at *DRN* 1.250–264. Thus this passage of the dawn of the union of Dido and Aeneas could be read in such a way as to fulfill the intentions of both goddess, which is attributable to the brilliance of the poet who crafted the scene and created here what is arguably the erotic *locus classicus* for an epic love story. No nymphs in attendance on Diana in the revel of the hunt now, but rather nymphs who ululate in witness to a union that should not be.

33 The expressed longing of Dido for a child of Aeneas could not fail to recall for a contemporary Augustan audience the problem of Caesarion in particular.

34 Cf. Adams 1982, 85.

35 So Segal 1969.

The line (169) that introduces this union could not be more declarative or direct in its authorial commentary on the consequences of what is taking place: *ille dies primus leti primusque malorum*. All the major commentaries focus on the adverbial nature of *primus* here, and Austin mentions the fact that Virgil chooses the masculine instead of the feminine form of *dies*. But it is the content of this line that we should like to draw attention to, for it represents a stark contrast to the love (or marriage) scene that has come immediately before it (notwithstanding the ominous apparatus of the nuptial rite). At first glance, one might simply find the line to be accurate enough. The reader presumably knows how the story will go: it will not go well for Aeneas and, of course, it will turn out even worse for Dido. On the one hand, then, this is simply a statement of the obvious; on the other hand, Virgil's exposition here serves as a kind of spoiler alert, as now, early in the narrative, the negative bar is set perilously high. We see the words "death" and "evils," paradoxical words in this amatory, almost connubial context. This line is powerful, and with those that immediately follow, it provides an aura of something greater than merely foreboding. With an enjambed, almost oxymoronic, juxtaposition of *amorem* (at the end of 171) and *coniugium* (in primary position of 172), Virgil introduces the contrasting points of view, planned by the patron goddesses, that will come into conflict and bring about the very things that the ominous words of line 169 predict. Austin *ad loc.* calls attention to the most striking detail of this passage, namely that neither of the protagonists "understood the mind of the other." Again, at this critical juncture the poet does not permit any ambiguity.

Virgil soon indulges in a description of Rumor that is no less than rococo, as that feathered creature is richly portrayed with a number of eyes and mouths, to which one might compare Homer's less striking and briefer personification of Strife (*Iliad* 4.440–444).³⁶ As Lee Fratantuono has noted, through Rumor's hideous appearance Virgil highlights her function in reflecting "the emotions felt when uncomfortable truths are brought into the light." When the Gaetulan king Iarbas hears the rumor of their union (196 ff.), he prays to his father, Jupiter, whose reaction is to call Aeneas back to his mission (236) by sending Mercury with a message to consider Ascanius and "the Roman land that is his due" (275). As we have seen throughout this passage, dueling concepts continue to abound, as Dido and Carthage are set in contrast to Aeneas' future calling. The first act of the tragedy draws to a close with a clearly ominous commentary on what has transpired, and with ample indication of the crisis that looms.

36 Cf. Wolfe 2015, 54.

A second *at regina* (296) opens the second act in the drama of Book 4. Dido now has no doubts about Aeneas' plans, and she swiftly shows him the depth of her passion by castigating him in no uncertain terms:

dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum
 posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra?
 nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam
 nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?

...

mene fugis? per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te
 (quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui),
 per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos,
 si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam
 dulce meum, miserere domus labentis et istam,
 oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.

Aen. 4.305–308; 314–319

Aeneas may seem to be oblivious to the depth of Dido's love, and the commitment that she felt so deeply and that now she invokes as if a point of view shared with, or at least not unfamiliar to the hero. Her calling their relationship a "marriage" had occurred much earlier in this book (4.172 *coniugium uocat*), and she reprises this description at line 316. It is, too, not unreasonable for Dido to believe that Aeneas most assuredly understands the profundity and significance of their relationship, as within sixty lines of this stinging rebuke we shall see that he is described as *animum labefactus amore* (395), where presumably the love mentioned is not simply his or hers, but the love they shared. Yet, on that occasion, Virgil will remind us that it is Aeneas' sense of duty and compliance in response to divine command that drives him to suppress that love (396 *iussa tamen diuum exsequitur*). This is devotion to duty, even if lacking the foundation of personal volition.

Before we come to consider Aeneas' response more closely, we must not forget that Dido here stands in a tradition not simply of famous/infamous heroines but of abandoned women, as Gilbert Highet noted long ago. Chief among them is Medea, to whose invectives in Euripides and Apollonius Dido's words are comparable. Highet cites G.N. Knauer, who also notes that Dido's speech to Aeneas is similar to that of Calypso to Hermes (*Odyssey* 5.118–144), though Dido's has a markedly harsher tone.³⁷

37 Highet 1972, 220 and 220n41. Cf. Knauer 1964, 212–214.

The queen also draws on the one of the more recent installments in that tradition, Catullus' Ariadne, who had been portrayed in such a manner in the longest and perhaps richest poem of that poet:

'sicine me patriis auectam, perfide, ab aris,
 perfide, deserto liquisti in litore, Theseu?
 sicine discedens neglecto numine diuum,
 immemor a! deuota domum periuria portas?
 nullane res potuit crudelis flectere mentis
 consilium? tibi nulla fuit clementia praesto,
 immite ut nostri uellet miserescere pectus?
 at non haec quondam blanda promissa dedisti
 uoce mihi, non haec miserae sperare iubebas,
 sed conubia laeta, sed optatos hymenaeos,
 quae cuncta aerii discernunt irrita uenti.
 nunc iam nulla uiro iuranti femina credat ...

c. 64.132–143

On the one hand, Virgil depicts Dido as having read her Catullus, for her tone and words are clearly modeled on those of Ariadne. Yet on the other hand, she has also *misread* Catullus, as she has failed to heed the final dictum “Now let no woman put her faith in a man when he swears ...” (143). Thus, Dido knows the lines of Catullus at once both too well and not well enough.

Unlike Ariadne, however, who speaks of a “hoped for wedding” (c. 64.141 *optatos hymenaeos*), Dido raises the stakes by invoking what she perceived to have been a true marriage. She also shows a keen understanding of the political consequences of the dissolution of that union: her brother Pygmalion and her suitor Iarbas will now close in upon her (*Aeneid* 4.325 ff.). Dido states her contrafactual wish that had she at least been able to be connected to Aeneas by bearing his child, she could then have a “tiny Aeneas” to preserve the memory of his father (328–330), evocative of the image of Andromache clinging to Ascanius at Aeneas' departure from Buthrotum, and perhaps, too, generally evocative of Cleopatra's doomed child by Julius Caesar.³⁸ The emphasis in Book 4 on Ascanius and on Dido's infatuation with the notion of having a child by Aeneas as some reminder of his presence could not have failed to evoke thoughts for Virgil's contemporary audience of Caesarion and of Cleopatra's

38 Grace Starry West, “Andromache and Dido,” in *The American Journal of Philology* 104 (1983), 259 ff.; Klinger 1967, 447.

children too with Antony. All of these offspring posed potential complications for Augustus in the matter of the rulership of Egypt.

Dido has definite views on the nature of her relationship with Aeneas, and she is not hesitant to express them. Her lover finds verbal communication rather more difficult. The loss of words that Aeneas suffers in Book 4 is not meant simply to contrast with the many passionate words of Dido; that much is obvious. Rather, the primary contrast is not in what he says but in how he says it, specifically in the strange arrangement of his words. That Aeneas is having trouble getting his thoughts together (or at least having difficulties in how to express them) is immediately apparent by his positioning of the personal pronouns at the outset of his address:

... "ego te, quae plurima fando
 enumerare uales, numquam, regina, negabo
 promeritam, nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae
 dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.
 pro re pauca loquar.

Aen. 4.333–337

Aeneas, whose taciturnity is well delineated in Denis Feeney's oft-cited study,³⁹ here offers his longest speech in the poem. His sentiments, especially at the beginning of his response to Dido, represent anything but a rhetorical *tour de force*, for they are patchy, strung together, and his words seem to wander about. While scholars often consider Aeneas' arguments to amount to a series of natterings, Virgil's celebrated ancient commentator Servius does not accept that Aeneas' words are merely a somewhat less than compelling attempt at exculpation:

controuersia est plena, in qua et purgat obiecta, remouens a se crimen ingrati, et ueniali utitur statu, profectionem suam retorquens in uoluntatem deorum. habet etiam finem: nam purgat obiectam fugam nomine profectionis.

ad 4.333

The participle *retorquens* establishes that motive, and it is clear that at least in this note Servius considers Aeneas' response from Dido's point of view: Aeneas

39 "The Taciturnity of Aeneas," in *The Classical Quarterly* 33.1 (1983), 204–219 (conveniently reprinted in Harrison 1990, 167–190).

bends his departure to fit with the “will of the gods,” which certainly sounds like an attribution of motive.

Yet not everyone has been persuaded. Brooks Otis’ blunt assessment and summary of Aeneas’ rhetoric reflects the disconnectedness of the hero’s diction here. Otis attributes the inherent confusion to the hero’s sense of guilt: “... Aeneas has wholly failed to take any account of Dido’s and his own emotions.”⁴⁰ Otis then adds, “he could, in his heart of hearts, face neither Dido nor himself.” Highet enlarges on Otis’ observations about Aeneas’ emotional state, by delineating what he infers to be the specific challenges that the hero is facing: “Three conflicting forces have been working on Aeneas: The power of the god’s command; his love; and his fear of Dido’s ungovernable passions.”

As noted above, Denis Feeney discusses Aeneas’ general tendency not to say much in most contexts. Feeney believes that Aeneas is put into a “panic” at the words of Mercury and this heightens the emotional pitch of his address of Dido.⁴¹ Following on the commentaries of Conington and Pease, Feeney highlights the substantive adjective *pauca* that both the narrator and Aeneas himself use to describe his response: “*pauca* of course is odd, since this is his longest speech in the poem, and suggests the inadequacy of whatever Aeneas might respond.” But it is not the adjective *pauca* that is particularly powerful here. Rather, it is the two simple, profound words that open Aeneas’ speech: “ego te”

In contrast to the famous aposiopesis that terminates Neptune’s speech to the errant winds in *Aeneid* 1 in which the relative and first person personal pronouns are juxtaposed (1.135), here Virgil uses two personal pronouns to *commence* a speech. Both instances of such stark pronominal juxtaposition have striking force. In the Virgilian corpus it is perhaps not surprising to know that the juxtaposition of “I” and “you” occurs at the beginning of a line nowhere else alone (i.e. without another word to introduce the combination), nor does it ever occur when a speaker begins a speech. These words introduce a section of his response in which Aeneas will not only jumble pronouns but in which, as Feeney has shown, he will deviate from his normal pattern of taciturnity and instead here will blather for the first and last time in the poem.

The placement of these pronouns at the opening of this speech is troublesome on a number of different levels. First, the enjambment is somewhat severe: the first person verb to which the opening pronoun corresponds (*negabo*) does not turn up until the end of the next line. Add to this that the adjective

⁴⁰ Otis 1963, 268.

⁴¹ Feeney 1983, 205.

with which the second person pronoun agrees does not come until the beginning of the line after that. This suspension of the pronoun and adjective is more than a single enjambment, as it is suspended for an entire extra verse, and thus evinces that Aeneas is emotionally distraught. The copyist of the ninth-century Valencia manuscript (Valentianensis 407) seems to have been so confused by the pairing of the pronouns here that one can see a tear in the parchment from where he or a subsequent editor tried to erase something inserted that was meant to soften the juxtaposition. Whatever that mark was is no longer visible, but one can see that there was a problem at this point for the copyist.

Mercury's command may have been liberating to Aeneas' men (who will depart, as we shall see below, as if celebrating a triumph), but Aeneas does not seem to share that point of view. He is distraught, and his words (specifically the confusion that Virgil builds into them in this speech) divulge that fact amply. Feeney's suggestion that Aeneas goes into a panic at Mercury's words, as is certainly clear from his reaction to the vision (4.280 *arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit*) and stated later (571 *exterritus umbris*), presents only half the picture. In fact, it is Dido's speech that seems to have put him into a tailspin. He is, in a word, wrecked, as will be made even clearer within just a very few lines.

To heighten that pathos a bit more, Virgil uses words that suggest an intertextual double entendre. First there is the curious word, *enumerare*. Feeney correctly notes that this is "an odd word to find in an epic." On the one hand, the word is not unpoetic, nor really even un-epic, as Virgil also uses it in Book 6 when Anchises counts off the future generations to bring joy to Aeneas for the "discovery" of Italy (6.717–718 *hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum, / quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta*). Furthermore, it shows up in Plautus quite frequently and even in Propertius, where a soldier counts his wounds like a shepherd his sheep (c. 2.1.44 *enumerat miles vulnera, pastor oves*). Yet here, Feeney is right to refer to it as odd. That said, it is not, as Highet notes, a word employed in a "callous rejection ... by a cold egoist." Rather, it is simply an awkward verb here, a strange word choice meant to point up the uncomfortableness of Aeneas. The hero is presented as if he were an accountant of epic favors and benefits, carefully tallying the balance sheets of who has done more for the other, and who has suffered more from the buffetings and demands of fate.

The phrase that follows dovetails with this lack of comfort: Aeneas uses Dido's Carthaginian name (4.335 *Elissae*), and his own pet name for her, as it were. But he does so in a strange way: in the third person, as Conington and other commentators note. The infinitive *meminisse* (335) reveals a future in

which Aeneas will have to recall their past relationship. And this, no doubt, must sound harsh to Dido, who is so early in this speech relegated to the ghostly status of a memory. The oblique use of *Elissae* at once conveys the deeply personal nature of the relationship, and the deliberate self-distancing of the soon to be departed hero.

Here Virgil's Aeneas seems to be alluding to the very speech that Dido had just made when she called him a liar in the vein of Catullus' Theseus (4.305 *perfide*). Catullus' Ariadne was quick to point out that Theseus was forgetful (c. 64.135 *immemor a!*). As if to say, "I won't be a Theseus to you; rather, I shall always remember you," Virgil's hero poignantly adopts and reverses the very charge against Theseus, not only by using the infinitive *meminisse* but also by his even more pointed use of the adjective *memor* (4.336). It is as if Virgil is "correcting" the text of his predecessor through the mouth of his hero.⁴² But if that is an allusively effective device in the hands of the poet, it seems awkward in the mouth of the hero, or at least a less than sensitive, opportune comment to make in context.

Soon, he will divorce himself completely from any notion of them having been married, and in language that is not at all halting or hesitant:

... neque ego hanc abscondere furto
 speravi (ne finge) fugam, nec coniugis umquam
 praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera ueni.
 me si fata meis paterentur ducere uitam
 auspiciis et sponte mea componere curas,
 urbem Troianam primum dulcisque meorum
 reliquias colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent,
 et recidia manu posuissem Pergama uictis.
 sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo,
 Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes;
 hic amor, haec patria est ...

Aen. 4.337–347

While direct and fluent, these sentiments are (as the previous ones were), laden with contradictions. One might even wonder (given the fact that they bear such inconsistencies), if they might be meant to sting the queen. Whether or not Aeneas intends them so does not, in fact, matter, for these words come across

42 On the idea of referential correction, cf. Richard Thomas, "Virgil's *Georgics* and the Art of Reference," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 90 (1986), 185–189.

that way to both Dido and the reader when Aeneas states plainly that he would not have left Troy if given the choice.

He uses the religious excuse, of course, invoking the fact that the Lycian *sortes* bade him “strive to reach” or even possibly “occupy” Italy. That verb, *capessere*, is striking. Servius Danielis recognized that it merited some explanation:

Capessere: occupare. et ideo frequentatiuo uerbo usus est, quia multas se dicit super hoc sortes accepisse. quidam ‘capessere’ pro ‘ire’ accipiunt, ut Titinius “Lucius domum se capessit.”

Both Lewis and Short and the *OLD* accept Titinius’ usage as parallel with Virgil’s, derived from an example presumably taken from one of that second-century B.C. author’s *fabulae togatae* where it simply seems to mean, “to go.” Yet the *TLL* goes in a slightly different direction, citing Titinius in the same section under “res corporales” but earlier in the lemma, under a separate subheading. Thus, the *TLL*, like Danielis, sees in our passage the use of the verb as describing *loca* (*capessuntur adeundo*), sc. “places [that] are occupied by going there”, and the *TLL* compares Cicero’s *Att.* 10.9.1: *Melitam igitur, opinor, capessamus, dum quid in Hispania* (“Let us, therefore, take up our station in Malta, I think, until [we know] what is going on in Spain”). Danielis’ *capessere: occupare*, also cited in the same lemma in the *TLL*, shows that the force of the word can mean “to lay hold of, occupy.”

Virgil, therefore, may intend for Aeneas to say something a bit stronger than simply that the Lycian oracles order him to betake himself to Italy. The verb may have the force of *occupare*, or at least have the strength of Cicero’s use of the word which means “to take up station in.” If so, the power of the verb may enhance the dramatic force of the break with Dido: Aeneas is moving on and, according to the Lycian *sortes*, he is now to occupy, to lay hold of that place, and with it, his destined future. Pease’s note, if it itself reads a bit like Aeneas’ contradictive diction, is nevertheless helpful, for he reminds us that Wilamowitz once noted⁴³ that the Lycian *sortes* in question are likely to be those of Homer, and the Lycian oracles are rather located at Troy than at Patara (modern Gelemis/Ksantos, both near Kinik, Turkey). Yet the geography here is less critical than the official religious backing that Aeneas receives from them.

43 In Schüler 1883, 101n. Pease notes that Porphyrio raises a similar objection in passing *ad* Horace’s *Carmen Saeculare* 37.

Moreover, Aeneas raises the pitch of his determination well beyond the force of this verb, making the bad situation that his garbled words have by now created even worse by closing with a phrase that is far from a mere tagline, when he pronounces the powerful, unequivocal explanation that Italy is his love and his homeland (4.347).

Had he stopped there, perhaps he would not have come off quite as badly in this exchange as he does. Instead, he keeps undermining the virtue of his self-proclaimed employment of *pauca* paradoxically by adding to them. Thus, just when it seems that it can get no worse, it does: Aeneas now adds that Dido herself is, frankly, suffering from jealousy, a jealousy that he ties to geographical envy (a pointed comment for a proto-Roman to be making to a queen of Carthage):

... si te Karthaginis arces
 Phoenissam Libycaeque aspectus detinet urbis,
 quae tandem Ausonia Teucros considerare terra
 invidia est? et nos fas extera quaerere regna.
 me patris Anchisae, quotiens umentibus umbris
 nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,
 admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago ...

Aen. 4.347–353

Aeneas makes his case (which is based on location) more vivid here by appealing to existing visual imagery. He refers specifically to Dido's view of her own city, suggesting that she begrudges the Trojans' settling in the Ausonian land by using a word with a visual root (350 *invidia*). Yet one might raise the objection that it is actually Aeneas who is envious here, for how could she be envious of something the Trojans do not yet have? All of this may be read through the lens of the future Mediterranean rivalry between Rome and Carthage. Moreover, the matter of what dreams of Anchises specifically Aeneas refers to here is unsettling, as well. James O'Hara observes, "We have heard nothing of these dream appearances, and may be as skeptical as Dido," and then adds (following an observation by Servius), "but an epic poet may allude to events not narrated earlier."⁴⁴ On the other hand, one might argue that to convince Dido, Aeneas seems to evoke the apparition of Sychaeus' ghost as it appeared to the queen, as Venus had relayed to Aeneas in the first book (1.353 *sed in somnis inhumati venit*

44 O'Hara *ad* 351. O'Hara refers his reader also to *Nünlist* 2009, 157–173.

imago/ coniugis).⁴⁵ (We may note that *imago* occurs at the same line number in both books).

Not surprisingly, perhaps, Aeneas picks up on this same notion of vision, when he states that a particular vision (4.353 *imago*) has urged him to depart. He then expounds to Dido that he had seen a god and had drunk in that deity's words:

nunc etiam interpres diuum Ioue missus ab ipso
 (testor utrumque caput) celeris mandata per auras
 detulit: ipse deum manifesto in lumine uidi
 intrantem muros uocemque his auribus hausit.
 desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis;
 Italiam non sponte sequor.”

Aen. 4.356–361

The fact that Aeneas uses the verb *testor* (even if obviously a justifiable choice to bolster his testimony to Dido), seems like special pleading in an amatory context. Commentators spend a good deal of time explaining the fact that Aeneas swears by a pair of heads of uncertain identity (4.357 *utrumque caput*), perhaps those of Aeneas and Dido. Servius Donatus had trouble with this interpretation, suggesting that Aeneas could alternatively mean here either Jupiter and Mercury or Aeneas and Ascanius. All of these possibilities present difficulties, and probably deliberately so (did Dido know the referents of *utrum* that Aeneas intended?). A comparative circumstance occurs in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (3.151), when in a less ambiguous passage Aphrodite compels Eros to be witness to her head and his own. Based on this precedent, some might argue that perhaps the least objectional interpretation is that Aeneas means Dido's head and his own. Still, why this combination, especially since he does not view them as married? Why not simply his own head? There is no cogent explanation that offers a satisfying answer, but at the very least this awkward phrase befits the inelegance that characterizes Aeneas' entire speech. And it is challenging even for the most ardent defenders of Aeneas to construe *Italiam non sponte sequor* in a manner that redounds to the credit and noble glory of the epic hero.

Dido's response shows even greater emotion than she has hitherto displayed, for she vows nothing less than to haunt him as if she were some sort of underworld specter:

45 We owe this observation to L.N. Quattarone.

scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos
 sollicitat. neque te teneo neque dicta refello:
 i, sequere Italiam uentis, pete regna per undas.
 spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,
 supplicia hausurum scopulis et nomine Dido
 saepe uocaturum. sequar atris ignibus absens
 et, cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus,
 omnibus umbra locis adero. dabis, improbe, poenas.
 audiam et haec Manis ueniet mihi fama sub imos.”

Aen. 4.379–387

Dido makes this pledge in a powerful way. She introduces it with hissing sarcasm (cf. 4.305 ff.), a Medea-like stylistic trick that is as effective in Virgil as in Euripides. Every verse save one from verses 279 to 384 begins with the letter ‘s,’ and even in line 381 the first consonant is an ‘s.’ Further, irony drips from Dido’s pronouncement *scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos ...*, which is a reversal of the Epicurean ideal of *securitas*, a state that the gods are supposed to enjoy.

In response to Dido’s frightening promise to haunt him, Aeneas groans, and Virgil tells us that he is “shaken by great love” (4.395 *multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore*); nonetheless, Aeneas will obey the divine command and return to his men, who are already hard at work to make a quick departure.

Though Dido asks Anna to intervene (4.424),⁴⁶ Aeneas’ resolve is oak-like (441–446), and his determination offers a telling, poignant comparison with Dido’s passionate request for *tempus inane*, “an empty time” (437).⁴⁷ In her passion, Dido will instruct Anna to ready a pyre where she ostensibly will burn every reminder of Aeneas (496–498). It is the close of the second act of the tragedy, as the horror of the suicide of the queen draws inexorably closer, and not without the resultant consequences for both Carthage and the future Rome that will attend Elissa’s end.

In the third and final section of the book (introduced again with the phrase 4.504 *at regina*), Dido takes, in addition to his “spoils” and sword, an image of Aeneas that she places upon the pyre, on which she has also strewn garlands.

46 See Conington-Nettleship, ad loc. Steven Farron, “The Aeneas-Episode as an Attack on Aeneas’ Mission and Rome,” in *G&R* 27 (1980), 39; also Roy K. Gibson, “Aeneas as Hospes in Virgil, *Aeneid* 1 and 4,” in *The Classical Quarterly* 49 (1999), 199.

47 On the possibility that Aeneas could have granted this request, see Sergio Casali, “Staring at the Pun: ‘Aeneid’ 4.435–436 Reconsidered,” in *The Classical Journal* 95 (2000), 115.

Virgil's portrait of Dido's ritual is rich in details, as Stygian deities are evoked (510). A Massylian priestess attends the queen, whose loss of one shoe and loosened dress are, commentators have noted, ritual gestures:⁴⁸

ipsa mola manibusque piis altaria iuxta
 unum exuta pedem uinclis, in ueste recincta,
 testatur moritura deos et conscia fati
 sidera; tum, si quod non aequo foedere amantis
 curae numen habet iustumque memorque, precatur.

Aen. 4.517–521

The reference to the doffing of one shoe may reflect liturgical rubrics, but it recalls too the lore of Jason and the warning to Pelias about the danger to him that would come from a man similarly attired. The rituals from earlier in the book in which the sisters had sought some answer to their prayers are now replaced by darker, more disturbing liturgies. The queen's prayers widen in scope (*si quod ... numen*) before she breaks into two emotional soliloquies that portend her own tragic demise. After rehearsing her bad decisions, she laments the Trojan deception and acknowledges that she has failed to keep her vow to Sychaeus' ashes (552).

In a span of ten lines, Virgil states that Aeneas is certain about his departure (4.554 *certus eundi*), as Dido is sure about her own death (563–564 *illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore uersat / certa mori*). In such a state, she is, in contrast to Aeneas (555 *carpebat somnos*), yet again incapable of sleep, tossing such billows of worry and anger (564 *uariosque irarum concitat aestus*). Soon enough we learn that for all his certainty, Aeneas is not hastening to take his leave of north Africa.

To impel the action of Aeneas' departure, Mercury appears to him a second time, albeit now as a dreamlike apparition. Again he scolds Aeneas, and he proceeds to warn him to accelerate his exit from Dido's shores:

“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 uersat
 certa mori, uariosque irarum concitat aestus.

48 Conington-Nettleship, *ad* 518; cf. the figure of Bacchus at the center of the Villa of the Mysteries frieze. Cf. also Pease and O'Hara *ad loc.*, who note the chthonic associations inherent in the gesture.

non fugis hinc praeceps, dum praecipitare potestas?
 iam mare turbari trabibus saeuasque uidebis
 conlucere faces, iam feruere litora flammis,
 si te his attigerit terris Aurora morantem.
 heia age, rumpe moras. uarium et mutabile semper
 femina.” ...

Aen. 4.560–570

Fire imagery returns, and not without a hint of the future naval and military struggles between Carthage and Rome. The poet does not present his hero in the best of lights here: a prudent warrior would have hastened to depart, and the apparent calm trust in destiny that Aeneas displays by his ability to indulge in slumber does not accord with the extreme peril posed by the increasingly irrational and vindictive monarch. Mercury’s speech is perhaps most memorable for the *dicton méchant* with which it closes. Yet, as noted above, his description of Dido as resolved to die (564) is clearly meant to contrast with Aeneas’ certainty to depart. Also important is the god’s question about Aeneas’ flight (565 *non fugis*), and his injunction to sail before fire can overcome the seacoast. Mercury’s words, as James O’Hara notes *ad* 560, recall those of the ghostly Hector (2.289 *heu fuge, nate dea*). They may even delicately evoke the *fato profugus* of the poem’s prologue (1.2).

Aeneas reacts with understandable fear and apprehension to the sudden nocturnal apparition (4.571 *subitis exterritus umbris*), which Dennis Feeney correctly analyzes as a state of panic on the part of the hero. Aeneas barks out commands to his men to hasten their flight (575), with the explanation that he has seen a god—a god whom he address mid-speech in solemn apostrophe:

... sequimur te, sancte deorum,
 quisquis es, imperioque iterum paremus ouantes
 adsis o placidusque iuues et sidera caelo
 dextra feras.” dixit uaginaque eripit ensem
 fulmineum strictoque ferit retinacula ferro.

Aen. 4.576–580

Aeneas’ actions after this speech speak louder than the words he has just uttered. To symbolize the end of the relationship he has had with Dido, Aeneas draws his gleaming sword from its sheath before cutting the ties that keep him in that land (4.579 ff.). The symbolism here is obvious enough. Aeneas’ words that lead up to that symbolic separation are telling, too: he states that he and his men obey the god’s command, “celebrating” (*ouantes*) anachronistically in the

same way a Roman general who is accorded an *ovatio* might with his men. More significantly, perhaps, it is the same verb that Dido had used when she could not sleep and she asked herself the hard questions about how to react to Aeneas' imminent departure (543 *quid tum? sola fuga nautas comitabor ouantis?*).

Dido's next soliloquy is twice as long as the one she had spoken earlier. Soon enough she alludes to "ghastly acts of vengeance" whereby she could punish Aeneas, all drawn, we might well conclude, from stories of heroines who had been wronged by their lovers (or, in some cases, rapists). These characters perhaps include such notoriously vengeful figures as Procne, who in response to her rape cooked Tereus' son Itys for his father to eat. But there is more at play here than mere reminiscence of aggrieved women from the shadows of myth. Dido's curse will be manifested in nothing less than such future Roman bogeys as not only Cleopatra but also Hannibal, whose advent is anticipated in her dire imprecation at 4.625 *exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor*. The future horror of the queen's maledictions is prognosticated already even as Aeneas and his men safely sail away from Carthage and see the flames that rise over the stricken city, a sight that fills them with understandable dread, notwithstanding their ignorance of the cause (5.1–7). The queen's evil spell, as it were, is to be active in every age (4.627 *nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires*, a verse of temporal terror in which the asyndeton serves to underscore the urgency of the maleficent wish). Virgil's vision of violence extends from the mythic past of Aeneas to the historical memory of his own age. It would end only, perhaps, in the waters of Actium, under the auspices of an Augustus.

Dido's curse against the Aeneadae will be grimly efficacious, then, and in the near future there will be a war in Italy. Aeneas will experience this Latin strife; his Roman descendants will suffer the ravages of the Punic Wars and a bloody cycle of recurring civil conflicts. The rage of Juno will be transferred to Aeneas in the closing moments of the poem, in the final, fatal encounter of the Trojan and his Rutulian antagonist Turnus, thereby offering something of an explanation for the plague of internecine strife that will mark so much of Roman history (Aeneas and Turnus represent, after all, the two peoples whose destined union has been the source of such controversy and conflict, and the war in Latium is nothing less than the first of many a civil war in Italy). There is thus a direct line that may be drawn from the end of Book 4 to the close of Book 12, with the climax of Book 8 revealing something of a crowning, Augustan close to the horrors of the Trojan/Roman past: the forces of Octavian and Agrippa will defeat Antony and Cleopatra, who in some sense are prefigured by Turnus and Dido: figures and images of *de facto* civil war, and of foreign, dangerous queens. Roman history in the future tense, then, is unveiled as attaining its culmination in the Augustan solution to the Junonian furtherance of the

curse of Carthage's queen. The peace of the future will be accompanied by the exceptional manifestation of Roman devotion to Juno, just as Jupiter promises to his wife at 12.838–840 *hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget, / supra homines, supra ire deos pietate videbis, / nec gens ulla tuos aeque celebrabit honores*. The omnipotent goddess (a theme to which we shall return below) will receive signal honors and the particular religious, liturgical veneration that is her desire and due.

As the book draws to its increasingly inevitable close, Virgil tellingly uses the Lucretian phrase *hic terminus haeret*, “thus clings the boundary stone” (4.614), which for Lucretius suggests the unavoidable supremacy of natural law. Yet even in the face of such a force beyond her control, Dido places a curse on Aeneas that foreshadows Aeneas' eventual death, outside the parameters of Virgil's epic. Her curse, too, is an aetiological explanation of the breakdown of diplomacy between Rome and Carthage as evidenced in the Punic Wars and Carthage's eventual defeat and subjugation to Rome.⁴⁹ The whole resultant mess occasioned by the meddling of Venus and Cupid in Carthage has devolved to nothing less than the inevitability of the future great conflict between the people of Dido and those of Aeneas. The death of Dido will spell the horror of the Punic Wars. The pacification of the violent Carthaginians by Jupiter and Mercury was an all too temporary expedient. The Mediterranean basin is too small for two empires; the Romans and the Carthaginians will engage in violent rivalry and sanguinary strife as a direct consequence of the departure of Aeneas from his mistress.⁵⁰

Having ascended her pyre, Dido pronounces a final prayer as she takes her life, rich in pathos and anticipatory of her final act and all the future hell that it will unleash:

dixit, et os impressa toro “moriemur inultae,
sed moriamur” ait. “sic, sic iuuat ire sub umbras.
hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto
Dardanus, et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis.”
dixerat, atque illam media inter talia ferro
conlapsam aspiciunt comites, ensemque cruore
spumantem sparsasque manus.

Aen. 4.659–665

49 Dyson 2001, 51–53.

50 L.N. Quartarone, “Dido's Curse of Aeneas and Rome: An Historical Endorsement of Prophetic Emotions,” *Acta Antiqua* 60 (forthcoming). We thank Professor Quartarone for permitting us to see an advance copy.

Dido's plunging of Aeneas' sword into herself rounds out the sexual symbolism with which Virgil has discriminately colored so much of this book's narrative. The details that Aeneas had offered just a few lines earlier about his haste to obey the god's commands include the notion of the Trojans celebrating victory as if over a fallen city (4.577 *ouantes*). Thus, Dido's own epitaphic final words are not only summative but make clear her own identification with her city (655 *urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia uidi*), clarifying the connection between herself and the land. It is because she and her city are one that Aeneas and his men can claim an *ovatio*. Aeneas the *pastor ... / nescius* (71–72) captures and then deserts Dido (cf. 330 *capta ac deserta*) and her land just as he had described the Greeks taking Troy; he carries on to obtain his new home, the new Troy he envisions in Italy, but in the process he leaves destruction and havoc in his wake, not least for the future Rome. In the person of Aeneas—on the one hand the son of Venus, yet on the other hand a martial instrument of fate—Virgil manifests the tension between the lover and obedient (perhaps too obedient) soldier.

Traditionally, Ajax had committed suicide with a sword that had been presented to him as a gift by Hector. Virgil evokes the Sophoclean tradition of Ajax's suicide in his depiction of Dido's end, a comparison that will continue in the underworld in which like Homer's Ajax, the queen's shade will refuse to engage in conversation with her heroic visitor. The Ajax association is a classic example of how the poet composes his problematic character with honorable, noble intertextual allusions. Ajax is a particularly apt comparand for Dido: his madness and attempted murder of his fellows resulted in unbearable shame that he could not endure, while his prior record of virtuous, impressive conduct redounded to his undeniable glory. Ajax also provides the type of the hero of a bygone age, much as Cleopatra could be taken in the Augustan Age to represent a dying breed of noble rulers. The Homeric Ajax would not communicate with Odysseus; Dido, for her part, is eloquent in *Aeneid* 4 and profoundly silent in the underworld when confronted with the Odysseus-like Aeneas.

The queen takes her own life. Dido's demise is taken as a clearly ominous sign by her denizens (understandably enough), as their lamentation (echoing Aeneas' description of Troy's fall in the second book at 2.487–488 *plangoribus aedes / femineis ululant*), indicates all too clearly:

lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu
tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether,
non aliter quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis
Karthago aut antiqua Tyros, flammaeque furentes
culmina perque hominum uoluantur perque deorum.

*Aen.*4.667–671

The notion of the fallen city that follows thus dovetails with Dido's final words. On the one hand, Dido, as its queen, simply and fittingly represents Carthage. On the other hand, she is thus relegated to the status of something conquered. She has become Aeneas' conquest, as she had herself allusively predicted (543). Aeneas then cuts his cables, thereby revealing the victory gained, but perhaps suggesting, too, personal loss. Departure is all that was required of him; the victory, however, would be soured by the extreme efficacy of the curse of the vanquished.

The fourth *Aeneid* closes not with the passion with which it had opened but, by contrast, quietly with Dido's soul being released to the nether realms by Juno's mercifully sending Iris to cut her lock. The description of Dido as having perished *misera ante diem* (4.697) adds one final note of pathos. Carthage's queen suffers in her death agonies until Iris snips the golden lock of hair—her suicide was botched.⁵¹ The rainbow goddess fulfills her Junonian mission, and Dido's soul is freed.

The book's two closing verses (704–705 *sic ait et dextra crinem secat, omnis et una / dilapsus calor atque in uentos uita recessit*) anticipate the stark final scene of the poem where Turnus' soul will flee to the shades below. And yet there is more. For all the quiet close of the book that seems to contrast so beautifully and forcefully with what precedes (here the epilogues of both Henry and Austin are required reading), there is a note of horror. Iris is sent by Juno in an act of mercy, with the Carthaginian patroness acting out of pity for Carthage's queen.⁵² But the cutting of the lock of hair is the act whereby the death of Elissa is enacted. In other words, Juno's action is more than mere facilitation of euthanasia. It is nothing less than the enactment of the curse of Dido. This is why Juno is referenced in the closing of Book 4 as *omnipotens* (693). Wrathful Juno had conjured a tempest to discomfit the Tro-

51 The echoes in this closing scene of earlier Virgilian Dido passages are studied by M.C.J. Putnam, "Dido's Long Dying," in *Daedalus* 143.1 (2014), 99–106. On how Dido's suicide has affinities with the similarly failed initial stabbing effort of the doomed triumvir Antony see L. Fratantuono, "Virgil's Dido and the Death of Marcus Antonius," in *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* LV1 (2020), 351–356; in Virgil's conception of Dido there is room for parallel both to Cleopatra and to Antony, which is fitting given that the queen must incarnate both of Octavian's enemies. Aeneas is Antony only until he leaves Carthage; in the wake of the salvation of the Trojan hero, it is Dido who must serve double allegorical duty.

52 Quintus Smyrnaeus has Athena send Iris to Aeolus to help to orchestrate the wrecking of the Greek fleet at *Posthomerica* 14, 467 ff. Juno's Iris and not Jupiter's Mercury will serve duty as a quasi-psychopomp to see to the death that will secure the curse on the Aeneadae. This is Iris' first appearance in the epic; see further Kühn 1971, 76–83; Smith 2005, 44–48.

jans on their westward journey to Italy (1.50 ff.); that storm had led directly to the unplanned arrival of Aeneas and his men in Africa (1.157 ff.). Much would transpire between that landing in Carthage and the suicide of the lovesick African queen. The attempts of Juno to circumvent destiny and to harass the Trojans would seem to have been countered by the efforts of such deities as Neptune (cf. 1.124–156), Venus and Jupiter. But in her act of pity for the tortured queen, Juno accomplished far more than the simple relief of Dido's death pangs. She ensured unimaginable, ghastly horror for her hated Trojans, via the realization of a curse that would more than justify the omnipotence the poet ascribes to her.

The end of the first third of the epic thus comes with a moment of Junonian power and success, just as the last third will reach a divine climax in the goddess' victory via the settlement of the Italian *versus* Trojan cultural identity of the future Rome at her reconciliation to Jupiter (12.829 ff.). Juno is omnipotent as she guarantees nothing less than the future catastrophe of the Punic Wars; she will be omnipotent too with reference to her commission to Allecto to set into motion the war in Latium, a war that will reach its resolution in Book 12 on the divine plane with the reconciliation of Juno and Jupiter, and on the mortal with the slaying of Turnus by the enraged Aeneas (12.945 ff.).⁵³ Said resolutions will secure a bright future for Ausonia *versus* Troy in the settlement of Roman cultural identity, and something of a transference of the wrath of Juno (cf. 1.4 ... *saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram*) to the hero Aeneas (12.946–947 ... *furiis accensus et ira | terribilis* ...). Homer's *Iliad* was the song of Achilles' wrath, which was placated by the quiet close of the epic with the burial of Hector; Virgil's *Aeneid* ends with a reminiscence of Achilles at his most wrathful in the wake of Patroclus' death, without any possibility of reconciliation in the manner of *Iliad* 24. Epic history cycles back to the first verse of Homer's epic of rage, with no hope of relief offered by the new poet as he sings of Turnus' indignant shade and its flight to the shadows.

The book fittingly ends, therefore, not with proto-Roman *ovatio* but with a powerful revelation of the Junonian intention to see to the incarnation of Dido's curse.⁵⁴ By Juno's intervention with Iris the queen has died; her soul is gone away to the shades; and Aeneas is as oblivious to the curse on his descen-

53 On the transference of wrath from Juno to Aeneas via Dido and Pallas, see further especially Newman and Newman 2005, 129–130, 165.

54 Interestingly, the entry of Camilla into Latium at the climax of the gathering of the Italian heroes at the close of Book 7 will have some affinities with Roman *ovationes*, such that Dido's comparand Camilla enjoys what Dido does not. See further the forthcoming article of Fratantuono, "Camilla's Myrtle and Roman Ovationes."

dants as he had been tongue-tied when trying to address Dido with his few words (*pro re pauca*) near the midway point of the book (4.337). Book 8 closes the second third of the epic with Aeneas assuming the shield whose pictures of Roman history he does not understand; as the hero takes his leave of Carthage in the first lines of Book 5 he is not certain of what happened in Dido's realm as the flames and smoke are visible from the walls, but he is aware that doom is portended. He leaves Carthage as if he had conquered the city and left it smoking in flames (cf. the description of the ruined Troy at the opening of Book 3). But in reality what has taken place is the start of a long and inexorable historical process that will witness significant doom and destruction for Rome long before any Roman commanders would sail away from the African coast like Aeneas and see smoke and flame in the distance. Juno is triumphant at the close of Book 4, as she will be victorious too at the end of Book 12. Book 4 ends with the death of Dido, and the goddess' securing of a dreadful curse on the hated Trojans. Book 12 closes with the killing of Turnus, but before the death of Aeneas' Rutulian antagonist the audience has learned that the future Rome will be Italian in *sermo* and *mores*, and not Trojan: a victory for Juno more profound and enduring than anything conjured by the curses of the suicidal Carthaginian queen.

In fine, the fourth *Aeneid* succeeds in fulfilling its Augustan demands: Aeneas evokes the deadly image of Antony with Cleopatra, but he sails away from Africa as the doomed triumvir never would. Augustus could boast of having defeated a grave peril to Roman security in his conquest of Cleopatra and Ptolemaic Egypt, a victory over a hazard so serious that it could be prefigured poetically in the Elissa whose dying curse would doom Rome to three wars, one to match each act of her tripartite tragedy.

A Note on Manuscripts

We are fortunate to live in an age in which the internet has afforded students and scholars alike access to many artifacts, the examination of which would previously have required extensive travel. Many Virgilian manuscripts are available via the internet and in most cases examination on-line or in digitized form *in situ* (e.g., at the Bibliotheca Vaticana) is sufficient. Yet despite such technological advances, there are some occasions that nonetheless necessitate an inspection of the actual manuscripts. While most of the witnesses consulted for this edition were collated on-line at least initially, in the course of preparation of this volume we visited many of the libraries where the manuscripts are housed and examined the exemplars. We should like to acknowledge the

kind assistance of the librarians/curators of those libraries' collections (Bern, Hamburg, Oxford, Sankt Gallen, Prague, Verona, the Vatican, Wolfenbüttel) as well as those of the Pius x library in St. Louis, where microfiche copies of the Vatican manuscripts are housed. Though all of the Vatican manuscripts were also consulted on the high resolution Vatican computers *in situ* (which offer the best possible view of the manuscripts), we previewed those manuscripts in St. Louis as well.

Before considering the individual manuscripts in detail, we must acknowledge that our understanding of them is based on the arduous labor of our many predecessors. Particularly distinguished among these editors are Mynors, Geymonat, and Conte. Geymonat's edition, originally published in 1973 and appearing in a revised version (2008) just before that great scholar's death, offers the most detail on the manuscript tradition. The 1969 Oxford text of Mynors has the virtue of elegant and sagacious brevity in its apparatus; it is also a reminder that one should sometimes consider less conservative solutions to textual problems. Conte's Teubner (now in a 2019 second edition) is the most recent of the triad, and it takes into account also manuscripts that neither Geymonat nor Mynors seem to have considered thoroughly. Recently, too, Antonio Cussen has offered a useful edition (2018), which offers a fine collation of the major manuscript readings separately from the apparatus. His *Notas para la reconstrucción de la Eneida* volume is a rich *vademecum* to appreciating the textual variants and problems of Virgil's epic. It is no criticism—not in the remotest—of any of these scholars (or of those here unnamed) that there is no one “definitive” text of Virgil.

There are several Virgilian manuscripts that date to the fifth- or early sixth-century A.D. The Codex Mediceus (M), in rustic capitals and housed in the Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana in Florence, is of great importance for establishing the text of *Aeneid* 4, not least because it provides a mostly complete text of the Virgilian corpus. A subscription written by the consul Furcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius provides a late-fifth century *terminus ante quem* of 21 April 494 for this manuscript. Another manuscript of roughly the same period (perhaps c. A.D. 500?), also in rustic capitals, is the Codex Palatinus (P), housed in the Vatican Library. It also contains the whole of Book 4. It derives its name from the period in which it was in the collection of the Palatine Library in Heidelberg. It is noteworthy for the corrections of three ancient editors, known to us now only as P¹, P², and P³. The Romanus manuscript (R) preserves most of Book 4, beginning at line 217. It is of a somewhat later period than P and M (maybe the turn of the sixth century?), and is of great value, even if the quality of the penmanship is sometimes lower than that of those other two. One gets the impression now and again that the copyist of R had more interest

in “improving” on his poet than those responsible for M and P. Sabbadini was among those scholars who rightly highlighted the importance of R, even if it must be used with more caution than perhaps any other surviving witness of Virgil’s text.

Another manuscript known as the *schedae Vaticanae* is, albeit fragmentary, of notable significance, as well. It is abbreviated as manuscript F and consists of seventy-five surviving sheets, each with twenty-one verses. It is possible if not likely that it predates any of the other capital manuscripts, and it features some fine illustrations. The fifth-century Codex Veronensis (V) or *schedae rescriptae Veronenses* is also an important fragmentary witness, perhaps the most difficult to read of any of the Virgilian manuscripts as it is a palimpsest (the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great took precedence over tales of Aeneas) that was also the victim of unfortunate chemical reagent application in the nineteenth century.

These late antique witnesses are of the highest value in appraising the Virgilian corpus, and some editors (such as Sabbadini) rely exclusively or almost exclusively on them. Yet other later codices are also important, not only for establishing links between the families of manuscripts, but also because the editors of these manuscripts might have been collating their text with another missing document that could possibly preserve a correct reading that might otherwise be overlooked. For example, Manuscript a, part of which is in Bern and part of which is in Paris (Bernensis 173 and Parisinus 7929), preserves many readings that correspond with R and is therefore thought to be an apograph of it.

The fragmentary eighth-century Paris manuscript (p) is priceless for its variant readings from Book 4, which it contains integrally. Another significant codex, likely only slightly later than p, is the ninth-century Gudianus Lat. 2^o 70, also called the Guelferbytanus or Wolfenbüttel (γ) manuscript. This codex appears to be a descendant of the Palatinus, and thus it is sometimes used to confirm certain readings therefrom. It also independently offers important, possibly correct variants as well.

Numerous other ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts exist, scattered in libraries from Naples to Oxford. Qualified too by miniscule English letters, these manuscripts are somewhat uniform in quality and offer significant testimony to Virgil’s text, while often preserving Servius’ commentary in their margins. While they do not always agree on any given reading, taken as a whole they are qualified by the symbol ω.

For verse 423 of Book 4 and the reading *noris*, P. Ness. II 2 (fifth-sixth century) provides the only papyrus evidence to date of a reading considered to be authentically Virgilian by recent editors in preference to the text (*noras*)

attested by manuscript consensus. In 1887 Emil Baehrens conjectured what papyrus later confirmed to be the correct reading. Verse 423 is a case of real fortune occasioned by papyrus discovery. In the absence of new papyrological evidence, the work of the textual critic is one of sober judgment of the surviving manuscript evidence, which in some cases means verifying readings that have been misreported. Our apparatus errs on the side of giving more information rather than less (we follow Geymonat here), and we have endeavored to verify all manuscript readings given that the nature of the work affords ample opportunities for errors to creep into the reporting. We do not apologize for reporting orthographical variants, given that the question of the evolution of Latin orthography in the first-century B.C. is an interesting one, and that even late antique manuscripts can provide occasional useful clues to the spellings preferred by the poet, even the inconsistent poet.

Conjecture is not without its place in Virgilian textual criticism. One passage in Book 4 has occasioned a decision on our part to agree with the labors of predecessors who have (we think) correctly emended the textual tradition. At 224–225, we have followed Egil Kraggerud in reading ... *Tyrias Karthagine qui nunc / res spectat fatisque datas non respicit urbes*, thus taking up his published challenge for some editor to be daring enough to print a text that has resulted from the work of no fewer than three critics. At verse 54, the editors of the present edition disagree on the reading, and we have offered both variants if only as an exercise in exploring an interesting textual *crux* that cannot be resolved definitively absent new confirmatory (i.e., papyrological) evidence.

The resulting text of Book 4 that we have produced is different, then, from existing published editions. It is the product of inspection of every surviving witness that traditionally the aforementioned editors have deemed as most important, but more so of careful wrestling with the immense and invaluable labors of our predecessors. While Virgil enjoys a relatively quite stable text as ancient authors go, numerous real problems exist (more so in Book 4 than in 5 or 8), and we have concluded that the book exhibits evidence of being particularly lacking of the poet's *ultima manus* (even if relatively unpolished Virgil is unfailingly, we would argue, of an impressive degree of quality). Much of the book is concerned too with the words and actions of emotionally overwrought lovers, and one does succumb now and again to the sense that the difficulties and occasional seeming awkwardness of the language is a deliberate reflection on and enactment of the feelings of the characters. Ultimately the usual task of the Virgilian editor is not to uncover new, decisive evidence in favor of a given reading, but rather to pass judgment on and to align with now this, now that scholarly predecessor. In this we have come to be possessed of profound

respect for our fellow laborers in the Virgilian vineyard. It is a testament to their learning and acumen that Virgil is an author for whom one cannot go far wrong in using any of the many modern editions, notwithstanding disagreement on particularly vexing passages.

We hope that what follows in the text, translation, and commentary we have prepared is a help to students and scholars of diverse levels. We have attempted to be comprehensive in our consideration of philological, historical, and literary critical problems. We have endeavored to give some indication of the reception of Virgil's book, and to have provided a guide to the ever-increasing bibliography on the poet. In the final analysis, our reading of *Aeneid* 4 is dark because it ends with the awareness on the audience's part that love affairs gone awry can result in grave consequences, in the case of Elissa and Aeneas with a triple outbreak of war to match the three acts of the tragic account of their doomed romance. It is a book that must have resonated powerfully for Virgil's Roman audience that had just lived through the experience of Octavian, Antony, and Cleopatra, and yet it is a timeless artifact that grapples with the same perennial questions that haunted Euripides, Apollonius, Catullus and Lucretius. *Tum Iuno omnipotens*: as the first third of the epic draws to its dramatic yet quiet close, the aggrieved goddess of the poem's proem is all-powerful, her machinations having secured a not inconsiderable victory for the Saturnian goddess who by the close of Book 12 will have undergone her own metamorphosis from patroness of Carthage to patroness of Rome.

Text and Translation



Aeneidos Liber Quartus

- At regina graui iamdudum saucia cura
uulnus alit uenis et caeco carpitur igni.
multa uiri uirtus animo multusque recursat
gentis honos; haerent infixi pectore uultus
5 uerbaque nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.
postera Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras
umentemque Aurora polo dimouerat umbram,
cum sic unanimam adloquitur male sana sororem:
“Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent!
10 quis nouus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes,
quem sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis!
credo equidem, nec uana fides, genus esse deorum.
degeneres animos timor arguit. heu, quibus ille
iactatus fatis! quae bella exhausta canebat!
15 si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet
ne cui me uinclo uellem sociare iugali,
postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit,
si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset,
huic uni forsam potui succumbere culpae.
20 Anna (fatebor enim) miseri post fata Sychaei

INCIPIT LIB IIII FELICITER MR, AENEIDOS LIB IIII P, QUARTUS ITEM MISERE DUO
VULNERA NARRAT ELISSE p 1–18 FGMPRpy. – 1 ad Gy || iamdudum MP (corr. P²)
iamdudus h 2 uolnus g, perit in P || uenus P, corr. P² || capitur ac || igne F, perit in G; Ansil.
CE 33, sua cum glossa in abl. “occulto uel stulto amore”; “sane igni pro igne, datiuus pro ablatiuo”
DSeru. 3 moltosque e || recusat Rc, curat γ, corr. γ¹ 4 uoltus F, perit in G 5 uerborque F,
uebaque p, corr. F¹p¹, ubi -a-qu-, euanuerant sed rescripsit G⁵ || placida G¹ 6 postea FGv (corr.
sps. F¹) corr. G¹ ubi ph- litterae euan. ex phoebea, resc. G⁵ 7 polop p, corr. p¹ || demouerat F,
corr. F¹ umbra p 8 tum R, perit in GP unanimum M, unanimum Ph, unanimum aneijrtvw-
xyz, Tib., corr. M² || mala P, corr. P²; soror R 9 sorque G, sorquae G¹, corr. G² || me om. y corr.
y¹ || suspensa M, corr. M¹ || insonia F, corr. F¹, insona b || “terret et terrent legitur; sed si terret
legerimus, insomnia erit uigilia” Seru.; terrent perit in G Qadmoniot 23 (1990) 54–58 10 qui Bae-
hrens || nouos P corr. P² || desedibus F, corr. F¹ 11 oreferens P, o referens distinxit P² || quem
in quam mutauit F¹ 12 credeo P ut uid. uanoa M, corr. M¹ 14 iactatur b? fatis] fuit c? 15
sederes P, corr. P², sideret R 16 ne cui me uinclo] nec e uinclo p, nec cui me Bentley || uelle
F, corr. F¹ 17 decepra F, decepta F¹R 18 perthesum e || alathalami G, corr. G¹ talami bi ||
taedaeque P te deque a thedaeque h || fuissent F¹MPγω (praeter bion) || DSeru. ad u. 55, perit
in G, corr. P²γ¹ 19 FMPRp. – || forsitan F, corr. F¹, forsam PRh || potui ex potens, ut uid., F¹ ||
sumcumbere F, subcumbere F¹ehy 20–37 FGMPRp. – 20 enim om. c || pos M || sychaei
ex suchaei, ut uid., P, sycaei R, sichaei ae, sichaei bpjowxy, sychaei v

But the queen, by now long injured by serious anxiety, nurtures her wound in her veins and is consumed by an invisible fire. The hero's great manliness, the ample honor of his family come to her mind again and again; his features and words hold fast, fixed within her bosom, and anxiety offers her limbs no placid rest. The next day, Aurora was traversing the lands with her Phoebean lamp and had separated the damp shade from the pole when Dido, barely sane, spoke with her sympathetic sister thus: "Anna, sister, what restless dreams terrify me in my uncertainty! What new visitor he is who has come to our home! What features he has! What a strong chest and arms he bears! I believe it well—nor is my faith vain—that he is of the race of the gods. Fear accuses weak minds. Alas! by what fates has that man been tossed! Of what drawn-out wars was he singing! Were it not fixed and immovable in my mind that I would not wish to enter into nuptial bonds with anyone after my first love cheated me, deceived by his death, if the bridal bed and marriage torch had not been such a great distress for me, for this man alone, perhaps, I could have succumbed to guilt. Anna—for I shall confess to you—since the sad fate of my poor husband Sychaeus, and

coniugis et sparsos fraterna caede penates
 solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem
 impulit. adgnosco ueteris uestigia flammae.
 sed mihi uel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat
 25 uel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
 pallentis umbras Erebo noctemque profundam,
 ante, Pudor, quam te uiolo aut tua iura resoluo.
 ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores
 abstulit; ille habeat secum seruetque sepulcro.”
 30 sic effata sinum lacrimis impleuit obortis.
 Anna refert: “o luce magis dilecta sorori,
 solane perpetua maerens carpere iuuenta,
 nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris?
 id cinerem aut manis credis curare sepultos?
 35 esto: aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti,
 non Libyae, non ante Tyro; despectus Iarbas
 ductoresque alii, quos Africa terra triumphis
 diues alit: placitone etiam pugnabis amori?
 nec uenit in mentem quorum consederis aruis?
 40 hinc Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello,
 et Numidae infreni cingunt et inhospita Syrtis;
 hinc deserta siti regio lateque furentes

21 fraternos *Baehrens* || caedes **GP** || paenates **FGb** penatis **p** 22 inflexit **P**, *corr.* **P**² || infelix **vy** || animusque **G** || labantem **Rpahwγ**, *corr.* **γ**¹ 23 agnosco **Rabdijvxyγ** adnosco **c**, *perit in G* || tueteris **P**, *corr.* **P**² || tigia **G**, *corr.* **G**¹ 24 set **M** || uel] ut **o** || dimittere **F**, *corr.* **F**¹ || inma **c** || deiscat **cγ**, *corr.* **γ**¹ 25 uel] ut **o** || abigat **Fγ**, *Geymonat* || fulminae **z** 26 pallentes **Mbx**, *perit in G* || erebi **MP**²**ωγ**¹, *Tib.*, “in Herebo,” *Seru.*, “Herebi ad Herebum,” *DSeru.* 27 uiolem **no** || te **G**, *corr.* **G**¹ || resoluam **no** || iurare soluo **h** 28 primum **FP**, *Geymonat seq. Sabbadini* || primos **w** || siui **G** 29 sepulchro **FMRpabeo** 30 inpleuit **FGP** || lacris **a** || abortis **a** 31 delecta **FMdwz**, *corr.* **M**¹ 32 solone **a** || perpetua *ex* perpetuum **F**¹ || merens **FG**, *corr.* **G**¹ || carpere *ex* capere **G**¹ || iuenta **F**, *corr.* **F**¹ 33 dulces **F** || nostris **G**, *corr.* **G**¹ 34 cinerem *ex* cinere **F**¹ || manes] amnis **F**, mares **M**, manes **F**¹**M**¹**bi** 35 aesto **p** || aegra **i** || quondam *ex* quondaa **F**¹ || flexere *e* flexere **G**¹ 36 libya **P**, *corr.* **P**² “quidam autem Libya, id est mariti Libyae,” *DSeru.* || dispectus **o** 37 triumphos **R**, *perit in G* 38–65 **FMPRp**. – 38 placidane *in* placidone *mut.* **p**, placidone *Rufin.* 56.11 39 im **F** sederis **F**, *corr.* **F**¹, consideris **Rac** 40 getulae **MPF**, *corr.* **F**¹ ietulae **x** || hurbes **b** || intractabile **R** 41 et] hinc *Seru. Aen.* 10.750 || numida **P**, *corr.* **P**² || inhospita *in* inhospita *corr.* **P** || syrtis **FM**, *Sabbadini, Geymonat* || sirtis **ov** || syllaba *ultima perit in P* 42 deserti **R**¹ deseta **b** || lataeque **x** || furentis **aex** || uagantes **c**, “uagantes / Vaccei” *Isid.* 9.2.107, “uagantes / Barcaei” *Hieron. in Isaiam* 5.21.13

after our household gods were spattered with fraternal murder, this man alone has changed my feelings and incited my tottering mind. I recognize the traces of an old flame. But I would wish that deep earth gape open for me or that with his thunderbolt the omnipotent Father cast me down to the shades, to the pale shades and deep night in Erebus, before, O Shame, I violate you or break your laws! May he who first joined himself to me and took my love away with him keep and preserve it in the grave!" Having spoken such words, she filled her bosom with rising tears.

Anna replied: "O you who are more beloved to your sister than light, will you, grieving and alone, pine away in unending youth, never to know sweet children or Venus' rewards? Or do you believe that ashes or buried shades care about it? So be it: in the past, no eligible husbands moved you in your sorrow, not in Libya, not before in Tyre; Iarbas was scorned, as were other leaders, whom the African land, rich in triumphs, nurtures; will you even fight off a pleasing love? And does it not occur to you in whose lands you have settled? On one side we are hemmed in by the cities of the Gaetulians, a nation unconquerable in war, and unbridled Numidians, along with the unwelcoming Syrtis; on the other side is a desert region, rendered so by drought, and the people of Barce,

- Barcaei. quid bella Tyro surgentia dicam
 germanique minas?
 45 dis equidem auspibus reor et Iunone secunda
 hunc cursum Iliacas uento tenuisse carinas.
 quam tu urbem, soror, hanc cernes, quae surgere regna
 coniugio tali! Teucrum comitantibus armis
 Punica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!
 50 tu modo posce deos ueniam, sacrisque litatis
 indulge hospitio causasque innecte morandi,
 dum pelago desaeuit hiemps et aquosus Orion,
 quassataeque rates, dum non tractabile caelum.”
 54a His dictis incensum animum inflammauit amore
 54b His dictis impenso animum flammavit amore
 55 spemque dedit dubiae menti soluitque pudorem.
 principio delubra adeunt pacemque per aras
 exquirunt; mactant lectas de more bidentis
 legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo,
 Iunoni ante omnis, cui uincla iugalia curae.
 60 ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido
 candentis uaccae media inter cornua fundit,
 aut ante ora deum pinguis spatiat ad aras,
 instauratque diem donis, pecudumque reclusis
 pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta.
 65 heu, uatum ignarae mentes! quid uota furentem,
 quid delubra iuuant? est mollis flamma medullas
 interea et tacitum uiuit sub pectore uulnus.
 uritur infelix Dido totaque uagatur
 urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerua sagitta,

43 barchaei **Faeiv** || uaccei *Isid.* || qui **R**, quod **bh** || surgenti **F**, *corr.* **F**¹ 44 germanique] germani quae γ || minas *om.* **w** 45 diis **Ppaeiortwz\gamma** 46 huc *DSeru.* 47 quantum **c** || o soror **ae** || que **Pz**, *corr.* **P** 48 ammis **h** 50 tum γ 51 hospici **rt** || causasque] et causas **F** || hinecte **i** 52 hiemps **p\omega** || aquosus **r** || oriori **M**, *corr.* **M**¹ 53 quassataeque **F**, *corr.* **F**¹, quassatoque **a**, quasataeque **r** 54 impenso **F** (impenso **p**) “*ali*” *DSeru.*, *Ansil. IN 1225*, penso **P** || flammauit **FPRpc**, *DSeru.*; *cf. Aen. 1.50; 3.330* || amorem **p** || *vid. Smith QUCC, 2021, 185–191* 55 mentis **R\gamma**, *DSeru.*, menta **y**, *om.* **j** 56 ares **rt** 57 mactat *Macrob. 3.5.2; 3.12.10* “mactat’ (enim inquit)”, *Arus. 493.25* || bidentes **Fcipv**, uidentis **R** 58 fugiferae **F** || frugiferae **F**¹ γ ¹**Rabd**¹**eht**(?)**xwz**, *perit* **i** **P** 59 ate **M**, *corr.* **M**¹ || omnes **abhj** 60 pater hanc **M**, *corr.* peteram **M**²**i** || pulcherrima **R**, *corr.* **R**¹ 61 candentes **F**, candantis **M**, *corr.* **M**¹ || cadentis **bcey** uaccae **e** hinter **i** conua **P**, *corr.* **P**¹ 62 pingus **P**, pinguas **p**, *corr.* **P**¹**p**¹ || pingis **v** || pingues **bco** 64 sperantia conspiciat **F**, *corr.* **F**¹ || consuli tecta **p** 65 ignare **p** || mentis **FR**, *corr.* **F**¹ || ferentem **R** furentem **p** 66–68 **FMPRp** Π_{14} .— 66 iuantur **j** || molli **p** || flama **b** || medulla **p** 67 uolnus **P\gamma** *corr.* γ ¹, uulnos **rt** 68 uritur] labitur *Prisc. VIII.36 (ex Aen. 5.329)* 69–92 **FMPRp**. –

who rage far and wide. Why should I mention the wars rising from Tyre and our brother's threats? Indeed, I believe that, because the gods were auspicious and Juno favorable, the Ilian ships have held this course by the wind. What a city—this very one—what a realm you will see rise, my sister, with such a husband! Once the arms of the Teucrians have joined our own, how great the deeds through which Punic glory will be exalted! Only do ask that the gods grant pardon and, once a sacrifice has been properly offered as atonement, give yourself over to hospitality and contrive reasons for him to delay, while winter is savage upon the sea and Orion is watery, while the ships are shaken and the sky is treacherous!"

Having said these things, she enflamed Dido's soul with love, gave hope to her wavering mind, and loosened her sense of shame. First, they visit shrines and through the altars seek peace; according to the custom, they sacrifice chosen sheep to Ceres the lawgiver, and to Phoebus and father Lyaeus, and above all to Juno, to whose care fall the bonds of matrimony. Dido herself, most beautiful, holds a vessel in her right hand and pours a libation between the horns of a white heifer, or walks before the faces of the gods to the rich altars, and each day renews her celebrations with gifts, and, gazing upon the cattle's opened chests, she consults the quivering entrails. Alas, ignorant minds of prophets! What help are vows, what help are shrines to one raging so? Meanwhile the flame eats at her tender marrow, and deep beneath her breast there thrives a silent wound. Unhappy Dido burns and wanders through the whole city, raging as does a deer when it has been run through by an arrow. A shepherd, unawares,

- 70 quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit
 pastor agens telis liquitque uolatile ferrum
 nescius: illa fuga siluas saltusque peragrat
 Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo.
 nunc media Aenean secum per moenia ducit
- 75 Sidoniasque ostentat opes urbemque paratam;
 incipit effari mediaque in uoce resistit.
 nunc eadem labente die conuiuia quaerit,
 Ilicosque iterum demens audire labores
 exposcit pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore.
- 80 post ubi digressi, lumenque obscura uicissim
 luna premit suadentque cadentia sidera somnos,
 sola domo maeret uacua stratisque relictis
 incubat. illum absens absentem auditque uidetque,
 aut gremio Ascanium, genitoris imagine capta,
- 85 detinet, infandum si fallere possit amorem.
 non coeptae adsurgunt turres, non arma iuuentus
 exercet portusue aut propugnacula bello
 tuta parant: pendent opera interrupta minaeque
 murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo.
- 90 Quam simul ac tali persensit peste teneri
 cara Iouis coniunx nec famam obstare furori,
 talibus adgreditur Venerem Saturnia dictis:
 “egregiam uero laudem et spolia ampla refertis
 tuque puerque tuus: magnum et memorabile nomen,
- 95 una dolo diuum si femina uicta duorum est!
 nec me adeo fallit ueritam te moenia nostra

70 intere p || cressia p^γ¹ 71 liquidque Ph uolat ille p, corr. p¹ || ferum b 72 saluas rt || saltus siluasque F; cf. G. 4.53 73 latere F, corr. F¹ laetalis ptz 74 aeneam Racv || pre r || dicit p, corr. p¹ 75 param R, corr. R^x 77 conuiuie c 79 exposcet x || ores M corr. M¹ 80 digressum c || obscura t 81 praemit || Fpa corr. F¹ || suadetque F, corr. F¹ || sedera a || somni p sonos v 82 amaret F, aeret M, maret h corr. F¹M¹ uaque P 83 audetque rt 84 gremio M || corr. M¹, gremios P^γ (corr. γ¹) || ascanio p, corr. p¹ || geneitoris F, corr. F¹, geniris y 85 possi a || amorem] imago R, amantem F (cf. u. 296) 86 adsungunt p || iuuentis Ma, corr. F¹M¹, uenus F 87 exercit F, corr. F¹ || portisque P, portusque P¹r^γ, corr. γ¹ 88 parent Mv, corr. M², parat i 89 myorum c || aquataque v || macchina P^rγ, machia p, corr. p¹ 90 atali y || pesse P || tenere F, corr. F¹ 91 caro M, corr. M² || coniunx Rpv^y || fama n || pudori R, D^Seru. 93–98 F⁴MPRp. – 93–120 perierunt in F; post u. 92 add. in marg. a redactore Carolino F⁴ 93 ladem c || mpla M, corr. M¹ 94 numen F⁴MPR^γω (praeter nw), Tib., Mynors; cf. Aen. 2.583; imitat. Ov. met. 10.607; sq. quoque Stat. silv. 4.184; cf. Conte Parerga, 2021, 54 95 uicta] ducta a 96 uerita a ueritam v

conducting his hunt with shafts, has left his flying iron-tipped arrow in her, heedless, amidst a Cretan woodland: in her flight she traverses the woods and Dictaeon glades, but the lethal shaft remains stuck in her flank. Now she leads Aeneas through the midst of the city walls, displaying her Sidonian wealth and the fitted-out city; she begins to speak and stops in the middle of her words. Now, as day was slipping away, she desires to repeat the same banquets over again, insanely demanding to hear the toils of Troy again, and, again, hangs upon every word as he tells the story. After they have departed, when the moon, again becoming dark, hides her light, and the setting stars induce sleep, Dido grieves alone in her empty house and lies down upon the abandoned coverlets. Though apart from him, she hears and sees him, though he is apart from her, or, taken by the image of his father, she detains Ascanius, holding him on her lap, if only she might be able to deceive her unspeakable love. The towers that had been begun do not arise, the Carthaginian youth does not practice its military training, or prepare ports or bulwarks, sureties in battle; the works, interrupted, dangle unfinished, the huge pinnacles of the walls and devices that rise equal to the heavens.

As soon as the dear wife of Jove sensed that Dido was gripped by so great a plague, and that her good reputation would not stand in the way of her madness, Saturn's daughter approached Venus with words such as these: "Fine praise indeed, and rich spoils do you win, you and your boy, a great and memorable name, if one woman is vanquished by the guile of two gods. Nor in fact am I unaware that you, for fear of my city, have held the homes of lofty Carthage

suspectas habuisse domos Karthaginis altae.
 sed quis erit modus, aut quo nunc certamine tanto?
 quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos
 100 exercemus? habes tota quod mente petisti:
 ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem.
 communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus
 auspiciis; liceat Phrygio seruire marito
 dotalisque tuae Tyrios permittere dextrae.”
 105 olli (sensit enim simulata mente locutam,
 quo regnum Italiae Libycas auerteret oras)
 sic contra est ingressa Venus: “quis talia demens
 abnuat aut tecum malit contendere bello,
 si modo quod memoras factum fortuna sequatur?
 110 sed fatis incerta feror, si Iuppiter unam
 esse uelit Tyriis urbem Troiaque profectis,
 miscerue probet populos aut foedere iungi.
 tu coniunx, tibi fas animum temptare precando.
 perge, sequar.” tum sic excepit regia Iuno:
 115 “mecum erit iste labor. nunc qua ratione quod instat
 confieri possit, paucis (aduerte) docebo.
 uenatum Aeneas unaque miserrima Dido
 in nemus ire parant, ubi primos crastinus ortus
 extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem.
 120 his ego nigrantem commixta grandine nimbium,
 dum trepidant alae saltusque indagine cingunt,

97 susceptas P, corr. P² || abuisse t || chartaginis F⁴p || alte F⁴ 98 quis *in ras.* R || erat M, corr. M² || certamina tanta *Heinsius* 99–102 (F⁴)MPRpΠ₁₄ – 99 pastosque M, corr. M¹, pactoque a, hymoenaeas p, || imeneos F⁴rt, hyminaeos ehjvy 100 exerceamus rt quot Π₁₄ || petisque i 101 Dido] do P, corr. P² traxique a || taraxitque F⁴ *ante corr.* || furore p 102 ego c || rogamus F⁴ 103–115 (F⁴)MPRp— 103 auspiciis M, corr. M¹ auspicius b frigio F⁴w seruire rty corr. γ¹ 104 dotalesque F⁴abv, dotalisque P, corr. P² datalesque e 105 simulta Pt, simula R (corr. R^x) 106 libicas F⁴aeorv liucas t || auerterec P, corr. P², auertere R, auerteret *Tib. ad Aen. 4.128 (sed scribit ad hunc locum auerteret “uerior et figuratior”)* || aras p || horas ho 107 si ay, corr. γ¹ est] rem p || ingresa c || aggressa o || quisi P, corr. P² || daemens i 108 aut om. p, add p¹ || mallit R 109 quot P || pactum *Baehrens* || furtuna t 110 set My || factis nx || fata t fatas r || ferror i 111 tyrios p, corr. p¹ 112 miserive P, miserique R, corr. P²R² || foedera MPR(F⁴) federa F⁴bcirty; cf. *Aen. 8.56* 113 coniux Rpv || animi a || praecando Rp 114 excepit] haec coepit o || rigia F⁴ 115 instar M, corr. M¹ 116–120 (F⁴)MγRp. – 116 quod fieri F⁴ *in mg.*, Mhγ¹, quo fieri F⁴ω, comfieri M¹, confier p, conferri F⁴ *in mg.* || breuiter paucis i || aduertere v 117 miserrima M 118 primus MR, primum M⁷ || castinus rt 119 rudiis h || retexit a 120 is F⁴ || ergo p || commixarandire F⁴, corr. 121–143 MγRp 121 trepudent r || ale γ

suspect. But what limit will there be? How far will you go in so great a contest? Why do we not work, rather, towards eternal peace and pledged nuptials? You have what you sought with all your mind; Dido burns with passion and has drawn madness through her bones. Let us rule, therefore, this people in common with equal auspices; may she serve a Phrygian husband and entrust her Tyrians as a dowry to your right hand."

Since Venus sensed that she had spoken with a feigned intention to divert Italy's seat of power to the Libyan shores, she began to respond in this way: "Who is so mad as to refuse such terms or would prefer to contend with you in war, if only Fortune might follow favorably upon the deed you mention? But I am tossed about by the Fates, uncertain whether Jupiter wills that there be one city for the Tyrians and those who set out from Troy, or approves that the peoples be mingled and joined by treaty. You are his wife; it is right that you ply his heart with entreaty. Proceed, and I shall follow!" Then queenly Juno spoke in turn: "That labor of which you speak will lie with me. Now by what method our urgent business can be achieved, listen, and I shall explain in a few words. Aeneas and Dido, so very wretched a girl, are making preparations to go hunting together in the forest, when tomorrow's Titan shall have lifted high his first rising and shall have woven again the orb with his rays. While the flanks are bustling about and are busy girding the glades with nets, I will pour down on them from above a dark rain with hail mixed in and will rouse all the

desuper infundam et tonitru caelum omne ciebo.
diffugient comites et nocte tegentur opaca:
speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem
125 deuenient. adero et, tua si mihi certa uoluntas,
[conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo]
hic hymenaeus erit." non aduersata petenti
adnuit atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis.
Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit.
130 it portis iubare exorto delecta iuuentus,
retia rara, plagae, lato uenabula ferro,
Massylique ruunt equites et odora canum uis.
reginam thalamo cunctantem ad limina primi
Poenorum exspectant, ostroque insignis et auro
135 stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.
tandem progreditur, magna stipante caterua,
Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo;
cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,
aurea purpuream subnectit fibula uestem.
140 nec non et Phrygii comites et laetus Iulus
incedunt. ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnis
infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iungit.
qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta
deserit ac Delum maternam inuisit Apollo
145 instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum
Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi;
ipse iugis Cynthi graditur mollique fluentem

122 tonitrum γ, corr. γ¹, tronitu rt || ciebo] mouebo γ, corr. γ¹, cibeo e 123 defugiant i || gen-
tur y || teguntur Mc, corr. M¹ 124 lux γ, corr. γ¹ || uolunta p || 126 || = *Aen.* 1.73; *Baehrens* (*seq.*
Peerlkamp) *del. uers. atque ueritatem eius dubitat Conte* 127 hymaenaeus M, hymoenaeus p ||
auersata R 128 annuit bco abnuit v || adque Rpi || rysit γ chiterea i cythera rt 129 ocaea-
num y || relinquit M, *Diom.* 496.7 (*sed alibi Aurora reliquit*), corr. M²; cf. *Aen.* 1.1 130 et R² ||
iuuare R || extorto c 131 latoe M, corr. M², et lato *Char.* 61.25 132 massyliisque M, massy-
lisque M⁸, corr. M⁷ masilique a || runt y || odora ex odera M², dora R || canubis p, canum bis
p¹ 134 expectant j || aurii h || huro y 135 ac] et *Non.* 425.31 (*sed ac 304.38*) 137 sidonia o
sydoniam w || clamydem MRhw (*corr.* R²), clamidem pacdeiovyz || lymbo M 138 pharetra
e || auro] humero djwz 139 purpoream py || pupoream r || subnecta γ, corr. γ¹ 140 tyrii
R, phrii γ (*corr.* γ¹), iules rt iulis v 141 ante *om.* t 142 aneas cy || adque Ri || iunget M 143
hyberna v || xantique abcehoijrvyzγ 144–161 MRVpy. – 144 ac] aut *Quintil.* 8.3.73, *uerisimi-*
liter memoriae lapsu || delo c delon rtv *Tib.* || inuasit *Tib. ad Aen.* 12.515 (*sed ad locum inuisit*) ||
appollo aert 145 coros dw || mixtoque c 146 craetes jy druopesque p || pictisque M, corr.
M¹ || agatyrsi h 147 es *om.* b

heavens with thunder. Their company shall disperse and be covered over by the dark of night; Dido, as leader, and the Trojan will come to the same cave. I shall be present and, if your intention toward me is certain, I shall join them in enduring wedlock, and I shall pronounce her to be his own; this will be their wedding song!" The Cytherean, unopposed to her request, nodded her approval and smiled at the deception she had uncovered.

Meanwhile the rising Dawn left the ocean behind. Once the sun's radiance has arisen, chosen youth go out from the gates, and with them the wide-meshed nets, snares, hunting spears with broad iron tips, and the Massylian horsemen rush forth, as does the keen-scented strength of hounds. On the threshold, the first men of Carthage await the queen, as she hesitates in her chamber; bedecked with purple and gold, her steed stands by and fiercely champs at the foaming bit. At length she comes forth with a great throng pressing upon her, and she is clad in a Sidonian cloak with embroidered border. Her quiver is of gold, her hair is knotted with gold, a golden pin fastens her purple dress. Nor do her Phrygian companions and happy Iulus fail to accompany her. Aeneas himself, handsome beyond all others, comes forth as her partner and brings the ranks together. As when Apollo leaves Lycia in winter and the streams of Xanthus, and visits his mother's Delos, and renews the dance while, mixed together around the altars, Cretans and Dryopes and painted Agathyrsians clamor—the god himself walks upon Cynthus' heights, and with a soft frond presses together

- fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro,
 tela sonant umeris: haud illo signior ibat
 150 Aeneas, tantum egregio decus enitet ore.
 postquam altos uentum in montis atque inuia lustra,
 ecce ferae saxi deiectae uertice caprae
 decurrere iugis; alia de parte patentes
 transmittunt cursu campos atque agmina cerui
 155 puluerulenta fuga glomerant montisque relinquunt.
 at puer Ascanius mediis in uallibus acri
 gaudet equo iamque hos cursu, iam praeterit illos,
 spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia uotis
 optat aprum, aut fuluum descendere monte leonem.
 160 Interea magno misceri murmure caelum
 incipit, insequitur commixta grandine nimbus,
 et Tyrii comites passim et Troiana iuuentus
 Dardaniusque nepos Veneris diuersa per agros
 tecta metu petiere; ruunt de montibus amnes.
 165 speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem
 deueniunt. prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno
 dant signum; fulsere ignes et conscius aether
 conubiis, summoque ulularunt uertice Nymphae.
 ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
 170 causa fuit; neque enim specie famaue mouetur
 nec iam furtiuum Dido meditatur amorem:
 coniugium uocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam.
 Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes,
 Fama, malum qua non aliud uelocius ullum:

148 fronte *Mrt, Tib.* || primit c || adque R, at V || implicat *Mγbpx* || aura p 149 telam *M, corr.*
M² || haut *M²γ¹*, aut *MRp* || illos R 150 egregio *Mhjv, corr.* *M²* || tecus p, *corr.* *p¹* 151
 montes *MVbeoty¹* || adque R 152 ferae ex fere *M¹*, fere bγ || uertica c 153 decurre V || de]
 d V, *corr.* *V¹* || patentes dγ 154 tramittunt V, *corr. sps. V¹*; cf. *Geymonat SCO 14, 1965, 90–91* ||
 adque R || agmini i 155 fugae R || montisquo γ, montesque *MRVrx* || relinquunt γ relinquunt
RVprxγ¹ 156 ascanius γ ascanias c 157 equon R, *corr.* *R¹* || os a || preteret o 158 pecora
 e peco *V¹* || uots r 159 apru, *in ras.* *p²* || descendere γ, *corr.* *γ¹* 160 interea ex interea *V¹*, interea
in ras. *p²* || murmure γ, *corr.* *γ¹* 161 nimbium *M, corr.* *M²* 162–195 *MPRVpγ.* – 162 iuuentus
 R, *corr.* *R⁵* 163 ueneros P, *corr.* *P^{1–2}* 165 spelunca M, *corr.* *M²*, speruncam P, speluncham
P¹ || euandem M, *corr.* *M¹* 166 prima et] prima *bdhtwvxyz*, primae *Heinsius, Conte*; cf. *Aen.*
7.136 167 dat *γ¹* || haeter i 168 conubii *P²RVvwγ, Anth. Lat. 18.17* || conubii *rt* sommoque
rt || ulularant y 169 laeti *paorty* || maiorum M, *corr.* *M¹*, laborum *Ppb?z schol. Bern. ad G.*
2.168, corr. *P¹* 170 speciae R || famaue b 173 lybiae *pait* || magna || x 174 malum *om. p,*
add. p² || quo *P¹Vabcdehijvtγ¹*, quia p || aliut *PM* alius p, *corr.* *p¹*

and binds his flowing hair, grooming it, and braids it with gold; shafts rattle on his shoulders: by no means was Aeneas proceeding less actively than that god, so greatly does his splendor shine forth from his exceptional visage! After they came to the lofty mountains and pathless haunts, behold wild goats, scattered, run down the hills from the peak of a crag; elsewhere stags cross the open plains in their course and, in their flight, they mass their dusty herds and leave the hills behind them. But, in the middle of the valley, the lad Ascanius delights in his keen steed and, in his rush, passes now these, now those, hoping that, amidst the lazy flocks a foaming boar be granted as an answer to his prayers, or that a tawny lion would descend from the mountain.

Meanwhile the sky begins to be disturbed with a great rumbling, and rain, mixed with hail, follows. Here and there the Tyrian companions, Trojan youth and the Dardanian grandson of Venus, in fear sought various places of cover throughout the fields; torrents rush from the hills. Dido, as leader, and the Trojan arrive at the same cave. Both Earth, first, and nuptial Juno give the signal; fires gleamed as the ether served as witness to their wedding, and nymphs howled from the highest peak. That was the first day of death, the first of evils, the cause of them. For no longer is Dido concerned with appearances or reputation, no longer does she ruminate upon a secret love: she calls it marriage, and by this name did she conceal her fault.

Straightaway, Rumor runs through the great cities of Libya, Rumor, an evil than which no other is swifter. She thrives on her mobility and gains strength

- 175 mobilitate uiget uiresque acquirit eundo,
parua initu primo, mox sese attollit in auras
ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.
illam Terra parens ira inritata deorum
extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem
180 progenuit pedibus celerem et pernicibus alis,
monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui quot sunt corpore plumae,
tot uigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu),
tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris.
nocte uolat caeli medio terraeque per umbram
185 stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno;
luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti,
turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes,
tam ficti prauique tenax quam nuntia ueri.
haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat
190 gaudens, et pariter facta atque infecta canebat:
uenisse Aenean Troiano sanguine cretum,
cui se pulchra uiro dignetur iungere Dido;
nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fouere
regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos.
195 haec passim dea foeda uirum diffundit in ora.
protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban
incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras.
Hic Hammone satus rapta Garamantide nympha
templa Ioui centum latis immania regnis,
200 centum aras posuit uigilemque sacrauerat ignem,
excubias diuum aeternas, pecudumque cruore

175 atquirit **rt** 176 metu MSS, *accipimus* initu ex *Baehrens*; cf. *Conte 'Critical Notes' 2016, viii–ix, Kraggerud 'Vergiliana' 2017, 180* || primum *Tib.* || adtollit **pi** || in] an γ^1 177 solu **M**, *corr.* **M**¹, solum **b** 178 terram **M**, *corr.* **M**² || inritate **Prty** (*corr.* **r¹t¹ γ^1**) 179 extrema **R**, *corr.* **R**¹ || ut] u r || coea **i** || encladoque **o** 180 progenuet **P**, *corr.* **P**² 181 quod **MPRVa γ** || plmae **p** *corr.* plumae corpore γ , *corr.* γ^1 182 oculis **Mi**, *corr.* **M**¹ || super **V** supter **RV**¹ || dictum **n** 183 aures **P²Vcijortvxy γ^1** , auras **b γ** 184 terque a || umbra **p**, umbras **brtxy** 185 lumine **M**, *corr.* **M**² 186 sumi **Vy** 187 magnas et **M**, *corr.* **M**² || magna **Pa**, *corr.* **P**¹ 190 adque **R** 191 traiano a || a sanguine **Rbdehjovxy γ^1** , *Ansil. CR 154, Tib.* || cretom c craetum **j** 192 dignentur **M**, *corr.* **M**¹ || dedo c 193 nun r || longe **ajrwxyz** 194 inmemores **MPPbjjrv γ** 195 passim *om.* a || faeda ut *uid. v* || foeda ora *iungit Tib.* || difundit c 196–216 **MPRp.** – 196 gregem **R** || cursu **P¹ γ** , cursum **n γ^1** , *Non. 377.16* || detorque **P**, decorquet **v**, detorquat γ || iarbam **bdjvwzy Tib.** 197 adque **R** || agerat **d** 198 ammone **Padehjxy** amone **ciov** hamone **b** || satis **p**, *corr.* **p**¹ || garamanthide **p** 199 simania **P**, *corr.* **P**² inmania **Rbjy** || regis γ , *corr.* γ^1 201 excubiasque **R** || cruorem **Pch**, *corr.* **P**²

as she goes, small as she first begins, soon she raises herself to the breezes, and treads the ground, hiding her head amidst the clouds. Earth, so they say, provoked by anger of the gods, gave birth to her last of all, the sister of Coeus and Enceladus, swift of foot and with swift wings, a monster, horrible, huge, who has as many feathers on her body as she does watchful eyes beneath—amazing to describe—and just so many tongues, just so many mouths resound, just so many ears does she prick up. She flies by night through the darkness, screeching, at the midway point between heaven and earth, nor does she close her eyes in sweet sleep; in the light of day, she sits as a guard on the peak of the highest roof or on high turrets, and terrifies great cities, clinging to falsehood and distortion as much as she serves as a herald of truth. At that time, rejoicing, she filled the nations with manifold gossip, and sang of deeds done and undone in equal measure, saying that Aeneas had come, born of Trojan blood, to whom fair Dido deigned to join herself, taking him as her husband; that now they are spending the winter, how long it is, in luxury together, unmindful of their realms and captivated by disgraceful lust. These are the stories that the foul goddess pours forth here and there upon the lips of men. Straightaway she twists her course to King Iarbas and inflames his spirit with her words, piling wrath upon wrath.

This man, sprung from Hammon and the seized nymph Garamantis, set up in his wide realm a hundred vast temples to Jupiter, a hundred altars, and consecrated a wakeful fire, the eternal guardians of the gods. The ground was rich

pingue solum et uariis florentia limina sertis.
 isque amens animi et rumore accensus amaro
 dicitur ante aras media inter numina diuum
 205 multa Iouem manibus supplex orasse supinis:
 “Iuppiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis
 gens epulata toris Lenaeum libat honorem,
 aspicias haec? an te, genitor, cum fulmina torques,
 nequiquam horremus, caecique in nubibus ignes
 210 terrificant animos et inania murmura miscent?
 femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem
 exiguam pretio posuit, cui litus arandum
 cuique loci leges dedimus, conubia nostra
 reppulit ac dominum Aenean in regna recepit.
 215 et nunc ille Paris cum semiuiro comitatu,
 Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem
 subnexus, rapto potitur; nos munera templis
 quippe tuis ferimus famamque fouemus inanem.”
 Talibus orantem dictis arasque tenentem
 220 audiit Omnipotens, oculosque ad moenia torsit
 regia et oblitos famaе melioris amantis.
 tum sic Mercurium adloquitur ac talia mandat:
 “uade age, nate, uoca Zephyros et labere pinnis
 Dardanumque ducem, Tyrias Karthagine qui nunc
 225 res spectat fatisque datas non respicit urbes,
 adloquere et celeris defer mea dicta per auras.
 non illum nobis genetrix pulcherrima talem

202 pinguae t 203 amans c || acensus r || amoro r amore pγ, corr. γ¹ 204 media] mea P, corr. P² || nomina p, corr. p¹ cum munera in marg.; “sane multi munera” DSeru.; cf. Kvičala 188i, 85–87 205 subplex e suplex x || suppinis r 206 Iupiter i nunt M maurusa P, maurisia p, corr. P¹p¹ 207 oris i || laeneum Rhj || lubat P, corr. P² 208 aspice P, corr. P² || aspiciis r || torquens M, corr. M¹, torque v 209 nequiquam P 210 terrificat M 212 exiguum M, corr. M² || praetio MRab, corr. M² 213 legis v 214 aeneam R || regia P, corr. P¹ 215 nun r 216 moenia vz || mentumque h || mitara P, corr. P¹, mitram Non. 405.26 217–233 MPP. – 217 subnixus MPpz Ansil. ME 388, Non. 405.27, Seru. ad Aen. 3.402, Tib., Sabbadini, Pease, Geymonat; “crinem ... subnixum et subligatum” DSeru.; cf. Conte, Parerga, 2021, 50 218 mouemus h 219 errantem p, corr. p¹ || orentem rt 221 amantes cho 222 tunc w 223 nato a, natae rty || uocas zepirios C.I.L. iv.8768, cf. Franklin, CJ 1997, 181 || zefiros ort zephiros z || pennis bcdehijovwxyz 224 dardanumque a || tiria o, cf. Winbolt, CR 1888, 236; Courtney 1981, 21–22; Kraggerud, ‘Vergiliana’ 2017, 83–85 || certagine i 225 res spectat] expectat MPpωγ Mynors, Geymonat, Conte exceptat Campbell, CR, 1938, 161–163, res captat Courtney BICS 1981, 21f., Hesperiam Housman, CR 1905, 260 (= Class. Pap. 2.628sq.) || datis w || perspicit cdhijkwxyz 226 caeleres c celeres o || auris n 227 getrix r || genitrix nobis Pr¹t, corr. P²

with the gore of cattle and the thresholds were blooming with various garlands. Out of his mind and fired by the bitter rumor, before the altars of the gods, in the very midst of their divinities, he, as a suppliant with upturned hands, is said to have offered Jove many prayers: "Almighty Jupiter, to whom now the Maurusian race, feasting on their embroidered couches, pour an offering of wine, do you see these things? Can it be that we tremble at you in vain, father, when you wield your thunderbolts? And do invisible fires in the clouds terrify our souls and stir vain mutterings? A woman wandering within our borders, founded, at a price, a tiny city. We allowed her to plough the shore and gave her the laws of the land. She rejected marriage with me, welcoming into her realm Aeneas as her lord. And now he, a Paris along with his half-man retinue, having bound his chin and his well-oiled hair with a Maeonian turban, seizes upon the spoil: we, therefore, bring gifts to your temples, and sustain your reputation in vain."

The Almighty heard him praying with such words, clasping the altar, and turned his eyes toward the royal walls and the lovers forgetful of a better reputation. Then he addresses Mercury and gives him this injunction: "Go, son, go call the Zephyrs, glide on your wings, and address the Dardanian leader, who now in Carthage surveys Tyrian affairs with no regard for the cities given him by the fates, and bring him my words through the swift breezes. Not such a man did his most beautiful mother promise us, nor for this reason did she twice rescue

promisit Graiumque ideo bis uindicat armis;
 sed fore qui grauidam imperiis belloque frementem
 230 Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucri
 proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem.
 si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum
 nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem,
 Ascanione pater Romanas inuidet arces?
 235 quid struit? aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur
 nec prolem Ausoniam et Lauinia respicit arua?
 nauiget: haec summa est, hic nostri nuntius esto."
 Dixerat. ille patris magni parere parabat
 imperio; et primum pedibus talaria nectit
 240 aurea, quae sublimem alis siue aequora supra
 seu terram rapido pariter cum flamine portant.
 tum uirgam capit: hac animas ille euocat Orco
 pallentis, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit,
 dat somnos adimitque, et lumina morte resignat.
 245 illa fretus agit uentos et turbida tranat
 nubila. iamque uolans apicem et latera ardua cernit
 Atlantis duri caelum qui uertice fulcit,
 Atlantis, cinctum adsidue cui nubibus atris
 piniferum caput et uento pulsatur et imbri.
 250 nix umeros infusa tegit, tum flumina mento
 praecipitant senis, et glacie riget horrida barba.
 hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius alis
 constitit; hinc toto praiceps se corpore ad undas
 misit aui similis, quae circum litora, circum

228 uendicat r 229 forte p 230 italiam] aliam P¹ || regere r || ab P, corr. P¹, om. rty 233
 ipsa i || suam M_γ, corr. M²γ¹ || laborum MP²γ, corr. M¹γ¹ 234–247 F (*de causa abscissae
 chartae, nihil superest nisi priores partes uerborum*) MPP. – 234 romanes t || inuides P, corr. P²
 P² 235 quit M quae p || gentem a 236 uersum eicit Ribbeck || nec et r || respicat P, corr. P²
 237 nostro v esto] ito n 238 parere c parabit r 239 imper F, corr. F¹ || primoum M, corr.
 M¹ 240 que P, corr. P² || sublimen r || aliis Fe, alii M, corr. F¹M¹ || suppra P, corr. P¹, iuxta
Macrob. 5.6.11 241 flummine a flumine o || portent M corr. M² 242 uirga a || haec P_γ, corr.
 γ¹ || uocat az 243 pallentes F || mittit] ducit Pn¹ (*mittit in ras. n.*), corr. P² 244 et om. F,
supra uers. add. F¹ || limina γ, corr. γ¹ || a morte a || signat v reuocat p¹ 245 uersum om. Fa,
ima pag. add. F¹ || turbina P, corr. P² 246 namque abdw || uolens p || litora i 247 adlantis
 γ || athlantis cdvw || dura rt || uerticae z || fulgit M, corr. M¹, fucit a 248–257 FMPpΠ₅ –
 248 adlantis γ athlantis vw || adsiduae bp 249 pinniferum brγ || quassatur Pomp. 305.28 ||
 imuri Π₅ 250 umheros γ || fulmina M, corr. M⁵ 251 glaciae vz || reget Prt, regit γ, corr. P²γ¹
 252 hinc M || cylleniū F, corr. F¹, cyllennius h, cylenius rγ, corr. γ¹ 253 hic Tib.

him from the weapons of the Greeks; but that he would be the one to rule over Italy, a land pregnant with empire and rumbling with war, that he would pass on a nation from Teucer's lofty blood, and subject all the world to his laws. If none of the glory in these great deeds fires him up, and he does not shoulder the burden to win praise for himself, does he, as a father, begrudge Ascanius Roman citadels? What is he planning? Or hoping for what does he delay among an inimical people, without regard for Ausonia's progeny and the Lavinian fields? Let him put to sail; this is the sum of it. Let this be my message."

He had spoken. The god was preparing to obey his great father's command; first he fastens on his feet the golden winged sandals that, by their wings, whether over the seas or land, equally carry him aloft with a rapid blast. Then he takes up his wand; by this he calls the pale spirits from Orcus, sends others below to gloomy Tartarus, gives sleep or takes it away, and unseals the eyes in death. Relying on that wand, he directs winds and surmounts storm clouds. And now, flying, he beholds the pate and steep flanks of hard Atlas, who balances heaven on his summit, Atlas, whose pine-bearing head girt with black clouds is battered unceasingly with both wind and rain. Snowfall covers his shoulders, then rivers plunge headlong from the old man's chin, and his bristly beard is frozen solid with ice. Relying on his balanced wings, the Cyllenian stopped here first; from here, with his entire body, he cast himself headlong toward the waves, like a bird that flies low along the water near the shores,

- 255 piscosos scopulos humilis uolat aequora iuxta:
 haud aliter terras inter caelumque uolabat
 litus harenosum ad Libyae, uentosque secabat
 materno ueniens ab auo Cyllenia proles.
 ut primum alatis tetigit magalia plantis,
 260 Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta nouantem
 conspicit; atque illi stellatus iaspide fulua
 ensis erat, Tyrioque ardebat murice laena
 demissa ex umeris, diues quae munera Dido
 fecerat, et tenui telas discreuerat auro.
 265 continuo inuadit: “tu nunc Karthaginis altae
 fundamenta locas pulchramque uxorius urbem
 exstruis? heu, regni rerumque oblite tuarum!
 ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo
 regnator, caelum et terras qui numine torquet;
 270 ipse haec ferre iubet celeris mandata per auras:
 ‘quid struis? aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris?
 si te nulla mouet tantarum gloria rerum,
 [nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem,]
 Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli
 275 respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus
 debetur.” tali Cyllenius ore locutus
 mortalis uisus medio sermone reliquit
 et procul in tenuem ex oculis euanuit auram.

255 piscosos **b** || humiles **rt** 256 *uersus* 256–257 *post* 258 *conlocant* **chijktwxy** || *uersum* 258 *ante* 257 *conlocant* **dz** || haut **FMP₅e** || aud **rt** 257 haberenosum **M**, *corr.* **M²** || at **M**, ao **P**, *corr.* **P²**, ac **M²p¹ωγ¹**, *schol. Ver. ad G. 2.105, Tib. ad lem., om.* **Π₅**, *Anth. Lat. 12.1, DSeru. ad G. 2.105, perit in F* || lybyae **Mbc**, lybiae **piγ** a lybie **z** 258–285 **MPpΠ₅**. – 258 cylenia **r** 259 magnalia **h** 260 ac] a **v** 261 iaspida **Π₅** 262 *u. del. M rescript.* **M¹** || enses **M** || tiriouque **Mo**, *corr.* **M²**, uarioque *schol. Iuven. ad 3.283 (sed tyrioque 11.155) ardebat*] ardebat porpora **v** || muricae **pv** || lena **PphortvγΠ₅** 263 ex] et **v** || que **p** 264 uelas **Π₅** 265 tu nunc] tunc **p** || carthaginis **Pp** 266 pulchramque **a** || uxoriibus **M**, *corr.* **M¹**, uxoribus **Π₅** 267 eu **b** || oblite] ignare **P**, *corr.* **P²**, oblita **Π₅** 268 dimittit **Ppcdhrtwzγ** (*corr.* **γ¹**), *om.* **Π₅** || olimpho **a** olympho **iz** 269 ac **Paertvwγ**, *om.* **Π₅** || terram **Prtwγ**, *om.* **Π₅** 270 fere **b** caeleris **bt** || manda **a** 271 quis **Pγ** (quid **γ¹**), *om.* **Π₅** || lybycis **M**, libicis **abeov**, lybicis **it** || geris **P**, *corr.* **P¹** || tris **b** || hostia **o** 273 (*cf. u. 233 om.* **MPpγω** (*praeter cdehvz*) **Π₅** (*cf. Sabbadini in ‘Addendis’*), *uersus suspectus a Sabbadini, Mynors, Geymonat ac reiectus a Seru., Tib., Conte; add. in marg.* **a¹i¹r¹t¹**, *add. sed deinde deleuit* **M⁷** 274 heredi **a**, heredes **rtγ**, *corr.* **γ¹** 276 debentur **MPpΠ₅ωγ** *corr.* **M²P²** || cullenius **P** *corr.* **P²**, cillenius **aeov**, cylenius **rγ** || ore] uisus **Π⁵** 277 mortalius **P**, *corr.* **P²**, mortales **o** 278 in ex n *corr.* **P²** || oculi **M**, ‘-s’ *add.* **M¹**

near fish-infested cliffs. By no means otherwise was Cyllene's offspring flying between earth and sky to the sandy shore of Libya, and he was cutting through the winds as he moved away from his maternal grandfather. As soon as he, with winged feet, has reached the huts, he sees Aeneas laying the foundation for towers and making new houses. Aeneas had a sword adorned with stars of yellow jasper, and the mantle hanging from his shoulders was ablaze with Tyrian purple, which wealthy Dido had made for him as a gift, and she had separated the warp with golden thread. Straightaway he assails him: "Are you now putting in place the foundations of lofty Carthage, and do you, playing the husband, erect the fair city? Alas, you, forgetful of your own realm and affairs! The ruler of the gods himself, who bends heaven and earth by his divine presence, sent me down to you from shining Olympus. He himself bids me to bring these commands over the swift breezes: 'What are you planning? Or with what hope do you waste time in a leisurely fashion in Libyan lands? If the glory of so great a matter does not move you, [and you yourself do not work at the task for your own praise,] have regard for Ascanius as he grows up, and the hope of Iulus as heir, to whom the realm of Italy and the Roman land are owed.'" Having spoken such words, the Cyllenian departed mid-speech from mortal sight and vanished far from their eyes into thin air.

At uero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens,
 280 arrectaeque horrore comae et uox faucibus haesit.
 ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras,
 attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum.
 heu quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furentem
 audeat adfatu? quae prima exordia sumat?
 285 atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc diuidit illuc
 in partisque rapit uarias perque omnia uersat.
 haec alternanti potior sententia uisa est:
 Mnesthea Sergestumque uocat fortemque Serestum,
 classem aptent taciti, socios ad litora cogant,
 290 arma parent et, quae rebus sit causa nouandis,
 dissimulent; sese interea, quando optima Dido
 nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores,
 temptaturum aditus et quae mollissima fandi
 tempora, quis rebus dexter modus. ocius omnes
 295 imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt.
 At regina dolos (quis fallere possit amantem?)
 praesensit motusque excepit prima futuros
 omnia tuta timens. eadem impia Fama furenti
 detulit armari classem cursumque parari.
 300 saeuit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem
 bacchatur, qualis commotis excita sacris

279 ad P, tum *Tib.* || enaeas z || aspectu o || ommutuit MPdw corr. M² 280 u. *damn. Ribbeck* || arrecteque pa || paucibus P corr. P² 281 ab ira p, corr. p¹, abiere Π₅ 282 ettonitus Π₅ enperio γ corr. γ¹ || magno imperio monituque *Prisc. n.34* munitu M, corr. M² 283 quo nunc] quonam *Non. 30.24; 242.16* || reginam ambire] deorum blandire Π₅ 284 atfatu MP corr. M¹ || afatum c || quae] et quae ω (*praeter crt*) 285 (= *Aen. 8.20*) u. *non interpr. Seru., om. Tib. in lem. sed explicatur; damn. Heyne, cuius iudicium accipit Conte* || adque Π₅ || hunc p, || hoc Π₅M² || caelerem b || illoc Π₅ 286–301 FMPpΠ₅ – 286 u. *om. FPγ, non interpr. Seru., seclisit Ribbeck; cf. Sabbadini in 'Addendis'* || partesque crt, partes p, partis a 287 aitemnanti M, corr. M² || alter nati a alter nauis(?) d 288 (= *Aen. 12.56i*) mnestea Mpbeiovy || uacat M, corr. M¹ || serestum] cloanthum cpo cloantum rt *defendit Kvičala* 289 apten M, corr. M², aptant Π₅ sociosque FMω, *schol. Ver. ad Aen. 1.1, om. Π⁵ litoraque p cogat a* 290 parant F corr. || et quae Mr corr. M² || sit rebus ω (*praeter crt*); *cf. Aen. 2.350* 291 obtima zγ 292 u. *add. in marg. rt* 293 temptarum v 294 quibus F, quis rebus F⁴, qui rebus aj, otius *Tib.* omnis F, omni p, *om. Π₅* 295 impero w || leti i || parant j || et] ac M¹ω (*praeter acerv*), *Non. 306.31, Tib., om. Π₅* 296 regia r || quisquis M corr. M¹ 297 praesens sit F corr. F¹, presens sit p || amotusque M, motus quae b || excipit FM, corr. M¹ 298 impia *om. p, add. p¹; cf. Ameye, REL 1966, 305–322* || fama *om. F, add. F¹, famarenti rt* || furentis M 299 classe F, corr. F¹ || cursimque p, corr. p¹ 300 saeuit Π₅ || inobs FPaeivy, corr. P², inors Π₅ || totam M corr. M⁴ || incensam F corr. F¹ orbem Fa, corr. F¹ 301 bacchatur padhiow, baccenatur Π₅ commotus p corr. p¹

But Aeneas, to be sure, beside himself at the sight, was speechless; his hair stood up in horror and his voice stuck in his throat. He burns to flee and leave the pleasant lands, struck by that great warning and command from the gods. Alas, what should he do? With what speech now should he dare approach the raging queen? What opening words should he take up first? And now hither, now thither he divides his nimble mind, and pulls it in various directions, and thoroughly considers all things. This opinion seemed better to him as he wavered: he calls upon Mnestheus and Sergestus and brave Serestus to prepare the fleet in silence, urge their comrades to the shore, prepare the weapons, and to hide the reason for their revolt. Meanwhile, since excellent Dido does not know nor expect that so great a love affair would be broken off, he says that he will attempt an approach and test to see what the most flexible moment to speak might be, what might be the right method for these matters. All gladly obey his order quickly and carry out his commands.

But the queen (who could deceive a lover?) sensed his deception in advance and anticipated his future movements, fearing everything, even when all was safe. The same impious Rumor brought her the news that was driving her mad, that the fleet was being armed and the voyage's course was being prepared. Out of her mind she rages and, incensed, raves through the entire city in Bacchic fashion, like a maenad aroused by sacred rites that have been set in motion,

Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho
 orgia nocturnusque uocat clamore Cithaeron.
 tandem his Aenean compellat uocibus ultro:
 305 “dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum
 posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra?
 nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam
 nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?
 quin etiam hiberno moliri sidere classem
 310 et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum,
 crudelis? quid? si non arua aliena domosque
 ignotas peteres, et Troia antiqua maneret,
 Troia per undosum peteretur classibus aequor?
 mene fugis? per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te
 315 (quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui),
 per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos,
 si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam
 dulce meum, miserere domus labentis et istam,
 oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.
 320 te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni
 odere, infensi Tyrii; te propter eundem
 exstinctus pudor et, qua sola sidera adibam,
 fama prior. cui me moribundam deseris, hospes
 (hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat)?
 325 quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater

302–305 AFMPpΠ₅ – 302 thyas F¹Menrtx, *Macrob. 4.5.7, Eutyches GLK v 470.26*, tyrias Π₅,
 thias ov, tyas z || stimula Fnt *add. sps.* F¹, trepidant Velius 55.20 || trietherica FM² tritherica F¹
 trietterica γ trietteria γ¹ trieterica a triaterica e trietberica i trieteria x || bacchi F, *corr.* F¹, bacho
 pbchjoy bachi dw 303 nocturque p nocturnosque γΠ₅, *Geymonat* || cithero A citheron Foy
 chiteron M cytheron M⁷bdhiwxy cyteron aeiv cythaeron p 304 is i || aeneam c || compellat
 A compellit anv compellet c 306–310 FMPpΠ₅ – 306 tacitusque] facitusque M *corr.* M¹,
 tacitus quae b || decere i recedere Π₅ 309 moliris pbcdehijtwz, *Seru. Aen. 1.279, DSeru., Tib.,*
om. Π₅; *cf. Kenney, JRS 1970, 260* 310 properes b 311–442 MPpΠ₅ – 311 crudeli Π₅ 312
 ignotus Π₅ || peteres M *corr.* M¹, poteres p *corr.* p¹, peteris Π₅ || et] sed P *Geymonat* || se p, *om.*
 Π₅ 313 equor V 314 haste P, *del.* te P² || dexteramque a || tua te p tuamque w te *om.* d
 315 qando P, *corr.* P¹ || aliut MP, *Sabbadini, om.* Π₅ || misere γ miseraes o 316 inceptos p,
 incoeptos o, incertis Π₅ || hymnaeos P, hymaeneos py, hymaeneos w 317 qui mere Π₅ 318
 merere a || domos γ, *corr.* γ¹ 319 oroque Π₅ || athuc MP, *corr.* M² || oro si quis adhuc] et
 siquis *Non. 300.11* || praecibus Mrt, *corr.* M² || exu i 320 te ex et P¹ || proter r || libycae pehj,
 libicae aov, libyce γ, licae i, libyae *Arus. Mess. GLK VII 502.4* || numadumque c || tyranni o 321
 eandem Π₅ 322 adibam ex aadibam, *ut uid.*, M¹, adhibam b 323 moribunda M, *corr.* M¹,
 morituram n, *Prisc. 13.24* || deserit Π₅ 325 quit γ || pigmalion pb phygmalion h

when, at the cry of Bacchus, the triennial festivals stimulate her, and Cithaeron at night cries out with clamor. Finally, of her own accord, does she urge Aeneas with these words: "Liar! Did you hope, too, to be able to hide your great crime, and in silence to depart from my land? Can neither our love hold you here, nor your right hand once given in pledge, nor Dido, who is about to die a cruel death? But even under the winter star do you, cruel one, hasten to build your fleet and in the midst of northern winds hasten to go through the sea? Why? If you were not seeking foreign fields and a home unknown, and were old Troy still remaining, would your fleet seek Troy through a stormy sea? Do you flee me? By these tears and your right hand (since I have left nothing else for my wretched self) by our wedlock, by our marriage that had begun, if ever I truly deserved anything of you, or if my sweetness has been anything to you, pity a falling house, I beg you, and if, up to this point, there is any place for supplication, put off that purpose of yours. Because of you the Libyan tribes and Numidian tyrants hate me, the Tyrians are hostile; because of you, too, my sense of shame is destroyed, and so is my former reputation, by which alone I was reaching the stars. To what, O guest (since this name alone remains from that of husband), do you abandon me, dying? Why do I delay? Can it be that I do so until Pyg-

destruat aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas?
 saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
 ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi paruulus aula
 luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
 330 non equidem omnino capta ac deserta uiderer.”
 Dixerat. ille Iouis monitis immota tenebat
 lumina et obnixus curam sub corde premebat.
 tandem pauca refert: “ego te, quae plurima fando
 enumerare uales, numquam, regina, negabo
 335 promeritam, nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae,
 dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.
 pro re pauca loquar. neque ego hanc abscondere furto
 speraui (ne finge) fugam, nec coniugis umquam
 praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera ueni.
 340 me si fata meis paterentur ducere uitam
 auspiciis et sponte mea componere curas,
 urbem Troianam primum dulcisque meorum
 reliquias colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent,
 et recidiua manu posuissem Pergama uictis.
 345 sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo,
 Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes;
 hic amor, haec patria est. si te Karthaginis arces
 Phoenissam Libycaeque aspectus detinet urbis,
 quae tandem Ausonia Teucros considerare terra
 350 inuidia est? et nos fas extera quaerere regna.
 me patris Anchisae, quotiens umentibus umbris
 nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,

326 duat Π₅ || getulus Mpabdeoi jr tvw || oi arbas p, corr. p¹, yarbas h, hiarbas boxy Tib. 327
 quia Π₅ 328 soboles abhrt 329 referet rtΠ₅, ferret b 330 ac] au c || aut rty¹ uideret γ,
 corr. γ¹ 331 monites Π₅ 332 obnixus Π₅ praemebat Π₅ 333 plurona γ corr. γ¹ 334
 et numerare Π₅b || numquam] nec te *Seru. Aen. 1.74; 5.801 (sed numquam ad Aen. 6.664)* 335
 promeritum ne a || me om. Mdirty || peget Π₅ pigebat c || elisse Ma corr. M², elisie d, elisae x
 336 dum—reget artus *C.L.L. XIII.1568, reget PAC IV p. 194 [Carm. de sant. 472]* aretus i 337 loquar
 Π₅ loquor c || abscondere r || furtim Π₅ 338 nec] ne Paby 339 thedas M corr. M² || foedare
 Π₅ 340 eis ey 341 hauspicis γ || componere pr || iura o || curros r 342 troianam om. r ||
 dulcesque j 343 reliquias bdeivx || colere M corr. M¹, coleremque Π₅ || ponerem v || ulta
 a 344 posuissent Π₅ 345 grynaeus ph 346 liciae aehiovy || licyae c || iusserunt Π₅ ||
 capesere a capescere o 347 haec] hic t || carthaginis P, om. Π₅ || altae γ¹ 348 poenissam
 b fenissam c || lybicaeque phij || demeret p¹ detenet rt || urbes Pv, corr. P¹ 349 ausonias—
 terras b teucro b teucris c || consedere Π₅ || consistere *recc.* 350 et nos] esto v || externa P¹γ,
 corr. γ¹, eictera Π₅ || querere pa 351 ancisae M corr. M¹, anchise a || ubentibus M, corr. M¹
 352 coperit Π₅

malion, my brother, would destroy my walls, or the Gaetulian Iarbas would lead me away as his war prize? If a child from you had at least been born to me before your flight, if some tiny Aeneas were playing in my courtyard, who nonetheless would call you to mind by his appearance, indeed I would not seem entirely captured and then abandoned.”

She had spoken. Because of Jove’s admonitions, that man was holding his eyes unmoved and was struggling to press his care down in his heart. At length, he responds with a few words: “I, you, (of these things you can count many out loud), will never deny, O queen, to have been worthy, nor will it aggrieve me to recall Elissa, so long as I myself will have memory of myself, and while breath still reigns over these limbs. About the matter I will say a few words. I did not hope to hide my flight by deception—do not pretend as much—nor did I ever extend the bridegroom’s torches, nor did I come into such a pact. If the Fates were allowing me to lead life under my own auspices and order my cares by my own will, I would first tend to the city of Troy and the sweet remnants of my own people. Priam’s high house would still remain, and I would have established, with my own hand, a Pergamum rebuilt for the conquered. But as things are, Grynean Apollo and the Lycian oracles have ordered me to strive to reach great Italy: This is my love, this my fatherland. If the watchtowers of Carthage and the sight of the Libyan city keep you, a Phoenician, here, why begrudge, then, the Teucrians to settle in the Ausonian land? It is right that we, too, seek an external realm. As often as night covers the lands with its damp shadows, as often as the fiery stars rise, then the troubled image of my father, Anchises,

- admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago;
 me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari,
 355 quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus aruis.
 nunc etiam interpres diuum Ioue missus ab ipso
 (testor utrumque caput) celeris mandata per auras
 detulit: ipse deum manifesto in lumine uidi
 intrantem muros uocemque his auribus hausit.
 360 desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis:
 Italiam non sponte sequor.”
 Talia dicentem iamdudum auersa tuetur
 huc illuc uoluens oculos totumque pererrat
 luminibus tacitis et sic accensa profatur:
 365 “nec tibi diua parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor,
 perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens
 Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.
 nam quid dissimulo aut quae me ad maiora reseruo?
 num fletu ingemuit nostro? num lumina flexit?
 370 num lacrimas uictus dedit aut miseratus amantem est?
 quae quibus anteferam? iam iam nec maxima Iuno
 nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis.
 nusquam tuta fides. eiectum litore, egentem
 excepi et regni demens in parte locaui.
 375 amissae classis socios a morte reduxi.
 heu furiis incensa feror! nunc augur Apollo,
 nunc Lyciae sortes, nunc et Ioue missus ab ipso
 interpres diuum fert horrida iussa per auras.

354 aschanius γ 355 hesperioe fraude M, corr. M¹, asperiae b 356 diuom P, om. Π₅ 357
 utrumque Π₅ caeleris b 359 uersum ante 357 conlocat z || intratem γ || ausi MPbchixγ, corr.
 M¹, om. Π₅ 360 me quae c || incedere M || quaerellis MpaxΠ₅, corr. M², quaerelis b 361
 sponte forte sequor p || sponte sequor in ras. w 362 talia] italiam in taliam p¹ || iandudum
 MP, om. Π₅ || auersea e 365 huc et c || uolens r || oculo b || diuina p corr. p¹ || matere Π₅ ||
 danis w || actor rt 366 perfides p corr. p¹ || sed] et pr || horres Π₅ 367 hycane quae a, hyrcanae
 quae b, hyrcanemque n, hyrcaniaeque h || admorun P, corr. P¹ 368 que rt || iora r ||
 me om. v || meae z 369 num] nunc M, corr. M⁷ || nostra P, corr. P¹ || flutu M, corr. M¹ || textit
 a || flectit i 370 num] non c || dedit lacrimas uictus rt || haut γ || nec Pomp. 238.13, Seru. Aen.
 1.597 || miserandus Π₅ miserat a || amantemst P amante est pr amantem om. Π₅ est om. aoz,
 Pomp. 372 || nec ex nes M² 373 numquam Π₅ || aegentem Π₅ 374 suscepi Prisc. 11.377 (ter,
 7, 13, 22), perit in P || locam Π₅ 375 uersum add. in marg. J; eiecit Ribbeck || amissam classem
 MSS, ammissam aγ, eiectam classem Prisc. 11.6; accipimus amissae classis ex Kraggerud ‘Vergili-
 liana’ (2017) 184–186 376 eu γ 377 sortis Π₅ || et om. p 378 diuom P corr. P², dium r, om.
 Π₅ || iussa] dicta M

admonishes me in dreams, and terrifies me; my boy, Ascanius, admonishes me, too, and the wrong done to his dear head, whom I am cheating of the realm of Hesperia and his fated fields. Now, too, the gods' agent, sent by Jove himself (I swear by each head) has brought orders down on the swift winds; I myself saw the god in the clear light as he entered the walls, and I drank in his voice with these ears. Cease to kindle both me and yourself with your complaints. I pursue Italy not of my own accord!"

For a long time she looks askance at him as he says such things, turning her eyes hither and thither, and with quiet eyes she scans him—all of him; and thus incensed, she cries out: "No goddess was your parent, nor was Dardanus the author of your family—you liar—but bristly Caucasus gave birth to you on harsh crags, and Hyrcanian tigresses offered you their teats. Why do I feign ignorance or for what greater things do I hold myself back? Did he groan at my weeping? Did he cast his eyes upon me? I think not! Did he, overcome, offer his tears or pity his lover? What should I prioritize before what? Now, now neither greatest Juno nor the Saturnian father looks on these matters with an impartial gaze. Nowhere is fidelity safe. A castaway on the shore, a beggar, I received him and, unhinged, I settled him with a share in my realm. I brought his companions of the lost fleet back from death. (Alas, I am getting carried away, inflamed by madness!): now Apollo as augur, now the Lycian lots, now the gods' agent, sent by Jove himself, brings this dread command upon the breezes. Truly, this

scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos
 380 sollicitat. neque te teneo neque dicta refello:
 i, sequere Italiam uentis, pete regna per undas.
 spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,
 supplicia hausurum scopulis et nomine Dido
 saepe uocaturum. sequar atris ignibus absens
 385 et, cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus,
 omnibus umbra locis adero. dabis, improbe, poenas:
 audiam et haec Manis ueniet mihi fama sub imos.”
 his medium dictis sermonem abrumpit et auras
 aegra fugit seque ex oculis auertit et aufert,
 390 linquens multa metu cunctantem et multa parantem
 dicere. suscipiunt famulae conlapsaque membra
 marmoreo referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt.
 At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem
 solando cupit et dictis auertere curas,
 395 multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore
 iussa tamen diuum exsequitur classemque reuisit.
 tum uero Teucri incumbunt et litore celsas
 deducunt toto nauis (natat uncta carina)
 frondentisque ferunt remos et robora siluis
 400 infabricata fugae studio.
 migrantis cernas totaque ex urbe ruentis:
 ac uelut ingentem formicae farris aceruum
 cum populant hiemis memores tectoque reponunt,
 it nigrum campis agmen praedamque per herbas

379 his $\Pi_5\gamma$ || is] i t, hic o || quietus Π_5 380 te om. ci || efello Π_5 381 ii M 382 spere
 p corr. p¹ || poscunt M corr. M¹ 383 supplica w || ausurum bjowxz Π_5 || scopulis ai 384
 sequor Π_5 || aatribus p astris Π_5 385 frigida ex frigidam M² || animam a || reduxerit Π_5 386
 inprobe Mbz inprobe e 387 u. damn. Ribbeck || audiam et] audiat me P, corr. P¹ || manes
 M²bjrtv || ueniam Π_5 ueniat o *Probus* 239.4 || imus p Π_5 imas c 388 abrupti i 389 egra
 aev aufer Π_5 390 liquens e || multa metu] multam et γ , corr. γ^1 || conitantem w || cunctante
 Π_5 || uolentem Mc, *Anth. Lat.* 17.274, *Seru. ad u.* 388 (cf. *Aen.* 2.790) || parentem pi γ 391 suc-
 cipiunt P, Ribbeck ac Sabbadini; Geymonat suspiciunt Π_5 392 thalamo h || stristisque M corr.
 M¹ || quanquam de 395 u. del. Ribbeck || tauefactus Π_5 396 exequitur Mp, om. Π_5 397
 teucri om. p, add. p¹ || litora a 398 totoque M, -que del. M² naues bdhiz || nata iuncta p 399
 frondentis (om. que) p frondentesque j Π_5 || feriant c? || robore b 400 u. om. i || studio fuge
 Π_5 || fugae studio in ras. w 401 migrantes bejv Π_5 || cernec Π_5 || uber v || ruontis d ut uid.
 402 ueluti M $\Pi_5\omega$, *Claud. Mam.* 11.3.5 (*Engelbrecht* 109), Sabbadini || formice Π_5 || faris r || acer-
 uom P 403 conpopulant *Claud. Mam.* tecta que w || tutoque *Claud. Mam.* 404 iit Π_5 ||
 predamque Mi, corr. M⁴ || herbam b, *Non.* 197.18

is work for the gods, this care vexes them as they rest. I neither hold you back nor refute your words: go, follow Italy on the winds; seek your realm through the waves. Indeed, I hope, if the dutiful gods can do anything, that in the midst of crags you will quaff punishment and often call out with my name, 'Dido!' Even absent, I will pursue you with darkling fire and, when frigid death shall have separated limbs from soul, I, as a shade, will stalk you everywhere. Wicked man, you will pay the penalty! I shall be listening, and this report will come to me amidst the shades deep below!" Having said these things, she breaks off in the middle of her speech, and, feeling ill, she flees the fresh air, turns herself away from his eyes, and withdraws, leaving him greatly hesitating out of fear and preparing to say many things. Her servants support her and carry her limp limbs to her marble chamber and lay her upon her bed's coverlets.

But devoted Aeneas, though he desires to relieve her in her grief by consoling her and to turn aside her cares with his words, groaning greatly and shaken in his soul by great love, nevertheless follows the orders of the gods and returns to the fleet. Then most certainly do the Teucrians sit at the oars and from the entire shore launch their tall ships. The oiled keels bob in the tide and the sailors in their zeal to depart, bring to bear oars with leaves still on them and oaken logs yet unfinished. You would see them departing and rushing out of the entire city. Like ants, mindful of winter, when they despoil a huge heap of grain and place it in their home; a black line runs over the plain and carries booty through the

- 405 conuectant calle angusto; pars grandia trudunt
 obnixae frumenta umeris; pars agmina cogunt
 castigantque moras; opere omnis semita feruet.
 quis tibi tum, Dido, cernenti talia sensus,
 quosue dabas gemitus, cum litora feruere late
 410 prospiceres arce ex summa totumque uideres
 misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor!
 improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!
 ire iterum in lacrimas, iterum temptare precando
 cogitur et supplex animos summittere amori,
 415 ne quid inexpertum frustra moritura relinquat.
 “Anna, uides toto properari litore circum:
 undique conuenere; uocat iam carbasus auras,
 puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas.
 hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem,
 420 et perferre, soror, potero. miserae hoc tamen unum
 exsequere, Anna, mihi: solam nam perfidus ille
 te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus;
 sola uiri mollis aditus et tempora noris.
 i, soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum.
 425 non ego cum Danais Troianam excindere gentem
 Aulide iurau i classemue ad Pergama misi,
 nec patris Anchisae cinerem manesue reuelli:
 cur mea dicta negat duras demittere in auris?
 quo ruit? extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti:
 430 exspectet facilemque fugam uentosque ferentis.

405 callae Π₅ || pras M corr. M⁶ 407 mores p corr. p¹ || operae M corr. M⁴, operi Π₅, opera Non. 251.36 408 tunc Mdrtw, nunc Don. Ter. adolph. 668 || taliae p 409 quos uidebas M corr. M¹ || genitus a 410 uers. in marg. rt || ex] et M corr. M¹ || uideris i 412 inprobe p || pectora om. p, add, p¹ || 414: cogitor P corr. P², coguntur Π₅ || subplex t suplex bc || animum d animum o || submitere b submittere oΠ₅ 415 quit r || monitura Kvičala || relinquit Mp¹cn, corr. M⁷ 416 uide r || properi P propera a 417 uudique b || caruasus Π₅ 418 inposuere MpbzΠ₅ 419 tantum potui Mar. Plot. Sac. GLK VI 453.14 420 misere p 421 exsequere po 422 colore a || arcanas Π₅ archanos vw 423 millis Π₅ molles jrt || noras MPPγω (praeter r?), Non. 346.35, DSeru. ad Aen. 4.293, Ribbeck, Sabbadini, Pease, Mynors (accipimus noris ex Baehrens; cf. Conte, Parerga, 2021, 103) 424 ii MPII₅, corr. M¹ || subplex r || adferre c? 425 danais c || excingere p corr. p¹, excindere d, excidere Macrob. GLK v 638.17 426 aulidae pΠ₅ || mis Π₅ 427 cyrenes ej cineres PII₅ωγ || manesque Π₅ || repelli Π₅ 428 neget M⁷Pr, om. Π₅ || demittere Pω (praeter drt), ps. Acro || aures M²djoyzγ², auras cγ¹ 430 exspectet PII₅ || faciemque P, corr. P¹ || uestosque M, corr. M¹ || uentisque i || furentis a ferentis j

grass on a narrow path; part, hard at work, pushes huge grains with their shoulders, part urges on the ranks and castigates delay; the whole path seethes with the task. What feelings did you then have, Dido, when you saw such things? What groaning did you give forth, when from the highest citadel of the fortress you beheld the shores swarming everywhere, and you saw before your eyes the whole sea thrown into confusion with loud cries? O wicked Amor, to what do you not drive the hearts of men? Again she is driven to tears, again driven to try to persuade him by praying, and, as a suppliant, to let love prevail over pride, lest she, about to die in vain, leave anything untried.

“Anna, you see them hastening about on the whole shore; they have come together from all sides; already the canvas calls the breezes, and the happy sailors have put garlands on the high decks. If I was able to anticipate this great sorrow, I shall also, sister, be able to endure it. Yet carry out this one thing for me, Anna—for that liar has regard only for you and entrusts even his innermost feelings to you; you alone would know how to approach the man gently, and you know the best time to do so. Go, sister, and, as a suppliant, address the arrogant enemy. I did not swear with the Danaans at Aulis to wipe out the Trojan race, nor did I send a fleet to Pergamum, nor did I tear away the ashes and spirit of his father, Anchises. Why does he refuse to accept my words into his insensate ears? Where is he rushing? Let him grant this final favor to his wretched lover: let him wait for an easy escape and favorable winds. I do not

non iam coniugium antiquum, quod prodidit, oro,
 nec pulchro ut Latio careat regnumque relinquat;
 tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori,
 dum mea me uictam doceat fortuna dolere.
 435 extremam hanc oro ueniam (miserere sororis),
 quam mihi cum dederit, cumulatam morte remittam.”
 Talibus orabat, talisque miserrima fletus
 fertque refertque soror. Sed nullis ille mouetur
 fletibus aut uoces ullas tractabilis audit:
 440 fata obstant placidasque uiri deus obstruit auris.
 ac uelut annoso ualidam cum robore quercum
 Alpini Boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc
 eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae
 consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes;
 445 ipsa haeret scopulis et quantum uertice ad auras
 aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit:
 haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc uocibus heros
 tunditur et magno persentit pectore curas;
 mens immota manet, lacrimae uoluuntur inanes.
 450 Tum uero infelix fatis exterrita Dido
 mortem orat; taedet caeli conuexa tueri.
 quo magis inceptum peragat lucemque relinquat,
 uidit, turicremis cum dona imponeret aris,
 (horrendum dictu) latices nigrescere sacros
 455 fusaque in obscenum se uertere uina cruorem;

431 coniugium r || antiquum P antiquum rt, om. Π₅ 432 pulchro M, corr. M¹ || carcat Π₅ ||
 regnume γ¹ 433 petit i || spacium az || furoris p, Char. GLK 1 547.55 434 dolore
 ΜΠ₅acfhjwyzγ¹, corr. M² 435 eextremam e 436 cum om. rt || dederis γ¹ω (praeter jw)
 Seru., derit Π₅ || cumulata ΜΠ₅ comulata b?, Ansil. CU158 || remitta p remitto b 437 horabat
 c hoorat Π₅ || talesque bj || miserima az 438 fretque M, corr. M², ferque a || refretque Mr,
 referque P, corr. M⁵P¹ || set M, corr. M² || nulli Π₅ || mouet a 439 ullus a || illas b || tractalis
 Π₅ 440 facta i || aures Pabehjotvwxyzγ auras c 441 hac v || ueluti hinz || quercum M
 442 alpino p corr. p¹ || hinc nunc] hinc a || fletibus γ || illine Π₅ 443–449 FMPpΠ₅ – 443
 iruere in ras. F¹ || se om. r || altem p, alte bdghijkwz Macrob. 5.6.13 444 cocusso P corr. P¹ ||
 in terram rt || stipate Π₅ 445 ilia Macrob. 5.6.13 || erat c? || scopulis aj 446 aehtereas j ||
 radicem MPPωγ, Macrob., Seru. radicae rt radicem tantum z || tarthara a tarta c 447 haut
 Mey, corr. γ¹, aut Π₅ || setus Π₅ secum r || atque hinc om. F, add. F¹ || herus F, corr. F¹, haeros
 j 448 persensit dknwxyz?, Seru. ad u. 443 449 manet et i || lacrimae F, corr. F¹ || uoluuntur
 P om. Π₅ 450–457 FMPpΠ₅Π₁₀ – 451 aedet Π₅ 452 quod Π₅ || paratae Π₅ reliquat Fr
 corr. sps. F¹ 453 turicrimis M, corr. M¹, turecremis γ, corr. γ¹ || inponeret MPPiΠ₁₀ inponere
 Π₅ 454 dictum F dicto γ, corr. F¹γ¹ || laticis Π₅ || saxo o 455 cruore F, corr. F¹

now beg for the old marriage, which he betrayed, nor that he go without his beautiful Latium and give up his realm: I am seeking an empty time, a rest and space for my madness, until my own fortune teach me, conquered, to grieve. I beg for this final favor—pity your sister—which, once he has granted it, I will repay with interest at death.”

With such words did she beg, and with such bouts of tears does her most wretched sister deliver her message over and over again. But he is not moved by tears, and he, intractable, does not listen to any words. The Fates block, and a god obstructs the man’s placid ears. Just as when the Alpine north winds, now this way, now that, compete among themselves to uproot with their blasts an oak powerful with the strength of age. There is creaking, and when the trunk has been struck the high branches sweep the ground, but the tree itself clings to the crags, and as far as its crown rises into the ethereal breezes, just so far does it extend its roots down toward Tartarus. No differently is the hero buffeted by endless words from here and there, and he perceives her sorrow in his great heart; his mind remains unmoved, tears flow in vain.

Then truly does unhappy Dido, terrified by the Fates, pray for death; she is loath to look upon the vault of heaven. So that she might further carry out what she has begun and leave the light, placing her gifts on the incense-burning altars, she saw (horrible in the telling!) holy waters turn black, and wine, when

hoc uisum nulli, non ipsi effata sorori.
 praeterea fuit in tectis de marmore templum
 coniugis antiqui, miro quod honore colebat,
 uelleribus niueis et festa fronde reuinctum:
 460 hinc exaudiri uoces et uerba uocantis
 uisa uiri, nox cum terras obscura teneret,
 solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo
 saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere uoces;
 multaue praeterea uatum praedicta priorum
 465 terribili monitu horrificant. agit ipse furem
 in somnis ferus Aeneas, semperque relinqui
 sola sibi, semper longam incomitata uidetur
 ire uiam et Tyrios deserta quaerere terra,
 Eumenidum ueluti demens uidet agmina Pentheus
 470 et solem geminum et duplicis se ostendere Thebas,
 aut Agamemnonius scaenis agitated Orestes,
 armatam facibus matrem et serpentibus atris
 cum fugit ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae.
 Ergo ubi concepit furias euicta dolore
 475 decreuitque mori, tempus secum ipsa modumque
 exigit, et maestam dictis adgressa sororem
 consilium uultu tegit ac spem fronte serenat:
 “inueni, germana, uiam (gratare sorori)
 quae mihi reddat eum uel eo me soluat amantem.
 480 Oceani finem iuxta solemque cadentem

456 nollī Π₅ || ipsa v || sorori est F es sorori Π₅, *perit in* Π₁₀ 457 mammore M *corr.* M²
 458–482 FMPpΠ₅. – 458 misero F *corr.* F¹ 459 inueis P *corr.* P¹ || festa] sacra Π₅ || reuic-
 tum d 460 exaudire j || uoces] gemitus *Seru. Aen. 12.638* (cf. *Aen. 6.557; 7.15*) 461 uiri] uri h ||
 mox M *corr.* M² || obscura a || tenet a 462 uolaque M *corr.* M¹, seraque *Non. 194.3* || culminus
 F, *corr. sps.* F¹ funalia (funali?) Π₅ || crimina libo γ *corr.* γ¹ 463 saere Π₅ || quaeri FpΠ₅ *corr.*
 F¹ || flectum Π₅ 464 uanum Π₅ || piorum Mh, *Lact. diu. inst. 2.17.2* (PCC Migne 342.4) om. Π₅
 “legitur et piorum,” *Seru.*; cf. *Aen. 6.662* 465 terribile monitum Π₅ || agit om. P, *add.* P¹ 466
 reliqui M *corr.* M¹, relinqua Π₅ 467 solam M *corr.* M² || longam om. M, longa *sps.* M³, *corr.*
 M⁴ || incomitatam t 468 desertas w terras cw 469 heumenidum Paeivzy || demens om.
 F *sps.* F¹ 470 gemitum γ, *corr.* γ¹ || se] e F *corr.* F¹ || duplici b duplices oy || thebas] herbas
 F, *corr.* F¹ 471 agamemnoneius F, *corr.* F¹ agmennonius crtz || scenis e scenieis Π₅ agitur p
 472 faciem F, *corr.* F¹ 473 ultricesque F || diuae FPγ, *corr.* F¹γ¹ || dire r (cf. *Aen. 8.701*) dyre z
 475 defrenitque Π₅ || mori om. r || tempu P, *corr.* P¹ || ipsi F *corr.* F¹ || modumque] monitum
 Π₅ 476 erigit o || ac M || maestum γ *corr.* γ¹ || lictis M *corr.* M¹, fractis Π₅, factis γ¹ || adgressa
 Π₅ 477 uolui te F *corr.* F¹, uoltu P, om. Π₅ || legit Fn, *corr.* F¹ || tetegit h || hac v || serena c
 478 inuenit a 479 eum] um Π₅ || uel om. M, *sps.* M² || uel] ut o, tibi e || eo] e F, *corr.* F¹ ||
 soluit c? 480 fidem rt || candantem hr

poured, change into obscene gore. This sight she mentioned to no one, not to her very sister. Besides this, in her house there was a marble shrine, dedicated to her former husband, which she tended with remarkable honor, bound with snow-white fleeces and festal bough. From here seemed to be heard utterances and words of her husband, calling, when dark night held the lands, and an owl alone on the roof peaks in funereal song seemed to give frequent complaint and extend long screeches into wailing; moreover, many predictions of seers of yore terrify her with terrible admonitions. In her dreams, Aeneas, savage, drives her on in her madness, and she thinks herself abandoned, alone, always seeming to travel on a long way, unaccompanied, and to look for her Tyrians in a deserted land, just as raving Pentheus looks upon the ranks of Eumenides and a twin sun and double Thebes presenting themselves; or as when Orestes, son of Agamemnon, driven on the stage, flees from his mother, armed with torches and black snakes, and the avenging Dirae sit on the threshold.

Therefore, when, overcome by grief, she has lain hold of madness and has resolved to die, she herself privately determines the time and manner, and coming to speak with her sad sister, covers her plan with her countenance and with her expression brightens her sister's hope: "Sister, I have found the way—congratulate your sister—to return him to me or release myself from him, though I love him. Next to Ocean's end and the setting sun lies the land

ultimus Aethiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlas
 axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum:
 hinc mihi Massylae gentis monstrata sacerdos,
 Hesperidum templi custos, epulasque draconi
 485 quae dabat et sacros seruabat in arbore ramos,
 spargens umida mella soporiferumque papauer.
 haec se carminibus promittit soluere mentes
 quas uelit, ast aliis duras immittere curas,
 sistere aquam fluuiis et uertere sidera retro,
 490 nocturnosque mouet Manis: mugire uidebis
 sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos.
 testor, cara, deos, et te, germana, tuumque
 dulce caput, magicas inuitam accingier artis.
 tu secreta pyram tecto interiore sub auras
 495 erige et arma uiri thalamo quae fixa reliquit
 impius exuiasque omnis lectumque iugalem,
 quo perii, super imponas: abolere nefandi
 cuncta uiri monumenta iuuat, monstratque sacerdos.”
 haec effata silet, pallor simul occupat ora.
 500 non tamen Anna nouis praetexere funera sacris
 germanam credit, nec tantos mente furores
 concipit aut grauiora timet quam morte Sychaei.
 ergo iussa parat.

481 ethiopum **bot** || aethyopum **aew** || oltima Π_5 || atlans **MPp Sabbadini ac Geymonat** || athlas **adei** || athlans **vw**, adlans γ *om.* Π_5 || 482 || attorquet **M**, *corr.* **M²** || fulgentibus *DSeru.* 483–490 **FMPp** Π_5 Π_{10} – 483 hie **b** || mihi *om.* **F**, *add. sps.* **F³** || massyleae **F** *corr.* **F¹**, massylae **p**, massylle **a**, massille **bv γ** , massillae **I**, masylae **dw**, massulae Π_{10} 484 aepulas **F** *corr.* **F³** 485 *u. del. Kvičala (cum u. 486)* 486 *u. secl. Schrader, ponit Ribbeck post 517, “coniunctionem incongrue positam” Seru.* || humida **Paeivw γ** sororiferumque **P** *corr.* **P²**, soporiferumue **bhjy** 487 praemittit **M** *corr.* **M¹** || mentis **Fd**, *om.* Π_5 , *perit in* Π_{10} 488 *ast] st* Π_5 || inmittere **Ppbiw** Π_5 Π_{10} 489 aqua **Frt** *corr.* **F¹** 490 mouit **F**, *ciet* **P²w γ** **F⁴**, *Aug. c. d. xxi.6, Isid. 8.9.8, om.* Π_5 , *perit in* Π_{10} || amnis **F**, manes **P²F¹abehrtv**, *corr.* **F⁴**, *om.* Π_5 , *perit in* Π_{10} || mugere **F** *corr.* **F¹** 491–497 **FMPp** Π_5 – 491 descere **F** *corr. sps.* **F¹** 492 cura **a** 493 magica **M** *corr.* **M⁴** || cingere Π_5 || artes ex arces **P**, artes **bdeoy** Π_5 494 tum *recc.* || pyram **t** || secreto **o** || in interiore **P γ** *corr.* **P² γ ¹**, interiora **a** 495 erice Π_5 , erigit γ *corr.* γ ¹ || erigete **r** || aram **F**, *corr.* **F¹** || thalamo **h** in thalamo **c** || relinquit **j** 496 exuiasque **F**, excubiasque Π_5 || omnes **brt** 497 perit Π_5 inponas **M²ehx** Π_5 , inponant **FMp**, imponens **c**, *cf. Funaioli, Studi di lett. ant. 2.1, 1947, 375* || abolera **y** 498–516 **FMPp**. – 498 monumenta **Pv**, *Ribbeck* || iuat **F** *corr.* **F¹** || iubet **MP¹ γ ¹w** || iubat **P²** || montratque **P** monstraque **ph** montratque sacerdos *dubitat Mackail* 499 affata **i** 500 anniciouis *in anna nouis* *corr.* **P** || protexere **Ma**, *corr.* **M²** 502 concepit **Fb**, *corr.* **F¹** || haud γ ¹ || qua **n** || sychei **Paejvwx**, sychey γ , sychaeis **p**, *corr.* **p¹** 503 *uers. om. i*

of the Ethiopians, the farthest place where on his shoulders mighty Atlas turns the heavens, fitted with burning stars. From here a priestess of the Massylian race was revealed to me, guardian of the temple of the Hesperides, who was offering sumptuous dishes to the serpent and was guarding the sacred boughs on the tree, as she sprinkled dewy honey and sleep-inducing poppies. By her spells this woman professes to set minds free, those she wishes to, but on others to inflict harsh worries; she claims, too, that she makes water stand still in rivers and turns back stars; and she moves the shades of night: you will see earth bellowing under foot and ash-trees descending from the mountains. I call the gods to witness and you, dear sister, and your sweet head, that against my will do I arm myself with magic arts. You, in secret, raise up a pyre in the inner part of the house that is open to the air and place in the chamber the man's weapons that he, derelict of his duty, left fixed to the wall, as well as all his clothing and the bridal bed on which I have perished. It benefits me to destroy all mementos of the unspeakable man, and the priestess demonstrates as much." After saying all this she falls silent; at the same time a pallor overtakes her face. Nevertheless, Anna does not believe that her sister has concealed her funeral with novel rituals, nor in her mind does she conceive of such madness or fear that things are graver than they were at the death of Sychaeus. Accordingly, she prepares to carry out her commands.

At regina, pyra penetrali in sede sub auras
 505 erecta ingenti taedis atque ilice secta,
 intenditque locum sertis et fronde coronat
 funerea; super exuuias ensemque relictum
 effigiemque toro locat haud ignara futuri.
 stant arae circum, et crinis effusa sacerdos
 510 ter centum tonat ore deos, Erebumque Chaosque
 tergemnamque Hecaten, tria uirginis ora Dianae.
 sparserat et latices simulatos fontis Auerni,
 falcibus et messae ad lunam quaeruntur aënis
 pubentes herbae nigri cum lacte ueneni;
 515 quaeritur et nascentis equi de fronte reuulsus
 et matri praereptus amor.
 ipsa mola manibusque piis altaria iuxta
 unum exuta pedem uinclis, in ueste recincta,
 testatur moritura deos et conscia fati
 520 sidera; tum, si quod non aequo foedere amantis
 curae numen habet iustumque memorque, precatur.
 Nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem
 corpora per terras, siluaeque et saeua quierant
 aequora, cum medio uoluuntur sidera lapsu,
 525 cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque uolucres,
 quaeque lacus late liquidos quaeque aspera dumis
 rura tenent, somno positae sub nocte silenti.
 [lenibant curas et corda oblita laborum.]

504 ad Pγ || pura F, pyram M, pypam γ, corr. F¹M¹γ¹, pira od 505 taedds P corr. P² || adque
 F || ilicae v ilicem a || sectam a 506 coronant F corr. F¹ 507 funereas pγ, corr. p¹γ¹ funera
 a || super] per a 508 iaut M corr. M¹ || ignorans c? 509 are F, corr. F¹ || cricum r || crine
 p 510 merebumque F corr. F¹ ut uid. || cahosque h 511 hcaten M corr. M¹, haecaten
 Pirtz, echaten u || hora i 512 fontes γ corr. γ¹ 513 talcibus M || corr. M¹ || messe FM, corr.
 F¹M²; cf. Tib. ad Aen. 12.412 || quaerantur Fi, corr. F¹ || aeneis F aienis b 514 pubentis rt 515
 quaerentistur M corr. M¹ || fronde F corr. F¹ || reuolsus M reuulsus schol. Iuven. ad 6.616 516
 e γ || praeruptus pcy, corr. p¹γ¹ 517–521 FMPpΠ₁₀ – 517 ipsam γ¹, DSeru. B. 8.82 || molam
 MPrwγ, Eutyches GLK v 477.23, DSeru. hic et B. 8.82, periit in Π₁₀ || manibus quae b 518 in] et
 in r || uestae F corr. F¹ 520 quoi M² quid p qood r || eque e aequae n || fodere b || amantes
 phjo 521 morque r || praecatur a 522–551 MPp. – 522 placidam carpebant membra
 quietem Seru. Aen. 1.388; cf. Aen. 1.691; 7.414 523 copiis(?) orant erras h || seua pao quierunt
 an 526 quae r || locus M corr. M¹ || liquidus M corr. M² 527 somnos P corr. P² 528 uer-
 sum om. MPpωγ, add. a¹c¹j¹r¹t¹v¹z¹γ¹; cf. Aen. 9.225. Cf. Sabbadini (qui seruat), Historia 1934, 537; La
 Penna (qui del.), Maia 1952, 99–101

But the queen, after a huge pyre had been erected with pitchy pine and cut oak under the open sky in the innermost part of the palace, strews the place with garlands and crowns it with funereal fronds. By no means unaware of what is about to happen, she places his despoiled amor, his abandoned sword, and an effigy of him high on the couch. All round there are altars, and the priestess, letting her hair pour forth, thunders a hundred times with her mouth, calling on three hundred gods, Erebus and Chaos, and threefold Hecate, the three faces of the virgin, Diana. She had even sprinkled water, as if drawn from Avernus' font, and she looks for herbs mown under the moon with bronze sickles and ripe with the milk of dark poison; she also seeks a love charm torn at birth from the forehead of a young horse sooner than its mother could take it. With grains and pious hands next to the altars, having removed the bindings from one foot and having untied her dress, with death imminent, she herself, calls as witnesses the gods and the stars, accomplices to her fate; then, if any divine power, just and mindful, governs lovers in an unjust union, she prays to that one.

It was night, and weary bodies were enjoying peaceful sleep throughout the lands. The woods and savage seas had come to rest when the stars are rolling at the midpoint of their gliding course. Every field is quiet, beasts and colorful birds, both those that broadly inhabit the limpid lakes and those that keep to the fields harsh with thickets, are settled in sleep beneath the silent night. [They were soothing their cares and their hearts were forgetful of their labors.]

at non infelix animi Phoenissa, neque umquam
 530 soluitur in somnos oculisue aut pectore noctem
 accipit: ingeminant curae, rursusque resurgens
 saeuit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.
 sic adeo insistit secumque ita corde uolutat:
 “en, quid ago? rursusne procos inrisa priores
 535 experiar, Nomadumque petam conubia supplex,
 quos ego sim totiens iam dedignata maritos?
 Iliacas igitur classes atque ultima Teucrum
 iussa sequar? quiane auxilio iuuat ante leuatos
 et bene apud memores ueteris stat gratia facti?
 540 quis me autem, fac uelle, sinet ratibusue superbis
 inuisam accipiet? nescis heu, perdita, necdum
 Laomedontae sentis periuria gentis?
 quid tum? sola fuga nautas comitabor ouantis?
 an Tyriis omnique manu stipata meorum
 545 inferar et, quos Sidonia uix urbe reuelli,
 rursus agam pelago et uentis dare uela iubebo?
 quin morere ut merita es, ferroque auerte dolorem.
 tu lacrimis euicta meis, tu prima furentem
 his, germana, malis oneras atque obicis hosti.
 550 non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine uitam
 degere more ferae, talis nec tangere curas;
 non seruata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo.”
 Tantos illa suo rumpebat pectore questus.
 Aeneas celsa in puppi iam certus eundi
 555 carpebat somnos rebus iam rite paratis.
 huic se forma dei uultu redeuntis eodem

529 animis **b** || poenissa γ *corr.* γ^1 || naeque **M**, nec **M¹P²pwy**, *DSeru. ad u. 486* 530 in *om.*
DSeru. ad u. 486 || oculis **P** ‘ue’ *add.* **P¹**, oculisque **aefnrv**, *Macrob. 6.6.7* 531 resurcens **P** 532
 saeuiti **P** *corr.* **P²** || estu **Pa**, *corr.* **P¹** 533 existit **p**, exsistit **p¹** 534 hem quid agam *Don. Ter.*
eun. 46 || partos **c** || proquos **j** || irrisa **bz** 535 experior **c** || numadumque **do** 536 sum γ^1
 537 agitur **M** *corr.* **M¹** || classesque **b** 538 *u. in marg.* **c** || sequar] se **M**, *corr.* **M¹** || quia nec
 a quia **d** || aut eleuatos **b** 539 et] aut **abcenrtvy** || aput **MPby** || sat **P** *corr.* **P²** 540 sinat
P *corr.* **P²** || ratibusque **bdiknwxzy** 541 inrisam **M³bdwz γ^1** || accipiat **i** || nondum *Seru. ad*
Aen. 1.468 542 loemedentae **i** laumedontae **x** 543 quit **MP** || ouantes **cpjort** 544
 manus **P** *corr.* **P²** 545 inferret **M**, inferat **w**, inferrar et **M²** || quo **P**, quod **P² γ** (*corr.* γ^1) || sidoni
e 546 iuebo **M** *uersus 548–549 eicit Kvičala, post 418 ponit Ribbeck* 548 tum lacrimis **p** || eis
c 552–554 **MPP Π_{10}** – 552 sychaei **Mbcw**, sychaeies **P**, *perit in Π_{10}* 553 suos **ad** || certas
r 555–559 **FMPp Π_{10}** – 555 rebusque **p** || rete **F** *corr.* **F¹** 556 uultu **F**

But not the Phoenician woman, unhappy in her soul; she never relaxes in sleep, nor does she admit the night into her eyes or her heart. Her cares redouble, and, surging up again, love rages, and she bobs on a mighty billow of anger. In just such a state, she hesitates and, in her heart, ruminates on things: "Now see here, what am I doing? Should I, as an object of derision, again endure the former suitors, and should I as a suppliant seek a marriage with Numidians, whom I have so often scorned as husbands? Then should I follow the Ilian ships and the Teucrians' last commands? Is it because they are pleased to have been relieved previously by my help and because gratitude abides well with them, mindful of the earlier benefit? But suppose that I were to wish it. Who will allow me to do so, or who receive me, a despised woman, onto those haughty ships? Alas, ruined one, do you not know nor yet perceive the lies of Laomedon's line? What then? Shall I, alone in flight accompany the sailors as they celebrate their triumph? Can it be that I will be brought along, accompanied by Tyrians and the entire multitude of my own people? Shall I again lead over the sea those whom I scarcely plucked from the Sidonian city and order them to offer their sails to the winds? No! But rather die, as you have merited, and turn away your grief by the sword. Vanquished by my tears, you, sister, first burdened me in my madness with these ills and put me face to face with my enemy. I was not allowed to spend my life blamelessly, like a wild animal, without sharing in a marriage bed, nor to have such worries; my pledge, sworn to Sychaeus' ashes, has not been kept."

She kept bursting forth with such complaints from her heart. But now that all matters were duly prepared, Aeneas, determined to go, was fast asleep on the high stern. In his dreams the form of the god appeared again with the same vis-

obtulit in somnis rursusque ita uisa monere est,
 omnia Mercurio similis, uocemque coloremque
 et crinis flauos et membra decora iuuenta:
 560 “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 uersat,
 certa mori, uariosque irarum concitat aestus.
 565 non fugis hinc praeceps, dum praecipitare potestas?
 iam mare turbari trabibus saeuasque uidebis
 conlucere faces, iam feruere litora flammis,
 si te his attigerit terris Aurora morantem.
 heia age, rumpe moras. uarium et mutabile semper
 570 femina.” sic fatus nocti se immiscuit atrae.
 Tum uero Aeneas subitis exterritus umbris
 corripit e somno corpus sociosque fatigat:
 “praecipites, uigilate, uiri, et considite transtris;
 soluite uela citi. deus aethere missus ab alto
 575 festinare fugam tortosque incidere funis
 ecce iterum instimulat. sequimur te, sancte deorum,
 quisquis es, imperioque iterum paremus ouantes.
 adsis o placidusque iuues et sidera caelo
 dextra feras.” dixit uaginaque eripit ensem
 580 fulmineum strictoque ferit retinacula ferro.
 idem omnis simul ardor habet, rapiuntque runntque;
 litora deseruere, latet sub classibus aequor;

557 optulit **Pcort** || rursusque **F corr.** **F¹** || ita *om.* **F**, *add.* **F¹** || monerest **P**, periit in **Π₁₀** 558
 coloreque **p** 559 iuenta **F**, *corr.* **F¹**, iuuentae **Π₁₀** (*praeter cht*), *periit in Π₁₀* 560–583
FMpp. – 560 natae **p** nata **aj** || poten **c** || hic **γ corr.** **γ¹** || cassu, **F corr.** **F¹** 561 ne **γ corr.** **γ¹** ||
 te quae **c** || stant **i** 562 ne **γ corr.** **γ¹** || zephyros? **γ corr.** **γ¹** || sperare **Faz**, *corr.* **F¹** || secundis
F corr. **F¹** 563 illas **M corr.** **M¹** || ila **h** || doos **y** 564 suarioque **M**, uarioque **M¹ω** (*praeter*
cnor) || fluctuat aestu **Mω** aestu **t** || fluctuat aestus **bgkw** *cf. Funaioli, Studi di lett. ant. 2.1 1947,*
381 565 hinc] in **Fr**, hic **M** || potes **p** 566 mari **γ corr.** **γ¹** || turbare **F corr.** **F¹** || fratribus **M**
corr. **M¹** 567 collucere **o** || facis **F corr.** **F¹** || litora feruere *Non. 503.21* || flammis **c** 568 si
 theis **a** || attegerit **a** 569 eia **o** || uiarum **r** || motabile **z** 570 feminae **d** || fatis **γ corr.** **γ¹** ||
 factus **e** || iammiscuit **F**, *corr.* **F¹**, inmiscuit **Ppj** 571 tum] tum de **c** || uero *om.* **v** exterritis **r**
 573 consedite **FMrtv**, *corr.* **F¹M²** || trastris **F corr.** **F¹** || *Conte incipit orationem Aeneae a uigilate.*
 575 funes **Fpchijor** 576 instimulat(?) **F in ras.**, stimulat **Mω**, *Seru., Ribbeck et Sabbadini* 577
 ouantis **F** 578 ubes **F**, *corr.* **F¹**, iubes **p** || funes **wzγ¹** 579 feras] eras **F**, *corr.* **F¹**, feres **r** || ripit
γ || *corr.* **γ¹** || ense **p** 580 ferit] fecit **e** 581 omnem **p** omnes **bjrtx**

age, in all ways similar to Mercury, in voice and hue, in golden locks and decorous, youthful limbs; once more he seemed to admonish him: "Goddess-born, can you sleep in the midst of such a disaster? Do you neither see the dangers that surround you next, insane man, nor hear the favoring breezes blowing? She, determined to die, in her heart ponders deception and dire wrong, and rouses the variable surges of her wrath. Won't you flee from here quickly, while there is opportunity for hasty flight? Soon you will see the ocean strewn with planks, fierce torches on fire, and soon you will see the shores teeming with flames, if dawn's light will have touched upon you tarrying in these lands. Come on, stop delaying. A woman is always a fickle and mutable thing." So he spoke and dissolved into the black night.

Then Aeneas, truly frightened by the sudden shade, tears himself from sleep and urges on his comrades: "Wake up, men, and quickly take your seats at the benches; unfurl the sails swiftly! Behold, a god, sent from high heaven yet again urges us to hasten flight and cut the twisted ropes. We follow you, holy among the gods, whoever you are, and again triumphant we obey your command. O, may you be near and favorably give us aid and by your right hand bring us favorable stars in the sky!" He spoke and, extracting his gleaming sword from its sheath, he strikes the cables with the drawn blade. The same desire takes hold of them all at the same moment; they grab their things and go. They desert the shore; the sea hides beneath the ships; with great effort they churn the froth and sweep across the sea-blue waters.

And now first Dawn, leaving behind the saffron couch of Tithonus, began sprinkling the lands with new light. When the queen from her watchtower first saw dawn's light growing white and the fleet going forth with convex sails, and realized that the shores and harbors were deserted, without rowers, she smote

adnixa torquent spumas et caerula uerrunt.
 Et iam prima nouo spargebat lumine terras
 585 Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile.
 regina e speculis ut primum albescere lucem
 uidit et arquatis classem procedere uelis,
 litoraue et uacuos sensit sine remige portus,
 terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum
 590 flauentisque abscissa comas: "pro Iuppiter! ibit
 hic," ait "et nostris inluserit aduena regnis?
 non arma expedient totaque ex urbe sequentur
 diripientque rates alii naualibus? ite,
 ferte citi flammis, date tela, impellite remos!
 595 quid loquor? aut ubi sum? quae mentem insania mutat?
 infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt?
 tum decuit, cum scepra dabas. en dextra fidesque
 quem secum patrios aiunt portare penates,
 quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem!
 600 non potui abreptum diuellere corpus et undis
 spargere? non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro
 Ascanium patriisque epulandum ponere mensis?
 uerum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna. fuisset:
 quem metui moritura? faces in castra tulissem
 605 implessemque foros flammis natumque patremque
 cum genere extinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem.
 Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras,
 tuque harum interpres curarum et conscia Iuno

583 annixa o || spumans Mi corr. M¹ 584–646 MPp. – 584–585 = *Aen.* 9.459f. *ergo suspectos a Peerlkamp* 584 noua e 585 Tithoni c || croceum a || cubilae av 586 regine a || e om. a || spaeculis p || ut] cum bdhikwxyz || primam Ppaefjrvγ, *Ribbeck ac Mynors* 587 et om. p, add. p¹ || aequatis MSS et edd.; *accipimus* arquatis ex *Hermann non sine quodam incerto* || classen y 588 remige a || pontus M corr. M¹ 590 flauentesque c || flauentis oy || abscisa P, abscisa pγω (*praeter dw*), corr. γ¹ || comas abscisa p, ord. rest. p¹ comis n 591 hinc rec. || illuserit b || inluserat *Dosith. GLKVII* 388.8 593 diripientque a 594 ferte P corr. P¹ || flammis] ferrum γ¹, *Diom.* 448.9, *Prisc. XVII*.9 (*sed flammis XVII*.171); cf. *Aen.* 9.37 || impellite Mvy, incendite p 595 loqor r || motat o 596 nun P corr. P¹, nuc b, num *Probus* 154.26, *Cledon.* 67.9 || fata ekxy 597 tunc Paertvγ, *Prisc.* cum scepra] concepra c 598 aiunt M⁷ aiunt patrios hxy || portasse M, *DSeru.*, portarese p || hiberna penatis P || poenates ae paenates v || uers. om. j, add. in marg. j¹ 599 subisse pbhrxy || umeras M, umero P, umeros p corr. M¹P²p¹ 600 abreptum c arrepti o || deuellere Paetvγ, corr. γ¹ 601 spargeretis z || possum x || adsumere v 602 patrisque γ corr. γ¹ 603 pugna b 605 inplessemque P implesemque γ corr. γ¹ || foras p corr. p¹ || natuque p corr. p¹ 606 extinxem MPpabdiort extinsem h extinxissem v 608 quae c || arum cyγ, corr. γ¹ || concia γ corr. γ¹

her lovely breast with her hand three and four times, and having torn at her blond hair, said, "By Jupiter, will this man go? Will he, a foreigner, have made a mockery of our realms? Will they not fetch their arms and come out of the whole city, and others rip their ships from the docks? Go, quickly bring fire, present arms, drive on the oars! What am I saying? or where am I? What madness warps my mind? Unlucky Dido, do impious deeds touch you now? It was fitting then when you were offering him ruling power. Look! The right hand and pledge of him who, so they say, carries with him the gods of his fatherland, who carried on his shoulders his father worn out with age! Could I not have torn apart his body that had been rescued from the sea and scattered it on the waves? Could I not have put his companions, even Ascanius himself, to the sword and placed him upon his father's table as a feast? But the fortune of battle was uncertain. If only it had been; whom did I, about to die, fear? If only I had carried torches against his camp, filled his decks with flames, destroyed both son and father together with their whole race, and, beyond this, made a sacrifice of myself. O Sun, you who pass over all the works of the lands with your flames, and you, Juno, broker and witness of these sorrows, and Hecate, you who are

- nocturnisque Hecate triuuis ululata per urbes
 610 et Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae,
 accipite haec, meritumque malis aduertite numen
 et nostras audite preces. si tangere portus
 infandum caput ac terris adnare necesse est,
 et sic fata Iouis poscunt, hic terminus haeret:
 615 at bello audacis populi uexatus et armis,
 finibus extorris, complexu auulsus Iuli
 auxilium imploret uideatque indigna suorum
 funera; nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquae
 tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur,
 620 sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena.
 haec precor, hanc uocem extremam cum sanguine fundo.
 tum uos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum
 exercete odiis, cinerique haec mittite nostro
 munera. nullus amor populis nec foedera sunt.
 625 exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor,
 qui face Dardanos ferroque sequare colonos,
 nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore uires.
 litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
 imprecor, arma armis: pugnent ipsique nepotesque.”
 630 Haec ait, et partis animum uersabat in omnis,
 inuisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem.
 tum breuiter Barcen nutricem adfata Sychaei,
 namque suam patria antiqua cinis ater habebat:
 “Annam, cara mihi nutrix, huc siste sororem:
 635 dic corpus properet fluuiali spargere lympha
 et pecudes secum et monstrata piacula ducat.

609 haecate **MPbrtvγ**, *corr.* **M**², echatae **o** || ulata **c** uluta **y** 610 et] nec *DSeru. Aen. 12.538* ||
 dire **by**, dii **Ppaehjortvγ**¹, *Seru.* || aelisae **r** elissae **rγ** 611 auertite **y** || nomen **p** 612 praeces
ar || 613 || **ac**] et *Seru. Aen. 6.16* || annare **o** || necessesit **M** 614 sic *om.* **x** || haeraet **p** || erit
h 615 et **Mbz**, *corr.* **M**¹ || ad **p** 616 extorres **i** || complexu **P**, conspectu *Non. 15.2* || auulsus
MPγ 617 implorēt **M** *corr.* **M**¹, inploret **Pγ** 619 aut] atque **z** || obtata **v** || fluatur **r** 620
 in mediaque **c**, inhmatus **r** || harenae **p** 621 praecor **Mai**, *corr.* **M**² || fondo **h** 622 oos *in* uos
corr. **p**¹ 623 hodiis **o** || cinerique **P** *corr.* **P**² || unostro **P** *corr.* **P**² 624 nullis **yi** || ne **x** 625
 exoriar **p** || exorare **i** || ultro **r** 626 qua **z** || dardaneos **p** *corr.* **p**¹ || sequere **b** secare **v** 627
 dabant **j** 629 inpraecor **a** || ipsique] ‘-que’ *del.* **P**², *om.* **dγ** || nepotesque] -que *om.* **P**^x**dvwy**
 630 agit **crtv** || partes **bdhijtxyz** || omnes **aiγ**¹ 631 luce **a** 632 tunc **i** || breuite **p** *corr.* **p**¹ ||
 barcem **jz** || est *post* sychaei *add.* **M**^{1c} 633 suam sua **p** || patriam **P** *corr.* **P**¹ || abebat **γ** 634
 arnam **M** *corr.* **M**¹ || animam **a** || cari **i** 635 fluuali **ph** || lympha **a** 636 ducit **n**

howled at by night at city crossroads, and you, avenging Furies, and you, gods of dying Elissa, accept these things, and turn your worthy divine attention to evil, and hear my prayers. If it is necessary that his accursed head come to port and he swim ashore, and thus the fates of Jove demand, this is his deeply clinging boundary stone: but may he be vexed by war and by the weapons of a bold people, driven from his borders, and pulled from lulus' embrace, may he beg for help and behold the unworthy funerals of his own people; nor, after submitting to the terms of an unfair peace, may he enjoy his kingdom or the life he hoped for, but let him fall before his time and remain unburied in the sand. These things do I pray, this final utterance do I pour forth with my blood. Then you, O Tyrians, vex his offspring and his entire future race with hatred, and send these actions as offerings to my ashes. There shall be no love between these peoples, no treaties. You, some avenger, arise from my bones to pursue the Dardanian settlers with fire and sword, now or once upon a time, or at whatever time power will present itself. I pray shores be opposed to shores, waters to waves, arms to arms: may they do battle, both they themselves and their grandchildren, as well."

Having said all this, she kept turning her mind in all directions, seeking to break off, as soon as possible, her hated life. Then she briefly addressed Barce, the nurse of Sychaeus, for black ash held her own nurse in her ancient land: "O nurse, dear to me, have Anna, my sister, come here. Tell her to hurry and sprinkle her body with river water, and to bring with her the cattle and animals

sic ueniat, tuque ipsa pia tege tempora uitta.
 sacra Ioui Stygio, quae rite incepta parauit,
 perficere est animus finemque imponere curis
 640 Dardaniique rogum capitis permittere flammae.”
 sic ait. illa gradum studio celerabat anili.
 at trepida et coeptis immanibus effera Dido,
 sanguineam uoluens aciem, maculisque trementis
 interfusa genas et pallida morte futura,
 645 interiora domus irumpit limina et altos
 conscendit furibunda rogos ensemque recludit
 Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus.
 hic, postquam Iliacas uestes notumque cubile
 conspexit, paulum lacrimis et mente morata
 650 incubuitque toro dixitque nouissima uerba:
 “dulces exuuiae, dum fata deusque sinebat,
 accipite hanc animam meque his exsoluite curis.
 uixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi,
 et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.
 655 urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia uidi,
 ulta uirum poenas inimico a fratre recepi:
 felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum
 numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae!”
 dixit, et os inpressa toro “moriemur inultae,
 660 sed moriamur” ait; “sic, sic iuuat ire sub umbras.
 hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto

637 uetta γ corr. γ^1 || tempora **b** 638 stycio **p** || parabam *Macrob.* 3.3.2 639 perficerest **P ω**
 (*praeter paixy*) || inponere **MPpabivxy γ** 640 flammis **M** 641 celebrabat **M¹P γ rt Sabbadini**
et Geymonat, “at illa studiose gradum celebrans” *Apul. Imitat. in met.* 6.14 || anilem **p ω γ^1 , Sabbadini;**
Geymonat || inilem **P**, inili **P²** cf. *Funaioli, Studi di lett. ant.* 2.1, 1947, 378 642 offere **a** 643
 saguinem **r** || maculosque **w** || trementes **j** 644 *u. in marg. x* || genus **r** || pallida] pallida pro
v 645 irumpit **o** || limine **r** 646 radus **P**, gradus **P¹ γ** , corr. γ^1 , *DSeru.* || reclusit γ , corr. γ^1
 647–650 **MPp Π ₁₀** – 648 poscam **c** || noctumque **M corr. M¹** 649 conspexi **r** 651–660
FMPp. – 651 fota **a** || sinebant **FP²p γ ω** (*praeter bn*), *Macrob.* 4.6.10; *dum fata deusque sine-*
bant C.L.L. XI.ii.2 7476 652 soluite **z** absolute **c** 653 uix **F corr. F¹** || peregi **F corr. F¹** 654
hunc u. post 655 transposuit Peerlkamp || nunc] non *Char.* 235.29 (*ex ligatura*) || meis **M corr. M¹,**
Char. || mei]ei **y** || iret *Char.* || 655f. *inuerso ordine habet f, transposuit Peerlkamp* 655 hunc
u. post 656 habent fg || uerbum **y** || perclaram **M corr. M²** || stattui **P corr. P²** 656 ulta] uita
M || inimica **iz** || a *om. dhijnrtwx* || *Poenos Burmann*, “*alii haec [u. 655f.] quasi per interroga-*
tionem,” *Seru.* 659 hos **av γ** || moriamur **b** 660 set **M** || ait] et **F corr. F¹** || si sic **a γ** , corr. ||
iubat M, uolat Char. 235.27 || iuuat ire] iualere **F corr. F¹** 661–682 **FMPp Π ₁₅** – 661 auriat
 Π ₁₅ || nunc *Tib. Aen.* 4.380 (*sed hunc ad locum*) || credelis **r**

marked for expiation. Let her come in this way, and you, too, cover your temples with a pious fillet. My intention is to fulfill the rites to Stygian Jove, which I have ritually begun, to put an end to my cares, and to give the pyre of that Dardanian leader over to the flames." So she spoke. The nurse was hastening her step with an old lady's zeal.

But, trembling and wild because of her enormous undertakings, rolling her bloodshot eyes, her quivering cheeks infused with blotches, and pallid because of her impending death, Dido bursts into the interior rooms of the house, in her rage ascends the high pyre and unsheathes the Dardanian sword, a gift intended for no such use. Here, after she beheld the Ilian clothing and the familiar bed, having delayed briefly in her tears and intention, she lay upon the couch and spoke her final words: "O spoils, sweet while the fates and the god allowed, receive my spirit and release me from these cares. I have lived and I have completed the course that Fortune gave me; and now a great image of me will go beneath the earth. I established a noble city, I looked upon my own walls, I avenged my husband, I exacted punishment from my hostile brother, I would have been happy, alas too happy, if only the Dardanian ships had never touched our shores!" She spoke, and having pressed her lips upon the couch, she said, "I will die unavenged, but let me die! Thus, thus it is pleasing to go to the shades below. Let the cruel Dardanian with his eyes deeply drink in this fire, and carry

Dardanus et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis.”
 dixerat, atque illam media inter talia ferro
 conlapsam aspiciunt comites, ensemque cruore
 665 spumantem sparsasque manus. it clamor ad alta
 atria: concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem.
 lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu
 tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether,
 non aliter quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis
 670 Karthago aut antiqua Tyros, flammaeque furentes
 culmina perque hominum uoluantur perque deorum.
 Audiit exanimis trepidoque exterrita cursu
 unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis
 per medios ruit ac morientem nomine clamat:
 675 “hoc illud, germana, fuit? me fraude petebas?
 hoc rogos iste mihi, hoc ignes araeque parabant?
 quid primum deserta querar? comitemne sororem
 spreuisti moriens? eadem me ad fata uocasses,
 idem ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset!
 680 his etiam struxi manibus patriosque uocau
 uoce deos, sic te ut posita, crudelis, abessem?
 exstincti te meque, soror, populumque patresque
 Sidonios urbemque tuam. date uulnera lymphis
 abluam et, extremus si quis super halitus errat,
 685 ore legam.” sic fata gradus euaserat altos,

662 dardanius n secum nostrae M, ord. rest. M², *pristinam lectionem reduxit* M^x || omnia abc-
 djnyγ || homina h 663 adque F, ast p || illa Fa, corr. F¹ 664 conlapsam FMP || cruorem
 rt 665 sparsas h || et FM, corr. M¹, Tib., id P, iit Π₁₅ || ad]at P, ab Π₁₅ 666 concussa γ,
 corr. γ¹, concusam r || bachatur pd baccatur h 667 cumgenitu M, gemituque M¹ || femine P,
 o add. P¹ || ululato MΠ₁₅, corr. M¹ 668 tremunt F corr. F¹ || resonant i || resonat plangoribus
 Arus. 505.15, clangoribus Pabhiev (cf. Aen. 2.487; 6.561) 669 alter F corr. F¹ || immissa F, corr.
 F¹, immissis Ppabcdhjrvxy Π₁₅ || ruit P corr. P² 670 u. post 677 F corr. F¹ || tyrus ahovw tirus ||
 o furentis ty 671 perque] per qua p corr. p¹ || uolantur M corr. M¹ || uoluuntur PΠ₁₅acdhwγ¹,
 corr. P¹ || uoluentur a uoluntur j ut uid. 672 trepido (sine ‘-que’) aγ, corr. γ¹ 674 clamat]
 clumae F, corr. F¹ 675 frude P 676 isti M corr. M³ || arae om. F add. F¹ 677 priamum
 M corr. M¹ || quaerar Fp, queras ny, corr. F¹γ¹ || comitemque γ¹ || sorore M corr. M¹ 678
 spraeuisti Fb || adem M, corr. M¹, aadem b || ad] a M corr. M¹ || affata x 679 fero F corr.
 F¹ || adque Fpav || aadem t || ora Pvγ || tullisset p corr. p¹ 680 extruxi i 681 positam
 Mb, corr. M² 682 extinxiti P extinxiti M, quod in extinxit mut. M³, extincti pb, Char. 278.19,
 extinxi ωγ, om. Π₁₅ || me teque Diom., DSeru. meque] me quae a 683–686 FMPp Π₁₀Π₁₅. –
 683 uers. omittitur o || uolnera FM om. Π₁₅ 684 et om. P, Tib., Sabbadini, add. P², perit
 in Π₁₀Π₁₅ || extremum p || alitus abhijortvxyγ || erret hjnxy 685 sic effata z, DSeru. ad u.
 646–686 || semianimamque p || gerammam F corr. F¹ || tenebat p, fouebat p¹

with him the omens of my death." She spoke, and even in the middle of speech her attendants watch her collapse and see the sword, foaming with gore, and her blood-soaked hands. A clamor goes up to the lofty atrium; Rumor runs riot, like a maenad, through the shaken city. The halls roar with laments, groaning and women's wailing, and the air resounds with great lamentation, not unlike the way the whole of Carthage or ancient Tyre might fall once the enemy had infiltrated them, and raging flames would roll over the rooftops of men and gods.

Her distraught sister heard the disturbance and, terrified, rushed through their midst and, defiling her face with her nails and her chest with her fists, she calls the dying woman by name. "Was this what you were up to, sister? Were you seeking me out by deception? Was that pyre preparing all this for me, as were also the altars and fires? Deserted, what should I complain about first? Did you spurn your sister from being your partner in your death? If only you had called me to the same fate; the same pain and the same hour would have taken us both by his sword. Did I build this pyre with these hands, and did I call on the gods of our fathers with my voice so that, I might not be present when you, O cruel one, laid yourself down on it? You have extinguished yourself and me, O sister, and the people, the Sidonian fathers, and your city! Grant that I wash her wounds with water and take in my mouth whatever last breath wanders above her!" Having spoken, she went up the high steps, and, after embracing

semianimemque sinu germanam amplexa fouebat
 cum gemitu atque atros siccabat ueste cruores.
 illa grauis oculos conata attollere rursus
 deficit; infixum stridit sub pectore uulnus.
 690 ter sese attollens cubitoque adnixa leuauit,
 ter reuoluta toro est oculisque errantibus alto
 quaesiuit caelo lucem ingemuitque reperta.
 Tum Iuno omnipotens longum miserata dolorem
 difficilisque obitus Irim demisit Olympo
 695 quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus.
 nam quia nec fato merita nec morte peribat,
 sed misera ante diem subitoque accensa furore,
 nondum illi flauum Proserpina uertice crinem
 abstulerat Stygioque caput damnauerat Orco.
 700 ergo Iris croceis per caelum roscida pinnis
 mille trahens uarios aduerso sole colores
 deuolat et supra caput adstitit. "hunc ego Diti
 sacrum iussa fero teque isto corpore soluo."
 sic ait et dextra crinem secat. omnis et una
 705 dilapsus calor atque in uentos uita recessit.

687–688 **FMPp** Π₁₅ – 687 atros **P** || siccabat *ex* iccabat **P**¹ 688 graues **c** || adtollere **v**
 689–705 **MPp** Π₁₅ – 689 defecit **Mγ**¹, *corr.* **M**³ || stridet **bcdero**, *Tib.*, stridens **w** || uulnus **FP**,
om. Π₁₅ 690 attollit et **P**, attollit **P**¹, attollens **P**², adtollens **i**, *om.* Π₁₅ || cubitumque **acehvw** cubi-
 toque **b** || innixa **dhjwxz**, *Auson. cento 128*, annixa **o** || leuabit **Mγ**, *corr.* **M**¹γ¹, laeuauit Π₁₅ 691
 reuolata **γ** *corr.* γ¹ || torost **P** || erantibus **a** 692 quaesiuiit **P** || ingenuit **a** || repertam **MP**²ωγ;
cf. Aen. 6.718 693 tunc **y**, *Seru.* || omnipudens **c** || dolore **M** *corr.* **M**² 694 difficilesque **av** ||
 dimisit **cdgwγ** (*corr.* γ¹), *Tib.*, demittit **t**, dimittit *Seru.* || olympo **hx** olimpho **t** 695 nexae-
 que Π₁₅ || absolueret **c** || artos **p** 696 quea **P** *corr.* **P**² || ne **b** || merito **c** || peribit Π₁₅ 698
 necdum **Piγ** || flauom **FPpγ**Π₁₀ || a uertice **ix** || crine **M** *corr.* **M**¹ 699 dampnauerat **o** 700
 crocaeis **Mb**, *corr.* **M**²b¹ || per] ad *Tib.* || poscida *in* roscida *corr.* **P**, poscida *Tib.* || pennis **abdhi-**
jovwxy 701 aduersa luce **pdwz**; *cf. Aen. 5.89* 702 suppra **P** *corr.* **P**² || astitit **MPpov**, *corr.* **M**²,
om. Π₁₅ || huic Π₁₅ 704 crimen **j** || sequat Π₁₅ 705 delapsus **M**, dilapsus **M**³ || color **bi** ||
P. VERGILI MARONIS AENEIDOS IIII EXPL. M, AENEIDOS LIB. IIII P, EPPL (LIB. IIII) Π₁₅

her almost-dead sister, tended to her with a groan and staunched the dark gore with her dress. Having tried to lift her heavy eyes, again she fails, and the deep wound whistles beneath her breast. Lifting herself three times, she propped herself upon her elbow; three times she rolled back on the couch and sought the light in the deep sky with her wandering eyes, and, when she found it, she groaned.

Then all-powerful Juno, pitying her long grief and difficult death, sent Iris down from Olympus to free her struggling soul and fettered limbs. For inasmuch as she was perishing neither justly by fate nor by a death she deserved but prematurely as a wretch and one ablaze with a sudden madness, Proserpina had not yet taken from her head the blond lock and condemned her head to Stygian Orcus. Therefore dewy Iris, drawing a thousand hints of color from the sun opposite her, flies down through the sky on saffron wings and stops just above her head. "Under orders, I bring this sacred offering to Dis, and release you from your body." So she speaks, and she cuts the hair with her right hand, and the warmth slipped away altogether, and life receded into the winds.



Ruins at Carthage, May 2019. Photo credit of Elizabeth P. Knowlton.

Commentary

1–30 The queen is consumed with her growing passion for Aeneas; insomnia and the inability to focus on much else beyond her infatuation plague her. Soon after dawn she seeks the counsel of her sister Anna, noting that she had promised to maintain strict faith to her husband Sychaeus after his untimely death.

1 At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura

The book opens with a verse marked by a striking economy of expression, as the poet transitions (*At*) to introduce its key character (*regina*), whose crisis is both serious (*gravi ... saucia cura*) and of long duration (*iamdudum*); Pease notes the analysis of the *Diff. Serm. (Anec. Helv. 276* Keil and Hagen): “inveniuntur tamen initia quae natura sui carent et speciem principii habent, ut ‘at regina ... cura.’” Cf. Quinn 1968, 136 (“Book 1 has ensured that the fact of Dido’s love comes as no surprise, two lines suffice to assert her smouldering passion”). For the chiasmic arrangement see Gildenhard *ad loc.*; for the marked assonance of this and the next four lines, Pease. Virgil’s studied simplicity has occasioned a vast outpouring of critical commentary; if we can agree with Clausen 2002, 211–212 that Dido is fairly young (perhaps not much more than twenty years of age), then the pathos that is palpably present in this verse and throughout her story is all the more intense. The author of the *Hist. Apoll. Regis Tyri* (18.19 Schmeling) quotes “regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura” as part of his description of Antiochus’ daughter’s interest in Apollonius—a good example of the enduring popularity of certain Virgilian tags (on the “reverence for Virgil” in such borrowings, see Schmeling *ad Petronius, Sat. 132.1–2*). Vellius Longus (*De Orthographia* 69.22 Keil) cites this verse as an example of the conjunction *at* vs. the preposition *ad*; cf. the playful *iamdudum saucia cura deserit pudorem* of Terentianus Maurus (*De Litt. ... 1843* Keil; he also quotes “at regina gravi saucia cura” at 1950). A queen wounded by a serious love: the timeless story embarks on its inevitable course. “Never was there such a whirlwind of passion as Virgil raised on those African shores, amid those rising citadels and departing sails” (Walter Savage Landor). A marked contrast from the *quievit* with which Book 3 closed (cf. e.g. Wagner here, followed by Forbiger, etc.).

At regina: The three-act tragedy commences (cf. 296; 504; vid. Newman and Newman 2005, 121–122; cf. Farrell 2021, 172–176). The conjunction introduces a change of subject (*OLD s.v. 2*); this is the first mention of Dido since 1.749 ff. (“con valore avversativo”—Buscaroli). *Regina* echoes the queen’s first advent at 1.496; for her epithets cf. Moseley 1926, 22–23; Klause 1993, 85. Aeneas’ long nar-

rative has been replete with emotional heights and dramatic episodes; the little conjunction is powerful in its effect, as the poet returns the audience's focus to the queen whose tragedy and its consequence for Rome will merit its own book; there is a strong, implicit contrast between the emotional import of the contents of Books 2–3 and how all of that is comparatively insignificant for Dido in light of her worsening state of infatuation. *Regina* for an Augustan Age audience would recall Cleopatra before all (especially given Dido's African locale): Carthage, Medea, and Cleopatra converge to pose a triple terror. Book 4 closes the first third of the poem; Books 8 and 12 (set in Italy) both will commence with the Rutulian Turnus, who at 12.4–9 will be compared to a wounded lion in Punic fields, in direct evocation of the opening of Book 4 with its wounded Punic *regina*. *At regina* recurs also at 12.54 (of Amata); for this “first of several near-quotations of the Dido episode” in that passage see Tarrant *ad loc.* Austin highlights the contrast between Aeneas' past sufferings (Books 2–3) and Dido's all too present reality (Book 4). For how the queen will dominate this book (189 lines of speech vs. 35 for Aeneas, e.g.), see Mackie 1988, 77.

gravi: One of Virgil's more overworked adjectives, here as part of a frame (with *cura*) around words that describe both Dido's state of being (*saucia*) and its duration (*iamdudum*). Not just any care, but a grave one; the reader can guess from the start that the patient will not survive the wound. For Servius, the queen's care was *gravis* precisely because of her royal status (“quia contra dignitatem amor susceptus gravior esse solet”): what happens to queens is of graver import than the loves of mere commoners. On Dido as Cleopatra see especially now P.M. Astorino, “Dido como alusión a Cleopatra en la *Eneida*,” in *Myrtia* 35 (2020), 275–292 (with full bibliography); cf. Weeda 2015, 120ff.

iamdudum: 10× in the epic (cf. 362 below; also 2.103; 362; 5.27; 513; 8.153; 9.186; 11.836; 12.217); cf. Terence, *Eun.* 448–449 (with Barsby *ad loc.*). Of “a state or action which has already been going on for a long time” (Tilly). For its use with an adjective see Adema 2019, 51 n. 11. The adverb refers principally to the long duration of Aeneas' story at Dido's banquet, which occupied Books 2–3; during the narration of both Troy's fall and the subsequent westward wandering of the Trojans, Carthage's queen has been thoroughly smitten by her guest; Cupid's work (1.715 ff.) has been all too successful. Cf. 1.749 *infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem*, where the queen's love is already long; Servius recalls the “love at first sight” description of 1.613 *Obstipuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido*, noting that one could debate whether the queen's love started with her first glimpse of Aeneas; or after Cupid had worked his amatory magic; or once the hero's story had commenced (cf. the analysis of Tib.: “accendebatur [sc., Didonis animus] magis recordatione loquentis ...”). Dido had lost Sychaeus

some time ago (relatively speaking); it is Aeneas, however, who now dominates her emotions, though not yet, we might think, to the complete exclusion of his predecessor (cf. 20 ff.).

For criticism of Virgil's word choice here see Crump 1920, 58–59 n. 3: “awkward” in her estimation because one night only has passed (though she admits that the problem is not a serious one given the length of the relation of the story in Books 2–3).

saucia: So also of the wounded bull to which Laocoön is compared (2.223); the doomed Trojan prince Polites (2.529); Silvia's deer (7.500); the serpent to which Venulus is compared (11.753); the lion to which Turnus is compared (12.5); the Rutulian Saces (12.652); Aeneas (12.762)—half of the Virgilian occurrences describe injured animals. For medical metaphors in amatory contexts cf. *E.* 8.89 *talis amor teneat, nec sit mihi cura mederi*; 10.60 ... *tamquam haec sit nostri medicina furoris*. Before Aeneas' tale began Dido's passion was described in language appropriate to banqueters at a feast (1.749, a metaphorical version of Dido's drinking feat of 1.728 ff.); now medical imagery is employed as the wound of love grows more serious (cf. 35 below). For Dido, Aeneas' long narrative has served only to increase her passion. The drinking metaphor has been succeeded by a medical one, with reference to the queen's *vulnus amoris* (cf. below on 66 ff.); one might be tempted to consider the similar progression from a bibulous Cleopatra to one felled ultimately by a (self-inflicted) wound (for Cleopatra's alleged fondness for drink, vid. Nisbet and Hubbard, and Mayer, *ad* Horace, c. 1.37.12; Heyworth and Morwood on Propertius, c. 3.11.56). The opening of the book anticipates its close, where Dido's metaphorical wound will be all too real in the context of her suicide. Tragic Ennius lurks here (fr. 216 Jocelyn *Medea aegro animo saevo saucia*); also Catullus' Ariadne (c. 64.250 *multiplices animoolvebat saucia curas*); see further on this Binder 2019 *ad loc.* The “wound of love” figures also in Lucretius (*DRN* 4.1048 *idque petit corpus, unde mens saucia amore*), where see Brown; cf. Ovid, *Am.* 2.1.7–8 (with McKeown); also Lucius Pomponius Bononiensis, *Fab. Atell.* fr. 18 Ribbeck ... *me amore saucavit*. Within one verse, then, Virgil has evoked the analysis of love in another “Book 4,” i.e., Lucretius' poetic musing on the hazards of amatory passion, and he has recalled both Ennius' Medea and Catullus' Ariadne, key antecedents for his Dido (on Dido's tragic antecedent Medea vid. further C. Collard, “Medea and Dido,” in *Prometheus* 1 (1975), 131–151). For how *saucia* is part of the Didonic vocabulary of “doom and death,” see Newman and Newman 2005, 123.

cura: Vid. P. Fedeli in *EV* I, 961–962; Rocca 1983, 165–166. Cf. 5 below. Of the solicitude or anxiety of a lover (*OLD* s.v. 5). “Love-sickness” (Tilly). Another favorite Virgilian word (133×), of diverse applications. The singular noun emphasizes the singularity of Dido's fixation; for the more common plural in ama-

tory contexts see Austin *ad loc.* The theme of the cares/anxieties brought by love is also mentioned near the start of Apollonius, *Arg.* 3 (cf. 3.4–5). No invocation of Erato at the start of *Aen.* 4, in contrast to *Arg.* 3; Virgil would reserve that tribute to his Hellenistic predecessor for *Aen.* 7 (*Aen.* 1–6; 7–12 paralleling the pattern of *Arg.* 1–2; 3–4), with Lavinia as the *objet d’amour* that occasions a war. *Cura* here is alliteratively supplemented by 2 ... *caeco carpitur*. For *cura* as that which *cor urit* (cf. the line-end of 2), see O’Hara 2017, 150; also Hardie 1986, 183 (especially n. 232), with association of the destructive flames of Dido’s pyre at the close of Book 4 with the “figurative fire of Paris’ love” for Helen that led to the flames that consumed Troy (*Aen.* 3 opens with similar flame imagery); Paschalis 1997, 149; De Melo on Varro, *DLL* 6.46. The word is simple and all too common in Virgil, and yet its very range of possible meanings conveys something of the impossibility of effective communication *in fine* between Dido and Aeneas; on this see further Hightet 1972, 73.

saucia cura: “Rather strange words in Vergil’s manner” (Sidgwick).

With this verse cf. the “sub nomine Ovidii” scholiastic summary “Uritur in quarto Dido, flammasque fatetur. At regina gravi Veneris iam carpitur igni.” The *Pentasticha de XII libris Aen.* has “Ardet amore gravi Dido, soror Anna suadet / Nubere.”

2 vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni.

A verse of effective, balanced and contrasting (soft/hard) alliteration (*vulnus/venis, caeco/carpitur*) that expands on the medical metaphor of its predecessor, even as it adds the theme of the “flame of love” that presages the all too real fire of the queen’s pyre that Aeneas will glimpse as he leaves Dido’s Carthage (cf. 5.3–4). The “soft” nourishing of the wound leads to the “hard” consuming by fire; the “blind fire” is the *occultus ignis* of 1.688. There is balanced contrast between Dido’s active role in her situation (*alit*), and her passive part in light of the efforts of Venus and Cupid (*carpitur*); already from the start Virgil underscores the moral theology problem of where to ascribe blame for the queen’s actions. Wound and flame frame the line. “Even an ordinary wound produces inflammation; how much more a wound inflicted by Cupid’s red-hot arrow!” (Henry, himself a medical doctor). The author of the *Ciris* imitated the compelling imagery (163 *Quae simul ac venis hausit sitientibus ignem*, where see Lyne). Note also 209 below, of the “blind fires” of Jovian lightning.

alit: Cf. 38 below. The verb is not particularly common in the epic; 1× each in Books 5 (231); 6 (726); 8 (318); 11 (71); participially at 3.50 *alendum*. Dido is literally infused with her passion; she will also be eaten away by the metaphorical fire that consumes her. The verb would normally imply a healing, caring

action; paradoxically, the only soothing that Dido practices serves to aid her wound rather than to retard its progress.

vulnus: Cf. Lyne 1989, 179–181: “Love-wound leads to death-wound.” The book will be framed by wounds, as already the eighth-century scribe of Paris p perceptively noticed. Alliteratively placed after 1 *gravi*; the *gravis cura* with which the queen was said to be wounded is now revealed to be a wound that she nurtures in her own veins. Wound imagery figures also in the opening of Book 4 of Ovid’s *Fasti*, which is marked by verbal echoes of the start of *Aen.* 4 (cf. 3 ff., where see Fantham); for Virgil’s employment of the metaphor here note especially Lyne 1987, 120 ff. Dido’s shade in the underworld will appear *recens a vulnere* (6.450).

venis: On Virgilian veins see Negri 1984, 229–234. There may be an allusion to the snake venom that entered Cleopatra’s veins; the emphasis on Dido’s own action (*alut*) may further point to this contemporary allusion to another queen’s suicide. This is the only reference in the epic to anatomical veins; cf. 6.7 and *G.* 1.135. Venom or poison in the veins works invisibly. Austin (so also Tilly, and O’Hara) takes the ablative as instrumental (following Henry, who sees a parallel to Sophocles, *Phil.* 313 for the notion of feeding something with one’s very flesh); better is Pease’s locative use (especially if there is an implicit reference to Cleopatra’s suicide); so also Negri. MacLennan (perhaps wisely) sees no reason to distinguish between the uses. Love runs through the veins like blood (as Servius saw). For etymological connections with *venenum* and *Venus* see O’Hara 2017, 150.

caeco ... igni: Cf. 23 below. The burning wound of Apollonius, *Arg.* 3.280–287 (cf. Clausen 1987, 41). Lucretian, and from his own book of love (*DRN* 4.926–928 ... *cinere ut multa latet obrutus ignis, / unde reconflari sensus per membra repente / possit, ut ex igni caeco consurgere flamma?*). The “blind fire” effectively envelops the verb that describes its destructive action. *carpitur*: Cf. 32 below; also the rather different 522 and 555; of the four uses of the verb in Book 4, two are with reference to Dido’s consuming passion, and two of the taking of sleep, with each pair arranged with almost the same number of lines between them—an effective balance. Lucan imitates this passage (*BC* 9.741–742 *ecce, subit virus tacitum, carpitque medullas / ignis edax calidaque incendit viscera tabe*, of snakebite—cf. the possible allusion here to Cleopatra’s suicide). Virgil’s line-end is borrowed by Ovid (*Met.* 3.489–490 ... *sic attenuatus amore / liquitur et tecto paulatim carpitur igni*, of Echo); cf. *Met.* 10.369–370 ... *at virgo Cinyreia pervigil igni / carpitur* (of Myrrha). Lucan also has *carpitur et lentum Magnus destillat in ignem / tabe fovens bustum* (*BC* 8.777–778), of the grisly burning of Pompey’s corpse. Henry perceptively notes that the fire is still smoldering and not yet in full vigor; perhaps there is, as yet, still time for correction and healing.

On how the fire referenced here distantly presages the avenging, retributory fire of Jupiter's thunderbolt, see the insightful analysis of Adler 2003, 108.

Significantly, *carpere* is the verb used by the Sibyl to describe what Aeneas should do with the Golden Bough (6.146 *carpe manu*; cf. 210 *corripit Aeneas* for what he actually does, and Fratantuono 2007 on the Bough's consequent hesitation).

The "blindness" of Dido's fire is richly connotative. The flames and their attendant smoke serve to blind the queen; the fire is also invisible and thus cannot be seen. It cannot see in that it cannot perceive the inevitable outcome of the passion. See further Tilly's perceptive note here. The metaphor of the flame of love could not be more commonplace; every lover, of course, feels that no one else has ever experienced quite so intense a passion. Cf. too Lucretius, *DRN* 4.1120, where it is the wound of love itself that is said to be blind. For a connection between the fire that consumes Dido and the fires of Etna from Book 3, see Newman and Newman 2005, 73.

Virgil's Dido here is in a situation not dissimilar to that of his bull at *G.* 3.215–216 *carpit enim vires paulatim uritque videndo | femina*, with appropriate gender reversal.

3 *multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat*

Seneca cites this verse (*Ep. Mor.* 102.30.6) in a rather different sense, to illustrate the enduring immortality of the hero. For how the memory of Aeneas lingers in Dido's mind see Seider 2013, 111. On the rhythm of the line, "which should be read with second- and fourth-foot caesurae," see Quinn 1968, 137 n. 1.

multa ... multus: With emphasis on the intensity of Dido's emotions and her increasingly obsessive state of mind. We may recall the *multum ille et terribis iactatus et alto | vi superum ... | multa quoque et bello passus* of 1.3–5; cf. also 1.749–750. The polyptoton reflects the length of Aeneas' story. Aeneas' heroic valor was not meant to engender passion in a Carthaginian queen; Dido's emotions—instigated by Cupid or not—do not serve to redound to Aeneas' glory. For *multa* with *virtus* cf. Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 14.23. *Multa* can stand for *magna* (as Servius notes); it reflects too the number of Aeneas' deeds. For the adverbial use of the adjectives see Butler, and Maclennan *ad loc.*

viri virtus: The alliteration continues, here in a markedly different context: the "virtue of the man" is replete with the image of heroic glory. Aeneas' heroic valor (as evidenced in his account in Books 2–3 of his actions during the fall of Troy and the journey to Hesperia) has occasioned Dido's passion; implicit in the detail is the question of just how infatuated Dido should be with someone who, for example, had not managed to rescue his wife from Troy's fiery end. Cf. the *conscia virtus* of 5.455. Virgil subtly suggests to the reader that Aeneas' actions

as self-described in Books 2–3 should be interpreted in light of how Dido as prime audience would interpret them; on how Dido is in love with the Aeneas of the Trojan past, see Di Cesare 1974, 14. On *vir* Austin notes “here the noun has its full force”: all the emphasis is on heroism (at least in the queen’s estimation). For *vir* vid. R. Laurenti, *EV* v, 549–553 (564–568 for the same author’s essay on *virtus*). Vid. Klause 1993, 27 ff. for the periphrastic use of the noun. Virgil deliberately recalls the sentiments of the opening of Book 1 as he commences the start of the last book of the epic’s first third; the contrast in contexts is powerful. For the etymological figure of *vir* *virtus* note O’Hara 2017, 127. For Dido’s praise of Aeneas’ qualities as reflective of criteria for choosing a spouse, see Treggiari 1991, 87.

Servius interpreted Dido’s behavior (or at least Virgil’s interpretation thereof) as duplicitous: “*simulat enim se virtutem mirari, cuius pulchritudine com-movetur.*” Such an analysis would accord with any potentially uncomfortable answers to the question of whether Dido should be infatuated with the self-described hero of Books 2–3. Nelis 2001, 130–131 n. 26 highlights how Virgil adds the qualities of Aeneas’ *virtus* and the *honos* of his Trojan *gens* (4.4) to the Apollonian description of Medea’s reasons for being enamored of Jason; cf. Cairns 1989, 43.

animo: For the *animus* as the “*sede dei sentimentii*,” see Negri 1984, 120 ff. Mentally, Dido is processing the ostensible reasons for the fiery wound that is being nourished in her veins; verses 2–3 effectively localize and conflate the mental and physical aspects of amatory passion. Cf. on 15 below.

recursat: *OLD* s.v. 2; likely a Virgilian neologism in the sense of mental recurrence (the literal, physical sense already Plautine). Also at 1.662, where Venus is pondering the risks to her son in north Africa, just before she decides to employ Cupid against Dido (*urit atrox Iuno, et sub noctem cura recursat*)—the goddess of love suffers many of the same problems as the royal victim of her son Amor. At 12.801–802 *ne te tantus edit tacitam dolor et mihi curae / saepe tuo dulci tristes ex ore recursent* similar language and imagery is used by Jupiter with reference to Juno’s emotions. With *animo ... recursat* cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.78.5 *recursabant animo vetera omina* (with Ash); cf. Statius, *Theb.* 1.316; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 6.555. The frequentative verb fits perfectly with Dido’s insomniac misery and increasing obsession. Seneca uses the verb of Medea (385, where see Boyle).

4 **gentis honos; haerent infixi pectore vultus**

The language recalls the state of the disguised Aeneas when Dido first made her entrance (1.495 *dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno*, of the hero’s viewing of the pictures in Dido’s temple); cf. Latinus at 7.249 ff. Some things recur repeatedly to the mind; others cling fixed in the heart. Hunting imagery will

be a key part of the depiction of the lovelorn Dido; see further here Nelis 2001, 125 ff.; Cairns 1989, 142 for the elegiac topos. For how the image of Aeneas stays fixed in Dido, note also the analysis of Lotito 2008, 39 ff.

gentis honos: Powerful enjambment of another key sentiment: Dido is fascinated by Aeneas' noble lineage. Cf. the imitation at *Laus Pisonis* 11; also Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.514–515; 8.458. For *honos* see A. Fo in *EV* III, 854–855; the noun is common in the epic (60×). *Honos* is the archaic form of the nominative; for its avoidance by Horace, Ovid, and the Silver prose authors see Austin's note, and cf. Statius, *Theb.* 6.127–128; Pliny Minor, *Pan.* 69.4.3. Dido had known of Aeneas' noble lineage (cf. 1.617–618): the Trojan hero brings a socially acceptable pedigree to Carthage's royal palace, both on his own account (especially via his divine ancestry), and in light of the glory of Priam's admittedly now fallen and scattered race. For the significance of both *gens* and *honos* in Roman political culture, see Gildenhard *ad loc.* One of Dido's many problems is that she is struck by the honor of a race that will ultimately sink down in light of the final settlement reached by Jupiter and Juno regarding the *sermo/mores* of the future Rome (12.830 ff.). Williams *ad loc.* highlights how Dido thinks here like a queen, taking note as she does of Aeneas' *gentis honos*. Cf. also on 12 ... *genus esse deorum*. We may compare here 458 below, of a very different reference to honor with respect to Dido's reverence for her deceased husband.

haerent: Cf. 73 below (of the shaft that fatally wounds the deer); 280 (of Aeneas' voice, stuck in his throat); 445 (of the immovable oak to which Aeneas is compared in the face of Dido's entreaties); 614 ... *hic terminus haeret* (during Dido's imprecation). The description of Dido here recalls how earlier she had clung to the disguised Cupid (1.717 ff.); cf. 1.717 *pectore toto* there with *pectore* in this verse.

infixi: Echoed at 689 ... *infixum stridit sub pectore vulnus*, of Dido's fatal wound: a grim and compelling ring of doomed obsession. Cf. also 15 *fixum* below. There may be an echo here of Cicero's *infixus animo haeret dolor* (*Phil.* 2.64.5, where see Ramsey *ad loc.*); cf. *Tusc. Disp.* 4.50.5 (of a literal sword infixed in the chest). For the metaphorical use of the verb see Clausen 1987, 41. The image of the transfixed heart will return in the deer simile of 68–73.

pectore: Dido's *pectus* is literally framed by the *infixi* ... *vultus* that pierces it. For the localization of the emotion vid. Negri 1984, 202–210. With *pectore* here cf. 11 below, of Aeneas' own chest that impresses the amorous queen. The image of the pierced chest recalls too the gory fate of the Lesser Ajax at 1.44–45; cf. 9.698–700; cf. also Seneca, *Ag.* 722–723 ... *recede, Phoebe, iam non sum tua, / extingue flammam pectori infixam meo* (with Boyle); Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 15.382. For *pectore* in pointed contrast with 3 *animo*, see Quinn 1968, 137.

vultus: Effectively expanding on the *vulnus* that opened verse 2; it is Aeneas' *vultus*, ultimately, that has captivated the queen. *In fine* there is something of an ascending tricolon of exactly what has smitten Dido: Aeneas' *virtus*; his *gentis honos*; his *vultus*—and, not least, also the *verba* (5) that have expounded on the first two elements of her passion, even as the hero's physical appearance seduces her as she has gazed on him while he recounted his story. For the noun see A. Cavarzere in *EV* v, 620–621. The state of Dido's physical infatuation with Aeneas has appreciably worsened since 1.613 *Obstipuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido*. The plural reflects the comprehensiveness of the noun: it includes primarily Aeneas' physical appearance, and the related charm of how he speaks and conducts himself. “She has an image in her thoughts of every detail of his features and his appearance” (Tilly). For how *vultus* contrasts with 2 *caeco*, see Paschalis 1997, 149.

The line-end here is borrowed from the very different *E.* 1.62–63 *aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim, | quam nostro illius labatur pectore vultus*; it does not recur in extant verse.

5 **verbaque nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.**

The language of this line is imitated at 10.217 *Aeneas neque enim membris dat cura quietem*, of Aeneas on his nocturnal river journey (where see Harrison *ad loc.*). The verse is framed by words that express opposite sentiments. For how sleep is supposed to remove care from the body cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 4.907–908. “It is characteristic of Virgil that he does not elaborate the picture of Dido's sleeplessness” (Austin). Tib. notes that Virgil implicitly contrasts the sleepless Dido with the carefree Aeneas who is taking his repose. Cf. Agamemnon's similar insomnia at the start of Homer, *Il.* 10; the rather different instance of Athena's activity while Odysseus slumbers that opens *Od.* 6. “Il libro di Didone è veramente il notturno canto di Virgilio” (Puccioni 1985, 107).

verbaque: Alliterative with 4 *vultus*, and closely coordinated: the *verba*, after all, are emitted from the *vultus*. The specific reference is to the long narrative of Books 2–3.

nec ... dat: For how the action of *cura* is not “nec dat” but rather “et non-dat” see Hahn 1930, 61 n. 262. There may be an inherent irony in *nec ... dat cura* given the semantic connection of Dido's name to “giving” (*do, dare*): her cares do not give the giver rest. Cf. here Paschalis 1997, 150.

placidam ... quietem: Lucretian (*DRN* 1.463; cf. the similar 6.73–74). Atacine Varro has *omnia noctis erant placida composita quiete* (fr. 8.2 Morel = 10.2 Courtney), from the poet's *Argonautae*, in imitation of Apollonius, *Arg.* 3.749–751; on this see especially Reed 2007, 61. The language here directly echoes Virgil's description of how Venus sent Ascanius away to slumber to make way for her

son's amatory intervention with Dido (1.691–692 at *Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem / inrigat*). The collocation will recur in the ominous context of the loss of Palinurus (another example of the consequences of Venus' interventions): cf. 5.836–837; also 848–849. The doomed Nisus suffers a similar restless insomnia at 9.187; he will find his rest at 445 ... *placidaque ibi demum morte quievit*, in reminiscence of Dido (cf. Reed 2007, 81). Cf. also Ps.-V., *Ciris* 343 (with Lyne); Horace, *Carm. Saec.* 46 (with Thomas); Ovid, *Met.* 9.469 (with Bömer); *Fast.* 1.205 (with Green); 6.331 (with Littlewood); Seneca, *Ag.* 60 (with Boyle; note also 592); Ps.-Seneca, *Oct.* 717–718; Statius, *Silv.* 2.2.140; Martial, *Spect.* 4.1. Dido's insomnia will recur as a theme at 521 ff. The queen has *quies*, but the quiet is not placid (as Servius observed). The *placida quies* that Dido does not possess nevertheless frames the *membra* that are racked by *cura*. Venus describes the Trojan Antenor with *nunc placida compostus pace quiescit* at 1.249.

cura: Underscoring the *cura* of 1. For the ring composition see MacLennan's note. Not personified to the degree of Horace's *Cura* at c. 3.40, though the sentiment is not entirely dissimilar. Austin considers the possibility that the present *cura* encompasses a more general, wider sense of worry than that of 1. "Amor viewed from the dark side" (Henry).

quietem: Rather different than the *prima quies* of 1.723 (at the banquet); cf. 2.268 (where the ghost of Hector appeared to Aeneas). Turnus is restful at 7.413–414 ... *tectis hic Turnus in altis / iam mediam nigra carpebat nocte quietem*, just before the baleful advent of the disguised Allecto.

The line-end here will be effectively echoed at 379 below. Just as Dido cannot sleep in the aftermath of Aeneas' long story, so she will be unable to rest at 80 ff., after the Trojan hero recites his epic tale again.

6 postera Phoebæa lustrabat lampade terras

The commencement of a Virgilian dawn passage; on this easily hackneyed topos vid. S. Fasce in *EV* 1, 418 ff.; A. Keith, "The Dawn in Vergil," in *Studies in Philology* xxii (1925), 518–521; L. Walker, "Virgil's Descriptive Art," in *CJ* xxiv (1929), 667 ff.; Fratantuono 2013, 297–315. Virgilian dawns emulate the sobriety of Homeric diction; attempts to indulge in novel expressions of the end of night/coming of morning date to *Hym. Herm.* 97–100 (on which see Thomas *ad loc.*). Dawn recurs for the fateful hunt that will be the locus of the consummation of Aeneas' and Dido's union (129), and for the morning of the queen's suicide (583–585). The present verse is closely paralleled at 7.148–149 *Postera cum prima lustrabat lampade terras / orta dies*, of the first morning the Trojans experience in Italy (where the alteration removes the names of Phoebus Apollo and Aurora from the description), and echoes 3.588–589 (see on 7 below). Cf. the imitation of *Ilias Latina* 870 *Luna cava et nitida lustraret lampade caelum*.

A conventional enough description of the passage of time, which does serve to highlight the subtle and important place of Phoebus Apollo in the book. On dawn and night expressions see especially Moskalew 1982, 66 ff. For the place of this dawn in the chronology of the epic note Mandra 1934, 151 ff.; cf. the comments of Pease on 6 *postera*. As often with such temporal markers, the implicit emphasis is on how the world of nature continues its work on a plane removed from mortal cares. Only Book 11 (the book of Dido's comparand Camilla) will commence with a dawn formula, indeed one purposefully borrowed from the fateful hunt of the present book (see below on 129). Homer, *Od.* 5 opens too with a dawn formula; Homer's Calypso offers another antecedent for Virgil's Dido. The present description is indebted perhaps to Cicero, *Arat.* 237 Soubiran and Lucretius, *DRN* 5.693; see further here Wigodsky 1972, 110–111. For this day as the start of the “third day in Libya,” see Nelis 2001, 174–175.

postera: Alliterative with *Phoebea*; Paratore comments on the *hysteron proteron* (perhaps serving to express the queen's impatience for the dawn to come). *Postera* of Aurora also at 3.588–589; *Ilias Latina* 635; Ovid, *Met.* 4.81; 7.100; 835; 15.665; *Fasti* 3.711; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.423; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 10.525. Virgil may have had Homer, *Il.* 1.477 in mind here.

Phoebea: The adjective occurs in Virgil only here and at 3.637 *Argolici clipei aut Phoebeae lampadis instar*, where the eye of the Cyclops is said to be as big as the sun. Lucretian (*DRN* 2.505); cf., e.g., Ovid, *Met.* 2.544 (with Bömer); *Fasti* 3.827 (with Heyworth); *Trist.* 4.2.51; Lucan, *BC* 3.103; 182; 5.170; 9.965. Aeneas will be compared to Apollo during the aforementioned hunt (142–150), just as Dido was associated with Diana (1.498–504). For Apollo in Virgil see A.G. McKay in *EV* 1, 220–222; J.F. Miller in *VE* 1, 100–101; Miller 2009; Bailey 1935, 163–172; W. Unte, “Die Gestalt Apollos im Handlungsablauf von Vergils *Aeneis*,” in *Gymnasium* 101 (1994), 204–257; Fratantuono 2017, 169–198.

lustrabat: For the (here inceptive) verb see A. Palma in *EV* III, 297–290. Alliterative with *lampade*. The word has received high praise from critics: “one of the most beautiful and most untranslatable in the language” (Fowler 1919, 96 ff., cited by Austin). MacLennan sees a reference here to Dido's shame in the verb's hint at the notion of purification (in this case, of the pollution incurred by the queen's longing for Aeneas); cf. Gildenhard's analysis of the suggestion *ad loc.*, with emphasis on how the coming of light reveals the secrets of the night to a more public audience. “... ursprünglich für die kultische Handlung von Reinigung und Sühnung gebraucht ...” (Binder 2019, 281). Butler *ad loc.* also sees a reference to purification.

lampade: Besides in the present passage; 3.637; and 7.148; the noun is also used at 6.587 (the crazed Salmoneus is depicted as *lampada quassans*); and of Turnus at 9.535 *princeps ardentem coniecit lampada Turnus*—an ominous par-

allel for the Rutulian.

“How many of the *Aeneid*’s dawns serve to shed light on disaster!” (Newman and Newman 2005, 158).

7 **umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram,**

The verse is a doublet of 3.589, where it occurs as part of the introduction of the Achamenides passage; for so-called epic repetitions in the style of Homer see Sparrow 1931, 79 ff. The *umentem ... umbram* frames the verse, in effective hyperbaton (cf. Binder 2019, 281). The related dawns of Books 3, 4, and 7 all have grim aftermaths: the loss of Anchises; the doomed love of Dido and Aeneas; the war in Italy.

umentemque: For the participle cf. 7.763–764. On the “etymological gloss” on *umbra* see Heyworth and Morwood on 3.588–590. The elision neatly enacts the dampness. Paratore perceptively sees an allusion to the no doubt lachrymose Dido.

Aurora: On the goddess note Fratantuono in *VE* 1, 158; Bailey 1935, 186 ff.; Pötscher 1977, 121. Conington reassures the distressed: “Aurora’ is virtually equivalent to the rising sun, so that we need not ask why the goddess of the dawn has the torch of the god of day in her hand.” Virgil’s point is to highlight Phoebus, whose association with Aeneas later in the book will be key to the hero’s depiction in conjunction with Dido-Diana: this is a veritable day of Apollo for Dido, with the same grim consequences *in fine* as there were for Cleopatra at Actium. For how Virgil blends the roles of Aurora, Lucifer, and Sol, see Keith 1925, 518. Given the context of Dido’s lovelorn insomnia one might wonder if there is a reference here to the goddess’ own well-attested troubles in love (sc., with Tithonus).

polo: Synecdoche; separative ablative.

dimoverat: Cf. 5.839–840 *cum levis aetheriis delapsus Somnus ab astris | aëra dimovit tenebrosum et dispulit umbras*; 9.645–646 *... spirantis dimovet auras | Ascaniumque petit* (of Apollo); 11.210 *tertia lux gelidam caelo dimoverat umbram*. Here as if “of the flinging back and parting of a great curtain” (Austin).

umbram: Vid. A.M. Negri Rosio in *EV* v, 378–384. Shadows figure also in the Virgilian dawns of 3.588 ff. and 11.210; the Book 11 context is funereal (and so the shadow is appropriately “chill”), while here Dido’s end is distantly presaged. Cf. on 25–26, where the conventional enough shade of this fateful dawn is echoed in the very different shades of Dido’s underworld musings.

8 **cum sic unanimam adloquitur male sana sororem:**

Dido's sister Anna is introduced obliquely, as the poet recalls the language and scene of the opening of Sophocles' *Antigone*. Dido is also obliquely introduced as the subject (as she is not mentioned), and Aurora would be the more "natural" subject for *adloquitur*. Virgil pulls the reader away from the lovely image of the dawn sharply by not actually mentioning Dido specifically, using her sisterhood as a way both to introduce Anna in the sororial role, and Dido as the unexpressed subject of the sentence. For the "metrical picture of urgency" at play in this verse—elision at the end of the second foot, with no third-foot caesura—see Austin's note, also Dainotti 2015, 159. From a narrative perspective the urgency is enacted by the sudden appearance of the hitherto unmentioned sibling. It would be natural to rise from sleep with the dawn; for the insomniac Dido, dawn brings the moment when she can approach her sister at last (cf. Tib.'s perceptive note).

cum: Preferable to *tum* of the Romanus; the *cum*-inversum construction juxtaposes the divine action with the mortal. For the stylistic effect see Dainotti 2015, 83 n. 274.

unanimam: For this key adjective see R. Stratti in *EV* v, 387–389. The spelling is confused in the manuscripts, in part because it makes little difference if we read nominative *unanimus* or *unanimis* (as Servius noted); for Wagner the question was solely one of euphony. The (neoteric/Catullan) adjective is not common in Virgil (it occurs often in argentine epic); cf. 7.335 (of the power of Allecto to divide *unanimos fratres*); 12.264 (Tolumnius calling on the Rutulians to attack as a man). We learn first of the sister's singularity of mind with her sibling, and then of Dido's less than sane state. The elision with the verb of speaking enacts the close bond. The sisters are united, though their fundamentally different states draw them apart (a topos borrowed from Sophocles' depiction of Antigone and Ismene, on which see Griffiths, and Jebb, *ad Ant.* 1); On this tragic allusion note also T.B. DeGraff, "Antigone and Dido," in *The Classical World* 25 (1932), 148–150, and see on 492–493 below. O'Hara *ad loc.* explores the question of what the adjective means in light of Anna's dismissal of Dido's concerns, with the likely ramification that we are not to believe that the *male sana* Dido really believes them. Henry compares the *concordes animae* of 6.828.

adloquitur: Cf. 222 and 226 below.

male sana: Rarely does the poet invest so brief an expression with such intense psychological import (Gildenhard *ad loc.* neatly schematizes the seemingly ineffable). Cf. the Ovidian imitations at *Ars* 3.713–714 (of Procris), with Gibson's note; *Met.* 4.521; 9.600. We know all that we need to know of Dido's mental state as she shares her thoughts with her sister at the break of day. The colloquial usage of *male*—elevated here to high poetry—serves in part to indi-

cate the tedious, all too common nature of Dido's infatuation: it is a tired old story, made tired in part because every lover thinks her or his love is novel. For the possibility that *male* should be taken both with *adloquitur* and with *sana* see Pease, citing the reading of Bell 1923, 293. MacLennan identifies a hint of understatement. On how Dido is transformed from an admirable leader of her people to a lovesick, indeed mad woman see A. Keith, "Tandem Venit Amor: A Roman Woman Speaks of Love," in Hallett and Skinner 1997, 297–299.

sororem: Establishing the key element in the relationship between Dido and Anna, and in formal imitation of Apollonius' presentation of Medea's sister Chalciope; the noun will be echoed at once as Dido commences her early morning address (9). The queen's sister has not been mentioned thus far: her status as a sibling is of a higher register of importance than her name. For the sororial relationship note Fratantuono 2020, with reference to the somewhat parallel case of Camilla and Acca. Alliterative with *sana*: Dido may be the crazy one, but her seemingly rational sister may share too in something of her state of mental ill-health. Dido's sister will serve the additional narrative function of the nurse from Attic tragedy (especially that of Euripides' *Medea*). Austin characterizes her *ad loc.* as "... a very credible person, loving, honest, obedient, not very clever, with a real personality of her own ..."; cf. Clausen's "... a practical woman of limited intelligence" (2002, 78); also Cartault 1926, 304: "Anna n'est pas héroïque, mais elle est clairvoyante des choses de la vie."

The "Ovidian" scholiast continues his summation of the book: "Consulitur soror Anna: placet succumbere amori."

9 "Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent!"

The beginning of Dido's first reported speech in the book (cf. Hight 1972, 109–112; Adler 2003, 109–111), the only one she delivers in the first third of the book (Monti 1981, 103 n. 3). The verse is marked by textual and interpretive difficulties that relate to Dido's state at the outset of the book, and to the nature of her emotional distress. "Didos Liebe hat zunächst einen Kampf mit dem Pflichtgefühl zu bestehen: diesen Kampf und den Sieg der Liebe stellt uns das Zwiegespräch mit der Schwester vor Augen" (Heinze 1915, 125).

Anna: On Dido's sister in Virgil note M. Mello in *EV* 1, 178–183; S. Casali in *VE* 1, 89–90; E. Swallow, "Anna Soror," in *The Classical Weekly* 44.10 (1951), 145–150 (with sober, helpful analysis of all the relevant passages); G.S. West, "Vergil's Helpful Sisters: Anna and Juturna in the *Aeneid*," in *Vergilius* 25 (1979), 10–19; Clausen 1987, 42–43; Nelis 2001, 136–146 (especially helpful on the Apollonian Chalciope parallel); Newman and Newman 2005, 193–194; Brescia 2012; Fratantuono 2020. Anna is presented as if she were a veritable nurse from Attic tragedy, a reinvention of Euripides' depiction of the nurse of Medea, or of Phae-

dra (vid. here Buscaroli *ad loc.*; Farron 1993, 92). For the evocation of the stock character of the male companion who advises his lovelorn friend in New Comedy, see Newman and Newman 2005, 193. The name will be repeated at 20.

soror: Echoed in turn at 31 ... *o luce magis dilecta soror*. On the juxtaposition of the familial appellation with the name, Tib. notes that Virgil thus employs both the common and the specific identities of this new character.

quae: With *insomnia*, neatly framing *me suspensam*.

suspensam: In one sense Dido is in this state because she has been waiting for the coming of the dawn so as to allow her to share her misery with her confidante. Proleptic, in the sense that the queen does not know the outcome or portent of the nightmares that terrify her (cf. MacLennan's good note here). At 17 below Dido will add another element of self-description in *deceptam* (with reference to Sychaeus' abandonment of her in death).

insomnia terrent: For Dido's *insomnia* see Steiner 1952, 44–46; cf. T. Kakridis, "Didonis insomnia," in *Hermes* 45 (1910), 463–465; R.J. Getty, "Insomnia in the Lexica," in *The American Journal of Philology* 54 (1933), 1–28; Knight 1944, 201; Highet 1972, 109–112; O'Hara 2017, 151. "Dido's dreams are fraught with anxiety (4.9, 4.65–68), and no god appears in them" (L.T. Percy in *VE* I, 384). The only other occurrence of this (neuter, plural, as Pease definitively demonstrated) noun in Virgil comes at 6.896 *sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes*, of the dreams that are sent via the Ivory Gate in the underworld. At 9.167, the adjective *insomnis* describes the last, fateful night of the Rutulians who will be slain during the night raid of Nisus and Euryalus. Austin interprets the *insomnia* here as those dreams or visions that occur "between sleeping and waking," the nocturnal images that have prevented her from securing *placida quies* (5); cf. *OLD* s.v. 2. Tilly *silet*; Goldenhard emphasizes the blurred reality occasioned by that which is glimpsed between restlessness and a half-awake state. O'Hara underscores the reminiscence of Apollonius, *Arg.* 3.636, where Medea notes the dire dreams that plague her. On how we never learn the content of these dreams, see Nelis 2001, 136. Given the uncertainty of the content of the dreams, it is impossible to render a definitive verdict as to whether they are false or true as per the rubrics of *Aen.* 6; given the outcome of the love affair, however, one can guess. Dreams beg interpretation; in *suspensam* Virgil neatly sums up how these dreams remain to be resolved, though the import is clear (*terrent*). With *terrent* here cf. 353 *terret* below, also of a nocturnal apparition. There is one relevant dream that we know Dido had experienced; cf. 1.353–354, where Venus relates to Aeneas how the ghost of the slain, unburied Sychaeus appeared to his widow.

The quantity of the verb is in question; Servius notes "et *terret* et *terrent* legitur; sed si *terret* ..., *insomnia* erit *vigilia*," i.e., *insomnia* ("sleeplessness") would

be a feminine singular, a noun that Servius labels archaic (Pacuvian; Ennian; also Plautine; see further Barsby on Terence, *Eun.* 219). Can young Carthaginian queens be expected to speak archaic Latin?

Dido had not found rest in the long night, and now we learn the further detail that the hours have been filled with frightening images; the queen has already endured her own hour of the wolf, as it were, and the tragedy is only commencing. Dido has also been characterized as *male sana*; we should not expect either her dreams or her resultant anxiety to submit to rational analysis.

10 quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes,

More marked alliteration (*novus/nostris; successit/sedibus; also hic/hospes*).

quis ... hospes: Aeneas has consumed Dido's thoughts for some time now, and fittingly this new guest literally frames the verse. The guest has taken over the inn, as it were; we would naturally expect the protective framing to come from the *nostrae sedes*. How quickly we move from the world of nightmares to the image of Aeneas the *novus hospes*. The present verse is indebted to Catullus, c. 64.175–176 *nec malus haec celans dulci crudelia forma | consilia in nostris requiesset sedibus hospes*, where the abandoned Ariadne complains about Theseus (vid. here Hight 1972, 220).

quis: For *quis* where we would have expected *qui*, cf. 98 *sed quis erit modus*. “Where *quis* is used adjectivally it approaches in meaning to *qualis*” (Tilly, following Servius). *Quis* here is paralleled by 11 *quem*.

novus: Possibly with political undertones in the context of republican Rome (cf. *novus homo*). The adjective has a rich palette of meanings; Aeneas is “strange” in the sense that for once *post mortem Sychaei*, a man has managed to captivate Dido; he is “new” in the literal sense that he only just recently arrived in Carthage: his arrival has been portentous on many levels. For the adjective with *hospes* cf. Statius, *Silv.* 1.5.60; 3.2.123; also Seneca, *Dial.* 9.11.10.5. In historical allegory Aeneas is to Antony as the murdered Sychaeus is to Caesar, with Dido as Cleopatra.

hic: With deictic force, though Aeneas is not present with Dido and her sister; the demonstrative underscores just how powerfully he looms even in his absence. Cf. 13 *ille*.

nostris ... sedibus: Cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 5.153–154. *Nostris* is an unremarkable plural, though one might recall the tradition that it was Anna and not Dido with whom Aeneas had his dalliance. The noun will be echoed in 15 *sederet*.

successit: Cf. 1.627 *quare agite, o tectis, iuvenes, succedite nostris* (Dido to Aeneas and the Trojans) and 8.123 *nostris succede penatibus hospes* (Pallas to Aeneas). On the implications of the Dido-Pallas parallel see Gildenhard *ad loc.* Here the prefix may carry a note of the element of surprise: Dido was not

expecting Aeneas to find a path both to the literal *sedes* of her palace, and to the interior seat of her heart.

hospes: Cf. on 323–324, where Dido will reflect on the implications of this appellation. Dido had used this label of Aeneas at 1.753 as she invited him to commence his speech; she had also invoked Jupiter in his specific capacity as giver of laws governing hospitality and the treatment of guests (1.731). Elsewhere in the epic the term is used of Acestes (5.63; 630); of Aeneas as a guest of Evander and Pallas (8.123; 188; 364; 463); of Argus (8.346); of Turnus (8.493); of Evander (8.532). The storied guest-friend relationship, then, is very different in the context of Books 5 and 8; Dido's hospitality for Aeneas is fraught with complications of a sort not found in Sicily and central Italy. Anna will soon enough urge her sister to receive the *novus hospes in hospitium* (51). For the topos see R.K. Gibson, "Aeneas as *hospes* in Vergil, *Aeneid* 1 and 4," in *CQ* 49.1 (1999), 184–202.

"This newe Troyan is so in my thought" (Chaucer).

11 quem sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis!

An entire verse of Dido's remarks is devoted to her fixation on Aeneas' appearance; we have moved from one line on her frightening dreams to the arrival of the *novus hospes* and now to his physical charms. See further Schauer 2007, 184–185. Not an easy verse to render into acceptable poetic English; there is something of an element of excitement here, as Dido reflects on a key element of her passion. Aeneas' physical appearance seems to Dido to incarnate the content of his story from Books 2–3; the present verse follows closely on the end of 4, where "*pectore vultus*" powerfully juxtaposed the effect of Aeneas' visage on Dido's heart; now the *pectus* is Aeneas', and it comes as part of her indulgence in praise of his body. We may be reminded in this passage of Ilioneus' introduction of Aeneas to Dido at 1.545 ... *nec bello maior et armis*, where Aeneas had not yet been glimpsed by the queen, and where the Trojan spokesman certainly was speaking of Aeneas' prowess in battle. Dido will return to a focus on Aeneas' valor at 13–14.

quem: Following on 10 *quis*. "The Graecising use of the interrog. pron. in a participial clause should be noticed" (Stephenson). There is a nice balance too of *quem* with *quam*.

sese ... ferens: The same language of Dido as Diana at 1.503–504; cf. 327–330 below, and see further Gildenhard *ad loc.* The phrase *ore ferens* appears in Horace in a rather homelier context (*Serm.* 2.6.85); cf. Ovid, *Met.* 11.272.

ore: The first element of what may be a tricolon focused on Aeneas' body (*ore ... pectore ... armis*), though each word can also be used metaphorically; for *ore* of speech as well as of appearance see O'Hara.

quam: Easily enough corrupted to *quem* in the uncorrected transcription of F.

forti pectore: Ablative of quality (as also *armis*). For *pectus* cf. Negri 1984, 204, 257, 259, 288. Here most probably of Aeneas' chest and not metaphorically of his courage or valor, though the two ideas shade easily enough into one. The phrase is borrowed from Catullus, c. 64.339 ... *forti pectore notus* (of Achilles); cf. Horace, *ep.* 1.14; Ovid, *Met.* 2.754; Seneca, *HF* 186. For Servius the *pectus* refers to Aeneas' "patientia," and the *armis* to his "fortitudo." We may note the similar sentiments of 8.150–151. Wakefield preferred *fortis*.

armis: A famous ambiguity: from *arma* or *armus*? For how *arma* can convey associations of physicality and even sexuality, see Newman and Newman 2005, 59; 143. Vid. further D. Raven, "A Note on Vergil, *Aen.* IV 9–14," in *Acta Classica* 18 (1975), 147–148; Fratantuono 2017b (with consideration of the possible significance of Ilioneus' remarks at Latinus' court about those who have had experience of Aeneas: 7.235 *sive fide seu quis bello est expertus et armis*, where *fide* and perhaps *armis* too allude to Dido's experience of the Trojan hero); also O'Hara 2017, 151. Henry vigorously argued in favor of Dido making a reference here to Aeneas' broad shoulders; Austin accepts the conclusion, at least, of his case. O'Hara and MacLennan see the possibility of deliberate ambiguity; Gildenhard admits the possibility of imagining *armus* here, but sees allusions to 1.1, following Pease (cf. Sidgwick's similar caution; Tilly's too). For Page, the arguments of Henry display "perverse ingenuity," as if Dido were appraising a horse (*armus* is usually employed of animals; cf. the similar collocation of *pectus* and *armi* at Columella, *RR* 6.1.3.5); horse/draught animal imagery, however, is employed at 16 to describe the marital bond the widowed Dido had resolved not to contract. Papillon and Haigh settle on *arma*; so also Gould and Whiteley. Other votes for *armus* can be mustered from Wagner, Ladewig, Forbiger, and Conington; for *arma*, Gossrau, Benoist, and Buscaroli. Paratore is silent. Butler accepts the ambiguity, citing Tennyson's *Geraint and Enid* "O noble breast and O all-puissant arms." Williams argues that in cases of ambiguity, one more naturally takes the easier option. Of Dido's three ablatives, we move from the least ambiguous (*ore*) to the vaguer (*pectore*) to the problematic (*armis*). The case of *Aen.* 11.640 ff. illustrates that Virgil was well aware of the possibilities of contrasting *arma* with *armi* (see further McGill *ad loc.*); we might also compare Dido's own words at 629 below. Dido is impressed enough with Aeneas' lineage and deeds of valor (cf. 3–4), but it is his handsome appearance that has captivated her sexually and obsessively most of all—*vultus*, we might say, before *verba* (cf. 4–5).

The line-end here is imitated by Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.265.

12 credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum.

The language is that of one young woman trying to convince another of the legitimacy of her infatuation. With her mention of *fides* Dido introduces a concept that was often associated in the Roman imagination negatively with the stereotypically untrustworthy, perfidious Carthaginians.

credo: She is correct about Aeneas' divine lineage; there will be little else in the ensuing drama that merits her trust.

equidem: Cf. 45, 330, and 382 below. Most commonly in the first or second position, and often closely associated with the implied *ego* of a first-person verb (as here); all the emphasis is on the queen's personal judgment of her guest. *Equidem* with *credo* is archaic and conversational (Plautus, *Amphit.* 282; *Aul.* 307; *Merc.* 914; *Pseud.* 1302; *Vid.* 44; Terence, *Eun.* 739); also Ciceronian. It is not particularly common in high poetry; cf. *G.* 1.415; *Aen.* 6.848; 10.29; Ovid, *Met.* 15.359; *Fast.* 2.551; 4.793; *Ep.* 4.3.27; Statius, *Theb.* 12.77; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.476. Here it comes (appropriately enough) as part of the intimate register of the language of the lovelorn Dido with her sibling.

nec vana fides: Not without irony given the outcome of the relationship and Dido's appraisal of Aeneas' trustworthiness; on this see further 365–367 below. For *vana fides* cf. Lucan, *BC* 10.219; Statius, *Theb.* 11.215; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.383; 2.167; 5.75; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 14.351. The adjective *vanus* deliberately recalls the *vana spe* of 1.352, of Pygmalion's deception of Dido in the matter of the survival of Sychaeus. For Virgilian *fides* in general see R. Samuels in *VE* 11, 481–482; note also here J.H. Starks, "Fides Aeneia: The Transference of Punic Stereotypes in the *Aeneid*," in *CJ* 94 (1999), 255–283.

genus ... deorum: Cf. the sentiments of Nausicaä at Homer, *Od.* 6.243. An expansion of sorts on 4 *gentis honos*: Dido believes that the handsome Aeneas is the son of the goddess of love. The reference to the gods recalls the role of Venus and Cupid—Aeneas' mother and stepbrother—in the crisis in which Dido finds herself. Dido ascribes a *genus deorum* to Aeneas; the *fides* is her own. The trickery of Venus/Cupid has its relationship to Dido's eventual perception of Aeneas' lack of *fides*. Whether *genus* refers to Aeneas' divine race or to his status as the offspring of the gods is a subtlety of difference that likely did not register with the poet; for Virgilian uses of *genus* to mean "child" see Tilly's note here. The language recalls Dido's words at 1.565–566 *quis genus Aeneadam, quis Troiae nesciat urbem | virtutesque virosque aut tanti incendia belli?* Deiphobe addresses Aeneas at 6.322 as *Anchisa generate, deum certissima proles* (with neatly balanced references to both sides of the hero's family tree). For how in Dido's estimation Aeneas' divine lineage is essentially the same thing as his admirable valor, see Monti 1981, 32. On the preoccupation of a maiden with descent from the gods, cf. Apollonius' Medea at *Arg.* 3.402.

13 **degeneres animos timor arguit. heu, quibus ille**

degeneres: An adjective that in etymology follows easily enough on 12 *genus*. The second of only two uses in Virgil; at 2.549 *degeneremque Neoptolemum narrare memento* it is used of the “degenerate” Neoptolemus as he mocks Priam before his murder, urging him to report in the underworld to Achilles about how far his son has fallen from the heroic ideal set by his storied sire. The word is thus borrowed by Dido from the story she had heard on the previous night, where it was employed in one of the most emotionally arresting of contexts. A back-formation from the related verb (cf. *G.* 1.198; 2.59), possibly coined by Virgil. Williams sees the point as being more about Aeneas’ behavior than the names on his certificate of birth.

animos: For the use vid. Negri 1984, 141; cf. 210 below and 11.732.

timor: An interesting sentiment so soon after 9 *terrent*. The reader might be reminded of the first mention of Aeneas at 1.92, a scene that Dido did not hear about in the hero’s narrative. On Virgilian fear see J. Schafer in *VE* 11, 476. Those descended from the gods should not, in the queen’s estimation, succumb to fear; we know from the start that her argument has its flaws. Gildenhard *ad loc.* has a helpful explication of the “curiously abstract and negative way of making the positive point”; the evocation of Achilles’ Neoptolemus adds to the ominous mood. Dido is engaged in comparison of Aeneas to other figures from his epic recitation of the previous night. She might have done well to remember 2.755 *horror ubique animo, simul ipsa silentia terrent* (Aeneas’ description of his emotions as he left Troy, just before the disappearance of his wife); cf. 3.29–30 (his reaction to the portent at Polydorus’ grave). In contrast, Tib. sees the poet once again at pains to show the virtues of his hero, even in a context where Dido is ignorant of the divine powers at work in her infatuation.

arguit: A second uncommon word; the verb occurs also at 9.281–282 (*Euryalus: me nulla dies tam fortibus ausis / dissimilem arguerit ...*, in echo of this passage) and a striking 3× in Book 11 (164; 384; 393). Most parallel to the present occurrence is 11.383–384 ... *meque timoris / argue tu, Drance* (Turnus at the Latin war council).

heu: The interjection occurs 6× in this book, tied with its uses in Book 6 for the most uses in the epic (cf. 65; 267; 283; 376; 541; 657). Here the sigh introduces an expansion on the notion of Aeneas’ alleged fearlessness, as Dido recalls reasons why the hero should have been afraid—the stories he related were harrowing. “A sigh of admiration and sympathy” (Maclennan). Servius interprets the principal emotion here as “*misericordia*.”

quibus ille: The beginning of a striking reminiscence of the language of 1.3–4. The demonstrative recalls 10 *hic*. The “double interrogative in one sentence” (*quibus*; 14 *quae*) is another Grecism (cf. Stephenson *ad loc.*).

14 **iactatus fatis! quae bella exhausta canebat!**

Dido had heard Aeneas' song of Books 2–3; here it is as if she had also listened to the poet's proem from Book 1—a neat trick of the composer. Dido continues to use the language of rhetorical exclamation (*quae bella ...*). The verse is framed by passive and active forms of verbs that refer to Aeneas. The depth of Dido's infatuation is illustrated in part by the difference in her attitude that may be perceived between the time of the commissioning of the pictures in Juno's temple and Aeneas' banquet recitation.

iactatus fatis: At 1.3–4, the specific causation of Aeneas' being tossed about was credited to the *vis superum*, which is parallel in some aspects to the *fata* of which Dido speaks—though it may also reflect a subtle alteration of the poet's opening, one in which the queen is aware of Aeneas' divine lineage, but not of the role of Venus and Cupid in her own captivation. *Iactatus*: “one of the characteristic expressions of the *Aeneid*” (Pease). If there is *hysteron proteron* here, it is because Dido follows the order of the proem of Book 1; the problem is that there the war comes after the tossing about, while here Dido is unaware of the conflicts of the future. The “tossing about” referenced in *iactatus* refers principally to the long and hazardous sea journey of Book 3 and the storm before the landing in Carthage; for another expression of Dido's thoughts on Aeneas and the sea (in a very different context), see below on 613.

Fatis refers to a vast problem in Virgilian studies, namely the complex, intertwined relationship between fate, the gods, and mortal free will and causation (for a start, see R. Jenkyns in *VE* II, 474–475); here the etymological connection of *fari* works well with *canebat*. One of the principal concerns of the poet with the question of *fata* is the difference between that which is preordained and immutable, and that which is able to be changed (on this see further below *ad* 696).

bella: The *bello* of 1.5 refers to the Latin war, of which neither Dido nor Aeneas knows; in context it looks back to the fall of Troy (Dido still trapped, as it were, in Aeneas' past). The worst is indeed yet to come, not least for Rome in the Punic Wars that will result from Dido's curse on Aeneas' lineage.

exhausta: The metaphor is from drinking, appropriately enough given the setting of Aeneas' epic tale; we may think of Cleopatra's fondness for the bottle (see further below). For the likely original Virgilian use of the participle in this context see Austin's fine note. The verb is rare in Virgil; Dido here echoes Aeneas' own expression of his labors at 1.598 ff. Cf. 9.356 (Nisus warning Euryalus that there has been enough slaughter during the night raid); 10.57 (Venus reflecting at the divine council on Trojan sufferings); 11.256 (Diomedes' recollection to the Latin emissaries of the war at Troy, with direct evocation of this passage in his *bellando exhausta*). “Dido has a point—Aeneas' narra-

tion must have lasted well into the wee hours of the morning” (Gildenhard). “What a draining of war’s cup he told” (Austin). The wars Dido references were “fought out until the enemy was no longer able to fight” (Henry), though here there is some irony in that Aeneas’ side lost. Servius notes that anyone can start a war, but only a few conquer and finish one; again neither condition parallels Aeneas’ experience as a survivor of the losing side. Ovid imitates Virgil with his mention of *exhausta pericula* (*Met.* 12.161, of Hercules’ labors).

The metaphor inherent in *exhausta* is common enough (see, e.g., Gibert on Euripides, *Ion* 927–928); it has special force if it is meant to recall Cleopatra’s bibulousness, not to mention how for Cleopatra and Antony Actium would be its own sea of peril.

canebat: With reference to Aeneas’ recital at the banquet, but with an echo of the first verb of the poem. The tense refers vividly to the ongoing song that occupied so many hours of the night. Not only the content of Aeneas’ recital impressed Dido, but also his virtuoso performance in singing it. Page notes *ad loc.* that the point is “stately utterance” (Butler *seq.*), as opposed to song *per se*, and O’Hara observes that we need not imagine that Dido heard the story of Books 2–3 in hexameters. This is the realm of metapoetry, with Aeneas and Virgil shading into one as singers of tales. MacLennan sees in the verb choice a reflection of Dido’s romanticizing of Aeneas.

15 **si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet**

Dido here introduces what will be a new and crucial element of the problem: her *univira*-like devotion to the dead Sychaeus. There is a small element of suspense, as the subject of the verb of the condition is not revealed until the following line, and we are left wondering for a moment what is “fixed and immovable.” Apollonius’ Medea mused that it would be better for Jason to find an Achaean girl, and for her to focus on her virginity (*Arg.* 3.639 ff.).

mihi: A good example of the ethical dative; 16 *me* underscores the personal reflection, and cf. 24 *sed mihi*.

animo: Following closely on the same noun at 3 above, and also on the *pectore* of the same line that was transfixed. *Animus* here is used with specific reference to the power of the rational mind: this is the beginning of a glimpse of what sanity remains for she who is already *male sana*. What we might label the “mind” and the “heart” are neatly contrasted.

fixum: Of the weapon of the brigand that is fixed in the lion in Punic fields to which Turnus is compared at 12.4 ff.: a careful reminiscence of the present passage. Cf. also the *arma* of Aeneas at 495–496 below. *Fixum* recalls 4 *infixi*, of the impression Aeneas has made on the queen. Gildenhard *ad loc.* (after Henderson *per litt.*) sees an ironic commentary on the etymology of “Dido” as *errans*.

The subtle, effective contrast is between what is *infixi* (i.e., Aeneas' *vultus*) and what is more properly, i.e. appropriately *fixum* for a widow (namely to remain faithful to her husband's memory).

immotum: The same adjective will recur of Aeneas' eyes, unmoving in the face of Dido's entreaties (4.331); also of his stalwart *mens* at 4.449. In a very different context it refers to the *fata* that Jupiter assures his daughter Venus are immovable (1.257). The collocation with *fixum* is imitated by Tacitus at *Ann.* 1.47.1 (of Tiberius). Two adjectives that are of essentially the same meaning: the language of one who wishes to convince herself, or to be dissuaded from that which she has already considered abandoning anyway.

sederet: Echoing 10 *sedibus*. Three words in a row that speak of resolve and unchanging status, with special force so soon after Dido's mention of fate with its implicit problem of what can and cannot be altered. The present contrafactual as Dido expresses her first protasis almost begs the argument that Anna will provide. Cf. Seneca, *HF* 704–705 *immotus aër haeret et pigro sedet / nox atra mundo*. Dido here borrows from language Aeneas used to describe his father Anchises' resolve to stay in the doomed city of Troy (2.660–661 *et sedet hoc animo perituraeque addere Troiae / teque tuosque iuvat*)—not a positive reminiscence. Cf. 5.418 and 7.368.

16 ne cui me vinclo vellem sociare iugali,

The *sederet* of 15 finds a subject, as Dido introduces a new twist on the plot.

ne: A monosyllable to open a strikingly monosyllabic line; for the use of this (relatively rare) feature in conjunction with heavy spondees to underscore the queen's expressed determination, see Austin ad loc.

cui: Dido's resolve applied to any would-be suitor (i.e., Iarbas). But only one suitor is on her mind now. *Cui* here echoes *mihi* in the same *sedes* of the preceding line; it will be echoed in turn by 19 *huic uni*.

me: With reference back to 15 *mihi*, and nicely juxtaposed with the *cui* that refers to the man she both wants and, in light of her allegedly immovable resolve, cannot have. The word order is deliberate: the two pronouns are followed at once by a noun that refers to bonds, while the last word of the verse describes said (marriage) bond as literally a yoking-together.

vinclo vellem: Alliterative. The contrafactual verb underscores the question of personal will. The *vinculum* (with *iugale*) refers to a marriage bond; on marriage in Virgil see J.E. Grubbs in *VE* 11, 792–793.

sociare: The verb is not common in the epic; at 1.600 Aeneas uses it of Dido's reception of the Trojan exiles; at 7.96 it is used of the warning of Faunus' oracle to Latinus regarding Lavinia's marriage (cf. 12.27); in participial form it describes Numanus Remulus, who was joined to Turnus' family in mar-

riage (9.594). The verb coordinates closely with *iugali* to emphasize the same union as the *cui me* of the verse's first half. From the notion of an alliance or union between Dido's Carthaginians and Aeneas' Trojans we have advanced to the idea of a royal, dynastic marriage; cf. the implications of the relationship between Cleopatra and Antony.

iugali: Cf. 59 below (of Juno as marriage goddess); 496 (of the bed Dido considers marital); 7.280 (of the twin-yoked semi-divine horses of Circe that Latinus bestows on Aeneas); 7.320 (of the nuptial flames that Hecuba dreamed she was bearing); 10.497 (of the fateful nuptial night of the Danaids embossed on Pallas' *balteus*). The implicit allusion to Juno in *iugalis* contributes to the ominous ambience; there is also an echo of 1.345 *iugarat* (of Dido's union with Sychaeus). *Iugalis* of the marital bond (*OLD s.v.* 3) derives from the primary sense of how draught animals bear the yoke (as at 7.280); the horses that Latinus presented to Aeneas were a gift to his prospective son-in-law, with whom he would soon be at war. The adjective is thus used by the poet always in dark contexts, not surprisingly given how the anger of the marriage goddess is a key force in the epic. For Aeneas, abandoning Dido will engender one set of (Punic) wars in the context of Roman history; winning Lavinia will require nothing less than the rebirth of the *Iliad* in Italy.

17 *postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit,*

postquam: Introducing a temporal clause that adds another layer of detail to the problem; the verse is framed by the conjunction and the verb it governs. Alliterative with *primus*, with effective juxtaposition: the conjunction points already to the grim aftermath of the young queen's first love. Cf. 20 *post*. The conjunction recurs in this book at 151 (during the hunt) and 648 (before Dido's suicide)—a grim triad of occurrences.

primus amor: The language of a young romantic, to be echoed soon enough at 28 below. Virgil will rework the present language at 4.169 ff., as he describes how succumbing to her infatuation was the start of her own doom. Ovid so describes Apollo's passion for Daphne (*Met.* 1.452, also engendered by the god Amor); cf. *Am.* 3.9.32; Statius, *Theb.* 12.532; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 17.361. *Amor* is the common noun, but we may think of the Cupid who has done his part in the present infatuation. “nota il sottile ondeggiamento di significato di *amor*: <<amore>> e <<uomo amato>>” (Paratore).

deceptam: The language of trickery, to be construed closely with *fefellit*. Dido had not expected her first love to die so soon. The verb is not very common in Virgil; cf. 5.851 *et caeli totiens deceptus fraude sereni* (of Palinurus); also 3.181. The sentiment is one of victimhood, as Maclennan does well to highlight; Dido describes the action with reference to Sychaeus' alleged active deceit of his

amorous young wife—he was the one who tricked her in death (as opposed to her brother Pygmalion, her husband’s killer). The language thus subtly blames Sychaeus for the present predicament, making the queen’s infidelity to his memory all the easier to countenance. Cf. the very different emphasis on Pygmalion’s deceit and trickery of his sister in Venus’ account of the story at 1.351–352. Interlocking word order secures the effect: love; verb of deceit; death; verb of deceit again. There is also a play here on the traditional language of funerary inscriptions (so Lyne 1987, 31–32; cf. Binder 2019, ad loc., and see below on 29); see further Gildenhard ad loc. for how Dido here looks both back to Sychaeus’ deception, and forward to her own death in the wake of Aeneas’. What is certain is that Dido’s first explicit reference to her husband comes with an accusatory air of how she was in some sense wronged. Dido was rendered *deceptam morte* by Sychaeus; by the end of the book she will be rendered *deceptam morte* (in a different sense) by Aeneas. Dido will return to this theme of Sychaeus’ quasi-betrayal of his lover at 28–29 below.

morte: Virgil neatly plays here with the sound effect of first *amor* and then *morte*. On the significance of the love-death image in the poet’s depiction of Dido, see especially R.F. Moorton, Jr., “Love as Death: The Pivoting Metaphor in Vergil’s Story of Dido,” in *The Classical World* 83.3 (1990), 153–166.

fefellit: Dido echoes the very verb (in same *sedes*) that Aeneas used to describe his lost wife Creüsa (2.744). Ovid plays on the collocation of *fallere* and *decepti* at *Rem. Am.* 41–42.

18 *si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset,*

Page is silent on this line; several other commentators focus on the metonymies for marriage or the technicalities of tense. Henry offers one of his characteristically rhetorically flourished judgments (“Where is there in the world the cloister that does not ...”) that Virgil’s point is that Sychaeus died before Dido was married, i.e., while she was “affianced.”

si non: A second protasis after 15, this time offering an expansion on the preceding explanatory sentiments regarding the queen’s attitude toward marriage.

pertaesum: This impersonal verb occurs only twice in the epic; at 5.714 it refers to those Trojans who are tired of the long sea journey. The verb is richly connotative: it may encompass Dido’s own reflections on her marriage to Sychaeus by way of a self-defense mechanism; it may allude to the suitors who have sought her hand in north Africa (cf. Pease here); it may be mere rhetorical artifice to achieve the desired goal of having Anna endorse or even suggest the union with Aeneas that the queen is already contemplating. The start of yet more effective alliteration: *-taesum, thalami, taedae*. The long sep-

aration between *pertaesum* and *fuisset* not only emphasizes the “surprise” tense of the verb, but also reflects the queen’s increasingly emotional state of mind.

thalami taedaeque: Also closely linked at 7.388 (Amata’s efforts to prevent Aeneas’ marriage to Lavinia); cf. Lucan, *BC* 399–400; Manilius, *Ast.* 2.925; Ovid, *Met.* 1.658; Statius, *Silv.* 5.3.240–241; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.283–284; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 2.627–628; 3.63–66; 17.72–73. Whether hendiadys (so Buscaroli) or hystero-logia, the meaning is clear. For *thalamus* cf. 133; 392; 495; 550—to trace these uses is to understand something of the nature of tragedy. The language is (naturally enough) that of a Roman wedding; the sentiment of the verse, less so. Dido will be fixated on marriage to the end, most notably in her anger at Aeneas; for this topos see Wiltshire 1989, 92.

taedae: With implicit fire imagery, the flames of Book IV will not be of a nocturnal nuptial liturgy. *Taedae* neatly echoes *-taesum* in effective sound-play. Cf. also 339 and 505 below.

fuisset: Echoing *fefellit* at the previous line-end. The verse closes with a verb form of significant tense, as we move from the imperfect subjunctive of 15 to the pluperfect here (see further Adema 2019, 200 n. 29). Dido is emotionally overwrought; nonetheless, *in tempore, veritas*, as we subtly shift from a present to a past contrafactual. The tense may link closely with the intensive, durative prefix of *per-taesum*: what Dido endured, she endured for a long time (though we may do well to remember that for the young, every delay seems an eternity). Gildenhard notes E. Gutting, “Marriage in the *Aeneid*: Venus, Vulcan, and Dido,” in *Classical Philology* 101.3 (2006), 263–279, who observes (269) that Dido’s first protasis precluded present infidelity, while her second excludes only past. MacLennan emphasizes the intensive prefix *per-*, with reference to that which is “over and done with”—which in the case of the queen will be her widowhood’s devotion to the dead Sychaeus. The degree to which one considers the shift of conditional tense to be an unconscious utterance (so Pease) may be a reflection of one’s own trust in the sincerity of partners in love. The verse offers something of a sensitive reflection on the conflicting emotions of a woman who has enjoyed her solitary hold on regal power, even as she succumbs to loneliness and the pain of isolation.

The plural *fuisset* is a natural enough copyist’s error after *thalami/taedae*.

19 huic uni forsan potui succumbere culpae.

huic uni: Echoing 16 *cui*. The verse is framed by the demonstrative opening and the key word *culpae* that comes as another miniature surprise at its end, as the person of Aeneas shades into the queen’s own moral judgment on her intention. “Temporary ambiguity” (O’Hara). *Uni* offers a perverse twist on the

eminently Roman sentiment of the *uni-vira*. Cf. also 22 *solus hic*. Heavy spondees underscore the queen's exceptional statement about Aeneas.

forsan: Also at 1.203, in a famous passage; cf. 12.153. Here it comes with a hint of *faux* apology: "perhaps" she could succumb. "Almost entirely confined to poetry" (Austin).

potui: The indicative mood (though natural enough given that the verb already expresses potentiality/possibility) adds vividness to the picture of Dido's intention. "The auxiliaries ... themselves take in Latin the tense which in English belongs to the verb depending upon them" (Tilly). Butler comments on the poetic use of the indicative after *forsan*. "... the thing had all but actually taken place" (Conington). "The indic. seems to imply that the thing was very near happening. But picturesqueness merely and metrical convenience also have something to say probably to the use in poetry" (Stephenson).

succumbere: A striking, evocative verb, only here in Virgil. In it there is sound-play with the following *culpa*; there is even a hint perhaps of *cumba*, the barge of death. The verb echoes Catullus' grim description of the sacrificed Polyxena at c. 64.369 *quae, velut ancipiti succumbens victima*; cf. also his *sed cuivis quamvis potius succumbere par est* (c. 111.3, in a poem on both the praise of marriage and the condemnation of incest)—both baleful echoes. Ciceronian. Lucretius has it (*DRN* 2.1140; 5.494); also Propertius (c. 2.34.47; 3.10.23), but it is not particularly common in poetry (cf. also Germanicus, *Arat.* 527; *Ilias Latina* 334; Ovid, *Her.* 3.91; *Ars* 3.767; *Met.* 5.177; 7.749; 13.856; *Trist.* 4.10.103; Manilius, *Ast.* 1.543; 3.650; 4.74; Lucan, *BC* 870; Seneca, *HF* 1315; *HO* 1484; Statius, *Silv.* 5.2.14). The verb describes Dido's potential action; it looks forward also to her own fall as if a quasi-sacrificial victim.

culpa: Dido is emotionally overwrought and certainly under the influence of Cupid's arrow—but the last word of this verse offers the sort of evidence that a lawyer would present as part of an argument about legal responsibility and "culpability." Dido knows that what she is contemplating is wrong. A "euphemism" (Page). The theme will be echoed at 172 below. "Ecce venit ad plenam confessionem" (Tib.). See Williams here on *hamartia* and the "limits of moral condemnation," following on the analysis of Pease; cf. Mackail ad loc. on the lack of "criminality or moral obliquity" implied here. Fundamental on the problem of Dido's "fault" and her awareness thereof is N. Rudd, "Dido's Culpa," in *Lines of Inquiry: Studies in Latin Poetry* (Cambridge, 1976, 32–58); reprinted in Harrison 1990, 145–166; note also the exemplary analysis of Horsfall 1995, 126–127.

20 Anna (*fatebor enim*) *miseri post fata Sychaei*

The verse is framed by the heretofore two most important names in Dido's life; for the "antithetical correlation" see Gildenhard. "Sed hic videtur per oblationem confessionem levius crimen efficere" (Servius).

Anna: The vocative repeated from 9.

fatebor ... fata: Etymological and alliterative wordplay. *Fatebor* follows closely on 19 *culpa*e, as Dido makes her confession to her sister. *Fatebor enim* also at *E.* 1.31; cf. *Ps.-V., Cat.* 9.11. Ciceronian. Sinon uses *fatebor* (2.77); so too Evander (8.471). The *figura etymologica* of the verb with a noun referencing death neatly encapsulates Dido's competing focus on her interest in Aeneas and her reverence for the memory of her slain spouse.

enim: Again, the language of conversation (see Austin here); cf. 12 *equidem*.

miseri: For the adjective note V. Ugenti in *EV* III, 546–548. Another favorite Virgilian descriptor, which comes easily to the pen in an epic replete with such sorrow. The resentment of the queen at her husband's abandoning her in death now gives way to the still palpable grief she feels at the loss; Dido's first speech in the book displays a remarkably rich range of emotions in relatively short compass. It is possible that there is also a calculated effort here to excuse by confession (cf. Servius' note). See further Paratore's good observations here on the scope of this easily passed over adjective.

post: Echoing 17 *postquam*.

fata: Of death in particular, which was Sychaeus' untimely lot (thus *miseri*)—though the notion of *fata* can encompass a broader range of meanings. For the periphrasis see Hahn 1930, 211 n. 955.

Sychaei: Vid. P. Xella in *EV* IV, 833–834; S. Casali in *VE* III, 1231–1232. Dido's deceased husband was first mentioned by the disguised Venus in her speech to Aeneas at 1.335–370, where the salient details of the backstory were revealed. For the semantic connection of the name to notions of obliteration and burning see Paschalis 1997, 53. In Justin's epitome of Trogus (18.4.5) his name is Acherbas and he is Dido's uncle; Servius *ad* 1.343 notes a variant Sicharbas. "Sychaeus" may or may not be the invention of Virgil; in the absence of further extant evidence we cannot be certain.

21 *coniugis et sparsos fraterna caede penates*

A verse that is redolent with the problem of post-civil war realities and dark memories in the wake of Octavian's (and Antony's) dealings with Cleopatra (not to mention the queen's former lover Caesar), as history overlays the epic's erotic plot.

coniugis: A keyword in enjambment—Sychaeus was, after all, her husband. The verse is framed by words that evoke the household and family, with the

image of fraternal violence dominating the middle of the line. Austin observes that the word is not necessary, and thus all the more striking. Alliterative with *caede*. The same word in the same *sedes* at 1.354, where Venus relates the story of Sychaeus to her son.

et: Epexegetical as well as particularizing.

sparsos: Cf. the similarly gory image of 664–665 below. For the hyperbaton see Gildenhard; on the verb, G. Torti in *EV* IV, 975–976; Hahn 1930, 215–216 on the passive participle. Interlocking word order commences. The Penates were literally sprinkled with Sychaeus' blood; the participle also looks to the subsequent "scattering" of the household gods, as Dido took her flight from Tyre (cf. Servius here). There may be a reminiscence of Catullus, c. 64.230.

fraterna: A second familial word in the verse, as Dido recalls her brother Pygmalion's murder of Sychaeus. The adjective is not common in Virgil; cf. 5.24 and 630 (with reference to the Sicilian Acestes' ties to the Trojans); 9.736 (of Pandarus' anger at the death of his brother Bitias). The collocation with *caede* is Catullan (c. 64.180–182 *an patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui / respersum iuvenem fraterna caede secuta? | coniugis an fido consoler memet amore?*)—another reminiscence of Ariadne with Theseus (on this see Wigodsky 1972, 128–129). Livy also employs the poetic phrase. "Fraternal slaughter" refers in context to Pygmalion's murder of his brother-in-law; it has obvious, baleful associations for the Roman audience in the aftermath of civil war, even echoes of the fate of Cleopatra's own husband/brother Ptolemy. Pease notes that "the effect is much more striking if Sychaeus is regarded as the brother of Pygmalion." A brother-in-law could well be considered a brother, but the hints of incest here and elsewhere in the Dido story relate to Ptolemaic customs of relevance to Virgil's contemporary audience. "It is not the murder but the fratricide which is insisted upon" (Henry). Dido had been betrayed by her husband's premature death, and too by her brother's violent slaying of her spouse. We may also think of Cleopatra's lover Caesar, slain by his Roman brothers in what could be called an act of *fraterna caedes*. Catullus, c. 64.399 *fraterno sanguine* may lurk here too. For the notion that by entering into a relationship with Aeneas, Dido would perhaps be symbolically killing Sychaeus, see Stahl 2016, 200.

caede: One of the strongest words in the Virgilian vocabulary of violence; cf. L. Piacente in *EV* I, 599–600. The distraught young woman uses vivid language; all the emphasis is on the "bespattered" (Williams) gore.

penates: The household gods immediately recall Aeneas' (anachronistic) rescue of these characteristically Roman deities from the ruin of Troy. Venus had localized the murder as *ante aras* (1.349). Vid. here G. Radke in *VE* IV, 12–16; M. Stöckinger in *VE* II, 719–721. Dido no doubt saw myriad parallels between her own Phoenician escape and that of Aeneas from Troy; it was all too con-

venient to focus on the commonalities to the exclusion of the crucial differences. The language again recalls particularly Roman customs and practices, which serves to highlight the inappropriateness of Dido's actions. The fact that the Penates were two in number contributes to the emphasis on duality/pairs: Dido/Sychaeus; Dido/Aeneas; Dido/Pygmalion; Pygmalion/Sychaeus.

22 *solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem*

solus hic: With reference back to 19 *huic uni*. *Solus* is alliterative with *sensus*; it comes with a hint of apology: Anna should be assured that only Aeneas could so incite such feelings in her sister. The verse is framed by words that refer to Aeneas and to Dido's wavering *animus*. We learn much about Dido's state of mind in this passage and book, and comparatively little (as elsewhere) about Aeneas' emotions; for this "notorious" Virgilian practice see Stahl 2016, 200–201. For how Virgil denies Aeneas an active role in this book "until his *pietas* has been regained and a decision made to continue the journey to Italy," see Mackie 1988, 77. Cf. also *sola* at 32 below, in a different (though related) context.

inflexit: The verb is rare in Virgil; at 3.631 *inflexam* refers to the Cyclops' neck bent in sleep; cf. 12.800 *desine iam tandem precibusque inflectere nostris* (Jupiter to Juno). The tense of the verb here and at 23 *impulit* correlates well with the present participle *labantem* at line-end, as Dido describes the progress of her growing passion. The verb recalls the sentiments of 15 *fixum immotumque*; it anticipates Anna's remark at 35 below.

sensus animumque: A natural enough pairing; cf. Cicero, *Verr.* 2.5.139.4; Ps.-Tib., c. 3.14.7 (with Fulkerson's note). First Dido's emotions are affected by this would-be lover, and then her rational mind; the collocation represents the totality of her possible response to this new stimulus. We may recall the *resides animos desuetaque corda* of 1.722. *Inflexit* correlates closely with *sensus*, and the enjambed *impulit* of 23 with Dido's *animum labantem*: a twofold process, with the dramatic second stage describing the toppling of the wavering mind. On this effect note Dainotti 2015, 151.

labantem: For the verb cf. 2.462–463 ... *qua summa labantis / iuncturas tabulata dabant*; 2.492 *labat ariete crebro* (both passages of the fall of Troy); 5.432 (of knees giving way); 10.283; 12.905 (again of knees), and see Asso on Lucan, *BC* 4.41. With the (metaphorical) "wavering mind" cf. Lucan, *BC* 4.249. Aeneas is presented almost as if he were laying siege to a city, which finally gives way after repeated assaults from battering rams. "Hitherto Dido's purpose had been unshaken" (Mackail ad loc.). The verb is not common, especially in comparison to forms of *labor*; *labentem* is an ancient, unmetrical error (cf. Servius here). The present participle may be interpreted proleptically (so Maclennan, e.g., following Sabbadini, Pease, Austin et al.), if one wishes to avoid the idea that Dido's

animus was already tottering. Psychologically, there is a rich field of analysis if one imagines that the young queen reveals here a significant aspect of her emotional state even before Aeneas' arrival. See further Page's note ad loc.; also O'Hara's balanced consideration of alternatives that are perhaps not mutually exclusive with reference to one who is, after all, *male sana*. Cf. the reference to the queen's *dubia mens* at 55.

23 *impulit. adgnosco veteris vestigia flammae.*

"One of Virgil's most striking and famous sentences" (Maclennan); cf. the commentary of Heuzé 1985, 502–503. The dazzling quality of the poet's art sometimes hinders precise explication of his meaning; the citation of "vestiges of the old flame" presents particular problems of interpretation (*pace* Henry). Dante literally translated Virgil's sentiments here for his last words to his poet-docent (*Purgatorio* 30.48 *conosco i segni de l'antica flamma*). If there is a single verse where Dido's love is explicitly confessed, it is here—though cast in language that recalls what she heard on the previous night about Aeneas' loss of his wife in the destruction of Troy. "Dans cet effondrement, il y a le tempérament brûlant d'une Médée (Apollonius de Rhodes, III, 962) ... et la torturante lucidité de l'Andromaque de Racine" (Schmitz 1960, 29).

impulit: The enjambed verb comes after something of a pause for breath of the emotionally overwrought Dido (so Austin), and is appreciably stronger than *inflexit*. Virgil uses the same verbal trick at 29 *abstulit*.

adgnosco: For the first person verb cf. 3.351 (Aeneas at Buthrotum); 8.155 (Evander with Aeneas); 12.260 (the augur Tolumnius). The tense is deliberate after *impulit*, together with the implicit inchoative force: Dido presents herself as coming into a state of recognition in the aftermath of Aeneas' effect on her. Maclennan highlights the wrongness of Dido's claim of recognition in light of the gods at work against her. See Pease ad loc. for the use of the verb to describe the recognition of something that is already known. The same verb will be used of the eerie scene in the underworld where Aeneas literally recognizes Dido's shade only when he is standing right next to her (6.450–454). We have followed Pease and Geymonat in printing the *adgnosco* of the best manuscripts, *vs. agnosco* (cf. Mynors; Conte).

veteris: Alliterative with *vestigia*. We may recall here Dido's characterization of Aeneas as a *novus hospes* at 10 above. The adjective will be reused to good effect as Dido upbraids Aeneas at 539 below. Cf. too 1.23, of Juno's reminiscence of the "old" war at Troy. For the precise implications of the time element see Pease, and Henry; again there may be an intimation here of the fact that for the young, what is considered "*vetus*" may not be the same as for someone of more mature years.

vestigia: The use with *flammae* is probably inspired by Catullus, c. 64.341 *flammea praevertet celeris vestigia cervae* (of Achilles), with adaptation; c. 64.295 *veteris vestigia poenae* also lurks. The noun is used twice with reference to the fateful tracks of Aeneas' and Creüsa's doomed departure from Troy (cf. 2.711; 753); cf. 3.244 (the foul tracks left by the Harpies); 659 and 669 (Polyphemus' tracks); all five of the previous uses of the word (from Aeneas' story to Dido) are ominous. The noun refers here to the trace of something that no longer exists (*OLD s.v.* 7), and its use is particularly interesting. It properly denotes the tracks left by the foot; the "vestiges of an old flame" would naturally be ash or soot. Metaphorically, Dido has brought her love for Sychaeus to north Africa. Servius saw a certain effort on the queen's part to conceal her less than honorable desires with the respectable veneer of her affection for her deceased husband.

flammae: More fire imagery, here soon after the recollection of a city under siege. Roman wives were not expected to feel the flame of passion for their husbands; Dido speaks as one who is given over to sensual, emotional pleasures. The recurring theme (vid. Jenkyns 1998, 507), with the queen here echoing the poet's own appraisal from the opening of the book (cf. O'Hara ad loc.).

24 *sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat*

Elaborate language to underscore a *de facto* oath (cf. B. Gladhill in *VE* 11, 923: "A self-imprecating curse was an essential component of an oath"). Virgil here opens a great ring of tragedy that will close at 457–465, where the shade of Sychaeus will offer something of a comment on his widow's vow and subsequent actions; the problem of oaths (real or imagined) will also be significant to the unfolding interaction between Dido and Aeneas (cf. on 110–112, 191–193, and 337–339 below, and note 6.458–460). Here again the poet plays on the distinction between that which is caused by direct divine intervention, and that which is taken on as an act of free will—the perennial legal problem of culpability in light of external factors. Pease notes how readily lovers make oaths; cf. Sophocles, fr. 811 Jebb-Headlam-Pearson. "Ne ista confessio reprehensibilis remaneret, adnexuit iusiurandum ..." (Tib.). Dido's two options copy exactly the oath of Adrastus at Euripides, *Supp.* 828–831, minus that character's wish that the wind might tear him to pieces. For the "surprising violence" of this oath see Hardie 1986, 269 ff. On how the emotionally overwrought Dido is not behaving like a good ruler, note Cairns 1989, 43–44.

sed mihi: Cf. 15 *si mihi*. Another referential dative, here of the implied disadvantage to Dido if she breaks her faith with her dead husband.

vel: Closely correlative with 25 *vel*, of the two outcomes Dido envisages if she breaks faith with Sychaeus.

tellus: Ironically, Tellus will be one of the deities present at the quasi-nuptials of Aeneas and Dido at 4.166. For the common noun note 275 below.

optem: Probably of potentiality, since neither a precatory nor a jussive use seems likely. For *optare* of an “ambition or ideal” see Austin; we may compare 16 *vellem*. Servius takes *optem* as synonymous with *velim*.

prius: For the (Homeric) pleonasm cf. Page, and O’Hara ad loc. The tmesis introduced here is not closed until 27.

ima: The earth is invited to gape open to its very depths; the (delayed) adjective comes right before the verb with which it closely coordinates, and serves also to prepare us for the emphasis Dido will place on the underworld at 25–26. Cf. 387 below.

dehiscat: A mostly poetic verb; cf. of the wave of 1.106; the sea of 5.142–143; the gaping maw of the underworld of 6.52–53; the imagined opening of the earth to reveal Avernus in a simile at 8.243 ff.; the earth at 10.675–676 and 12.883 (with reference first to Turnus and then to his sister Juturna; for the echo of Dido see Monti 1981, 95); also *G.* 1.479 and 3.432. Virgil here distantly presages Dido’s appearance in the underworld where, ironically, she will be reunited with Sychaeus (6.440 ff.). More of the language of lovesick emotion and dramatic import, here borrowing from epic imagery: cf. Homer, *Il.* 4.182; 8.150; also 17.416–417. *Male sana* or not, Dido is ever literate (Highet 1972, 220 compares the queen’s sentiments with Hector in the presence of Andromache at *Il.* 6.464–465). The grandiose nature of the wish serves both to reflect the seriousness of Dido’s mental state of disorder, and to herald the gravity of the unfolding tragedy and its lasting consequences for Carthage and Rome alike. Once again, this young queen speaks all too easily of dramatic destruction. For the parataxis of the subjunctive dependent on *optem* see Williams; Buscaroli thought it must be coordinate with *optem* since there is no *ut*, with the omission of which cf. 3.456–457; 4.683–684; 5.163; 6.76.

ima: With *tellus* also at Lucan, *BC* 9.470; cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 1.214–167 Goold; Seneca, *Med.* 691; Statius, *Theb.* 6.363; at its lowest point the earth becomes the underworld. Properly an adjective, though with adverbial force—the earth is envisioned as gaping deeply.

25 vel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,

The second of Dido’s self-imprecations; at 26 she will expand on the horrors already encapsulated in this verse. Cf. the suicidal wish at Euripides, *Med.* 144–145 *διὰ μου κεφαλᾶς φλόξ οὐρανία / βαίη ...* (with Mastronarde’s notes).

pater omnipotens: For the epithet see Moskalew 1982, 81 (“No single Homeric source accounts for the formula ...”). Dido periphrastically invites Jupiter to be party to her promise. For the god in Virgil vid. U. Bianchi in *EV* 11, 743–

746; J.D. Hejduk in *VE* 11, 697–700; Bailey 1935, 132–143; J.D. Hejduk, “Jupiter’s *Aeneid: Fama and Imperium*,” in *Classical Antiquity* 28 (2009), 279–327; Hejduk 2020. Jupiter is the all-powerful father already in Lucretius (*DRN* 5.399); cf. *G.* 2.325; *Aen.* 1.60; 3.251; 6.592; 7.141; 770; 8.398; 10.100; 12.178. Arruns invokes his patron Apollo as *pater omnipotens* at 11.789–790. The powers of the sky follow on those of the earth, with the image of the underworld present as Dido envisages alternate (*vel*) fates; for the juxtaposition of the upper and lower regions, vid. Hardie 1986, 310 (“The powers of the Upper and Lower Worlds are here envisaged as guardians of the same moral order”). Dido invokes Jupiter as part of her vow not to betray the memory of Sychaeus; ironically, the principal role of the god in the book will be to see to Aeneas’ departure from Dido.

adigat: Parallel with 24 *dehiscat*. We may compare the similar case of 6.594 ... *praecipitemque immani turbine adegit*, where the *pater omnipotens* destroys the pretender Salmoneus. Cf. also 6.695–696 ... *tua tristis imago / saepius occurrens haec limina tendere adegit* (of Anchises’ shade); 7.113 (of the hunger that would drive the Trojans to the eating of the tables); 9.601 *quis deus Italiam, quae vos dementia adegit?* (Numanus Remulus to the Trojans); participial uses at 9.431; 10.850; 12.320. The prefix is intensive with the following preposition *ad* to underscore Dido’s point. This perhaps seems to argue in favor of reading *adigat* rather than the respectably attested variant *abigat* of Fy; Virgil uses this latter verb only participially (8.407; 11.261). Geymonat prefers *abigat*, following Ribbeck; Hirtzel; Götte vs. Servius on 1.230; DServ. *ad* 26; Tib.; Conington (Nettleship notes the *lectio altera*); Page; Mackail; Buscaroli; Pease; Mynors; Perret’s Budé; Paratore; Goold’s Loeb; Rivero García et al.; Heuzé’s Pléiade and Holzberg’s Tusculum.

fulmine: On Virgilian lightning see L. Fratantuono in *VE* 11, 748–749; cf. 208; 579–580: in the latter case, Aeneas’ sword will be like lightning after he obeys the Jovian edict to leave Dido, and Aeneas is compared to lightning soon after Turnus identifies Jupiter as his *hostis* (12.654; cf. 919–923 of his bolt-like spear). Certainly from Dido’s perspective, Aeneas will be responsible for her own demise and descent to the underworld. For the lightning emblem on the coinage of Octavian even before Actium, see Zanker 1988, 53–56.

Iarbas will recall the language of Dido’s oath in his indignant prayer to Jupiter at 206 ff.

umbras: Echoed at once (26 *pallentis umbras*), with a strong foreshadowing of Dido’s death and her appearance in the underworld of Book 6. For *umbrae* note E.A. Hahn, “Body and Soul in Vergil,” in *TAPA* 92 (1961), 209–210. The shades of 25–26 directly link to 6.461 *sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras*, of Aeneas’ remarks in the presence of Dido’s *umbra*.

26 **pallentis umbras Erebo noctemque profundam,**

An exquisite verse of dread splendor (with ABBA chiasmus and epanalepsis), as Dido expands on her vision of the fate of a woman who would violate her pact of loyalty to her lost husband. This line could easily have been appropriated for Book 6, and continues the foreshadowing of the queen's ultimate fate. *Pallentis* and *profundam* frame the verse in dark and gloomy alliteration.

pallentis umbras: Borrowed from *G.* 3.357 *tum Sol pallentis haud umquam discutit umbras* (of Scythia); cf. below at 242–243 ... *hac animas ille evocat Orco / pallentis*, of the psychopompic Mercury (whose hastening of Aeneas' departure from Carthage serves in part to hurry along the queen's own exit from the tragic stage). We may compare here 6.275 *pallentesque habitant Morbi* (at the threshold of Avernus) and 480 *Parthenopaeus et Adrasti pallentis imago* for parallels from the Virgilian underworld, and especially 8.709 *illam inter caedes pallentem morte futura*, of the picture of Cleopatra after her defeat at Actium on the shield of Aeneas. At 10.822, Aeneas beholds the *pallentia ora* of the dying Lausus. A famous example of oxymoron, though of course the pallor of the dead transcends any technical inaccuracy in the notion of "pale shadows." See Austin here for the glimmering in the darkness of the shades of the departed.

Erebo: Invoked at 510 below by Dido's Massylian priestess; cf. 6.247 (Deiphobe calling on Hecate, *Ereboque potentem*); 404 *ad genitorem imas Erebi descendit ad umbras*; 670–671 *quae regio Anchisen, quis habet locus? illius ergo / venimus et magnos Erebi tranavimus amnis* (Deiphobe to Musaeus); 7.140 (Aeneas' invocation of Venus in heaven and Anchises in Erebus). Cf. *G.* 4.471 (during the Orpheus and Eurydice epyllion). For this primordial god see M. Scarsi in *EV* II, 363; R. Katz in *VE* I, 449–450. Erebus was the son of Chaos (see West on Hesiod, *Th.* 123); by synecdoche he = the underworld, though properly he refers to its darkest, bleakest region. Servius (*ad* 6.404) thought that Erebus was where noble souls underwent a purge of memory before Elysium; there is no hint of such lore here. The name occurs prominently and grimly at midverse. Virgil needed no excuse for introducing Erebus here, though he likely recalled the Erebus-dwelling Erinys of Homer, *Il.* 9.571–572, who was said to give particular attention to the punishment of oath violation; at *Od.* 11.563–564, the shade of Ajax—Virgil's Homeric model for the Dido of his underworld—departs into Erebus after his eloquently silent encounter with Odysseus. The anaphora of *umbras* serves both to highlight Dido's emotional state, and to prepare us for the outcome of her story.

We may recall also 1.353–354, of the *pallida imago* of Sychaeus that is said to have haunted Dido.

The (locative) ablative *Erebo* is to be read here; the genitive is less well attested and would certainly have been less likely to suffer corruption. For a

defense of the latter option, see Conington (following Wagner). Cf. the parallel case of *Tyro* at 36 and 43; cf. Unterharnscheidt 1911, 52–53.

noctem: For the Virgilian use of nocturnal imagery see L. Fratantuono and R.F. Thomas in *VE* 11, 904–905; Fratantuono 2016. Night was also a child of Chaos, like Erebus (cf. *trag. inc.* fr. 132 Ribbeck *Erebo procreata fuscis crinibus Nox, te invoco*); the chaotic siblings are juxtaposed, even if N/night need not be vaguely personified here.

profundam: The “deep night” recurs at the closely related 6.461–462 *sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras, / per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam*, of Aeneas before the shade of Dido. A similarly ominous locale is cited at 7.514–515 ... *qua protinus omne / contremuit nemus et silvae insonuere profundae* (of the reaction in nature to Allecto’s *Tartarea vox*); Cf. 1.58–59 *ni faciat, maria ac terras caelumque profundum / quippe ferant rapidi secum ver-rantque per auras* (of the work of Aeolus in restraining the winds); 5.614–615 *amissum Anchisen flebant cunctaeque profundum / pontum aspectabant flentes*; 12.263–264 ... *petet ille fugam penitusque profundo / vela dabit* (Tolumnius to the Rutulians about Aeneas). There is a clever sound effect as *profundam* echoes *umbras* from earlier in the line. It matters little whether the meaning is the “depth of night” or the “night of the depth”: both are dark, and that is all that concerns the poet. Cf. Tibullus, c. 1.3.67 (with Murgatroyd, and Maltby); Statius, *Theb.* 8.143–144 (with Augoustakis); 10.831–832; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 12.132.

27 ante, Pudor, quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo.

She speaks anachronistically, as if she were a young Roman widow. This verse will be echoed closely at 55 below. Henry has a characteristic note extolling the morality of the ancients.

ante: Virtually indistinguishable from 24 *prius*—Dido has been loquacious, and the close of the tmesis is significantly delayed amid the flood of dramatic rhetoric. For the pleonastic, expletive use of the conjunction (rather in the Homeric style) see Conington. It is a mark of the dislike of some critics for anomaly that Markland conjectured *Sancte Pudor* here to remove the perceived redundancy; on this emendation and the Homeric models see Paratore. Butler compares 552, where Dido reveals a significant detail about her vow to Sychaeus. What is more interesting is that *ante quam* here is literally broken by *Pudor*, in something of a syntactic enactment of exactly what Dido swears will not happen. On the Roman ideal of the *univira* see Suerbaum 1999, 214–215.

Pudor: Vid. here E.N. Genovese in *EV* IV, 340–341; E. Fantham in *VE* I, 258–259; F.G. Leme, “Shame in the *Aeneid*,” in *Vergilius* 66 (2020), 87–110. One of the many untranslatable concepts in the poet. Apostrophe (cf. P.E. Knox in *VE* I,

103; F. D'Alessandro Behr, "The Narrator's Voice: A Narratological Reappraisal of Apostrophe in Virgil's *Aeneid*," in *Arethusa* 38.2 (2005), 189–221), which Virgil never employs "mechanically" (see Austin's extended note). *Pudor* here is virtually indistinguishable from the *pudicitia* that is extolled at *G.* 2.524; it is stronger than "conscience" (see further Williams). On how *pudor* is not entirely a private matter, see Horsfall 1995, 127 (cf. the consideration of "scandal" in moral theology, *contra* the occasionally seen sentiment that what happens in the bedroom is not public business). For the question of Virgil's alleged "literary slander" of Dido see Gildenhard's extended discussion *ad loc.*; for the Augustan poet, the principal *comparanda* is Cleopatra, and even for those with interests more poetic than historical, Medea was no paragon of any virtue (cf. the crucial intertext of Apollonius, *Arg.* 3.785–786). O'Hara *ad loc.* (following Pease) comments on how only *univirae* could offer sacrifice to *Pudicitia* (fittingly enough; for the ancient evidence cf. Livy 10.23.3–10, with Oakley), though noting also that around the time of the publication of the epic, widows were being encouraged to remarry. Treggiari 1991, 234 notes the epitaphs that reference the *univira* ideal; there seems to have been a delicately maintained balance between the aspirational goal and the pursuit of such practical realities as the continuation of a family line. "The Romans in theory if not in practice disapproved of second marriages" (Tilly *ad loc.*). Dido is also evoking the earliest *strata* of Roman morality, not the more bourgeois practices of the poet's present. Virgil's Dido in this first of her speeches of Book 4 sets a high and perhaps unattainable goal; a more cynical reading of the passage would offer the possibility that she was deliberately seeking to provoke her sister into encouraging a less rigorous course. *Pudicitia* received a state cult, while *Pudor* (to the best of our knowledge, at least) did not; nonetheless it is probably best to capitalize here (so Geymonat, and Conte; Pease and Mynors no) and to imagine a vaguely personified virtue.

violo: The verb is not particularly common in Virgil; cf. 2.189 *nam si vestra manus violasset dona Minervae* (Sinon to the Trojans); 7.114 *et violare manu malisque audacibus orbem* (during the episode of the eating of the tables); 11.255 *quicumque Iliacos ferro violavimus agros* and 277 *appetii et Veneris violavi vulnerere dextram* (Diomedes to the Latin emissaries); 591 *hac, quicumque sacrum violarit vulnerere corpus* (Diana to Opis about her favorite Camilla); 848–849 *nam quicumque tuum violavit vulnerere corpus / morte luet merita ...* (Opis on the death of Camilla—the last of a striking four uses in the book); 12.67–68 *Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro / si quis ebur ...* (in the simile describing Lavinia's blush); 797 *mortalin decuit violari vulnerere divum?* (Jupiter on the intervention of Juturna). The indicative here adds to the vividness of Dido's vow. The mood has occasioned critical commentary; for Sidgwick the point is simply the under-

scoring of Dido's intention, while Papillon and Haigh argue that there is a hint in the indicative that Dido is, after all, intending to violate Pudor. Stephenson's schoolboy commentary note here is exemplary; Conington has an extended analysis.

tua iura: We might be tempted to think here of allusions to contemporary Augustan moral legislation. The *leges Iuliae* of 18–17 B.C. certainly sought to encourage population expansion in the wake of decades of devastating civil wars; while the epic would have been posthumously published while these laws were in novel vogue, we cannot expect Virgil to have anticipated them in his description of Dido (cf. Horsfall 1995, 126–127: “Let us not forget that the *Aeneid* predates any certain Augustan legislation on remarriage: the traditional honour attached to the *univira* therefore stands unimpaired as an ideal by which Dido fails to stand”). If the point of *iura* is more “bonds/ties” than laws, then the point is to underscore Dido's link to Sychaeus even beyond his grave (as indeed will be fulfilled in the *Lugentes Campi*, notwithstanding the widow's behavior in *Aen.* 4).

resolvo: The verb recurs below at 695 in the very different context of the queen's death agonies. Cf. here the parallel 2.157 *fas mihi Graecorum sacrata resolvere iura* (Sinon to the Trojans); also 3.370 ... *vittasque resolvit*; 457 *ipsa canat vocemque volans atque ora resolvat* (of the Sibyl); 6.29 *Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit*; 422 ... *immania terga resolvit* (of the lulled Cerberus); 8.591 ... *tenebrasque resolvit* (of Lucifer); 9.516–517 *quae stravit Rutulos late armorumque resolvit | tegmina*. For the imagery of binding and loosening in Dido's speech, see Paschalis 1997, 150.

28 *ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores*

Four words in the verse refer directly to the queen's dead husband (*ille*; *primus*; *qui*; *sibi*). The word order is convoluted (see O'Hara here), as befitting a speaker who is so emotionally overcome—and who is also, we might think, capable of active deception (Tib. has a perceptive analysis here of Dido's psychology in manipulating her sister). At the very least Dido may be thought to have come to believe her own lies. MacLennan comments that she speaks as if she “half wishes” that the sentiments expressed here were true. Whatever Dido's true state of mind, the thoughts expressed in her remarks will come to fruition in the underworld.

ille: Framing the verse with *amores*; for Dido Sychaeus was, after all, equivalent to *amores*. In anaphora with 29 *ille*, following on the similar repetition of *umbras* in 25–26.

meos: Correlating closely with *me*, in striking hyperbaton with the delayed *amores*.

primus: Echoing 17 *primus amor*. The reminiscence of Dido's mention of her "first love" secures the nominative, *vs.* the adverbial *primum* of FP.

me sibi: Deliberately juxtaposed. *Sibi* is balanced by 29 *secum*.

iunxit: The opposite in meaning of the action implied by 27 *resolvo*. The verb recalls the *vinclum iugale* of 16 above.

amores: The plural has occasioned critical comment, with some wondering if it encompasses the very power to experience love (after DServ.). Cf. the parallel 292 below. For the significance of *amores* at line-end balancing *sepulchro* at 29, see Highet 1972, 112.

29 **abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulchro.**

What had already been a markedly alliterative speech ends with a powerfully hissing, sibilant rhythm that almost makes one recall the similar effect of Euripides, *Med.* 476 ἔσωσά σ', ὡς ἴσασιν Ἑλλήνων ἴσοι. For the possible influence of the old Saturnian rhythm on the archaic-sounding effect, see Austin ad loc. There is a finality to this verse: "vis maior urget, vis intolerabilis cogit" (Tib.).

abstulit: Another enjambed verb (cf. 23 *impulit*), with the enjambment virtually enacting the theft. Dido returns here to her accusations against her departed spouse from 17 above. We may cf. 11.28 *abstulit atra dies et funere merisit acerbo* (of Pallas' premature death; the verse = 6.429, of the same class of souls in the underworld); for other uses of the form note 3.198–199 ... *nox umida caelum | abstulit ...*; 6.272 ... *et rebus nox absulit atra colorem*; 8.566–567 ... *cui tunc tamen omnis | abstulit haec animas dextra et totidem exiit armis* (Evander of his combat with Erulus); 9.442–443 ... *donec Rutuli clamantis in ore | condidit averso et moriens animam abstulit hosti* (of Nisus' last act); 10.394 *nam tibi, Thymbre, caput Evandrius abstulit ensis*; 11.814 (Arruns absconding in flight after his attack on Camilla); 12.382 (Turnus' decapitation of Phegeus). The verb is alliterative with 28 *amores*; love and (implicit) death are once again juxtaposed. Gildenhard notes that Dido is confused in matters of *amor* and all too focused and clear in matters pertaining to the grave. One might note here the sentiment expressed by Eugenides' narrator in his *Virgin Suicides* (a work much indebted to Virgil's depiction of Dido): "We knew, finally, that the girls were really women in disguise, that they understood love and even death."

ille ... secum: Underscoring the *ille ... sibi* of the preceding verse.

habeat: The first of two subjunctives that balance the indicatives *iunxit* and *abstulit*.

servet: Sychaeus is to be left as the possessor of their once shared love; this sentiment will come to fruition in the realm of shadows.

sepulchro: Dido's speech ends fittingly and ominously on a sepulchral note. We are reminded of the tradition of Roman funerary epigrams and epitaphs,

with a grim foreshadowing of the queen's ultimate destiny. Tombs are cited in Virgil in moments of heightened pathos (vid. here R.L. Cioffi and N. Goldschmidt in *VE* II, 573–575); cf. 2.542–543 (Priam's reminiscence to Pyrrhus of Achilles' return of Hector's body); 646 ... *facilis iactura sepulchri* (Anchises at his refusal to leave Troy); 3.67–68 (the grave of Polydorus in Thrace); 6.152; 177; 232 (the burial Aeneas is to provide for his lost comrade Misenus); 9.215 (Nisus' imagined tomb); 10.558 (Aeneas taunting the slain Tarquitus that he will not enjoy the solace of a grave); 10.906 (the parallel case where Mezentius requests the honor of a *sepulchrum*); 12.547 ... *solo Laurente sepulchrum* (of the Trojan Aeolus' burial). There is irony in Dido's remark (as Servius realized), given that Sychaeus was left unburied (cf. 1.353–354 *ipsa sed in somnis inhumati venit imago / coniugis ora modis attollens pallida miris*). Anna echoes this word in her response to Dido at 34 *sepultos*.

30 *sic effata sinum lacrimis implevit obortis.*

Like Apollonius' Medea at *Arg.* 3.804; cf. Quintus' Polyxena at *Post.* 14.270, with Carvounis' note.

sic effata: Introducing a lachrymose, transitional verse of great psychological import. Cf. the same virtual punctuation mark of Hecuba in Troy's last hour at 2.524; 7.456 of Allecto as she attacks Turnus; of men, *sic effatus* is used of Helenus (3.463); Aeneas (6.197; 7.135); Turnus (9.22); cf. 9.295 *sic effatur* (of Iulus); for the verb without *sic* cf. on 456 and 499 below (both times again of Dido); the hemistich 5.653 *haec effata* (of the disguised Iris); 6.262 (of the Sibyl); 547 (of Deiphobus); 7.274 (of Latinus); 8.443 (of Vulcan); 9.644 (of the disguised Apollo with Ascanius); 737 (of Pandarus); 10.256 (of Aeneas); 299 (of Tarchon); 523 (of Mago); 11.98 (of Aeneas); 741 (of Tarchon); 12.601 (of Amata); 885 (of Juturna); 896 (of Turnus). The verb is Ennian (*Ann.* fr. 6.204 Skutsch); it is used often of solemn pronouncements, though not exclusively so. The prefix here emphasizes the rush of words from the emotional Dido.

sinum: The tears rather hyperbolically fill Dido's lap; cf. the cradling of the dying girl in her sister's *sinus* at 4.686–687, where Anna will try in vain to staunch Dido's bloody wound. Servius took the *sinus* to refer to the orbs of Dido's eyes, as when one is unable to see properly for the tears; the singular works against this, though anyone with lingering doubts may read Henry's exhaustive criticism. The question of whose *sinus* is referenced here has also been raised; it is almost certainly Dido's and not her sister's.

lacrimis ... obortis: On Virgilian tears see J. Schafer in *VE* III, 1379; on the physical appearance of the weeping queen, Heuzé 1985, 514–515. The first instance in the book of Dido's crying; cf. 314, 413, and 649. The present verse echoes 3.492 *hos ego digrediens lacrimis adfabar obortis*, as Aeneas took his leave of

Andromache and Helenus at Buthrotum, just after the Trojan woman has been struck by the image of Astyanax in Iulus; cf. 6.867 *tum pater Anchises lacrimis ingressus obortis*; 11.41 ... *lacrimis ita fatur obortis*. Four parallel passages, then, in interlocking order; the first and third refer to emotionally significant departures of Aeneas, and the second and fourth to characters who share significant affinities, not least premature death. The verb is poetic and of venerable lineage (Ennius *tragicus*, Lucretius); Livy also favored it, and so also Ovid and the silver poets. The prefix would seem to mean that the tears literally rose up to interrupt her speech.

Dido's tears here have occasioned a predictable range of diverse critical responses since antiquity (cf. both Servius and Tib. here), mostly centered on the question of whether they are more genuine or more manipulative, as well as the problem of whether she is crying more for her dead husband or for her new desired love. Pease argues that the tears came spontaneously; for Austin they are a physical indicator of her "unstable, irresolute" nature. They come in the immediate aftermath of the mention of Sychaeus and his grave; they serve also as an emotional close to the queen's speech, summing up the whole matter of her remarks in a flood of sorrow. What is perhaps most noteworthy is that the occasion for her tears is ultimately the question of a love affair; the matter of her lament does not rise, one might think, to the level of Andromache in Book 3, or of Aeneas with his ghostly father in 6. Tears will contribute greatly to the Virgilian picture of Dido; we may recall Augustine's lament at *Conf.* 1.13.20–21 (where see O'Donnell, and Clark) about crying for Dido—dead because of her love for Aeneas—when one could be mourning one's own spiritual ruin. Dido will complain that Anna was conquered by these tears at 548 below: *tu lacrimis evicta meis ...*

implevit: The same verb form at 1.716, of the disguised Cupid satisfying the love of his false father. The verb makes clear the quantity of the tears, real or contrived.

31–53 Anna responds to her sister, urging her to consider her precarious position and to take advantage of the opportunities occasioned by Aeneas' arrival. See further here Hight 1972, 7; 80–81 on the "suasoria omni parte plena"; Adler 2003, 111–114. For how Anna's speech displays more logic and rhetorical polish than Dido's, note Newman and Newman 2005, 126–127; 193 (on the evocation of Menandrian New Comedy in Anna's interplay with her sister). The opening of Anna's speech displays balanced thematization: verse 31, light; 32, the gloom of sorrow; 33, the happy rewards of marriage; 34, the world of the grave.

31 Anna refert: “o luce magis dilecta sorori,

The verse is framed by the name and the familial role, echoing 9 above. Anna addresses her sister with a fawning, dramatic periphrasis, one which takes on potential significance in light of the associations of Dido with Diana and of Aeneas with Apollo.

refert: Cf. 333; 438. The prefix here underscores the reciprocity and closeness between the siblings.

o: For its use in passages of heightened emotion see Austin, who notes that Anna does not use Dido’s name.

luce: It is, after all, not long after the coming of the dawn. Anna commences her speech on a bright and optimistic note, especially in the aftermath of Dido’s dark musings. The comparative ablative is part of the semi-bombast of Anna’s address: Dido is viewed as more beloved to her sister than the sun that now rises. Light = life (*OLD s.v.* 6); the common enough metaphor takes on particular appropriateness given the hour, and the contrast with the closing word of Dido’s speech could not be more pointed.

magis: Cf. 452. Servius identifies the use of the adverb to express comparison as an archaism.

dilecta: The disguised Venus used the same word of Sychaeus at 1.344 ... *et magno miserae dilectus amore*; Anna’s words here are unintentionally ironic. There is also an echo of the ghostly Creüsa’s admonition to her husband ... *lacrimas dilectae pelle Creüsae* (2.784), especially given the tear-filled context of that other separation scene; Virgil thus here recalls both Sychaeus and Creüsa—the other, past lovers of Dido and Aeneas—in a subtly ominous start to Anna’s speech. For the adjective cf. 5.569 *parvus Atys pueroque puer dilectus Iulo* (during the *lusus Troiae*); 9.85 *pineae silva mihi multos dilecta per annos* (Cybele to Jupiter); 12.391 *iamque aderat Phoebos ante alios dilectus Iapyx*. There is another allusion to “Creüsa” in this verse, since Anna’s words echo those in the recognition duet of another Creüsa with her son Ion from Euripides, *Ion* 1439 ff. (where see Gibert), where the mother describes her child as greater than the sun in the estimation of his parent—a brilliant example of the poet’s deliberate evocation of a tragic antecedent to recall a character of great significance in the present drama. *Dilecta* in any case raises the issue of Dido’s own amatory history.

sorori: Another referential dative, with an element of agency as well (“*Dativus auctoris*”—Binder). One could punctuate so as to take *sorori* of Dido (after *refert*), though this would disturb the flow and balance of the verse (cf. Wakefield). Anna says *sorori* because of Dido’s vocative appellation *soror* at 9. Cf. 47 *soror*, near the end of the speech.

32 *solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa,*

Every word of Anna's verse highlights some aspect of Dido's problem. "The lovely vowel-sounds in the line should be noted" (Austin); the effect is one of blandishment and seductive agreement with what her sister has already, we might think, resolved to do.

solane: Emphasizing Dido's solitary state, while also echoing the equally single Aeneas referenced at 22. See Austin for the "proper use" of the suffix, by which the emphasis is placed on the notion of the queen's isolation; cf. 38 *placitone*. For the use of this enclitic to highlight such key ideas, note Dainotti 2015, 229 n. 707.

perpetua: The adjective is rare in Virgil; at 7.176 it describes the *mensae* in Latinus' palace, while at 8.183 it recurs in a similar context referencing food and eating; cf. *E.* 4.14. *Perpetua* here refers to the entirety of Dido's youth (*OLD s.v.* 1d), with Anna's point being that her sister is wasting the best years of her life in mourning ("all through the days of thy prime"—Butler); the ironic backdrop is that the queen will in a perverse sense enjoy "perpetual youth," because she will be frozen in time by her premature death. The adjective correlates closely with the circumstantial participle that follows, even as it formally agrees with *iuventa* at line-end. Statius imitates this verse at *Silv.* 4.3.149 *annos perpetua geres iuventa*. We are again reminded that for the young—especially for the young who are in love—every delay seems an eternity.

maerens: Also at 82 *sola domo maeret vacua ...*, a verse that strongly recalls the language and sentiments of the present line. Significantly, the Nile on Aeneas' shield is *maerentem* as it welcomes the defeated Cleopatra and Antony into its *sinus* (8.71 ff.). The verb is used also in the funereal context of 11.211 and 216 (of the Latin requiems); cf. the mourning Iulus of 12.399, grieving because of his father's serious wound, and not least the sad hearts of Aeneas' companions that he seeks to console at 1.197. *Maerens* occurs of the sad nightingale to which Orpheus is compared in the wake of the second loss of Eurydice (*G.* 4.51). Cleopatra, then, and the proto-Creüsa Eurydice from the *Georgics* are part of the array of Virgilian figures associated with *maerere*. The participle comes at midverse as the dominant image.

carpere: Echoing 2 above; Anna asks the rhetorical question of whether the young Dido is to pine away, as it were, in endless grief. The line-end continues the unintentional, ironic point: Dido will, after all, "be taken/plucked in youth" by virtue of her suicide. For this form of the future indicative passive cf. 3.440; 7.318; 8.76; 10.740; 829; 11.44; 857.

iuventa: The noun offers something of a clue as to the queen's age. Dido's tragedy is preeminently one of youth, a topic of Virgilian fixation especially in the second half of his epic. The noun recurs at 559 below of Mercury's dream

apparition to Aeneas. On the poet's vocabulary of youth note Sisul 2018, 34 ff. On the implicit loveliness of the young queen see Heuzé 1985, 285. For the use of this noun *vs.* forms of *iuventus* for the sake of the meter see Pease ad loc. MacLennan takes the noun to refer more to a "period of maturity" than to youth *per se*.

33 *nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris?*

A line of rhetorical splendor and brilliant subtlety, as Anna continues her earnest argument in favor of Dido's succumbing to her passion for Aeneas.

nec: The negative introduces marked alliteration: *nec*; *natos*; *Ven-*; *nec*; *noris*. The postponement of the second connective after the Hellenistic, neoteric fashion (see on this Mankin, and Watson on Horace, *ep.* 1.12) is especially appropriate given the amatory context.

dulcis natos: Also at *G.* 3.178 *sed tota in dulcis consument ubera natos* (and cf. *G.* 2.523); *Aen.* 2.138 *nec dulcis natos exoptatumque parentem* (the lying Sinon to the Trojans); note also Evander's poignant reference to Pallas' sweet embrace at 8.568–569. There is a grim evocation here of Lucretius, *DRN* 3.894 ff., where the poet reminds his audience that the dead will not enjoy the pleasures of a wife and sweet children (see further Kenney ad loc.). Dido will enjoy neither children nor husband (and cf. 327–330, of Dido's pathetic, quasi-incestuous remarks about the child she does not have by which to remember Aeneas). *Dulcis* is another of Virgil's favorite words (vid. E. Zaffagno in *EV* II, 151–152); Virgil may have in mind here Ariadne's *dulcis amor* for Theseus at Catullus, c. 64.120. "Sweet sleep" will elude Dido at 185 below. For the sentimental flavor of the reference see Newman and Newman 2005, 33 ("How jarring that the first speaker here is Sinon, and the second Anna, Dido's sister!"); for Anna as Sinon see Fratantuono 2007, 102. The mention of children follows on Anna's emphasis on her sister's isolation in 32; artfully, there is no explicit mention of Aeneas here, only the implicit reference to a new lover and father of future children. For the problem of Cleopatra's Caesarion in allusions to the question of Dido having children, see below on 327–330, and cf. Quint 2018, 76–77.

Dulcis recurs also at 6.455 *demisit lacrimas dulcique adfatus amore est*, as Aeneas begins to speak to Dido's shade.

Veneris: The first mention in the book of the goddess who is both Aeneas' mother and the key divine factor in the instigation of Dido's passion for the Trojan hero. For the goddess in Virgil see F. Piccirillo in *EV* V, 478–484; B.W. Boyd in *VE* III, 1331–1332; Bailey 1935, 126–129; Wlosok 1967. The name comes prominently at mid-line, so as to effect a carefully arranged array of shades of meaning: the goddess is the mother of the *dulcis natos* Aeneas and Cupid, and the

praemia of Venus include both children and sexual pleasures (Servius did not approve of this dual interpretation, noting those who “male iungunt” the name of the goddess and the children). The immortals are often named for that over which they preside (see Tilly’s note here); in the present case, Venus has been intimately associated with Dido’s story from her first report of it to her son in Book 1. See further H.A. Khan, “Venus’ Intervention in the Dido-affair: Controversies and Considerations,” in Deroux 2003, 244–274, with helpful commentary.

praemia: Cf. Propertius, c. 1.14.16 *nulla mihi tristi praemia sint Venere!* Very different from the *praemia laudi* of 1.461 (and cf. 2.537–538); the noun recalls the presents Aeneas arranged for Dido at 1.605. “Virgil is not a poet known for obscenity” (J.T. Ziolkowski in *VE* 11, 924); Anna speaks euphemistically of the delights of intercourse, in a *hysteron proteron* after the mention of *dulcis natos* (see especially Buscaroli here). In point of fact Dido will experience—however briefly—the *Veneris praemia* referenced here; the only “sweet children of Venus” she will come to know will be the ones she has already encountered—Aeneas and Cupid. The reference to the *praemia Veneris* is Homeric (as Servius already observed); vid. Bowie on *Il.* 3.54. Rhetorical effectiveness: first Anna mentions children as the proper, primary reason for marriage; the *praemia Veneris* come second.

noris: For the verb cf. 423 below. Other syncopated verb forms in the book occur at 367 and 606; note also 6.514 *nosti*; 641 *norunt*.

34 *id cinerem aut manis credis curare sepultos?*

A direct, even shocking response to Dido’s mention of the dead Sychaeus. From her mention of sex and children, Anna proceeds to refute her sister’s arguments about loyalty to the memory of her *primus amor*. MacLennan sees Anna’s advice as well-intentioned, but certain to result in disaster. Anna’s sentiments about what the dead care about has occasioned a wave of critical commentary, including comparison of the content of Book 6. The early morning conversation of the two sisters, however, has more in common with the chatter of young women about new love than any philosophical, theological, or eschatological reflection. For how Anna does not engage in “specious” rhetorical argumentation, but moves straightway to her attempted demolishing of Dido’s arguments, see Monti 1981, 55.

id: The little demonstrative encompasses quite a wide range of serious issues; Anna engages in rhetorical minimalism.

cinerem: Introducing an alliterative pattern with *credis ... curare*, and balanced with *manes sepultos*. Dido echoes the present verse at 427 *nec patris Anchisae cineres manesve revelli*, where (rather mysteriously) she attests to

how she was not involved in any desecration of Anchises' burial place; and at 552, where she speaks of the *non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo*. Cf. also the ash of the grave of Dido's nurse referenced at 633, and especially the ash of Dido's own imagined grave (623). For the singular here because of the elision see Austin on 427. The connective *aut* moves from the realm of the concrete—there are ashes left of Sychaeus—to whatever bogeys may haunt Dido's sleepless, lonely nights (the conjunction may contrast significant philosophical implications). "Ash" may refer simply to the physical remains of the dead, without any specific hint of cremation; the murdered Sychaeus was said to have been unburied (knowledge of this was reported to Dido through dreams, and we learn of such visions secondhand via Venus' report to Aeneas), though ultimately this does not seem to have affected his ultimate locus in the underworld. Page (*contra* the view of those who read a hypallage of *manes sepulti/sepultorum*) sees *cinerem*, *manes*, and *sepultos* as constituting a tricolon that defines that which is "destroyed, dead, and buried"—none of which have any concern for Dido's marital status or sexual habits. Cf. Propertius' *nec sedeant cineri Manes* (c. 4.5.3, of Acanthis), with Coutelle ad loc.—a passage that is sometimes cited as evidence for the use of *manes* to refer to the material remains of the dead. Henry compares Sophocles, *Ant.* 88, where Ismene acknowledges her sister's hot heart for cold deeds.

manis: Ghosts. Vid. here E. Montanari in *EV* III, 339–340; R.I. Cioffi in *VE* II, 554–556; R.F. Thomas in *VE* II, 783–784; Negri 1984, 85 ff. Ash is real and *manes* are insubstantial; here there is perhaps something of a hendiadys, with a hint, too, that Dido should not be troubled because of any nocturnal apparitions of her departed husband—her ghosts are buried.

"In Virgil, the key Latin nouns [with reference to ghosts] are: *anima*, *figura*, *imago*, *manes* (only in the plural), *simulacrum*, and *umbra* (often in the plural, used to refer both to the ghosts themselves and their dwelling places)" (Cioffi in *VE* II, 554, following on A.M. Negri Rosio in *EV* V, 378–384).

credis: The rhetorical question of a would-be sophisticate, an urbane comment on the childish fantasies of those who worry about the thoughts and feelings of the dead as if they were still sentient. Anna in this verse articulates a position that would not be unwelcome to Epicureans (vid. Goldenhard here, following O'Hara and ultimately Servius). Virgil's language here is reminiscent of *E.* 8.35 *nec curare deum credis mortalia umquam*.

curare: Looking back to Dido's problem from 4.1; for the youthful, vigorous queen there is very much a *cura* regarding loneliness and the desire for children, while for the dead Sychaeus there are no such anxieties. Dido has shown honor to Sychaeus that he does not appreciate (cf. Tib.'s "... cui deferre contendis nescit honorificentiam tuam").

sepultos: Echoing Dido's mention of a *sepulchrum* at 29. "Buried ghosts" neatly underscores Anna's point that ghosts are not real (cf. the sentiments of Propertius, c. 4.7.1). "Not perhaps a strict but a perfectly natural phrase" (Sidgwick). Conington emphasizes the importance of the epithet—that which is underground has no concern for that which transpires above. We may recall Dido's vow at 24–26.

This verse is virtually quoted by Petronius at *Sat.* 111.12 *id cinerem aut manes credis sentire sepultos* (where see Schmeling), with reference to the seduction of the widow of Ephesus: a woman's *ancilla* urges her mistress to respond positively to the charms of a soldier ("Maids, widows, soldiers, and readers all know their Virgil"—Schmeling)—an intertext of relevance for the study of the reception of Dido by at least one Roman novelist of the first century A.D.

35 **esto: aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti,**

esto: This future imperative will recur at 237, of Jupiter's admonition to Mercury; cf. Juno as she envisages the employment of Allecto at 7.313; Juno at the divine council (10.67); Turnus as he prepares to launch an attack (10.280); Aeneas making his vows with Latinus (12.176); Aeneas as he seeks to attack Latinus' city (12.565); Juno with Jupiter in the final divine colloquy of the epic (12.821). Anna is impatient (see Austin on this), as she introduces a new element in the emotional dilemma: previous suitors have been ignored. The imperative is usually taken, then, to refer to what follows; it would more naturally be employed of what immediately preceded, and here there may be an underscoring of Anna's sentiment about how the dead do not care, supplemented by the fact that Dido has already paid attention to the (unreal) sentiments of ghosts by her rejection of past would-be lovers. There is a transition, then: even if the dead were owed some respect in these matters, Dido has already done more than enough to satisfy their demands. "Il vocabulo dà un tono curialesco all'argomentare di Anna" (Paratore ad loc.). The concessive force blandishingly excuses the past, even as it prepares to excuse a new future too.

aegram: Medical imagery, with reference to Venus' description of Dido *aegra* at 1.350–351 (cf. Newman and Newman 2005, 133). Dido has been wounded by love (cf. 4.1); Anna diagnoses her sister as sick on account of lost love—the adjective refers principally to Dido's sorrow over the lost Sychaeus, even as it hints strongly at her lovesick longing for Aeneas. The adjective is prominently placed in the verse to highlight the queen's unhealthy state. MacLennan considers taking *aegram* closely with *quondam*, so that Anna's point would be that her sister was "sick once upon a time"—that is, before she met Aeneas. The word order may mitigate against this (*nulli ... mariti* neatly frames *quondam*

flexere); certainly Dido seemed *male sana* (8) in her speech to Anna. For a possible reminiscence of this passage at 12.908–914 (of Turnus’ “final nightmare”), see Newman and Newman 2005, 176.

quondam: Another temporal marker that begs the question of just how long Dido has been in her lonely state. For the tradition of Dido’s chastity that may be referenced here, see Gildenhard’s note.

flexere: Echoing Dido’s remark at 22 *solus hic inflexit*—another subtle trick of the master orator, as Anna uses Dido’s own words against her—though the sisters are, after all, *unanimes*, and Dido is more than eager for Anna’s validation of what she has already set out to do.

mariti: A rare word in Virgil, occurring also at 103 and 536 below; cf. 3.297 of Andromache’s marriage to Helenus. The noun is proleptic: the suitors are imagined as future husbands. The rhetorical use is subtle: Anna legitimizes what she is recommending by casting it as the pursuit of an honorable second marriage and not some quest for passion and sexual pleasure (see Gildenhard *ad loc.* for her presentation of a “*fait accompli*”). Servius notes that some read the genitive singular here and not the nominative plural, a view that (rightly) no modern editor has entertained (cf. also Tib.’s note here).

36 non Libyae, non ante Tyro; despectus Iarbas

Anna expands on the theme of would-be husbands for her sister. Three proper names come in artfully balanced order, with the key place and person framing the verse, and Dido’s original homeland in the middle, crescendoing with Iarbas, whose role in this book will be especially conspicuous.

non ... non: Emphatic negatives after 35 *nulli* (a Grecism not particularly popular with Latin poets).

Libyae: Vid. V. La Bua in *EV* III, 205–207; L. Kronenberg in *VE* II, 747–748. “... the third of the three continents of classical antiquity ...” (Roller on Strabo 17.3.1). Prominently featured at 1.21–22 *hinc populum late regem belloque superbum / venturum excidio Libyae*; cf. 1.158 (the Trojan arrival in north Africa); 226 (Jupiter fixing his eyes on Dido’s Libya); 301 (Mercury’s arrival there); 384 (Aeneas telling his disguised mother how he is wandering in Libya, having been driven from both Europe and Asia); 556 (Ilioneus wondering if the *pontus Libyae* holds Aeneas); 577 (Dido promising to send out scouts to find the Trojan leader); 173 below (Fama preparing her own journey); 257 (Mercury once again landing in Africa); 6.694 (the ghost of Anchises expressing how anxious he was about Libya); 843 (the twin Scipios as the *clades Libyae*). Virgil thus artfully arranges his references to the locale: Juno’s fear in Book 1 is confirmed in the allusion to the final defeat of Carthage in the Punic Wars that is envisaged in the *Heldenschau*; this ultimate victory over Troy is preceded by Aeneas’

dealings with the Carthaginians, as well as Anchises' fear regarding the hazards posed by Dido's realm. Libya comes first here, though logically Dido's rejection of suitors at Tyre should precede it—Libya is, for the Roman audience, the more important place, and the current center of Dido's power.

Libya is cited already in Ennius (*Ann.* fr. 9.302 Skutsch); cf. Catullus, c. 45.6. It stands conveniently as a label for Carthage's African holdings (centered on what is today Tunisia, with contemporary Carthage a suburb of Tunis). *Libyae* (and *Tyro* in turn) are good examples of easily intelligible Latin that defy precise morphological analysis. The form is probably locative and not genitive after 35 *mariti* (though it is not clear that Virgil would have much worried about the case identification); *Tyro* is certainly a locative ablative (cf. 26 *Erebo*), and Austin (following Mackail) may be right to say that poetic variety accounts for Virgil's choices here. The variant reading *Libya* is no surprise. We do well to remember that Virgil is relatively free in his use of the locative, and that many of his expressions would not be thought to constitute good prose style.

ante: Cf. 80 *Post*.

Tyro: For Tyre see F. Càssola in *EV* v, 186; V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* III, 1312–1313; W.L. Macdonald in *PECS* 944. The main problem posed by this reference to the celebrated city in ancient Phoenicia (modern Lebanon) is that Dido almost certainly could not have had suitors there in the wake of her hasty departure *post mortem Sychaei*. Anna may be engaging in rhetorical flourish, with citation of all the places associated with Dido's life and journey. She repeats the mention of the city at 43, with reference to Pygmalion's threats of war; cf. the dramatic destruction envisioned for Tyre at 670. Venus identifies Dido's brother as being in control of the city at 1.345–346. We do well to remember that our knowledge of Dido's early history at Tyre is filtered through the capricious, trickster goddess Venus; both Venus and Anna cannot be right, and the former has every reason to want to emphasize to her son how poor Dido had to flee quickly from deadly peril in Tyre, while the latter seeks to emphasize how long Dido has lived alone, with suitor after suitor rejected. For a contemporary Roman imagination, it might have been best remembered as the site of a famous siege of Alexander, and for its assignment to the province of Syria in Pompey's settlement of 63. Absent in Homer.

The movement here from Africa (*Libyae*) back to Phoenicia (*Tyro*) is balanced at 40–44, where Anna once again starts with mention of Dido's African neighbors, before recalling the situation in Tyre.

despectus: The second of only two occurrences of the verb in the epic; cf. 1.224, where Jupiter looks down at the world before fixing his gaze on Libya. The supreme god will soon enough take heed of Iarbas' complaint (cf. 198 ff.); the two uses of the verb connect the image of Jupiter's attention to African

affairs. The sense here is identical to that of *E.* 2.19 *despectus tibi sum, nec qui sim quaeris, Alexi*; the implications are that Iarbas has been haughtily looked down upon as not worthy of Dido's consideration or attention, perhaps for reasons best considered shallow. Arrogant behavior, one might think, regarding a son of Jupiter (especially in light of Dido's comment at 12). Gould and Whiteley construe *despectus* closely with 35 *esto*. Here the participle suggests Dido's point of view especially.

Iarbas: On Dido's principal suitor see A.M. Tupet in *EV* 11, 884–885; B.W. Boyd in *VE* 11, 639. Justin's epitome of Trogus (18.6.1) notes: *Cum successu rerum florentes Karthaginis opes essent, rex Maxitanorum Hiarbas decem Poenorum principibus ad se arcessitis Elissae nuptias sub belli denuntiatione petit*, proceeding to tell of Hiarbas' demand for Elissa in marriage, and the ultimate refusal of the queen and her suicide in loyalty to the memory of Acherbas (i.e., Sychaeus). Mentioned in passing here by Anna as part of her case to Dido, this African prince will take center stage at 196 ff. Iarbas is Gaetulian at Ovid, *Her.* 7.125, and Garamantian at Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 2.58 (where see Bernstein). Silius imitates the present verse at *Pun.* 8.54 *despectus taedae regnis se imponit Iarbas*. Cf. also Ovid, *Fast.* 3.552 (with Miller's note); Juvenal, *Sat.* 5.45 (with Courtney, and Braund); Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 1.417; 8.157a. Marlowe was much taken by the dramatic possibilities inherent in this character.

37 *ductoresque alii, quos Africa terra triumphis*

The relative clause that commences here introduces an anachronistic reference to Rome's military adventures in north Africa (as Servius recognized), both in the Punic Wars and in the more recent history of the first-century B.C., from Jugurtha to Juba. In the immediate context, Anna here introduces the notion that Dido should both respect and fear the power of the men she has hitherto despised.

ductoresque alii: Iarbas was but one of many African suitors of lesser glory and renown. Cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 1.86 *ductores Danaum delecti*; also *Aen.* 1.189–190 *ductoresque ipsos primum capita alta ferentis | omnibus arboreis sternit*; 235–236 *hinc fore ductores, revocato a sanguine Teucri, | qui mare, qui terras omnis dicione tenerent*; 2.14 *ductores Danaum tot iam labentibus annis*; 5.133 *ductores longe effulgent ostroque decori*; 560–561 *tres equitum numero turmae ternique vagantur | ductores*; 8.6 ... *ductores primi Messapus et Ufens*; 9.226 *ductores Teucrum primi, delecta iuventus*; 778–779 *Tandem ductores audita caede suorum | conveniunt Teucri*; 12.126 *ductores auro volitant ostroque superbi*; 561–562 *Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum | ductores*. With the idea that Dido had many suitors, none of whom were pleasing (until now, that is), Henry compares Theocritus, *Id.* 27.22.

Africa terra: Echoing Ennius' celebrated *Africa terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu* (*Ann. fr.* 9.309 Skutsch); cf. *Sat.* 10–11. Note also the fragment of a speech of Scipio Africanus Maior preserved at Livy 38.50.10–51.12 (= F 3A Manuwald), where see Briscoe. On Africa in Virgil vid. G. Senis in *EV* 1, 48–49; M. Carter in *VE* 1, 35. Here the name is more general in reference than the Libya of 36, encompassing as it does all of Dido's neighbors; for the poet's Roman audience the immediate reference would be to the province established after the fall of Carthage in 146. Cf. The *Afri* depicted on Aeneas' shield at 8.724. See Pease here for the use of the noun as *de facto* adjective ("... this is the only case in his poems of the word *Africa*"). Servius' note focuses on the alleged derivation of the name of the place from *afer*.

triumphis: Evoking the tradition of a Roman triumph, and continuing the alliterative effect of *ductores* and *Africa terra*, with powerful "r" and "t" sound effects in imitation of Ennius. Propertius has *magna, Quiris, merces: parat ultima terra triumphos* (c. 3.4.3); cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 1.763–764 ... *terraeque marisque triumphis | naturae victorem Ithacum* ... Pease notes that the glorification here is of the tribes that are hostile to Carthage: this is a celebration of the spirit of those African natives who resisted Carthage and who, much later in time, were on the right side of the Roman civil wars. Page sees a reference to the African tribes that Dido had to conquer to win her place among local powers. The noun *triumphus* is not very common in Virgil; cf. 2.178 (in the disputed Helen passage); 11.54 *hi nostri reditus exspectatique triumphis?* (Aeneas' rueful words over the corpse of Pallas); and the parallel 6.814–815 *Tullus in arma viros et iam desueta triumphis | agmina* ... and 8.714–715 *at Caesar, triplici invectus Romana triumpho | moenia* ... For the line-end cf. 40 *bello*.

DServ. notes that some critics questioned Virgil here, noting "Afros numquam triumphasse"; he cites Pliny the Elder's *NH* and Trogus for the African invention of the triumph (but cf. Pliny, *NH* 7.191). DServ. further cites Livius Andronicus for frequent African triumphs over the Romans and decorations of their porticoes with spoils. A good example in the commentary tradition of an overly literal reading of Virgil's poetry.

38 dives alit: placitone etiam pugnabis amori?

dives: Of Dido at 263 below; one most naturally thinks here of Virgil's characterization of Carthage at 1.12 ff. as *dives opum studiisque asperrima belli* (cf. the parallel description of Tenedos at 2.22). Circe is *dives* at 7.11. Elsewhere the adjective occurs at 6.195 (of the Golden Bough); 7.262 (of the soil of Latium); 7.684 (of Anagnia); 9.26 (of the Latin army, *dives equum, dives pictai vestis et auri*); 10.201 (of Virgil's Mantua); 12.473 (of the rich man in the swallow sim-

ile describing Juturna). The enjambment highlights the wealth of Africa, with implicit reference also to the wealth of Dido (and Cleopatra in more recent history).

alit: For the verb see above on 2. For Virgil's audience the image of Africa, a land rich in triumphs that has nurtured and nourished heroes, would recall too the significance of the region to the food supply of Italy and the economic health of the imperial republic. The verb with *terra* also in Columella; Quintus Curtius Rufus (of India's nurturing of the rhinoceros).

placitone: Punchily alliterative with *pugnabis*. The participle occurs also in the grander context of 1.283 (and cf. 10.15, in a similar divine scene); note too 12.76. For the suffix cf. 32 *solane*: once again the key word is emphasized. The reference in *placito* is to Aeneas; DServ. notes that some wished to apply to it the notion of *coniugalis amor* (i.e., as opposed to less reputable sorts of amatory endeavors). The commentators note the active use of the perfect passive participle of an intransitive verb; there may also be a hint here of how Anna recognizes that Dido's love for Aeneas is a foregone conclusion. In the space of not so many verses, Anna has advanced from arguments relative to 1) Dido's loyalty to 2) Sychaeus' memory to 3) a comparison of would-be suitors.

etiam: Also at 305; 422; 680—all in very different contexts that trace the grim progress of the affair soon to commence (Dido railing against Aeneas; Dido urging Anna to try to intervene with Aeneas; Dido just before her suicide). The inclusion of this adverb takes the reader beyond merely the narrator's reporting of Anna's speech to suggest Anna's personal emphasis and frustration with her idealistic sister. For how Anna here employs a line of reasoning that is "seldom used in deliberative oratory," see Highet 1972, 80.

pugnabis: The elegiac image and language of the lover as soldier. Just after the evocation of the rich military history of Africa, Anna paints her sister as, in the end, a warrior in love. The verb is not particularly common in Virgil; cf. 629 below, and also 6.660; 7.182; 553; 665; 8.629; 11.600: only here metaphorically. Here it contrasts effectively with *placito* (for the "paradox" see Gildenhard ad loc.); Africa is a land rich in triumphs, and Dido is imagined as intending to fight a war against a pleasing foe.

amori: In contrast to 37 ... *triumphis*. For the dative after *pugnare* cf. Catullus, c. 62.59–60 *et tu ne pugna cum tali coniuge, virgo. / non aequum est pugnare, pater cui tradidit ipse* and 64 ... *noli pugnare duobus* (passages Virgil likely has in mind here). For the (Greek) poeticism cf. 1.475; 493. The *amor* is of course Aeneas; lost somewhere in Anna's argument is the significant point that while Iarbas and the *ductores alii* were active suitors of Dido, Aeneas has been (at least thus far) passive—a key detail that both sisters have ignored.

This verse provides another Virgilian tag for Petronius' *ancilla* of the widow of Ephesus (*Sat.* 112.2.5); some manuscripts proceed to add verse 39 as well (see Schmeling ad loc.).

39 **nec venit in mentem quorum conederis arvis?**

Some scholars (cf. Cartault 1926, 342) have questioned whether verses 39–44 (with its “suspicious” hemistich) constitute “a marginal addition not yet fused by Virgil into the text” (Pease), especially given that 45 seems to flow naturally after 38. A definitive answer is not possible. The present verse, at any rate, is echoed in the remarks of the disguised Juturna to the Rutulians at 12.236–237 *nos patria amissa dominis parere superbis / cogemur, qui nunc lenti consedimus arvis*.

venit in mentem: *Mens* here of Dido's rational mind; if the queen is not willing to surrender to a love that is pleasing to her for emotional reasons, she should at least consider the military and political situation in which she finds herself. *Venire in mentem* is archaic (Cato *orator*; Naevius; Plautus; Terence; Afranius); Ciceronian; Livian: rare in high poetry. For the meaning and use of the noun here vid. Negri 1984, 175 ff. The present tense is vivid: Anna is urging the lovesick Dido to be aware of the dangerous circumstances in which she finds herself. For how Dido's circumstances have influenced her mental state (with reference to this verse), see Newman and Newman 2005, 130. Cf. further on 55 *spemque dedit dubiae menti*.

quorum: For the genitive as if *venire in mentem* were a verb of remembering, see Austin ad loc.

conederis: The verb recurs below at 349–350 *quae tandem Ausonia Teucros considerare terra / invidia est?*, as Aeneas poses a rhetorical question to Dido; cf. too 573 *considite*. The emphasis here is on the prefix: Dido shares Africa with potentially hostile neighbors. The verb (describing the queen's state) is framed by *quorum ... arvis*, of those enemy powers. For the connection to the notion of colonization and settlement see Gildenhard (who highlights how the use of the second person continues an emphasis on the situation of Dido, to the exclusion of the consideration of her own sister and the other Tyrian colonists—certainly a theme to which Virgil will return in this book, not least with reference to Aeneas and the consequences of his love affair for his fellow Trojan exiles). Perhaps Anna was present when her sister noted at 1.563–564 *res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt / moliri et late finis custode tueri*; cf. also Venus' comment at 1.339 *sed fines Libyci, genus intractabile bello*.

arvis: For the noun cf. 236; 311; 355 below.

With the line-end here compare the similar cases of Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 6.145; 15.344.

40 **hinc Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello,**

We do well to remember that we cannot trust Anna to provide a reliable poetic map of the vicinity, or to offer trustworthy details about the military and political status of the neighboring peoples of Africa. For the influence here of Apollonius' Polyxo at *Arg.* 1.675–696 (who warns the Lemnian Hypsipyle of the dangers posed by the Thracians and other neighbors), see Nelis 2001, 138–139. On how Carthage is depicted as civilized, in contrast to her wild and unruly neighbors, see Giusti 2018, 131.

hinc: Introducing several lines that explicate 39 *quorum*; cf. 42 *hinc*. Anna begins to hem her sister in literally with rhetorical references to her powerful, menacing neighbors.

Gaetulae: Vid. R. Palmieri in *EV* 11, 720; P.E. Knox in *VE* 11, 518; Paul on Sallust, *BI* 18.1; Roller on Strabo 17.3.2. Iarbas is identified as the king of the Gaetulians at 326; cf. 5.51 *hunc ego Gaetulis agerem si Syrtibus exsul* (Aeneas' backward glance at his African interlude); 192 *nunc animos, quibus in Gaetulis Syrtibus usi* (Mnestheus during the regatta); 351–352 *sic fatus tergum Gaetuli immane leonis / dat Salio ...* (of a prize for the foot race). The Gaetulians occupied a traditionally vast territory from what is today the east coast of Tunisia, west toward the Atlantic; here Anna begins something of a progression to the south (Gaetulia), then to the southwest (Numidia at 41), the east (the Syrtis of 41), and the southeast (the Barcaei at 43), though these territories sometimes shade into each other. Lastly she will allude to threats from Tyre and Dido's and her brother Pygmalion (43–44); what is left out, of course, is the ultimate threat to Carthage from Rome—a peril to which Virgil's Juno is all too privy, not to mention the poet's contemporary audience.

urbes: For the noun see on 47. The rhetorical exaggeration was noted already by Servius; the Gaetuli were in fact notoriously nomadic. The appositive collocation with *genus* emphasizes a people who have already been established (indeed, they are depicted as unconquered in war), in contrast to the subjects of both Dido and Aeneas. Dido also mentioned cities of the region (alongside forests) at 1.578; it is not entirely clear that the queen has had enough time to obtain a good understanding of the vast new continent she inhabits, let alone the particulars of her neighbors' territories.

insuperabile: *Hapax* in Virgil (vid. *TLL* VII 1 col. 2060); for the adjective cf. Ps.-V., *Aetna* 538; Ovid, *Met.* 12.613; 15.807; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.11; 510. Livian; Seneca Minor's prose. "Ecce tulit et vincendi spem, nec diceret Dido etsi moverint arma, superabo eos" (Tib.). The principal echo here is of 1.339 ... *genus intractabile bello*; it is no surprise that we find R *intractabile* here as a variant reading.

bello: Echoing the theme of 37 *triumphis*. The *Bellum Gaetulicum* of A.D. 6 was still years away, but there may be a reference here to the Antonian allied support found among the African potentates west of Cleopatra; cf. 8.724: what Anna claims that Dido should not aspire to do, Augustus certainly managed, and *insuperabile* might bring a smile to those who knew that the Gaetulians were, after all, quite conquerable after all. “The ablative is on the border-line between local and instrumental” (Pease). Probably of specification/limitation. Paratore compares the language of *G.* 2.167–170, where Virgil praises the *genus acre virum, Marsos pubemque Sabellam* and the *Scipiadas duros bello*. Virgil may have remembered Caecilius Statius’ *bellosum genus*; excellence in lineage and in martial prowess was a mark of Roman nobility and honor (cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.55.5).

41 et Numidae infreni cingunt et inhospita Syrtis;

Numidae: Etymologically connected with *Nomades*, from whom they are generically and virtually indistinguishable; vid. here R. Palmieri in *EV* III, 795–796 and D.A. Secci in *VE* II, 908–909. Pastoral, wandering tribesmen; properly of those in northern Africa (*OLD* s.v. 1a), and by extension those of Scythia and elsewhere. *Numidae* occurs only here in Virgil; for the *Nomades* cf. 320 and 535 below, and their depiction on the shield of Aeneas at 8.724. The Numidians and the Syrtis nearly frame the verse, with the verb describing their girding at mid-line.

infreni: Cf. 10.750 *illum infrenis equi lapsu tellure iacentem*; also 12.287 *infrenant alii currus*; the adjective may be a Virgilian neologism (cf. Livy 35.11.4–8, with Briscoe). The Numidians are here depicted as master horsemen, needing no bridles to control their steeds; Stephenson notes that both hands could thus be used to wield weapons. There is effective imagery and wordplay with *cingunt*: the Numidians are unbridled/unleashed, roaming free and unchecked as it were—and they gird or hem in Dido’s Carthage. See Pease for the implication of lawlessness (following Tib.). Conington speculates that the meaning could be “the Numidians, unbridled as their own horses.” Uncertain if Virgil were thinking of Ennius, *Hectoris Lytra* fr. 158 Jocelyn. It is appropriate enough that those who wander should be unrestrained/ungirt; the adjective expands on the etymological meaning of the proper noun. For how the “unbridled” would be opposed to the bonds of marriage, see Paschalis 1997, 150 n. 6 (with extended discussion).

cingunt: Cf. the *discinctos Afros* depicted on the shield at 8.724. For the verb note also 121 below (during the fateful hunt); the girt Atlas of 248. The stifling force of the verb (cf. *OLD* s.v. *cingo* 4) here may heighten the sense of urgency that Anna seeks to convey with the adjectives also in this line. For this conver-

sation between two women could the obvious etymological connection with a bride's girdle (*cingillum*, cf. Varro, *DLL* 5.114) hint that the girding in of Carthage is not simply via martial threats, but also with reference to the need for a military alliance achieved by marriage?

inhospita: The adjective occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at 5.627 *inhospita saxa*, and may be a coinage (*inhospitalis* occurs in Horace, *ep.* 1 and in *Odes* 1; *inhospita tesqua* at *Ep.* 1.14.19). We may recall that in Dido's remark 9 *quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes*, there was an implicit reference to the *hospes* Aeneas who managed to survive the *inhospita Syrtis*. The most extensive treatment of the implications of the adjective is Henry's.

Syrtis: The notoriously treacherous shoals between Carthage and Cyrene. "Neither quite land nor quite water" (Henry). See here A. Mastino in *EV* IV, 895–897 (with illustration from a Bardo mosaic); L. Fratantuono in *VE* III, 1240 (where the sororial ascription should be corrected, as *ad* 5.607 and 627); *Bar-rington* 35 H2, 1 G4, 37 C1 (*Syrtis Maior*); 35 C 1, 1 F4, 33 G4 (*Syrtis Minor*). The *Syrtis* is "inhospitable" because it wrecks the ships of those who approach it. One of the most celebrated of navigator's banes in the Mediterranean; the ancient name is preserved in the modern Gulf of Sidra and the Libyan city of Sirte. There were two famous *Syrtes*, the greater one in the east around Sirte, and the lesser in the west off Gabès in modern Tunisia (i.e., the Gulf of Khabs); by extension the name *Syrtis/Syrtes* (especially in the plural) could be applied to all such hazardous sandbars. The *Syrtes* posed a noteworthy peril for Aeneas and his Trojans as they approached the African coast (1.111, 146); cf. the references at 5.51, 6.60, and especially 5.192. Juno laments that the *Syrtes* did not, in the end, do her much good in her efforts to hinder Aeneas (7.302). Turnus refers to geographically imprecise *syrtes* at 10.678 (where see Harrison). For the Virgilian depiction of "sandbanks which encircle and entrap," see Paschalis 1997, 39. Anna may refer here to the entire region along the coast, rather than to one or the other of the *Syrtes* in particular (though the so-called *Syrtis Minor* is the one closest to Carthage, and the use of the singular may refer specifically to the closest sandbar). There is irony in how Aeneas managed to surmount the danger posed by the *Syrtes* (not to mention Dido too, on her own arrival in north Africa), and how the Carthaginians of a later age were not able to count on the natural barrier for defense against Rome. Austin is correct *ad loc.* that the sandbars served to isolate Dido—but they did not save her from Aeneas. Anna's simple enough reference to *inhospita Syrtis* manages to cover quite a lot of territory, since it implies both the notorious natural hazard of the sandbars and the hostile tribes living along the coast (so Conington, followed by Page). The ancient etymology of "dragging off by force" (cf. Tilly's "The Drawers") describes well the effect of the storm in the same locale from *Aen.* 1, and also hints at the

threat of Dido being dragged away for a forced marriage. The sandbars were treacherous to ships, and then too we may recall the treatment some of Aeneas' shipwrecked men received from Dido's own Carthaginians once they managed to reach land.

Sabbadini preferred the reading *Syrtes* here, and so too Geymonat (who notes "extrema vocabuli syll. periit in P"); Paratore correctly notes the imitation of Ovid, *Met.* 8.120 *inhospita Syrtis*, thus securing the spelling here. Cf. also Lucan, *BC* 1.367–368 ... *per inhospita Syrtis / litora*. Besides *ep.* 1.12 *inhospitalem Caucasum*, Horace has *sive per Syrtis iter aestuosas / sive facturus per inhospitalem / Caucasum* (c. 1.22.5): likely either Horace's passage was in Virgil's mind, or *vice versa*. See further Mayer on the Horace passage, where he speculates on "collusion" between the two poets in the use of *Syrtis* with reference to the adjacent desert.

The present verse was remembered by Ausonius: *mirabamur poetam qui infrenos dixerat Numidas* (*Grat. Act.* 14.65, where see Green).

42 *hinc deserta siti regio lateque furentes*

hinc: Following on 40 *hinc*. We proceed rather loosely to the south and especially the southeast and east of Carthage. See Gildenhard on the chiasmic arrangement, as Anna moves from people-place to place-people. Paratore does well to note the "capricciosa disposizione dei particolari geografici." *Hinc* cannot be pressed too far in terms of geographical exactitude.

deserta ... regio: A geographically imprecise description of the desert. For *deserta* see further on 144 below. The participle recurs at 330, where it refers poignantly to the abandoned Dido; at 677 Anna uses it of herself—by the end of the book, both sisters have, after all, been left deserted. More pointedly still, at 468 Dido dreams of how fierce (*ferus*) Aeneas seems to be driving her on in a deserted land (the adjective this time with *terra*), alone and bereft of companions. A powerful progression of uses, then, from Anna's warning about how the vast desert stretches out on one side of Dido's realm, and how the queen will dream that her lover—wild and in a state of savagery—will chase her into the desert. *Deserta* provides a neat sound effect after *Syrtis*. The desert referenced here is the vast expanse of modern day western Libya, to the east of Dido's realm. From the sandbars of the *Syrtis* we move to the sands of the desert. Servius notes that Anna strikes a clever note here, observing as she does that the Carthaginians have no hope of help from the desert; he also localizes the reference to the region of Xerolibya, between Tripolis and Pentapolis (Conington *contra*: between Lake Tritonis and Byzacena). It is doubtful that Anna considered her remarks akin to a gazeteer (cf. Austin *ad* 43).

siti: Causal ablative. One of two uses of the noun in the epic (cf. 10.274, of the thirst engendered by the Dog Star). The waterless desert impedes civilization and settlement, but it does not deter mad, marauding bands of brigands and warriors.

regio: Not an *unpoetische Wort*, but not particularly common in the Virgilian corpus, where it is always orientative. Aeneas uses it at 1.460 *quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris* (where he is referring most immediately to Dido's Carthage); cf. 1.549; 2.737; 6.670 (of where in the underworld Anchises may be found); 886 ... *sic tota passim regione vagantur* (in Elysium); 7.215; 8.528 ... *in regione serena* (of the locus of the divine arms in the heaven); 9.385; 390 (during the night raid); 10.44; 11.320; 530 (of the location of Turnus' planned ambush for Aeneas). The word is an unsurprisingly regular feature of Ovid's exile poetry.

late: The (dramatically enjambed) Barcaeii have a broad range precisely because they roam the wide open, inhospitable desert.

furentes: An appropriate adjective on many levels, not least because of the focus of the verse on the dry desert and its implicit extreme heat. At 670 below it recurs of the imagined flames ruining the city of Carthage—an effective rejoinder to the present use. Dido herself is *furens* at 65; 69; 283 and 298; thus in one and the same verse Anna inadvertently applies two adjectives (*deserta* and *furens*) that describe with precision her sister's state for much of the book. “The roving fiends of Barce” (Stephenson). Austin defines the participle here as describing not that which is furious, but rather that which is “mad” or “wild”; all of these meanings overlap and are present. For the variant reading *vagantes* of some Carolingian manuscripts see the following note. Dido will upbraid Anna at 548–549 below: *tu lacrimis evicta meis, tu prima furentem / his, germana, malis oneras atque obicis hosti*—a play on the present sentiments.

43 Barcaeii. quid bella Tyro surgentia dicam

Barcaeii: The enjambment offers an anachronistic reference of inestimable historical value. From the bleak, wild desert landscape of 42 with its emphasis on thirst and the broadly marauding threat that is only now identified, Virgil's Anna proceeds to a virtual bolt: *Barcaeii* containing a reference to the Punic *Baraq*, i.e., “lightning.” For the *Barcaeii*/*Barce* see S.F. Bondi in *EV* 1, 458; R.F. Thomas in *VE* 1, 170; *Barrington* 38 B1; Asheri et al. *ad* Herodotus 4.160; cf. Sychaeus' homonymous nurse at 632–640 below. The implicit reference to Barce in Cyrenaica—a place some seven hundred miles away from Carthage, not founded until the middle of the sixth century B.C. (c. 560) under the Battiad Arcesilaus II—has troubled commentators; Virgil's principal purpose here is to evoke the terror and glory of the Barcid family, most notably Hannibal

Barca. Already DServ. recognized the “prolepsis” in naming a place that did not yet exist. Once again there is mention of an enemy Rome has already conquered from the vantage point of Virgil’s contemporary audience; Anna and Dido have no idea that the *ultor* the queen imagines at 625 would be the Barca who lurks behind the peoples named here as a threat to Carthage. The Barcids ranged far and wide (Gildenhard associates the import of 42 *late furentes* with Hannibal’s invasion of Italy); seven hundred miles was no significant distance for them. For the Barcaeii Servius gives the citation “hi secundum Titianum in *Chorographia* Phoenicen navali quondam superavere certamine.”

Nettleship is among the commentators most troubled by the reference here; from citations in Jerome (*Ep.* 126.2.2 and 129.4.3, where Ribbeck thought *Baccaeii* was to be read) and Isidore to the present passage he conjectured *Vaccaeii*, after a Numidian people not very far to the west of Carthage (Servius notes that the “Barcaeii” were “prope ... a Carthagine.”) Isidore (*Et. Lib.* 9.2.107) reads *lateque vagantes Vaccei*, taking the Vaccei as being a people from Vacca in Spain; the participle *vagantes* read in Isidore is attested in cd as well as in Jerome. We have, then, intriguing ancient evidence, though it is possible that Virgil was thought to need correction at an early date. Certainly we might think that he should have had Anna cite a name redolent with so much Roman history, rather than an obscure people who endured as barely a footnote in patristic and medieval citations—especially for a name given added prominence by enjambment. Is there a reference in the mention of the Battid *Barcaeii* to the Battid Callimachus? Buscaroli (*forsan sapienter*) ignores the whole matter of Barcaeii vs. Vaccaeii; Henry is completely silent on this passage.

On the Barcaeii Quint 2018, 76 comments: “The last of these names is overdetermined, for it both denotes a preexisting people and the future Carthaginian Barcid dynasty of statesmen to which Hannibal would belong; Virgil also suggests a purely Punic origin for the dynasty in Sychaeus’ old nurse Barce ... The passage indicates the future conquest by Carthage over these north African neighbors as far as Cyrene ...”

Barca survives today as a Latin and Greek titular see.

quid: Introducing a *praeteritio* that is followed, one might think appropriately enough, by a hemistich (44). Cf. 6.122–123.

bella: Alliterative after the mention of the *Barcaeii*. With *surgentia* the metaphor is from a storm rising at sea, some monster of mythology, almost, that will appear from across the waters (and that will not find the Syrtes an effective barrier against conquest). Silius imitates the image at *Pun.* 1.686; 13.616; cf. also the dramatic imagery of Manilius, *Ast.* 1.896–897. The participle will be echoed at 47 *surgere*, in a very different sense.

Tyro: Cf. 36. The *bella surgentia* artfully frame the Tyre whence they arise. Anna proceeds to make what will amount to a thinly veiled allusion to Pygmalion and the threat she asserts that he still poses to Dido. In context the “wars arising from Tyre” refer to potential conflict that will never come; for Virgil’s Roman audience, they could easily be taken poetically to refer to the Punic Wars—especially after the allusion to the Barcids. With *surgentia* cf. 86 *adsurgunt*, and for the verb see on 129 below.

dicam: Virgil may not have wondered whether the form is future indicative or deliberative subjunctive.

44 *germanique minas?*

“Quod habuit maximum servavit ad finem” (Tib., who has an extended note here). Anna concludes her rendition of Dido’s enemies with the key foe, her own murderous brother; the queen will refer to him and to Iarbas as she makes her own rueful rhetorical complaint at 325–326.

The first of five so-called half-lines in the book (cf. 361; 400; 503; 516); for how it is of “the commonest type, of those terminating before a penthemimeral caesura,” see Pease. Cf. Crump 1920, 12; 61; Sparrow 1931, 39: “There is no apparent reason why a hemistich should occur at this point.” The unfinished verse has been adduced in support of the theory that 39–44 were imperfectly inserted into an otherwise polished narrative. This is one of those half-lines that is more or less needed to explain the point (here, the wars that threaten from Tyre); if one were inclined to defend the effect of a deliberate hemistich, the point would be that Anna is overcome with emotion (calculated or otherwise) as she mentions what she posits as the ultimate peril for Dido’s Carthage: the arrival of their brother Pygmalion. “One of the more notorious half-lines in the *Aeneid* ... Here a trailing-off halfway through the line would even be thematically appropriate ...” (Gildenhard ad loc.); cf. O’Hara here (following Goold 1970) on the “extremely unlikely” case that the poet meant for these hemistichs to stand. Tilly is more open to the possibility; see her note here on the “horror and tension” effected by the abruptness of the reference to the murderous brother. MacLennan considers the famous “*particulatim*” method of Virgilian composition cited by Donatus (coupled with the epic lacking the poet’s *ultima manus*) as the likely reason for these “unfinished” verses. Certainly it is the case that if Virgil had introduced the novelty of deliberately unfinished lines, his successors do not seem to have imitated him. While some may do well to exercise sobriety and admirable caution against giving too free a rein to the idea that the hemistichs constitute an innovative stylistic device, certainly all can agree that efforts to finish what Virgil did not are supremely misguided. Austin’s note (following Sparrow) displays his characteristic wisdom here, particularly in its

properly hesitant consideration of how Virgil himself may have discovered the unintentional effectiveness of some of his half-lines during the process of composition.

germanique: Pygmalion is made more ominous by leaving him unnamed. Cf. 1.340–341 *imperium Dido Tyria regit ab urbe profecta, | germanum fugiens ...*; 346 ... *sed regna Tyri germanus habebat | Pygmalion*; 350–351 *clam ferro incautum superat, securus amorum | germanae ...* (from Venus' description of Dido's backstory and her brother's violence against his brother-in-law). Dido refers to Anna as *germana* at 478; 492; and 549 below; Dido is *germana* at 501; 675; 686. Turnus is *germanus* at 12.152 and 479 (cf. Eryx at 5.412; Bitias at 9.722; Sarpedon at 10.125); Juno is addressed as Jupiter's *germana* at 12.830 (cf. 9.804 and 10.607); lastly note Juturna at 12.679 and 872.

minas: The noun also at 88–89, in a concrete sense of battlements or projecting bulwarks. Cf. 3.265 *di prohibete minas* (Anchises in response to Celaeno's threat about the eating of the tables); 6.113 *pelagique minas*; 8.40 *belli minis*; 60 (the threats of Juno against the Trojans); 371 (threats from the Laurentes); 10.451 *tolle minas* (Pallas to Turnus); 695 (also of threats from nature). Presumably any threats were made before the sisters and their companions left Tyre. Servius connects Pygmalion's threats with the gold that Dido had absconded with on her departure.

45 *dis equidem auspicibus reor et Iunone secunda*

A verse that could well have followed on 38; whether or not Virgil decided later to insert 39–44, the present line exhibits a strong dramatic flair, as Anna introduces the preeminent Roman marriage goddess; patroness of Carthage; and inveterate foe of Aeneas' Trojans (see Butler ad loc. for Juno as the equivalent of the feminine *Genius*). For how all the emphasis is brought to bear on the ablatives absolute (of attendant circumstance), see Gildenhard. On the tragic irony note *inter al.* Binder 2019 ad loc. For Anna as the misguided "*altera ego*" of Dido see Henderson *apud* Gildenhard. "Anna weiß nicht, dass Karthagos oberste Gottheit und Ehegöttin Iuno ... die entschiedene Feindin der nach Italien wiesenden Mission des Aeneas ist ..." (Binder ad loc.).

dis ... auspicibus: The adjective is rare in Virgil (who may have introduced the plural to poetry); cf. 3.19–20 *sacra Dioneae matri divisque ferebam | auspicibus coeptorum operum ...*, of Aeneas in Thrace before the horrors are revealed at the grave of Polydorus. In both occurrences of the word, then—and both not far from the start of successive books of the poem—the context is ultimately baleful; the gods who are said to be auspicious are actually shown to be otherwise. Anna casts herself anachronistically in the role of a Roman magistrate taking the auspices; her reading thereof—which is exactly what her sister

wants to hear—is disastrously misguided. Cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 1.615; 4.830. The singular *auspice* is more common; cf. Horace, c. 1.7.27; *Ep.* 1.3.13; Ovid, *Fast.* 1.26; Lucan, *BC* 2.371 (cited by Servius here for the similar nuptial context); Seneca, *Med.* 68; *Troad.* 863; Statius, *Silv.* 2.2.39; 3.5.74. Cf. also 102–103 below. With the mention of the gods here note also 50 below. *Auspex* could be used of a functionary at a wedding ceremony (*OLD* s.v. 2). On Virgilian auspices see further P. Catalano in *EV* 1, 423–426; V.M. Warrior in *VE* 1, 159.

equidem: Cf. on 12 above.

reor: The first person of personal responsibility (especially after *equidem*), as Anna gives her analysis of the events that brought Aeneas to Carthage; the little yet significant verb stands at mid-line, balancing the coordinate references to the gods in general, and to the key immortal in particular. Anna is correct to mention Juno given her oversight of matters nuptial, and too her patronage of the city; the girl is unaware of the goddess' anger and extreme distaste for the Trojans, let alone of Juno's role in instigating the storm that drove Aeneas to north Africa. For the verb form cf. 5.24; 56; 7.273; 570; 12.188. Gould and Whiteley note ad loc. that Juno might be expected to endorse the marriage of Dido and Aeneas, since it would delay the foundation of Rome—Anna, of course, would not have any idea about any such matters. See Austin for the Virgilian preference for this verb over *puto*, and for later poetic practice.

Iunone: For the goddess vid. F. Della Corte in *VE* 11, 752–759; J.D. Hejduk in *VE* 11, 696–697; Bailey 1935, 129–132. Here one may think of the Punic/Phoenician Tanit(h)/Astarte, who was syncretized with the Roman Juno. The goddess will enter the drama of the book at 90 ff., as she engages in her plotting with and against Venus. The etymology of the Juno who helps (*iuvare*) is present here, along with the connection of Juno to *iungo/iugalis* of marriage (Paschalis 1997, 150; cf. Marquis 2013, 269 ff.). Anna's introduction of this key goddess to her argument here is part of the complex web Virgil weaves for Juno's role in the epic. Juno is opposed to a *nova Troia* because she has heard of the threat the future Rome poses to her beloved Carthage; the longer Aeneas stays in Africa, the greater the delay of that future, etc. Anna mentioned Venus near the start of her speech (32); now she references the other great goddess who will join in conspiracy at 90 ff. Cf. Dido's periphrastic allusion to Jupiter (25), who will have his own opinions about the nascent relationship of the would-be lovers. Juno will be the subject of the religious offerings made by the sisters at 59 below.

secunda: Particularly ironic as an appellation here given that the metaphor is from a supportive, following wind; Juno's employment of Aeolus spelled near disaster for the Trojan fleet. The last word of the verse here coordinates with the last of the next, *carinas*. Cf. the very different case of 1.156 *flectit equos curruque volans dat lora secundo*, of Neptune as he calms the Junonian storm.

The line-end here is borrowed by Maphaeus Vegius in his “Book 13” of the epic (verse 61), of the favor of Juno that Jupiter reports to Venus in divine colloquy. That Renaissance invention of a scene seeks to provide a balance for the similar encounter of 1.223 ff., and is good evidence of the disquiet felt by many at how the actual final immortal conversation of the poem is that between Jupiter and Juno in Book 12, wherein the audience learns that the future Rome will be Italian and not Trojan in *sermo* and *mores* (12.791).

46 hunc cursum Iliacas vento tenuisse carinas.

hunc cursum: I.e., to Carthage. It is of course true that Juno was aiming the fleet (so to speak) at the African coast as opposed to Italy—but she intended for the ships to be destroyed; see here Adler 2003, 113, with good analysis. In context “this course” is of ominous import given the lasting import of Aeneas’ sojourn in Carthage both for himself and for the Roman future. For *cursum* of intentional (or not) direction see Pease; the principal allusion here is to the hemistich 1.534 *hic cursum fuit*, where the Trojan Ilioneus described to Dido’s court (*coram Anna?*) how Aeneas’ ships managed to arrive in Africa. Anna’s interpretation of events is that while the Trojans may have had an intended *cursum* to Italy, it was the gods who had other plans (as indeed they did, though not for the reasons she imagines). The inferior reading *huc* (attested by D.Serv.) gives little difference in meaning; Conington considers *hunc* to be the more poetic option, and certainly Dido’s point is to emphasize “this” course and not the one Ilioneus had mentioned. See further Bell 1923, 201.

Iliacas: Cf. 78 and 537 below, also of the Trojan fleet (Ilius was the son of Tros); the *Iliacas vestes* of 648. The word order enacts what actually happened: *Iliacas* is separated far from *carinas*, just as Aeolus’ winds drove the ships far and wide over the waters. The keels are of Ilium; the descriptor is replete with the aura of the old Troy.

vento: A little word that contains more great irony in light of Juno’s machinations with Aeolus. Whether one defines the ablative as causal, instrumental, or modal, the poet’s real point is to recall the work of the wind god who had been conscripted by Juno. For holding a course with the wind see Cicero, *ND* 3.83.6 ... *isque cum secundissimo vento cursum teneret*, a passage Virgil may have had in mind here. Caesar has *media circiter nocte vento intermissi, cursum non tenuit* (*BG* 5.8.2.4). *Ventus* also in this book at 245; 249; 257; 381; 430; 546; 705.

tenuisse: With *cursum*: standard enough language for the holding of one’s course; for the “markedly prosaic” tone see D.A. Traill, “Between Scylla and Charybdis at *Aeneid* 3.684–686: A Smoother Passage,” in *AJPh* 114.3 (1993), 410.

carinas: By synecdoche for ships, as often; for the Virgilian vocabulary of vessels see P.A. Gianfrotta in *EV* III, 670–674. A hint of alliterative effect after *cursum*, which is followed by *cernes* in the next verse.

47 quam tu urbem, soror, hanc cernes, quae surgere regna

From her previous emphasis on the threats that confront Dido, Anna proceeds to emphasize the great city and empire that can arise in Africa; this will happen, of course, in the course of future history—though not with Dido’s living to see the glory. See further here Reed 2007, 94–95, with analysis in particular of the problems posed by the vision Anna offers here in light of the later agreement of Juno and Venus at 90 ff. D.Serv. notes ad loc.: “mire pro voluntate sororis, ut si quis avaro suadeat spem pecuniae faciens.” Juno might be expected to favor the power and growth of Carthage that Anna portrays here as possible via alliance with Aeneas; Dido’s sister is throughout unaware of the complicating factors that impede such a nuptial project. The spondaic rhythm serves to heighten the dramatic effect (vid. Schmitz 1960, 37: “Pour créer cette œuvre grandiose qu’Anna lui laisse entrevoir par ses gestes solennels et par le rythme apaisant du mètre spondaïque ...”).

quam: Introducing an ascending tricolon of exclamatory fervor that is continued by 47 *quae* and 49 *quantis*. *Quam* encompasses the sense of both *qualem* and *quantam*, as ancient critics noted; for the start of a chiasmic arrangement that will proceed from references to Carthage to Aeneas to Aeneas to Carthage again see Gildenhard *ad* 47–49. “What a change you will see in this your city” (Conington). The repeated *qu-* words from Dido’s speech at 10 ff. work in much the same way, though to rather different effect.

tu ... soror: The language is both urgent and personal. The pronoun is echoed soon after at 50; the mention of Dido as *soror* near the end of the speech rounds off 31 *sorori*.

urbem: In marked contrast to the future Rome. For this key noun in Book 4 note also 40; 69; 73; 111; 173; 187; 211; 225; 266; 300; 342; 348; 401; 545; 592; 609; 655; 666; 683. The mention of the city that will achieve prominence in Africa recalls both the Carthage that would pose such a threat and rivalry to Rome, and to Cleopatra’s Alexandria and its seductive attractions for both Caesar and (especially) Antony. Dido had already envisaged a joint Carthaginian-Trojan enterprise at 1.571–574, where (significantly) she had not yet even seen Aeneas, much less been infected by Cupid’s amatory poison; there she had spoken of non-discrimination between Trojan and Tyrian (1.574 *Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur*, a verse of significance in terms of the ultimate relationship in Latium between Trojan and Ausonian, on which note the excellent analysis of Adler 2003, 32). For how the reminiscences in Anna’s speech of the earlier

reception of the Trojans at Dido's court serve to make her sentiments seem all the sounder (not to say convincing), see Cairns 1989, 44.

The framing juxtaposition of *tu* and *soror* around *urbem* serves to emphasize how much the new settlement is indebted to its young and vulnerable founder.

hanc: Following on 46 *hunc cursum*, as Anna moves from mention of Aeneas' course toward Carthage to the city that will now rise up in even more splendid glory with its admixture of Trojan exiles. The demonstrative is deictic and added after the exclamatory *quam* with rhetorical excitement and dramatic emphasis. The *urbs* already exists; in Anna's vision it will grow only stronger. Austin imagines Anna gesturing with a sweep of her hand. Pease has a good note here on the introduction of the theme of public beneficence in the idea of marriage to Aeneas; in point of fact the union of Dido and Aeneas will not benefit either Carthage or the Trojan exiles/the future Rome. Cf. 265–266 below, where Mercury reproves Aeneas because he is helping Dido in the construction of her city.

cernes: A favorite Virgilian verb (vid. R. Lamacchia in *EV* 1, 748–749); cf. 246; 401; 408; 561. The future tense is especially poignant in light of the queen's ultimate fate.

surgere: Echoing the *bella surgentia* of 43, as there with a look to the Punic Wars and the threat from Carthage: as the kingdom rises up in Africa, Rome imagines a future menace. With the language here cf. 1.206 ... *illic fas regna resurgere Troiae*, as Aeneas consoles his men with a future that will (in light of the final dispositions agreed to by Jupiter and Juno) not come to pass. Gould and Whiteley emphasize the dual force of the verb, of the city that Carthage will “grow into,” and of the kingdoms that will “spring forth.” The repetition of syllables (*surgere regna*) enacts the multiplication of settlements of the empire Anna envisions; for the effect see Pease ad loc. Another hint of an alliterative effect, too, after *soror*.

regna: Perhaps with an undertone of the distaste of the Romans for monarchy, and with a reminiscence of the Ptolemaic kingdom that had so recently been transformed by the Augustan settlement in Egypt. MacLennan highlights the plural, which may be a poeticism, or which may point to an imagined expansion of Carthage's realm (as in Spain, Sicily, etc.). Cf. also 1.572; 4.194 and 214.

48 coniugio tali! Teucrum comitantibus armis

Chiastic alliteration (*c-t-T-c*). See Pease here for the question of marriage between two foreign peoples, a matter that Anna does not consider; cf. Monti 1981, 59 (and see below on 320–321). Insofar as the Teucrians are Roman progenitors, the vision of 48–49 is absurd in light of the Punic Wars; in another

sense, Troy and Carthage are both doomed to destruction, with Ausonia as the ultimate, lasting victor.

coniugio tali: An effective *rejet* (see Gildenhard here) that echoes the reference to Sychaeus as *coniunx* in Dido's speech at 20. Anna obliquely returns to the main point (cf. DServ.: "et bene in ultimo coniugium posuit, propter quod universa praedicta sunt"): Dido should succumb to her amatory interest in Aeneas. Tacitus imitates the phrase at *Ann.* 4.40.14, in Tiberius' remarks on Sejanus' proposed marriage to Livilla (another doomed union). The ablative expresses both cause and attendant circumstance (Pease—following Page—makes no decision between the options, all of which here shade into each other; Conington prefers circumstance); once again we are reminded that the poet himself might not have known the answer ("... an author himself often did not know which one he was using, any more than we determine exactly the shade of meaning in which we use a common preposition"—Kittredge and Jenkins 1930). *Coniugium* implies that Dido is perfectly permitted to enter a second marriage; a pressing problem of Book 4 will be the degree to which the union with Aeneas constitutes a legal state of *coniugium*. For how the political aspects of the marriage will be transformed in the matter of Dido's curse on Aeneas, see Monti 1981, 59.

Tali is another small word that encompasses an important and wide range of meanings; it encapsulates all of the reasons why Dido is so smitten (cf. 10 ff.).

Teucrum: Vid. F. Sallusto in *EV* v, 153–155; K. Shannon in *VE* 111, 1254; Fratanuono and Smith on 8.10. This frequent Trojan appellation refers to the Cretan Teucer, the storied ancestor of the royal house of Troy; here it recalls Dido's account at 1.619 ff. of Teucer's having come to Sidon to ask permission of Belus to found a new city. For the epic effect of the archaic syncopated ending see O'Hara.

comitantibus: The participle in some sense (not least alliteratively) echoes *coniugio*, as the language continues to emphasize the point of union between Dido and Aeneas, Carthage and Troy. For the verb cf. 543 below; 3.346.

armis: Continuing the emphasis on military strength, not so much now for defense against the enemies of 39–44 as for the imperial expansion envisioned in the preceding line. We proceed in this verse from the mention of marriage to the image of martial might. Every reference to Trojan arms and might by Dido does beg the question of the defeated, conquered nature of Aeneas' exiles; she has, after all, heard in detail about the story of the fall of Troy, and images of the war and of Trojan reversals decorate the temple to Juno in Carthage. For how Dido has wealth but not an army, see Adler 2003, 32.

49 *Punica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!*

Hauntingly, Anna utters a *nearly* golden line, to express the hopes of Punic glory that in the end will not come to pass. See O'Hara here for how "chilling" Anna's sentiment would be to a Roman audience. Statius imitates this line at *Silv.* 5.2.142 *quanta Caledonios attollet gloria campos*, where see Gibson. Fittingly, this verse also likely inspired the very opening of Silius' *Punica*: *Ordior arma, quibus caelo se gloria tollit | Aeneadum ...* (1.1–2, a dazzling commencement of his epic that echoes in turn the first verses of both Virgil and Lucretius). Anna leaves no doubt with this verse that the Carthaginians are to be considered the senior/superior partners in the planned alliance (cf. Dido's egalitarian offer of 1.572–574). This is essentially the close of the argumentative part of Anna's speech; she proceeds at 50–53 to turn to the specific advice she offers her sister.

Punica: In the prominent first place of the verse, and in balanced pairing after the mention of 48 *Teucrum*. Anna sees Punic glory as being assured by the support of Teucrian arms. Punic glory: another "potent phrase" with which to inflame the already inflamed sister (Highet 1972, 80–81). The adjective *Punicus* occurs in Virgil only here and at 1.338, of the *Punica regna* that the disguised Venus points out to Aeneas.

attollet: In point of fact it will be Fama that will rise up (176 *attollit*), and the dying Dido in her final agonies (cf. 688 and 690, with striking repetition of the key verb)—a grim progression of uses of the verb in this book.

gloria: Exactly the concept with which Jupiter will order Mercury to confront Aeneas (cf. 232; 272).

rebus: On the "colourless word" see Tilly. Whatever and everything it refers to will be great and of immense size (*quantis*); it refers both to prosperity and to wealth, i.e., to the accumulated guerdon of empire. It is impossible to be sure whether *quantis rebus* should be taken as ablative or dative (Austin prefers the latter; Paratore the former; Pease noncommittal); it is probably best to take it as the third in a string of ablatives after *coniugio tali* and *comitantibus armis*: first comes the marriage, then the supportive arms and military force of the new husband's people, and finally the great renown and prosperity secured by said arms. There may be a vague reminiscence here of Ennius *tragicus*, fr. 340 Jocelyn.

50 *tu modo posce deos veniam, sacrisque litatis*

If there was no need to be concerned about the *manes sepultos* (34), then one might wonder why Dido should be encouraged to seek *venia* from the gods. There is perhaps an element here of artful admonition; Anna knows that her sister has scruples about the whole affair, and she tries now to provide assur-

ance. And even if *venia* is to be taken merely to refer to “permission” such as one might seek more by way of respect than out of a need for authorization (let alone expiation), then Anna can be seen as providing as comprehensive and convincing a case to Dido as possible. A verse, then, rich in irony and innuendo as well as injunction. Anna’s point in the end is simple: there is no reason to fear the gods; the gods support the union of Dido and Aeneas; Dido may proceed to all the niceties and formalities of “appropriate” religious ritual and sacrifice—but Aeneas is destined to be joined with her as part of a path to Punic glory. Further, we cannot expect Anna to be truthful (the same applies to Dido). The motivations of the four principal women of the book—Dido, Anna, Venus, and Juno—almost demand a Venn diagram.

For a detailed explication of the implications of this verse for an appraisal of Anna’s position on the question of Dido’s proposed remarriage, see Monti 1981, 106 n. 28.

tu: Repeated from 47, again for emphasis and to express urgency.

modo: A casual word from the language of conversation (see Austin here). “We are only too familiar with instructions which tell us ‘just’ to do something when that something proves extremely troublesome” (Maclennan). This is not the language of serious ritual exigency, but rather that of the almost patronizing blandishment of a superstitious sister. Forbiger does well to contrast Anna’s admonition here to her sister with her reference to the allegedly favorable gods of 45. *Tu modo* occurs also at 2.160, where the mendacious Sinon addresses the Trojans; note also the very different case of *E.* 4.8.

posce: With the verb cf. 614 below. The two verbs of the verse have religious connotations (especially the second); we may think that Dido is first to voice her request for pardon, and then to atone for it by a favorable sacrificial rite (*sacrisque litatis* is also exegetical, as Anna explains how Dido is supposed to beg forgiveness). The first of three imperatives in quick succession, followed by 51 *indulge* and *innecte*. Pease (followed by Williams; cf. Page’s note) takes the ablative absolute after *posce* to be conditional: “if the sacrifices have turned out favorably Dido may assume that the gods favor her desired course of action.” The end result is the same, since the *sacra* will either turn out favorably or not.

deos: A less cheerful mention of the gods than that of 45, where Anna opined that the immortals were responsible for Aeneas’ timely arrival to join with Dido in marriage.

veniam: Principally for the *culpa* referenced at 19; mere “permission” to do what Anna recommends in the following verse cannot be imagined without some consideration of the *culpa* Dido herself acknowledged was at play—or the nightmares of which Dido spoke at 9 (cf. Gildenhard’s good point here:

“even ‘permission’ seems a bit too forceful given that, according to Anna, Dido would simply align herself with the will of the gods if she were to marry Aeneas”). The noun occurs elsewhere in the epic at 1.519 *orantes veniam et templum clamore petebant* (the entry of the Trojans into Dido’s Junonian temple); 3.144 *hortatur pater ire mari veniamque precari* (after the Cretan pestilence); 10.625–626 ... *sin aliter istis / sub precibus venia ulla latet* ... (Jupiter to Juno regarding Turnus); 903 *unum hoc per si qua est victis venia hostibus oro* (Mezentius *moriturus* to Aeneas); 11.101 *velati ramis oleae veniamque rogantes* (of the Latin envoys to Aeneas; cf. 358 of the same); note also *G.* 4.536. But the most important parallel to the present use comes below at 435 *extremam hanc oro veniam (miserere sororis)*, as Dido sends Anna to remonstrate with Aeneas. If there is any “pardon” to be sought, it is for the betrayal of Sychaeus’ memory (the mere consideration of which had engendered the dreams Dido complains of at 9 above; Conington connects the present apotropaic injunction with those nightmares).

litatis: For the meaning cf. *OLD s.v.* 3 “To offer by way of propitiation or atonement.” “Fac, inquit, sacrificia numinibus” (Tib.). The (technical) verb occurs only twice in Virgil, and both times in ominous contexts; cf. 2.119–120 *sanguine quaerendi reditus animaque litandum / Argolica ...*, from Sinon’s account to the Trojans of Eurypylos’ report from the *oracula Phoebi*. Dido fulfills this instruction at 60–64 below; the results of the rites in question will be open to significant critical problems (cf. on 65–66). Once again there is a certain degree of anachronism here; just as at 45 *dis ... auspicibus* Anna used language associated with Roman religious practice, so here she enjoins on Dido rites that evoke the world of Roman liturgical custom. The question of whether the verb should be transitive or intransitive was already a concern for Servius, who thoughtfully corrects Anna’s Latin (“‘diis litatis’ debuit dicere; non enim sacra, sed deos sacris litamus, id est placamus; ergo nove dixit”). Ovid imitates the Virgilian use here at *Met.* 14.156 *sacrisque et more litatis* (of Aeneas), where see Bömer, and Myers (“Ovid limits the use of *litare* to Roman contexts”); cf. *Fast.* 4.630 *sacra litate* (with Fantham); also Propertius, c. 4.1.24 (with Coutelle’s exhaustive note); Lucan, *BC* 1.632 (with Roche). Irony: Anna encourages Dido to act like a Roman priest in furtherance of the goal of seeing the advent and dominance of *Punica gloria*. Mackail considers *sacris* to be “attached as an epithet” to the ablative absolute *litatis*.

Silius has a grisly reminiscence of this passage at *Pun.* 4.766–768 *mos fuit in populis, quos condidit advena Dido, / poscere caede deos veniam ac flagrantibus aris / infandum dictum parvos imponere natos*, a passage redolent with the terrors ascribed by some to the Carthaginian Tophet.

51 **indulge hospitio causasque innecte morandi,**

Anna gives advice to her sister in the arts of seduction: first she is to welcome him, and second to extend the duration of his stay. We are reminded, perhaps, yet again that neither sister has as yet any definitive sense of Aeneas' thoughts about the desirability of staying in Carthage and of entering into a marriage alliance with Dido.

indulge: Echoed by *innecte*, of the two actions Anna now recommends that Dido take with Aeneas. One verse of the sister's instruction focused on the gods; now a second is devoted to the *objet d'amour*. The verb carries a significant, quasi-ominous echo: it was used by the ghost of Creüsa with Aeneas at the fall of Troy (2.776 *quid tantum insano iuvat indulgere dolori*, a rhetorical question that could at any number of points be posed to Dido). Cf. also the related 6.135 ... *et insano iuvat indulgere labori*, as the Sibyl addresses Aeneas about his desire to journey successfully to and from the underworld. At 9.615 ... *iuvat indulgere choreis* it recurs in Numanus Remulus' insults against the Trojans; cf. 9.165, of the fatal, drunken stupor of the Rutulians during the night raid. Evander speaks of how the years and his *genus* indulge Aeneas (8.512); note also Jupiter's limit of indulgence in the matter of helping Turnus at 10.625. The verb may imply lavish, inappropriately excessive drinking and overindulgence (cf. Servius' parallel of 9.163 *indulgent vino*); this would fit an evocation of the stereotype of Cleopatra at Alexandria.

Several of the commentators here omit mention of this first imperative. Dido has, of course, already been doing just what is recommended here: Anna deliberately begins with advice that is easy for Dido to follow, since it has already been practiced in earnest. The second command will seek simply to extend the duration of the current state of affairs indefinitely.

hospitio: The noun 14× in the epic; 2× in the *G*. Cf. the related imagery of Aeneas as *novus hospes* at 10; the *inhospita Syrtis* of 41. We may recall throughout that the Carthaginians of Book 1 were not noted for hospitality (cf. Ilioneus' complaint to Dido, 1.540 ... *hospitio prohibemur harenae*).

causasque: The elision enacts the implicit binding together that Anna recommends—i.e., of Aeneas to Dido. *F* reads *et causas*, which spoils the effect.

innecte: A verb that is redolent with the spirit of the Roman propaganda tradition regarding the untrustworthiness of the Carthaginians; Virgil uses it both literally and figuratively in the epic (it may be a coinage). Cf. the basic verb at 239 *nectit*; Dido's *nexus artus* at 695. Dido is to engage in deceit to find excuses for why Aeneas must remain in the city. There is a metaphor here from weaving, but the basic meaning of the verb—"to bind/fasten"—is also at play: the ultimate goal, after all, is to bind together the lovers. "Dido being supposed to weave her chains around Aeneas" (Conington). The verb is used in ominous contexts

in the epic: cf. 6.281 *vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis* (of Discordia); 609 ... *et fraus innexa clienti* (of a class of sinners in the underworld); 7.353; 418 (during the Allecto passage); of the gold that binds the necks of the Gauls who assault Rome (8.661); note also 5.511 (of the dove bound to the mast at the ship race); 5.424 (of Aeneas' binding of the boxing gloves on Dares and Entellus); 7.669 *horridus Herculeoque umeros innexus amictu* (of Aventinus; cf. 8.277, of Herculean poplar). Somewhat parallel to the present passage is 9.219 ... *causas nequiquam nectis inanis*, of the overly eager and hasty Euryalus to Nisus: another grim use.

For an argument connecting Dido here with Homer's Penelope, see R.J. Starr, "Weaving Delays: Dido and Penelope in Virgil, *Aeneid* IV, 50–53," in *Latomus* 68.4 (2009), 910–914.

morandi: The verb recurs at 235 ... *aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur* (as Jupiter complains about Aeneas' tarrying in Carthage); 325 *quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater | destruat aut captam ducat Gaetulus urbem?* (as Dido makes her own bitter complaint); 568 (of the peril to Aeneas if he should delay his departure any longer); 649 ... *paulum lacrimis et mente morata* (of Dido just before her suicide). Another tragic progression, then, of the uses of a key verb of the book, as we move from one sister's plan for seduction to the other sister's suicide that results from the all too successful results of weaving *causas morandi*.

52 *dum pelago desaevit hiemps et aquosus Orion,*

Anna's speech draws to a close on an unintentionally ominous note, one cast in somewhat high-flown epic language, as she references the stormy season of winter and the difficulties of navigation. This is the season Hesiod identifies as particularly prone to storms (*Op.* 618 ff.). On 52–53 Ribbeck comments "Ceterum optimum erat v. 51 Annae orationem concludere, et poterat interpolator pannos desumere ex Aen. I 535 ...," arguing that something seems to be missing after 53 *quassataeque rates*, and that *dum non tractabile caelum* is repetitious (he brackets this later phrase). But 52–53 are neatly balanced (see Gildenhard on this): the action of *pelago desaevit hiemps* leads directly to the *quassatae rates*, and *aquosus Oriens* is equivalent to *non tractabile caelum*. Mackail 1930, 130 *contra* sees evidence that the speech "seems to break off unfinished." On the rationality of Anna's final argument see Newman and Newman 2005, 126.

dum: Echoed at 53, as Anna rounds off her address. "The repetition of *dum*, with or without asyndeton, is a characteristic Virgilian touch" (Pease).

pelago: Another local ablative; for the noun cf. 546 below.

desaevit: The verb occurs twice in Virgil, and may be another coinage; cf. the metaphorical use at 10.569 *sic toto Aeneas desaevit victor*. Lucan has ... *nec dum*

desaeuiat ira / expectat ... (BC 5.303, of Caesar); cf. also Horace, *Ep.* 1.3.14 *an tragica desaeuit et ampullatur in arte* (with Mayer's note). Henry draws attention to the force of the prefix, which "marks continuation with reckless vehemence." On the significance of the use of this verb first of the wintry, stormy weather and then of Aeneas see Newman and Newman 2005, 257–258.

hiemps: For the season vid. Dehon 1993, 18, 181, 244; D.M. Possanza in *VE* III, 1138–1139; also Mandra 1934, 63 ff. (for extensive analysis of the so-called "implied winter" of 52). Butler concludes that it is winter, but not very far into the season given that Orion "sets" in early November. For the "technical" setting of Orion in November see Nisbet and Rudd on Horace, c. 3.27.17–18, "i.e. its morning setting comes closest before sunrise" (cf. the vernal reference of Ovid, *Fast.* 4.387–388 *Ante tamen, quam summa dies spectacula sistat, / ensifer Orion aequore mersus erit*). Orion is most visible in the northern hemisphere between January and March. For other seasonal markers in the book see on 193 and 309–310 (on the later reference Austin notes that what is here a "pretext" becomes a "mockery" by the time of Dido's reproach). DServ. correctly notes that Anna is recommending a delay "dum occidit Orion," that is, until the constellation "sets" in spring. Virgil probably wrote *hiemps* and not *hiems*.

aquosus: The adjective 3× in the epic; note also 8.429 ... *tris nubosae aquosae* (in the description of an unfinished thunderbolt in Vulcan's workshop); and especially 9.670–671 *cum Iuppiter horridus Austris / torquet aquosam hiemem et caelo cava nubila rumpit* (in a simile). Cf. further A. Fo in *EV* I, 245–257. Here the adjective offers a discreet nod to the common etymology of the name Orion from the notion of celestial micturation (Isidore, *Lib. Et.* 3.71.10).

Orion: On the celebrated constellation to the east of Taurus see C. Santini in *EV* I, 917–918; J. Tracy in *VE* II, 944. With the allusion here to the winter rising of Orion we may compare 7.718–719 *quam multi Libyco volvuntur marmore fluctus / saevus ubi Orion hibernis conditur undis*, of the Sabine contingents of Clusus in the gathering of the clans. Ilioneus (probably in Anna's presence) had blamed Orion for the Junonian storm that drove the Trojan ships to Africa: 1.535–536 *cum subito adsurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion / in vada caeca tulit ...*—good astronomy, bad theology. Anna here unknowingly offers ironic commentary on her own words at 45–46, where she spoke of the *Iuno secunda* who had been a responsible party for the arrival of the Trojan ships in Carthage—again, all the emphasis is on how neither she nor Ilioneus before her knew of the goddess' work with Aeolus.

Orion was a celebrated giant and hunter of mythology, about whom there was a wide and complicated web of lore (vid. Gantz 1993, 271–273; Massana's Budé notes on Ps.-Eratosthenes, *Cat.* 32); post-catasterism he is depicted even

in the heavens as still bearing his weaponry (3.517 *armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona*, of Palinurus' stargazing). Most notably, Virgil compares the Etruscan Mezentius to Orion (10.763–768). Already a constellation in Homer's *Iliad* (18.486, where see Rutherford); in the *Odyssey* (5.121–124) we hear of his having been taken as a lover by Eos, only to be slain by Artemis on Ortygia; he also appears in the underworld of *Od.* 11.572–575, where he wields a brazen club and herds the animals he had hunted in life. In Hesiod (*Op.* 383–384; 618–622) the disappearance of the Pleiades as they flee Orion marks the end of the safe season for navigation (see further West ad loc.). Here the constellation may be taken simply as a conventional enough astronomical marker of the stormy season; the mythological associations, however, relate to the hunting imagery that surrounds the relationship of Aeneas and Dido. Anna thinks of Orion as a part of the meteorological rationale for Aeneas' staying in Carthage; she ignores the fact that the constellation represents one of the most fabled hunters of mythology, and that in this case Aeneas will be like a hunter in wounding Dido (however inadvertently); cf. 68–73.

“Such allusions are not simply learned ornament, but a natural idiom, the stock-in-trade of any farmer or sailor” (Austin).

53 *quassataeque rates, dum non tractabile caelum.*”

quassatae: Anna closes her speech with a direct reminiscence of the storm of 1.81ff. The participle echoes 1.551 *quassatam ventis liceat subducere classem* (Ilioneus' appeal to Dido, which Anna may well have heard) and will be echoed in turn at 9.91–92 *ne cursu quassatae ullo nec turbine venti | vincantur*; cf. the use of the verb at 5.855 *quassat* to describe Somnus' attack on Palinurus; 6.587 *quassans lampada* of the crazed Salmoneus; 12.94–95 ... *quassatque trementem | vociferans* (of Turnus brandishing a spear); the related 894 *caput quassans* (of the defiant Rutulian hero); note also *E.* 10.25 and *G.* 1.74. The verb is Ennian (*Ann.* sed. inc. fr. 538n Skutsch); Plautine (*Merc.* 600). Cicero uses it metaphorically of the shattered (not to say shipwrecked) Republic (*Pro Sest.* 73.6). There is not only the bad weather of the season, but also the need to repair shipwrecked vessels on account of the previous storm; Buscaroli here cites Cartault 1926, 304 on the practical close of the *suasoria*. Alliterative as we move from the *aquosus* Orion to the *quassatae* rates.

tractabile: This adjective will be recalled at 439 below in its only other use in the poet, where it refers to Aeneas, who will not yield to Dido's entreaties. The hunter Orion is seemingly implacable in winter, and the winter heaven does not look kindly on navigation and travel by sea; Aeneas will prove to be just as immovable and unyielding. Cf. the *bruma intractabilis* of *G.* 1.211; Ovid, *Her.* 19.71 *est mare, confiteor, non nunc tractabile nanti* (Hero to Leander).

The speech—for all its rhetorical force and strength—ends on a note of inadvertently dark associations, both seasonal and with reference to the Junonian storm of Book 1. A Junonian tempest can be put to the service of Venerial designs, which in some ways is precisely the theme of the fourth book.

54–89 Dido takes her sister’s advice as regards the performance of a ritual sacrifice. Her love for Aeneas grows ever deeper; as she wanders through her city maddened with love she is like a deer that has been wounded by an unknowing shepherd. Meanwhile the work of urban construction and attention to the foundation of her new settlement comes to a halt, with the queen preoccupied with her amatory obsession. “Furente passione” (Buscaroli).

54a His dictis incensum animum inflammavit amore

This is the (vulgate) reading defended by R.A. Smith in his “Dido’s Already Inflamed Love: The Manuscripts and the Servian Tradition ad *Aen.* 4, 54,” in *QUCC* n.s. 126.1 (2021), 185–191.

54b His dictis impenso animum flammavit amore

The reading preferred by Fratantuono, though not without some reservations. *Nunc atramentum effunditur*. “1V 54 is indeed worthy of a seminar” (Kraggerud *per litt.*).

The subject of 54–55 is almost certainly Anna, the speaker of the preceding speech; at 56 *adeunt* the two sisters proceed together to the temple and its altars. That said, the subject of the three perfects—(*in*) *flammavit*, *dedit*, *solvit*—could just as well be Dido, and the two sisters—of one mind as they are—do shade into one before their joint departure to conduct religious rites. Dido’s mind has been hesitant (55)—but now both protestation and hesitation are lost. On the perfect tenses here see Adema 2019, 251.

The text printed in this edition as 54b is the reading preferred by Ribbeck; Hirtzel’s OCT; Sabbadini; Buscaroli; Tilly; Mynors’ OCT; Geymonat; Perret’s Budé; Paratore (with the orthography *impenso*); Conte; Rivero García et al.; Holzberg’s Tusculum; Cussen 2018; Binder 2019; Adema 2019; both O’Hara and Gildenhard. The reading *His dictis incensum animum flammavit amore* is preferred by Pease (also Conington; Papillon and Haigh; Butler; Gould and Whiteley; Götte’s Tusculum; Williams; Heuzé’s *Pléiade*); it is very close to the *His dictis incensum animum inflammavit amore* we have printed as 54a, which is read by Tib.; Henry (who regrettably does not comment on the problems of this line); Forbiger; Page; Sidgwick; Stephenson; Mackail; Austin (in his commentary); Dolç; Goold’s Loeb; MacLennan; R.A. Smith 2021.

Verse 54 presents one of the more difficult textual problems in the epic, with variant readings in both the manuscripts and the commentary tradition. *Inflamavit* and *flamavit* both have capital support; *incensum* and *impenso* likewise share respectable pedigrees. *Incensum*, if right, would be easy enough: the “adding fuel on the flames” referenced by some commentators since Servius, as Anna sets alight a mind that is already aflame; the queen’s *animus* would be surrounded by fiery words (with elision enacting the meaning). Fratantuono opts for the “*difficilior lectio*” (cf. Binder 2019, 288), though after at least seventeen centuries of uncertainty, confidence is sorely wanting in the absence of new (i.e., papyrological) evidence. “These words blew love t’a flame” (Fanshawe) does manage to avoid the problem.

His dictis: Cf. 1.569; 663; 2.775; 3.153; 558; 388 below; 5.357; 816; 6.382; 7.373; 8.35; 9.652; 11.342; 827. The transitional, formulaic expression reminds us all the same of the power of rhetoric: Anna’s words are what set Dido’s *animus* ablaze.

impenso: The first, and the more serious, of the two textual cruxes of the line. For the adjective cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 5.964 *vel violenta viri vis atque impensa libido* (*OLD* s.v. 2b, “immoderate/excessive of conduct/feelings, etc.”); Benoist, e.g., cites this parallel (though he prints the vulgate of his day). Cf. Catullus’ *impensius uror* (c. 72.5). *Impenso* is the reading of F and DServ.’s “alii”; P has *penso*. The alternate *incensum* is attested *inter al.* by M; the first corrector of P; R; Serv.; *incensum* is read by a corrector of F. One of the problems posed by the variant readings here is that both are somewhat tautological (as Gildenhard observes); to set on fire a mind that is already ablaze will seem more or less appropriate to different readers, while *impenso* could be said “to take the obvious for granted” (Gildenhard). At 4.197 we both read *incenditque animus dictis atque aggerat iras* (of Fama with Iarbas), which has been taken (understandably enough) as evidence in favor of reading *incensum* here.

Virgil may have had in mind Plautus, *Bacchid.* 394 *ingrato homine nihil impensius*, of the supreme valuelessness of an ungrateful man (an image that would certainly fit the later developments of the love affair); one perhaps might wonder if the adverb *impense* should be read here (see further Barsby on Terence, *Eun.* 413). Gildenhard notes that reading *impenso* allows for an effective hyperbaton with *animus*, as well as “a certain elegance” in leaving *animus* without an adjective. In other words, reading either *impenso* or *incensum* can be defended on (ultimately subjective) stylistic grounds. Kraggerud *per litt.* draws particular attention to Lucretius, *DRN* 5.962–965, noting the *impensus amor* is not a phenomenon of early man alone. “... *impenso* is exquisite and saved from oblivion thanks to a few witnesses.”

There may be another relevant parallel passage to consider: 12.19–21 *o praestans animi iuvenis, quantum ipse feroci / virtute exsuperas, tanto me impensius*

aequum est / consulere atque omnis metuentem expendere casus, where Latinus addresses Turnus—who has just been compared to a wounded lion in Punic fields (12.4ff.)—in the wake of the Rutulian's bold comment about the question of who will win Lavinia.

Mackail dismisses all possibility: "There is nothing to recommend the alternative reading *impenso* or *impense* ..." Butler remarks: "*impenso* ... does not occur elsewhere in Virgil, and though it is found in Lucretius, is otherwise almost entirely confined to prose or colloquial verse."

animus: Balanced by 55 *menti*. Cf. 3, where Aeneas kept recurring to Dido's *animus*; 22, as Dido confessed her *animus labantem*; also 15.

flammavit: The second textual problem of the line. This is the reading of FPR and DServ.; *inflammavit* is attested *inter al.* by M; Servius; Tib. Here the meaning is not the issue, but rather the better form of what is essentially the same verb; Virgil does not use *flammare* elsewhere transitively except in the perfect participle (cf. 1.50 *Talia flammato secum dea corde volutans*, of Juno; 3.330 ... *magno flammatus amore*, of Orestes (where the vulgate reading is *inflammatus*); also *G.* 3.433 *flammantia lumina*, of the fiery eyes of the *chersydrus*), but the same could be said of *inflammatus* (which occurs as a variant reading at 3.330). Ultimately the only distinction in meaning here comes from the intensive prefix if one prefers *inflammavit*. There is fire in the line; the only question is how just how much (Paschalis 1997, 150, e.g., prefers the emphatic fire imagery of reading *incensum* ... *inflammavit*). By means of this verb, the "blind fire" of line 2 comes into vivid relief; it is as if the invisible fire of love for Aeneas now blazes forth on account of Anna's words (on this see Tib.'s perceptive note). Dido will be compared to Orestes at 471 below; certainly 3.330 is on the poet's mind in this line (cf. here Forbiger *inter al.*).

amore: A keyword of the book, here reserved for the end in striking hyperbaton if we read *impenso*. It will be echoed in sound effect by 55 ... *pudorem*, with emphatic contrast between the two concepts. For this virtual rhyming effect see Austin's note. *Amor* of course refers to Dido's passion for Aeneas, though we should not forget that Anna's speech also spoke of *Punica gloria*; cf. Tib. here on how *amore* must be understood in two ways, e.g., of an increased love for Aeneas (which is emphasized if one reads *incensum*), and of a love for all the benefits of such a union (especially if one reads *impenso*) that Anna had delineated.

55 *spemque dedit dubiae menti solvitque pudorem.*

spem: An interesting word in context. Dido's mind or intention is said to be hesitant (*dubiae menti*); Anna has given expectation or hope that her sister will achieve what she wants—union with Aeneas, and freedom from anxiety

or worry about the morality of such a bond. The verse is framed by significant terms: the hope of a successful amatory union *vs.* the sense of propriety and indeed shame that should deter it. The girl who was anxious and in distress because of nightmares (9) has been hopeful that all will be well.

dedit: Alliterative with *dubiae*.

dubiae: For the adjective with *mens* note the parallel 11.314–315 *nunc adeo quae sit dubiae sententia menti / expediam ...* (Latinus at the war council); cf. also 1.218; 2.171; 359; 6.196; 7.86; 9.797; 11.445; 560. This is the crucial last word of hesitation for Dido. “ergo iam non ambiget de quo dubitabat, sed sine respectu pudoris palam aget” (DServ.). Was Dido’s mind hesitant until Anna raised the issue of future Punic glory?

menti: Balancing 54 *animus*, and with emphasis on the queen’s intent. It is one thing to have an emotion in the *animus*, and quite another to act on it with the full power of intention or the rational mind. The mention of the *mens* here echoes 39 *nec venit in mentem*. Conington emphasizes the Virgilian point that the sin is committed first in the mind. The genitive *mentis* has some respectable support (the Romanus and Wolfenbüttel γ), but the parallel of 11.314–315 secures the dative.

solvit: Echoing Dido’s *aut tua iura resolvo* from 26. While Anna is almost certainly the speaker, the verb—which comes as the final perfect of a veritable ascending tricolon—would achieve even greater force, one might think, if Dido were the subject. Once again the image of joining and its opposite: when Aeneas and Dido are bound together, *pudor* will be loosened (on this semantic pattern see Paschalis 1997, 150–151). Certainly the work that Cupid and Venus started in Book 1 is finished here by Anna, with ruinous consequence; those critics who emphasize the role of Anna here do so with good reason, though Dido—especially Queen Dido—might be expected to be able to do better at resisting the blandishments of her sister. Throughout her tragedy, Virgil plays on the implicit question of responsibility and culpability; certainly Cupid has been a factor in what has happened, though the love affair comes, we might think, as no surprise even absent divine machinations. “... non invitae sed volenti suadebatur ...” (Tib.)

No one has written more on this verb than Henry, who has a long note here that leaves no doubt as to what he thinks of the “concubinage” to which Dido here virtually submits. The image of the loosening of a girdle (see here Pease) looks forward to the physical consequence of the decision taken (or affirmed?) here.

pudorem: The keyword that Dido invoked at 26. The reminiscence of that crucial verse serves in part to remind us why the queen is doomed. Cf. here the famous remark of Apollonius’ Medea at *Arg.* 3.785.

56 *principio delubra adeunt pacemque per aras*

For an extended treatment of the import and purpose of the rituals that now commence, note J.J. O'Hara, "Dido as "Interpreting Character" at *Aeneid* 4.56–66," in *Arethusa* 26.1 (1993), 99–114. On the connection of the rites Virgil describes to the formal rubrics of the Roman marriage liturgy, see Panoussi 2009, 46–47. The verse has a balanced sound pattern: *principio / adeunt / pacemque per / aras*.

principio: Abrupt, as the commentators have observed (the speed of the sisters' arrival at the temples is enacted by the elision of *delubra adeunt*). Now there is no hesitation. The (paratactic) syntax is easy because the action is deliberately cast as swift and straightforward. We may recall 2.752 *principio ...*, as Aeneas rushed back into Troy in search of the lost Creüsa; 3.381 *principio Italiam ...* (Helenus to Aeneas); 6.214 (of the preparatory rites of the Misenus requiem); 724 (at the start of Anchises' great speech in Elysium); 7.342 (as Allecto begins to work her mischief); 7.762 (Turnus during the battle in the Trojan camp); 10.258 *principio sociis edicit signa sequantur* (Aeneas to his men).

delubra: The two religious words of this verse (cf. *ara*) are deliberately placed to sound disjunctive after 55 *solvitque pudorem*. *Delubra* is repeated soon after at 66 *quid delubra iuvant?*—it will take but ten lines for the altars to be declared of no avail. Cf. 2.225–226 *at gemini lapsu delubra ad summa dracones / effugiunt ...* (after the killing of Laocoön); 248 (of the temples decorated before the fateful arrival of the Wooden Horse); 410–411 *hic primum ex alto delubri culmine telis / nostrorum obruimur oriturque miserrima caedes* (during the fall of Troy)—all baleful reminiscences. The noun will recur only once in the epic, in the glorious vision of Augustan victory immediately after the mention of the defeat of Cleopatra: *at Caesar, triplici invectus Romana triumpho / moenia, dis Italis—votum immortale—sacrabat / maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem* (8.714–716). Servius offers alternative etymologies. The collocation with *arae* is Ciceronian (*ND* 3.46.6); cf. also Lucretius, *DRN* 2.352–353; 5.1201. In Virgil it occurs also of the rites enjoined on and performed by Aristaeus (*G.* 4.541; 549).

adeunt: The two sisters advance together after their respective speeches: they are now truly of one mind and intention. For the verb cf. 4.322, and see Horsfall on 7.82. Another tricolon begins (to be continued with the rapid action of the first two verbs/words of the next verse).

pacem: "Benevolentia" (Servius). *Pax* is often associated with *venia* (see Pease here and *ad* 50); still, there may be a subtle hint of how Anna had spoken of seeking the one, and now the narrator mentions the other: *pax* follows the breaking of *pudor*, and now it is as if there is no need to seek forgiveness or pardon *per se*. We may cf. 3.370 *exorat pacem divum vittasque resolvit*, of Helenus at

Buthrotum—here the action implicit in *resolvere* refers to something inappropriate and immoral, not to the mere loosening of fillets from a liturgical rubric.

per aras: “At every altar in turn” (Tilly). Cf. 62 below. The image is of advancing from one altar to another in a series of religious rites; cf. the rubrics in the *Rituale Romanum* for the Christian Corpus Christi procession. Servius sees a connection to the art of inspecting the entrails of sacrificial victims. There is probably an implicit reference here to all the different divinities whose peace is being sought. The phrase offers another baleful recollection: cf. 2.501–502 *vidi Hecubam centumque nurus Priamumque per aras / sanguine foedantem ...*; note also the serpent at Anchises’ burial mound (5.86). If Virgil were thinking of Lucretius, *DRN* 5.1198ff. (with its mention of *omnis accedere ad aras*), then there there may be a hint of the vain nature of these elaborate, repeated rites: Adler 2003, 115 ff., with excellent analysis. Further on Virgilian altars see E. Montanari in *EV* 1, 120; B. Gladhill in *VE* 1, 57–58.

The scholiast notes: “Fiunt sacra deis; onerantur numina donis.”

57 **exquirunt; mactant lectas de more bidentis**

The rites sketched here now in more detail will be in striking contrast to the queen’s turn to black magic at 474ff. Sacrifice: the act of making something sacred, which technically requires a proper offering (the right domestic animal), divine recipient(s), suitable sacrificer, and fitting place of sacrifice, even if temporary (*E.* 1.7–8; *G.* 3.486–493; *Aen.* 6.243–254, of the rites before the katabasis). All of this would have demanded absolute, indeed obsessive fidelity to liturgical rubric, and presents ample opportunity for unforeseen, ill-omened occurrences. Sacrifice is often simulated in improper or incomplete circumstances, for more or less valid reasons, not least of which because the recipient is not always divine (*E.* 1.42–43, of Octavian’s birthday, more in imitation of Hellenistic ruler cults than imagined association with the Lares; so also some offerings to the dead, as at *G.* 4.531–547, of the instructions to Aristaeus to appease Orpheus and Eurydice, where the Manes should not be thought to lurk), and because many conduct “sacrifices” who are not themselves “sacred” (*Aen.* 5.473–484, of Entellus’ offering of a bull to Eryx, and, most dramatically, the foreign, female Dido’s rites later in this book). On a vast and important topic a good start = I. Shatzman, “Religious Rites in Virgil’s Writings,” in *SCI* 1 (1974), 47–63; for Virgilian sacrifice rites in general note J.B. Rives in *VE* III, 1111–1112. Virgil may not be a source for ritual technicalities of Roman religion (still less for moralizing commentary on, say, ritual killing), but he is regularly keen on the offering of the right animal to the appropriate deity in many contexts that extend beyond sacrifice properly understood; cf. also Dyson 2001, 12–17.

exquirunt: The verb is not common in Virgil; cf. 3.96; 7.239; 8.312. MacLennan does well to note that the verb implies that what was done was done with effort (cf. the implications of 56 *per aras*): the sisters engaged in a significant set of liturgical acts, in accord with the proprieties and demands of custom and ritual. The verb is old (Pacuvian) and not often found in high poetry before Virgil; cf. later uses at *Ilias Latina* 718; Ovid, *Met.* 10.394; Manilius, *Ast.* 4.171; 5.402; Lucan, *BC* 9.749; Statius, *Theb.* 1.559; 10.465; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.734. “... the notion of discovering the mind of the gods has to be combined with the ordinary one of gaining their favour” (Conington).

mactant ... bidentis: So at 6.38–39 *nunc grege de intacto septem mactare iuencos / praestiterit, totidem lectas de more bidentis*; 8.544 ... *mactat lectas de more bidentis*. Both terms are technical. For the verb note the excellent note of Butler, with attention to *magnus* from the same root: “The god is magnified and his strength increased by the offering, which is itself magnified by its devotion to the god.” This is not a ritual of the simpler, bloodless sort. Cf. 5.96 ... *caedit de more bidentis*.

lectas: “The choice of the right victim to be offered to a particular deity—always an important matter in Italian ritual—is often insisted on by Virgil” (Bailey 1935, 44). Whatever the appropriate animals for a given ritual, they must of course be choice and without blemish.

de more: Another anachronism, since Virgil is ascribing contemporary Roman rites to the nascent Carthage. “It is really a Roman sacrifice with the wholly Greek conclusion of the extispice” (Bailey 1935, 55). For the phrase cf. 6.39 and 8.44. It can be taken here especially with the matter of the selection of the sacrificial sheep (*lectas ... bidentis* serving as a frame), or of the entire process of first choosing and then slaughtering (*apo koinou*). For how the “ceremonial attention to detail” that should contribute to a spirit of calm relief in the comfort of properly performed rituals does not succeed, see Panoussi 2009, 47.

bidentis: Referring here to sheep (vid. R.F. Thomas in *VE* 1, 84–85; Toynbee 1973, 164 on the employment of sheep in sacrificial rites); cf. 12.170 (with Tarrant’s note); Lucius Pomponius Bononiensis, *Fab. Atell.* fr. 51–52 Ribbeck *Mars, tibi facturum voveo, si umquam redierit, / Bidenti verre*. The etymology was a matter of learned speculation in antiquity (Gellius, *NA* 16.6 = Nigidius Figulus fr. 39–39a Funaioli; Julius Hyginus fr. 3 (5) Funaioli; Funaioli p. 574). the “two teeth” refer to the prominent first replacements for the original primary set; Henry’s record of his own ovine observations is another gem of his commentary.

“Virgil finds no more difficulty in having Dido perform an Italian ritual, than in making her speak Latin” (Austin). Virgilian sacrifices both proper and

improper always convey information about the relationship between gods, men, and animals, regardless of the prime objective of a given rite.

58 *legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo*,

A verse that has occasioned much spillage of ink since antiquity. Alliteration (*legiferae ... Lyaeo*) frames the verse, and follows on 57 *lectas*. The meter (trochaic caesura in both fourth and fifth foot, with the effect of a line-ending in the middle of the fifth) is discussed in an extended note of Austin; cf. on the same pattern at 335. As usual with such metrically noteworthy verses, the poet draws attention thereby to especially important content.

legiferae Cereri: The first of three deities in one verse, a (Punic?) triad that precedes the Carthaginian patroness Juno (59), the key figure in the seeking of divine peace; one might cf. 1.731–734, where Jupiter, Bacchus, and Juno are invoked by Dido in a looser triadic pattern. For Ceres in Virgil vid. I.C. Colombo in *EV* 1, 746–748; D.O. Ross in *VE* 1, 254; Bailey 1935, 106–109; Fratantuono 2015. The mention of Ceres here directly recalls the reference to the goddess at 2.713–716 (the last reference to her in the poem before now), where Aeneas identified a temple of Ceres near a cypress tree as the locus where the Trojan exiles are to assemble after the successful escape from the city. Virgil links that ominous site with the loss of Creüsa: 2.741–743 *nec prius amissam respexi animumve reflexi / quam tumulum antiquae Cereris sedemque sacratam / venimus* Here the goddess is Demeter Thesmophoros (i.e., Ceres as Legifer/Lawgiver); on this cult title see especially A.B. Stallsmith, “The Name of Demeter Thesmophoros,” in *GBS* 48 (2008), 115–131. *Legifer* is *hapax* in Virgil, and may be a coinage (vid. *TLL* VII 2 col. 1105); cf. Ovid, *Am.* 3.10.41 (of Minos). Why Ceres as legislator? The festival of Demeter Thesmophoros was celebrated in honor of the great goddess and her daughter Persephone; it was often held around the late autumn, and this calendar detail may be particularly appropriate given Anna’s reference to a winter sojourn for Aeneas in Carthage. It was a women’s festival for fertility, with obvious correlation to Dido-Anna here as they prepare for the queen’s prospective union with Aeneas and the hope of children. There may also a nod to the same point as at 39 ff.: Ceres is a settler of cities and bringer of the civilizing gift of agriculture; Carthage (in contrast to some of its neighbors) will be a glorious urban center. Cf. Williams’ note here emphasizing the urban associations of the divine triad cited here. Tilly (who prefers to see a primary reference to nuptials) notes that “Good supplies of corn and wine are essential in the home ...” “These are the gods of *humanitas*” (Monti 1981, 32, who references the invocation of Ceres and Libera at the close of the fifth Verrine).

Legifera may have come as a surprise to some readers; the first reading of F is *frugiferae*, which is also attested in the Medicean, the Wolfenbüttel γ , and p

(Parisinus lat. 7906). While archaic and venerable in its poetic lineage (Ennius, Lucretius), that adjective would also be *hapax* in Virgil, but might well have been thought to be a more conventional epithet of the goddess for those less familiar with the Thesmophoria.

The epithet may have been the subject of learned debate at Macrobius, *Sat.* 3.12, where in a lacunose passage Evangelus argues to Praetextatus about how Virgil erred (*errasse*) in his description of Dido's sacred rites (Evangelus uses the singular *mactat* and not the *mactant* of 57) when he had the queen invoke Ceres, Phoebus, and Bacchus here—only to “wake up” (*expergefactus*) when he mentioned Juno at 59. Regrettably, Evangelus' explanation is completely lost. Pease notes the potentially ominous fact that Venus is nowhere in this passage; Gildenhard aptly asks what Ceres and Bacchus are supposed to do absent Venus, in response to the commentators' citation of Terence, *Eun.* 732 *sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus*. We might note that Jupiter is missing too (notwithstanding Dido's oath at 25). Servius argues that Ceres needed to be appeased because she was distrustful of marriage on account of her daughter's experience; Apollo because he was unmarried; Bacchus because he could have no wife without kidnapping her. Tib. notes that Ceres establishes laws; Apollo guarantees a propitious future; Bacchus offers lasting joy. Dido invokes deities concerned with city-building and maintenance; she will ignore such interests as she gives way to her passion for Aeneas.

The poet Florus links Apollo and Liber: *Sic Apollo, deinde Liber sic videtur ignifer: | ambo sunt flammis creati prosatique ex ignibus; | ambo de donis calorem, vite et radio, conferunt; | noctis hic rumpit tenebras, hic tenebras peccatoris* (c. 5.Jal).

“Dido und Anna opfern einheimischen Gottheiten. Die genannten “römischen” Gottheiten wurden—zumindest unter diesen Namen—in Karthago ebenso wenig verehrt wie die griechischen, mit denen sie identifiziert wurden; Entsprechendes gilt für die kultischen Handlungen nach römischen Ritus” (Binder 2019, 289).

Phoebo: The second reference to Apollo in the book after the reference to the Phoebean lamp at 6. It is now morning, and Phoebus is an important deity to be included in any offerings; at 143 ff., the significance of the god to the unfolding tragic drama will be brought forward in stunning relief. Paratore perceptively hints at the idea of Apollo as healer/god of medicine, as if he could provide relief to the sick Dido.

-que: On the (Homeric) double enclitic see Dainotti 2015, 57 n. 191.

patrique: Cf. the Silian imitation at *Pun.* 7.201. The appellation of Bacchus as *pater* is Ennian (*Athamas* fr. 120 Jocelyn); cf. Horace, c. 1.18.5 (with Nisbet and Hubbard, and Mayer); 3.3.13 (with Nisbet and Rudd); Ovid, *Met.* 13.669

(with Bömer, and Hopkinson); cf. *G.* 2.2–4. Dido and Anna are presented again anachronistically, as if they were conducting liturgies of the state cult for Liber Pater; if Dido reminds us of Cleopatra, we may again remember her alleged fondness for the fruit of the vine (even if the epithet is conventional enough for the god: Virgil is a master of rendering the conventional particularly meaningful). There is an alliterative effect after *Phoebo*.

Lyaeo: On Virgilian references to the wine god note G.A. Privitera in *EV* 1, 449–452; A. Henrichs in *VE* 1, 163–164; Bailey 1935, 147–152; also F. Mac Góráin, “Virgil’s Bacchus and the Roman Republic,” in Farrell and Nelis 2013, 124–145. Here he is “Lyaeus” because Dido has broken the bonds of *pudor* and right conduct; there is also a reference back to 1.685–686 *ut, cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido | regalis inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum*, where Venus gives instructions to Cupid about his amatory assault on the queen. This name for the god occurs elsewhere in the poet only at *G.* 2.229. The mention of Ceres thus recalls the loss of Creüsa, and the invocation of Bacchus as Lyaeus looks back to the queen’s bibulous feast (cf. 1.728ff.) and to Cupid’s poison, as well as evoking Cleopatra’s own stereotypical drunkenness. Between the two comes Apollo, who will have his own symbolic role to play in the Dido story. Ceres and Bacchus are naturally paired (food/drink); cf., e.g., *E.* 5.79–80; *G.* 1.7; 2.228–229. On how we move from the Loosener Bacchus to the goddess who joins couples in marriage (the Juno of 59), see Paschalis 1997, 150–151: “The semantic contrast undercuts the successful outcome of the sacrifices.” Whether Lyaeus is an adjective modifying *pater* or a noun in apposition does not change the meaning; we would incline to the former were a choice required.

The verse is interestingly framed by an epithet that refers to the bringing of law and a name of a god that describes his power to loosen. At 607–610 Virgil will return to the question of triple Didonic invocations. For one line with these three deities after Virgil one must wait until the *Pervigilium Veneris*: *nec Ceres, nec Bacchus absunt, nec poetarum deus* (43, probably in imitation of this verse).

59 **Iunoni ante omnis, cui vincla iugalia curae.**

Iunoni: The key goddess, with a look back to Anna’s optimistic declaration of 45 *dis auspicious equidem reor et Iunone secunda*. Dido and Anna are of course not aware that Juno had practiced her nuptial patronage with Aeolus (1.71–75) as part of her bargain to secure his help with the storm, in language that evoked perfectly her role as Roman marriage goddess. “Bona Iuno” had her place, too, at the end of Dido’s invocation at 1.734 (also immediately after a mention of Bacchus). It may be significant too that Ceres had an affair with Jupiter (whence

Proserpina); Phoebus was the son of Jupiter's affair with Latona; Bacchus was the offspring of Jupiter's paramour Semele. Cf. 166, of *Iuno pronuba*, and see Buscaroli here for the Greek antecedents.

ante omnis: When you say "before all" after mentioning others, you thereby highlight the preeminence of the last named. Cf. 2.40 (of Laocoön); 141 below (of Aeneas at the hunt); 5.406 (of Dares before the boxing bout); 492 (of the place of Hippocoön in the archery contest); 570 (of Iulus at the *lusus Troiae*, on the horse that Dido had given him); 833 (of Palinurus); 6.667 (of Musaeus); 7.55 (of Turnus as suitor of Lavinia); 11.806 (of the terrified Arruns after his attack on Camilla); 12.448 (of Juturna in fear)—not the most positive range of associations. Juno comes "before all" because she is the preeminent marriage goddess, and because she is the patroness of Carthage. Stahl 2016, 223 compares Dido here to Herodotus' Croesus "who believed he could bribe Apollo's oracle by repeated gifts." For how the Dido who had behaved in a quasi-Epicurean way in the past, "with the utmost independence of gods ... is here thrust by the vicissitudes of her passion into the most needy, obsessive, ritualistic attempts to win the divine favor," see Adler 2003, 115–116. The sisters evoke the rubrical precision and propriety of Roman state cult in a most un-Roman context: the violation of the spirit of the *univira*.

cui, etc.: The relative clause emphasizing the goddess' province of matters nuptial has led some commentators to conclude that the previous deities were not being invoked particularly because of connection to marriage, even with resultant adjustment of punctuation to remove the imaginary problem. The *cui* here with reference to the goddess serves too as part of a reminiscence of Dido's own prior comment on marriage (see next lemma). For the construction of the predicative dative cf. *G.* 1.17; 4.113. "A construction frequent in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* but rare in the *Aeneid*" (Pease). *Cui* and *curae* frame the *vincula iugalia* in alliterative balance.

vincla iugalia: Echoing 15 *ne cui me vinclo vellem sociare iugali*, of Dido's vow not to remarry. Here both words correlate to emphasize the notion of binding together. Cf. the chorus at Seneca, *Ag.* 239 that speaks of *Amor iugalis*. We are left to wonder about the marriage bond that had already been contracted with Sychaeus: the inescapable fact remains that the sisters are invoking the wedding goddess to look with favor and to grant her blessing, as it were, on a new marriage despite the bond of the old. "Iu-galia" echoes "Iu-no." Servius reminds us here that Juno is the *regina*; there is a careful play on Dido as queen vs. the supreme, divine queen throughout (and cf. the last scene of the book).

curae: Very different from the *cura* of verses 1 and 5.

60 *ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido*

More (liquid) alliteration: *dextra ... Dido* and especially *pateram pulcherrima*. For the connection of what Dido does here to her own role as a victim of sacrifice, see Perkell 1999, 84. *In fine*, the queen who acts here as a *sacerdos* will herself in some sense become the slaughtered animal. On the vanity of sacrifice rituals as part of a quest to satisfy inappropriate erotic passions see E. Vance, "Sylvia's Pet Stag: Wildness and Domesticity in Virgil's *Aeneid*," in *Arethusa* 14.1 (1981), 135.

ipsa ... Dido: Framing the verse, as we move from the plural action of the sisters to the particular liturgical actions of the queen. *Ipsa* effectively highlights her role; cf. 6.249, of Aeneas performing a similar function. For the argument that what is introduced here is a distinct action from the joint ritual that precedes, see Gildenhard ad loc. See Tilly's note for Dido as priestess, with an analysis of how Virgil underscores her (continuing) anxiety by having her do the ritual herself. Virgil moves from the general to the specific, with his camera's focus, as it were, on what the key figure is doing (see here MacLennan's excellent analysis).

tenens: The participle coordinates with 61 *fundit*.

dextra: The right hand, in which cups of wine were held in Roman sacrificial liturgies.

pateram: Recalling Dido's handling of the same sort of vessel at 1.729 *implevitque mero pateram ...*; 733–734 *tum Bitiae dedit increpitans: ille impiger hausit / spumantem pateram ...*; the same object is used during the rites at Polydorus' grave (3.67); at Anchises' *tumulus* (5.91); on departure from Sicily (5.775); before the descent to Avernus (6.249); after the seemingly harmless incident of the "eating of the tables" (7.133); cf. the libations at Buthrotum (3.355); the depiction of the rites marking the Roman-Sabine treaty on the shield at 8.640; the similar Trojan-Latin ceremony at 12.174. The bowl referenced here was a shallow vessel designed for libations of wine; the liquid would be poured over the heads of the sheep to be slaughtered.

pulcherrima: So of Venus in Jupiter's instructions to Mercury at 227 below. For the adjective vid. R.M. Christillin in *EV* IV, 347–348. Purely ornamental in the judgment of Mackail. Virgil recalls here Dido's first appearance at 1.496 *regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido*; cf. Martial's reminiscence of her at *Ep.* 8.6.12–13. Dido is *pulchra* at 4.192; cf. her descriptions as *candida* (5.571); *optima* (4.291). Stahl 2016, 223 argues that her loveliness is unworthy of the inappropriate designs that prompt this religious rite. "If Dido is intended to suggest Cleopatra the Roman reader might imagine additional details based on the charm of her appearance" (Pease, who also draws attention to Turnus' handsomeness as at 7.55 ff.). Aeneas will be *pulcherrimus* at 141 below—a per-

fect match for Dido at least on the superficial level of physical attributes. On Virgil's references to "most beautiful Dido" Heuzé 1985, 254 comments: "Dans ces deux tableaux, il est difficile de prétendre que le superlatif ne remplit pas sa fonction propre. Il rend la beauté plus intense et communique à son expression la vibrato de l'émotion. *Pulchra* n'est pas faible, mais *pulcherrima* est plus fort."

61 candentis vaccae media inter cornua fundit,

candentis: For the color see Edgeworth 1992, 112–114. The chromatic verb occurs 8× in the epic: at 3.573 it describes the bright, glowing ash of Etna; at 5.236 it is used of the *taurus* that Cloanthus promises to sacrifice for victory in the regatta; at 6.895 Virgil has it of the white ivory of one of the Gates of Sleep; at 8.720 it expresses the bright appearance of the Palatine Phoebus on the shield, as Augustus sits at the threshold of the temple; at 9.563 Turnus is compared to an eagle that carries off a shining swan; at 9.627–628 Ascanius promises to sacrifice a white bull if his bowshot against Numanus Remulus is successful; at 12.90–91, lastly, Turnus girds himself with his sword, which Vulcan had plunged "candentem" into the Styx. We might note that the next time this color is referenced after the present passage, it is thus in another sacrificial context (Cloanthus' prayer at 5.236), with Dido remembered as *candida* at 5.571 as Ascanius is depicted at the *lusus Troiae* on the horse that the queen had given to him: Dido will, after all, herself become a shining sacrificial offering. Henderson *apud* Gildenhard sees a parallel between *candentis* and 60 *pulcherrima* of Dido, which follows on this interpretation of Dido as victim (he also sees a connection between the *vacca* as opposed to a *iuvencula* with reference to Dido's possible age, which he takes as being older). "The color befits victims offered to a celestial deity like Juno" (Pease; see also Henry's association of the color with Dido's regal status)—though no bright, positive chromatic association will help the doomed queen. Cf. the *nivea mulctaria* of the *vaccae* of G. 3.176–177.

vaccae: The noun occurs elsewhere in the epic only at 6.250–251 *Aeneas matri Eumenidum magnaëque sorori / ense ferit sterilemque tibi, Proserpina, vaccam* (in a very different liturgical context); cf. E. 6.60; 9.31; G. 2.524 (where *vaccae* appear as part of the charming vignette of family and country life, complete with mention of "sweet children") and 3.177 (in another passage that references *dulcis natos*, this time of animals). Given the Dido-Cleopatra parallel, does the mention of a *vacca* connect to Io/Isis (as at Propertius, c. 2.28.17–18)? The *vacca*, at any rate, is cited as a Junonian offering at *Tab. Fratr. Arval.* 13 *Iunoni vaccam*, and is thus a fitting enough sacrifice for the queen of the gods. The *vacca* offered by Aeneas to Proserpina in Book 6 was sterile; in a similar sense so will be the marriage for the cause of which Dido makes sacrifice here.

media inter cornua: So also at 5.479–480 *libravit dextra media inter cornua / arduus*, of Entellus' impromptu, quasi-sacrificial offering after his defeat of Dares; 6.245 (of Deiphobe's part in the rites prior to the descent to Avernus); cf. Ovid, *Ars* 1.291; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 3.686. Ritual precision, as MacLennan notes (his ascription of the parallel action in Book 6 to Aeneas should be modified). Gildenhard observes that *media* is appropriately located at midverse, with *inter* also given enacting placement. The elision marks the pouring of the wine between the horns.

fundit: A favorite verb of Virgil (vid. P. Tremoli in *EV* 11, 610); cf. of the wine that turns into gore at the terrible portent of 4.455 (the only other use in this book). The object must be implied from *pateram* of the preceding line, as Dido pours her libation before the slaughter of the heifer. For the pouring of (pure, unmixed) wine in offering to Juno in a similar ritual see Courtney on Juvenal, *Sat.* 12.7–9. Servius notes here “non est sacrificium, sed hostiae exploratio, utrum apta sit”; Guillaumin in his Budé commentary compares the similar observation of the scholiast on 6.244.

62 aut ante ora deum pinguis spatiatur ad aras,

aut: The little conjunction serves to emphasize yet another of Dido's actions, as the poet underscores the anxious, impatient nature of her religious rituals. Here the queen proceeds to other altars, all of which are rich (*pinguis*) with the sacrifices made on them. Gildenhard ad loc. is right to draw attention to the significance of the connective; he contrasts the queen's seemingly “unfocused drifting” here with the statelier procession of the sisters at 56 *adeunt*. Disjunctive to emphasize difference in time.

ante ora deum: The gods see everything, as Austin notes. The reference may be to images of the gods inside the temples, or—more ominously—the gods themselves who watch the tragic drama unfold. MacLennan (following Conington) paints the picture: Dido goes from (outdoor) altar to altar, with the temple doors open and the cult statues visible from the threshold. We recall here the carefully named gods of 58–59.

pinguis: Vid. V. D'Oria in *EV* IV, 114–115. Of altars also at *G.* 2.19; cf. the *pingue solum* at 202 below, and the mention of the *pinguis hostia* at 11.740 (with reference to haruspicy, though there is no practice thereof in that passage). The word order is effective: as Dido proceeds from altar to altar, it is as if she is surrounded by scenes of the blood and fat of victims drenching the various cult sites. The adjective describes succinctly the aftermath of the action of 57. Virgil will echo this image at 7.764 ... *pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Dianae*, in the Virbius vignette; cf. the same construction at 9.585 ... *pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Palici*. On the quasi-periphrastic reference to blood see Heuzé 1985, 99, 141. Later poets did not imitate Virgil's vivid, transferred image.

spatiatur: The verb occurs only twice in Virgil, and the parallel is grim: *G.* 1.388–389 *tum cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce / et sola in sicca secum spatiatur harena*, of the raven's role in prognosticating bad weather. Propertius imitates this verse at c. 2.2.7 *aut ceu Munychias Pallas spatiatur ad aras* in a grand, indeed divinely solemn context, but the Virgilian parallel is decidedly ominous. Cf. also Ovid, *Trist.* 4.2.59. The verb is rare in poetry; it is defined by *OLD* s.v. 1 as “to walk about, esp. in a slow or leisurely manner, range, stalk, etc.”; some commentators have seen a parallel here to the divine-like gait ascribed to Dido at 1.497. But again, the raven on the shore is Virgil's only parallel image here—the queen has changed significantly since her entry in Book 1. D.Serv. has a note ad loc. raising the possibility of how the verb reflects the impatience of the lovesick Dido as she proceeds from altar to altar (Pease disagrees); Servius speaks of the particularities of ritual movements around an altar (cf. the choreographed motions prescribed in the *Missale Romanum* for the priest and ministers at the incensations). MacLennan speaks of how here, it is the walk itself that is important. Henry in a characteristic note argues that Virgil substituted this verb “for the veritable barbaric dancing, little befitting, according to the refined notions of western nations, and especially of the Romans, the dignity of exalted personages.” In the end what may have been most on Virgil's mind is how just as the raven's movement on the shore is a reliable prognosticator of stormy weather, so now Dido's progress from altar to altar foreshadows a storm: both the real one of 160 ff., and the figurative one that ensues. We shall recall this verb when Virgil describes Dido's wandering in the city at 68 below.

ad aras: Echoing the image and language of 56 above. Newman and Newman 2005, 144–145 connect Dido's visits here to the similar behavior of another tragic heroine at Euripides, *Alcestis* 170–171 πάντας δὲ βωμούς, οἱ κατ' Ἀδμήτου δόμους, | προσήλθε κάξέστειψε καὶ προσήύξατο.

63 *instauratque diem donis, pecudumque reclusis*

By the end of the verse, extispicy, as Dido becomes a *haruspex*. This passage constitutes the only execution of the practice in the epic; there is an Etrurian *haruspex* at 8.498 (but he performs no rite); cf. the similar case of Asilas at 10.175–177, and also the mention of one by Tarchon at 11.739–740, again in passing. It is significant that haruspicy is practiced its one and only time in the poem by the foreign, female Dido (vid. on this Bailey 1935, 24; note also more generally E.M. Montanari in *EV* II, 836–837 and V.M. Warrior in *VE* II, 588, without mention of Dido's ritual here). The second half of this verse is where Dido begins to make a transition toward the darker arts that will be practiced later in the book.

instaurat: Another technical term of Roman religion, this time in a (highly) “compressed expression” (Maclennan) very much in the poet’s style. The verb is echoed below at 145 *instauratque choros*, where it describes Apollo in the simile in which Aeneas is associated with the god; at 3.62 *ergo instauramus Polydoro funus* it is used in a grim funereal context, while at 5.94 *hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores* it occurs of the rites at Anchises’ *tumulus* in the wake of the serpent prodigy (cf. 7.146 *certatim instaurant epulas*, after the fulfillment of the portent of the eating of the tables; 8.283–284, of the rituals of the Potitii at Evander’s settlement). Deiphobus’ shade uses it in his exclamatory wish for vengeance for 6.529–530 ... *di, talia Graeis / instaurate, pio si poenas ore reposco*; at 10.543 it describes the renewal of battle; cf. the two similar, participial occurrences of the verb at 2.451 and 669. Dido literally “renews/makes new the day”; it is almost as if the dawn of 6 is reborn again and again with the performance of new rites. There is likely an implication here of an unspecified period of time in which Dido performs new sacrifices each morning. There are three explicit dawns of Book 4, matching the tripartite structure of the book (7; 129; 584–585); see below on 74–79 for the question of whether or not quite a lot is happening on one and the same day (cf. on this Mandra 1934, 117–118). The technical aspect of *instaurare* comes from what we might call the obsessive, compulsive need to restart a ritual if there is the slightest error or problem in its execution; the implication is that every day the ritual is repeated in the hope of a different outcome. “She repeats her gifts either on this day or daily” (Butler, after Mackail; followed by Tilly). Page argues here that this is the repetitive action of one day, not of several; Pease *seq.* (noting that “no actions requiring more time have been mentioned in the meantime”). Tib. has the creative idea that Dido kept performing (public) sacrifice rituals so that she could see Aeneas more and more often.

donis: For the semantic connection of Dido with the bestowal of gifts, see Paschalis 1997, 150–151. Alliterative with *diem*. Would-be bribes for the gods to grant the girl what she wants. Servius wonders if Dido presented more gifts to the Trojans (also as *de facto* bribes); Pease dismisses the idea.

pecudum: The noun is properly used of farm animals or livestock, especially sheep and cattle: from the sheep of 57 (*bidentis*) and the heifer of 61 (*vaccae*) Virgil proceeds to a generic term that encompasses both ovines and bovines. Etruscan divination included the inspection of sheep entrails, and Dido is probably to be envisaged here as examining the livers and gall-bladders of slaughtered sheep.

reclusis: The beginning of an enjambed description of the next ritual action of the queen: the inspection of entrails. Livy (1.56.4–5) says that the art came to Rome during the reign of Tarquinius Superbus; it became more widespread

starting with the period of the Second Punic War, a fact that Virgil may have thought relevant here. The verb also at 1.358–359 *auxiliumque viae veteres tellure recludit* / *thesauros ...*, where the ghost of Dido's dead husband reveals buried treasure to aid in his widow's flight from Tyre; cf. 646–647 ... *ensemque recludit* / *Dardanium*, as the crazed (*furibunda*) Dido prepares to take her life—two powerful, eminently fitting parallels. Other Virgilian uses come at 3.91–92 ... *totusque moveri* / *mons circum et mugire adytis cortina reclusis* (of the oracle at Delos); 7.617 (of the opening of the *Belli Portae* enjoined on Latinus); 8.244 (of the comparison of Hercules' opening of Cacus' lair to the exposure of the underworld); 10.601 (Aeneas' killing of Lucagus); 12.924 (Aeneas' attack on Turnus).

O'Hara does well to note that we do not see in this passage what Dido saw as to the shape, size, color, or noteworthy markings of the organs under inspection—but we can certainly guess what was portended.

64 *pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta.*

pectoribus: For the (archaic) diastole (with the final syllable in arsis) cf. 146 and 222. Austin takes the effect to be an enactment of the gazing of Dido at the innards; note also how the enjambment serves literally to open the internal organs for inspection (on this see Gildenhard, who comments also on the framing hyperbaton of *spirantia ... exta*). An archaic meter for an old and mysterious practice. Besides the metrical anomaly, the form is also rare in verse. Combined with the following participle and the unique appearance of extispicy in the epic, the effect is particularly powerful.

inhians: “Intenta per sollicitudinem” (Servius). The prefix echoes that of 63 *instaurat*. This vivid, striking verb occurs only twice in the epic. At 7.814 *attonitis inhians animis*, it describes the *turba* of mothers that marvels at the sight of the Volscian heroine Camilla as she appears at the climax of the catalogue of Italian heroes; Dido and Camilla have many affinities. At *G.* 4.483 ... *tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora*, it describes the famous hound of hell as he is lulled by Orpheus' song. The only other Virgilian use is at *G.* 2.463 *nec varios inhiant pulchra testudine postes*, of how farmers are never agape at riches or wealth. The Camilla passage; the Orpheus-Eurydice epyllion; even the question of being eager for wealth and riches: a not irrelevant set of parallels. In one sense Dido is doing what the still fresh, warm entrails are doing (*spirantia*)—appropriate for she who will herself be a sacrificial victim; on this see Paratore's note. MacLennan contrasts the pathos of this scene with that of 60. Virgil may have been thinking of the vivid use of the same participle at Lucretius, *DRN* 1.36. For the dative after the verb see Antoine 1882, 46: Ciceronian.

spirantia: This form of the participle recurs at the famous 6.847 *excudent alii spirantia mollius aera*; for the verb cf. 562 below. The image is vividly gruesome, as Dido literally gapes with mouth wide open over the gory mess. For the less vivid idea that the *exta* are not really palpitating, but “living” in the sense of giving messages about the future, cf. the extended treatment of Henry.

consulit: The verb 6× in the epic, and only here in the first half (cf. 7.83; 9.322; 11.335; 344; 12.21); note also *G.* 3.491. Here it is a subtle and crucial detail: Virgil, as the critics have noted, never explicitly reveals the results of this inspection of entrails. Whatever the result, it did not help the lovesick girl (see further on 66 *iuvant*). Dido is not in a right state of mind (as underscored at 65 *furentem*): it is quite possible that she saw what she wanted to see, which was certainly easier to achieve after repeated rituals.

exta: The noun also at 5.234 and 775; 6.254 and 8.183. Cf. also *G.* 1.484 and 2.194. Pease has an extended note here on his identification of spleen, stomach, veins, heart, lungs, and liver as the six principal *exta*, and on how the liver was most important for the *haruspex* (it is, after all, the largest internal organ by mass).

On the possible evocation of “Etruskische Disziplin” here see Lehr 1934, 104.

65 *heu vatum ignarae mentes! quid vota furentem,*

The commencement of a powerful authorial comment, introduced with a sigh and an apostrophe. For a direct address by the poet to Dido note 408 below; cf. also 10.501–502. On the problems of interpretation of verses 65–66 see especially S. Casali, “The Ignorance of Love: *Aeneid* 4.65–66 in the History of Vergilian Exegesis,” in *Vergilius* 64 (2018), 3–32.

heu: Cf. 13.

ignarae: The adjective recurs at 508 ... *haud ignara futuri*, of Dido—its only other occurrence in the book. Cf. 8.627 *haud vatum ignarus*, of Vulcan as craftsman of Aeneas’ shield with its rendition of Roman history from Romulus to Augustus; vid. further Newman and Newman 2005, 37. Books 4 and 8 are both the closing books of their respective thirds of the epic; in the end, both Dido and Aeneas will be ignorant, and Vulcan fully aware (cf. 4.65 and 508; 8.627 and 730).

mentes: We remember most especially Dido’s *dubia mens* at 55; cf. Anna’s comment at 39.

vatum: A key word, alliteratively echoed by *vota*. For a start to a difficult topic see here M. Massenzio in *EV* v, 456–458. The principal problem here is how to take the genitive: does it refer to the minds of Dido and Anna that are “ignorant of the prophets,” or to the minds of the prophets that are ignorant? Here the ambiguity is surely deliberate (see O’Hara ad loc., *bene*; for the

opposite case, note the extended remarks of Gildenhart here, especially on the important point of how *vates* are not the same thing as *haruspices*): Virgil plays with what we might call something of an Epicurean sentiment—it is impossible to portend what is going to happen by looking at the fresh, palpitating organs of slaughtered sheep—and the immediate situation of Dido and Anna, who see (especially the former) what they want to see. Certainly there is an element here of the analysis given by Butler: “How little priests know how to heal a lover’s woes!”, i.e., nothing the *vates* say could help Dido; on this theme see Williams ad loc.; it is explicated most fully by its proponent Henry. Nelis 2001, 140 highlights Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.932 ff., of how seers are not famous/worthy of repute if they do not have the sense even of children, who know that young girls will not speak sweetly to men accompanied by strangers. Sidgwick *silet*.

It would seem that Virgil presents here a sly nod to Lucretian philosophy—*vates* are not able to predict the future by any means, since no god would possess a mortal and speak through him in prophetic warning—alongside a more straightforward comment on how Dido and her sister are ignorant (*contra* the Vulcan of Book 8) of the larger issues and overarching drama at play here. And, on a metapoetic level, Virgil’s characters—not least the sisters of *Aeneid* 4—are ignorant of the games of the poets as supreme vatic figures.

We may here want to consider too the only other occurrence of *vates* in this book. At 4.464–466 *multaque praeterea vatum praedicta priorum / terribili monitu horrificant. agit ipse furem / in somnis ferus Aeneas ...*, Dido is frightened by many of the predictions of “prior prophets,” who had given grim warning of her future. Fierce Aeneas drives on the mad girl in her dreams. This only other mention of *vates* in Book 4 directly alludes to prior *vatum praedicta* (which points to the present passage as its referent), and in both sequences Dido is described as *furem*. Dido (as amateur?) may have practiced haruspicy herself and been warned by professional *haruspices* as well as by the oracular utterances of *vates*; what matters *in fine* is that she and her sister heed no warning. Taking the *ignarae mentes* of the sisters also works better with what follows; it is also very much in Virgil’s style to give a nod—albeit in passing—to Anna, who was present for the start of the religious rites, but who has not otherwise been referenced since the focus turned to Dido at 60. Servius cites 4.464, and argues (piously, we might say) that the *vates* are not ignorant of the future, but that their powers of prognostication cannot compete with the power of a mad lover (cf. the similar analysis of Tib.). The poet here—a *vates* himself (cf. 7.41)—reflects on how his creations do not understand: a major theme of the epic (so of the *ignarus* Aeneas of 8.730, who does not understand the pictures on the shield that Vulcan/Virgil had crafted).

quid: Introducing the first of two rhetorical questions that share a verb.

vota: Cf. 158, of Ascanius' prayers at the fateful hunt. Juxtaposed next to Dido's madness, in powerful contrast.

furentem: Das *furor*-Motiv, again. A key description of the maddened girl, already present in Venusian prolepsis at 1.659 (as the goddess instructed Cupid). It is echoed soon after at 69, also of Dido; cf. the same term at 283 and 546. These Didonic references to madness are framed, in a sense, by the mention of the *furentes Barcaei* Anna warned her sister of at 42–43, and the *flammae furentes* of the imagined ruin of Carthage and Tyre in the wake of Dido's stabbing herself. This is the natural consequence of being *male sana* (8); the progression of the tragedy of *Aeneid* 4 is of the transformation of the *caecus ignis* of verse 2 into a raging, all too real conflagration. Indeed, words describing fury/madness virtually define Dido; Gildenhard ad loc. conveniently assembles them: *furor* at 91, 101, 433, and 697; *furibunda* at 646; *furiae* at 376. See further here S. Farron in *EV* 11, 621–622, who notes that the Virgilian vocabulary of madness is applied 16× to Dido, twice as often as for the second place Turnus (8×); Aeneas third with 7×; Virgil's other suicidal queen Amata fourth at 6×; then the livid goddess Juno (4×); the possessed Sibyl (3×); the Trojans (also 3×); Camilla, Cassandra, Hercules, the Etruscans and the Trojan women (all 2×); 1× each of Turnus and the Etruscans in similes. Farron notes that fully 61% of the 57 occurrences involve female characters. Dido is thus the most maddened figure in the epic by a large margin; Turnus—with whom she has many affinities—is next, but Aeneas is close behind—and the great Juno (who is happy on her final appearance in the epic at 12.841–842) only fifth in order. Camilla also poses a strong case of parallelism to Dido, but she is decidedly calmer despite her violent *aristeia* (cf. T. Ramsby, “Juxtaposing Camilla and Dido in the *Aeneid*,” in *CO* 88.1 (2010), 13–17). Pacuvius seems to have referred to Medea as the *caelitum camilla* (fr. 232 Ribbeck). At Camilla's entry at 7.803 ff. she has a Lycian quiver, with Apollonian shades; cf. the entry of Dido as Diana at 1.496 ff.

The mention of Dido as *furens* here leads naturally and alliteratively to the metaphorical *flamma* of 66. The commentators certainly are right to note that *furentem* has nothing to do with Roman marriage.

This verse is imitated by Apuleius, *Met.* 10.2.28 *heu medicorum ignarae mentes*; the reminiscence need not overdetermine how we read the ambiguous Virgilian model. Note also Silius' *heu sacri vatum errores* (*Pun.* 8.100), also cited often in defense of particular interpretations of the present line.

66 *quid delubra iuvant? est mollis flamma medullas*

Williams does well to note that the reminiscence in 66–67 of the first two lines of the book serves to highlight how nothing has changed despite all the

words and liturgical drama. If anything, the situation is worse. We remember here 1.659–660 ... *donisque furentem / incendat reginam atque ossibus implicet ignem*, of Venus' plan to use Cupid to subvert Dido (where *donis* again recalls the semantic association of the queen's name with "gifts," and speaks to the question of her greed). Several critics highlight the "philosophical" nature of the reflections here, and the general applicability; the sentiments follow naturally enough on the poet's apostrophe of *ignarae mentes*, and Dido is the lover of the hour.

delubra: Echoing the same word at 56, as the sororial religious rites commenced. Neither the prayers uttered nor the locus of the liturgy can avail the mad lover.

iuvant: In context the verb cannot help but evoke the semantic connection with *Iuno*. Cf. also the same verb at 4.498; 538; 578; and 660 (especially the last, dramatic use as Dido stabs herself with the words *sic, sic iuvat ire per umbras*).

est: Not a common verb in Virgil, or indeed in any high poetry; Servius felt a need to explain it. At 5.683 *est vapor et toto descendit corpore pestis* it is used of the fire that eats away at the Trojan vessels; Jupiter uses it metaphorically of Juno at 12.801 *ne te tantus edit tacitam dolor* (on this parallel see on 4.68); cf. of "normal" eating at 7.113; 8.184; 9.63; of *robigo* at *G.* 1.151. But its most important Virgilian use may be at *G.* 3.565–566 ... *nec longo deinde moranti / tempore contactos artus sacer ignis edebat*, as the poet closes the account of the cattle plague at Noricum and the book with a graphic description of the infection of human victims.

In the underworld, lovesick suicides are metaphorically described as *quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit* (6.442), itself a borrowing from the all too real image of *G.* 3.561–562 *morbo inlueque peresa / vellera*, again from the Virgilian plague passage near the end of the book. The medical metaphor once again: Dido is incurably ill, a veritable cancer patient.

There is a careful juxtaposition here of the verbs: the temples cannot help, and the flame eats away at the lover's marrow.

mollis: Alliterative with *medullas*, including the soft, liquid effect that highlights the vulnerability and fragility of the girl. The adjective adds to the atmosphere of tragic pathos; the "soft" marrow of the young queen is the prey of the fire of her passion. It is almost certainly to be taken as accusative with *medullas*, though it could conceivably be nominative with *flamma* (on this see Conington, and O'Hara); this latter interpretation would mean that the flame works its grisly effect with subtle, soft work as if it were some hidden, quasi-cancer that gives away no dramatic symptoms until it is too late (cf. 4.2). Latin allows for such ambiguities and shades of meaning with an ease that sometimes seems to frustrate its translators and exegetes.

flamma: The image harks back to line 54. Here the flame does its job of eating away at the queen's *medulla*; she is on her way to being a sacrificial victim. But Virgil was probably principally thinking about another Roman-foreign union, that of the admittedly far happier (we might think) Septimius and Acme in Catullus, c. 45.15–16: *ut multo mihi maior acriorque | ignis mollibus ardent in medullis*. Austin notes the possible parallel of Plautus, *Most.* 243 *videas eam medullitus me amare*.

medullas: The veins of 4.2 have been succeeded here by the girl's marrow. The noun appears elsewhere in the epic only in a parallel passage; at 8.388–389 ... *ille repente | accepit solitam flammam, notusque medullas | intravit calor et labefacta per ossa cucurrit* Vulcan succumbs to Venus' sexual charms in the matter of the forging of the arms of Aeneas. Both passages are indebted to *G.* 3.271 *continuoque avidis ubi subdita flamma medullis*, of Venus' inspiration of sexual desire in horses. From the innards of the sacrificial victims we move to the marrow of Dido. Metaphorical, to be sure, and yet Virgil returns in his medical imagery again and again to physical references that culminate in the violent, grisly scene of the queen's suicide. Virgil probably has in mind here Catullus, c. 64.196–197, a vivid passage of Ariadne's lament. There may be a reminiscence too of the sentiments of the nurse at Euripides, *Hipp.* 253–255 who cautions about passion that reaches to the marrow.

67 *interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.*

interea: Essential reading here = T.E. Kinsey, "The Meaning of *interea* in Virgil's *Aeneid*," in *Glotta* 57.3/4 (1979), 259–265; note also O.W. Reinmuth, "Vergil's Use of *Interea*, A Study of the Treatment of Contemporaneous Events in Roman Epic," in *AJPh* 54.4 (1933), 323–339. Here the adverb refers to what has been happening during the whole sequence of religious events narrated at 56 ff.; Anna's setting Dido's *animus* aflame (54b *flammavit*) has done more than all of the sacrificial rites and haruspicy. The emphasis expressed by the adverb (see here Henry, and Pease) highlights the queen's condition. The beginning of a dental pattern of alliteration that continues with *et tacitum vivit sub pectore*; see Tilly on the harsh effect that suggests pain, in contrast to the suffering she sees implied by *vivit ... vulnus*.

tacitum: So at 306, as Dido asks Aeneas if he thought he could depart from Carthage in silence; Dido's eyes are quiet at 364 just before she begins a blistering speech. Aeneas' men are *taciti* as they prepare the ships for the departure. Here the adjective corresponds to 2 *caeco*, of the invisible fire that eats away at the queen. If 66 *mollis* is to be taken with *flamma*, then *tacitum* here reinforces the idea: we are not yet at the hunt and the commencement of the affair, and not yet at the moment where (due in large part to the work of Fama) the whole

matter becomes public. The meaning is not much changed whether or not one takes the adjective predicatively (so Buscaroli). The point seems to be how only the sisters, as yet, are aware of the wound of love; Dido certainly, we know, is all too well aware of her state. For a different view see Conington.

vivit: Alliterative with *vulnus*. Austin connects this vivid description of the queen's wound with the quieter (yet deadlier) description of the action of the *vulnus* of 68g.

sub: The little preposition contributes its share to the poet's point: everything so far remains a secret between the sisters and, we might think, *ante ora deum* (62).

pectore: Echoing the same noun at 4, where Aeneas' *infixi vultus* was what was piercing/wounding (cf. the similar *vultus/vulnus*) her heart.

vulnus: The queen nourished her wound at 4.2; now the wound lives silently in her heart. We may recall here the Juno of 1.36 *cum Iuno aeternum servans sub pectore vulnus*; also 11.40 *ut vidit levique patens in pectore vulnus* (of Aeneas as he gazes on the dead body of Pallas). Cf. the lighter context of Ovid's echo at *Ars* 1.257; also *Met.* 7.842 (of Procris); Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 5.594; 13.825. Henry is right to underscore that this wound requires the definite and not the indefinite article.

68 *uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur*

The verse is framed by the two verbs; the first describes the queen's internal state, and the second the action she takes in consequence. MacLennan highlights how from here to 89, nothing new actually happens; the slow, silent work of the interior flame wreaks its destruction with relentless, ultimately devastating effect. The two verbs in coordination echo Lucretius, *DRN* 6.151–152 *uritur ingenti sonitu succensa repente, | lauricomos ut si per montis flamma vagatur* (of lightning). More alliterative effects, especially in the “ur” sound that opens and closes the verse, soon to be repeated in 69 *urbe*. On the historical presents here see Adema 2019, 15.

uritur: More fire/flame imagery; this is far more serious, we might think, than the problem of 4.2 ... *caeco carpitur igni*; cf. 23 ... *adgnosco veteris vestigia flammae*; 54. The same verb is used at 1.662 *urit atrox Iuno*, in the description of why Venus is so worried about her son as she prepares to send Cupid to Dido. The verb is not common in the epic; note also 2.37 (of the advice to burn the Wooden Horse); 5.672 (with reference to the burning of the ships); also how Circe burns cedar for its scent at 7.13. The verb often of the (commonplace) metaphorical fire of love: Catullus c. 83.6 ... *hoc est, uritur et loquitur* lurks here (see here Clausen 2002, 81); cf. Ps.-Tibullus, c. 3.12.16–18 (with Fulkerson), a passage that owes much to the imagery of the opening movements of this

book; also Ovid, *Met.* 1.495–496 (of Apollo with Daphne); 2.809 ff. (of Mercury with Herse); 3.430 (of Narcissus); 8.515–517 (Meleager, racked by a fatal, hidden flame); 13.763 (of Polyphemus on account of Galatea). Tib. connects the action here to the direct result of the *flamma* that is eating the queen's marrow: she is literally on fire, and is flailing about now in the same manner as those who are desperate to extinguish the flames that threaten to consume them. For Dido as a destructive force, spreading her fire throughout the city, see Paschalis 1997, 151. Virgil's Dido ironically suffers a fiery fate similar to that of the victims of Medea.

infelix: Already of the queen at 1.749 *infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem*, as she asked Aeneas about episodes of the Trojan War; cf. 4.450 *Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido* and 596 *infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt?* In the underworld Aeneas will commence his address to her shade with *infelix Dido, verus mihi nuntius ergo / venerat extinctam ferroque extrema secutam?* (6.456–457). Three occurrences of “*infelix Dido*” in Book 4, then, framed by the early stage of the obsessive infatuation and its culmination in the afterlife; we may compare too the absolute use of *infelix* to describe the queen at 1.712; 4.529 *infelix Phoenissa*; and 5.3, where Dido is referenced as *infelix Elissa* as Aeneas looks back at the fiery glow over Carthage: 1× each of two other names, and 1× substantively: 8× in all, the most of any character in the poem (next is 3× of Amata, the other doomed queen; 2× each of Evander and Ulysses; 1× of many). Schmitz 1960 used it for his monograph's title. Dido was eminently “unlucky,” one might say, particularly in such matters as the machinations of Venus/Cupid. She is also destined not to have any children (in contrast to Cleopatra, whose most noteworthy son—Caesarion—was quietly eliminated). On this theme of sterility see further Pease ad loc.; for how *uritur infelix* follows exactly the agricultural prescription of Virgil at *G.* 1.84–85 (where it was recommended that sterile fields be set on fire, and that light straw be burned), see Newman and Newman 2005, 51.

Dido: At the emphatic midpoint of the line.

totaque: The wound may yet be *tacitum*, but Dido is wandering throughout the whole of her city, and soon enough everyone will be all too aware of what is happening. Virgil slowly progresses from a private to a public fault. Perhaps not as hyperbolic as some critics have thought.

vagatur: Cf. 72 *peragrat*. The action of the verb is appropriately spread over two verses, as Dido wanders far and wide in her city. The activity is primarily physical, though of course the queen's mental wandering continues too. Here we may recall 62 *spatiatur*, as the queen proceeded from altar to altar: this time there are no religious rites to perform. Another verb that does not appear often in Virgil: at 2.17 it is used of the report about the Wooden Horse

(*ea fama vagatur*); at 5.560 of turms in the Troy game; at 6.886 ... *sic tota passim regione vagantur* of Aeneas with Anchises in Elysium just after the Marcellus vignette; at 11.273 of Diomedes' portentous birds. It describes travel without definite direction; Virgil captures here exactly the behavior of those who are so anxious, upset, or excited that they cannot remain still in one place. Cicero has *et nunc tota Asia vagatur*, of the activity of Antony's minion Dolabella (*Phil.* 11.6.6). The scholiastic view that Dido is wandering about the city while giving Aeneas a tour of the works in progress (inspired by the action of 74 ff.) is reflective of a naïve innocence.

69 *urbe furens, qualis coniecta cervia sagitta,*

urbe: Echoing 68 *uritur*; the enjambment enacts the action of the queen's wandering. The city is, as yet, safe enough from harm; in the image of the inflamed, maddened Dido wandering without direction in its streets, however, there is already a hint of how the future of Carthage would not be dissimilar to that of Troy.

furens: The madness theme is repeated from 65 *furentem*; Dido is both unlucky/infertile and maddened. The descriptor follows naturally enough on the fire imagery of the preceding verse. Servius notes well here "furor enim est amor, in quo nihil est stabile; unde et Cupido puer inducitur quasi instabilis et infans, qui non potest fari" (regarding the depiction of the infant Cupid, we might note—and of the young Dido—there is also an element of immaturity that is a concomitant of passionate, mad love).

qualis: The beginning of the first simile of the book, of Dido as a wounded deer, one of the most memorable and celebrated comparisons in the epic. Here imagery of the hunt and of the pastoral world combine in a moving description of the effect of Aeneas on Dido. This is the first of eight similes in Book 4 (cf. 141–150; 252–255; 300–303; 401–411; 437–449; 465–473; 665–671). See here Pöschl [1950] 1977, 102–106; Newton 1957; Schmitz 1960, 45, 47; Otis 1963, 72 ff.; Quinn 1968, 313–314; Hornsby 1970, 91 ff.; G. Duclos, "Nemora inter Cresia," in *CJ* 66.3 (1971), 191–193; Briggs 1980, 43; Lyne 1987, 194–196; Henry 1989, 70–71; Lyne 1989, 77–79, 96; G. Morgan, "Dido the Wounded Deer," in *Vergilius* 40 (1994), 67–68; M.K. Thornton, "Vergil's Injured Deer Motif in the *Aeneid*," in *Latomus* 55.2 (1996), 389–393; Jenkyns 1998, 506 ff.; K. Chew, "Inscius pastor: Ignorance and Aeneas' Identity in the *Aeneid*," in *Latomus* 61.3 (2002), 616–627; Clausen 2002, 79–81; Adler 2003, 269–270; Fratantuono 2012/13, 73–75. For how this simile relates closely to the opening of the book, see J. Ferguson, "Fire and Wound: the Imagery of *Aeneid* iv. 1 ff.," in *PVS* 10 (1970–1971), 57–63; for its link to the Turnus as lion in Punic fields simile of the opening of Book 12, Canali 1976, 62–63. Homer, *Il.* 11.471–483 (of Trojan jackals on the stag Odysseus) proba-

bly not much in Virgil's mind here, *pace* Macrobius, *Sat.* 5.6 (as Pease correctly assessed); more important is the Apollonian comparison of Medea to a frightened young deer at *Arg.* 4.12–13. Not every Virgilian image need have a Homeric antecedent.

For *qualis* to introduce a simile note also on 143 and 301.

coniecta: Of arrows already in Caesar. The description of the piercing shaft here recalls 4 *infixi pectore vultus*. Mackail compares 12.362 *coniecta cuspidē*; note also 9.698. Alliterative with *cerva*; the sound effects mimic the strike of the arrow. The word order is deliberate: first the strike; then the target; lastly the weapon.

cerva: Dido is now compared to a wounded animal; the sacrificer is on her way to becoming the sacrificed. The animal is literally framed by the arrow that pierces it (*coniecta ... sagitta*), with artful interlocking word order. The only other doe in the epic is cited in the reference at 6.801–802 to the Ceryneian hind from the labors of Hercules. A male deer is mentioned in the simile that compares Mezentius to a lion facing a gazelle (*caprea*) or a *cervus* at 10.723–729; at 12.749–757, Turnus is like a *cervus* that is being hunted down by a hound: we may note that there are not that many hunting similes in the epic, which serves to make the present comparison all the more striking. On these “three of the most powerful similes in the poem” see K. Coleman in *VE* II, 631. “Dido, like the deer, is lovely and innocent ...” (Jenkyns 1998, 507).

The image of the wounding of a deer here relates back to Aeneas' deer hunting on the Carthaginian coast at 1.180–194; on this key antecedent see especially A. De Villiers, “The Deer Hunter: A Portrait of Aeneas,” in *Akroterion* 56 (2013), 47–59. *Cervi* figure too in the Carthaginian hunt (154–155), while on the cloak of Cloanthus there is an image of the Trojan youth Ganymede hunting *cervos* (5.25–24). Ascanius' shooting of Silvia's *cervus* helps to engender the war in Italy (7.481 ff.). We may note, then, some key features of the Virgilian depiction of deer: typologically Aeneas is like the deer hunter Hercules (though his prey is less difficult, we might think, to ensnare); deer hunting marked Aeneas' first landing in Carthage, and a hunt will be the locus for the commencement/consummation of the love affair; deer hunting will play a significant part in the start of the war in Latium, and Turnus—like Dido—will be compared to a deer (though the deer of the simile of Book 12 does manage to escape its canine pursuer, at least for the moment, we might think). In contrast to all of these other deer hunting scenes, here the wounding was inadvertent (72 *nescius* is key). We may note too how Venus was disguised as a huntress at 1.314 ff. when she met her son and introduced the story of Dido; cf. the image of Dido as Diana at 1.498 ff., and the hunting pursuits that figured prominently in the upbringing of Camilla (11.570 ff.), and see further L. Fratantuono in *VE* II, 631–632. On the implications

of Aeneas' deer hunting for Virgil's depiction of Roman-Carthaginian relations, see Giusti 2018, 212–213.

On wild animals in Virgil see R. Katz in *VE* 1, 87–88; note also M. Ruch, “Virgile et la monde des animaux,” in Bardon et Verdrière 1970, 322–327. “Satis congrua comparatio” is Servius' laconic note on the comparison: true enough. We may note that at 550–551 Dido will lament that she was not permitted to live her life in the manner of a wild animal, absent the marriage chamber. See Newman and Newman 2005, 152 on how even the wild is not safe.

sagitta: Cf. 73 *harundo*, as the simile draws to a close; the simile is loaded with the language of weapons (note also *telis* and *ferrum* at 71). Cupid of course loved to play with arrows, and the wound here is the *vulnus amoris*. Aeneas acts in a manner not dissimilar to that of his stepbrother.

70 **quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit**

quam procul: Cf. *G.* 3.464. See Gildenhard ad loc. for the “latent contradiction” between the distance of the shepherd/hunter and the carefree doe. Deer are of course easily spooked, even from a distance—but the point here is that the arrow traveled a considerable distance, such that the animal could not have expected it. Paratore comments: “giustifica l'immediatamente successivo *incautam*: la cerva non poteva prevedere l'insidia che le si apparecchiava da lungi.” The line is framed by the direct object and the verb of its transfixion. *Procul* also has a hint of how Aeneas has come from afar, and unexpectedly (cf. *incautam*), to Carthage.

incautam: A significant adjective, given that Sychaeus was so described at 1.350; cf. also of Neoptolemus at 3.332 (slain by Orestes); Pallas' victim Lagus at 10.386; 10.812 *fallit te incautum pietas tua* (Aeneas to Lausus); of the blind, reckless Camilla as she pursues Chloereus (11.781). The deer lacks caution because it was not expecting to be slain; here it serves in part to indicate Dido's careless state as she surrenders fully to her passion.

nemora inter: With the postposition of the preposition cf. 1.191 *miscet agens telis nemora inter frondea turbam*, from the parallel passage of Aeneas the deer hunter; see Gildenhard for how it comes appropriately enough between the two words it governs. Fittingly, *nemus* recurs at 118, of the locus for the fateful hunt—the only two occurrences of this common Virgilian noun in the book.

Cresia: Cf. 8.294–295, of the Cretan bull slain by Hercules—another subtle typological allusion to Aeneas as Hercules, the preeminent hunter. On Crete in Virgil see G.P. Carratelli in *EV* 1, 929–930; T. Joseph in *VE* 1, 310–311; L.P. Day, “*Deceptum errore*: Images of Crete in the *Aeneid*,” in Bright and Ramage 1984, 25–40; R. Armstrong, “Crete in the *Aeneid*: Recurring Trauma and Alterna-

tive Fate,” in *CQ* 52 (2002), 321–340 (who sees a parallel between Dido and the Cretan Pasiphae; cf. *E.* 6.52, and note the treatment of the same problem by Newman and Newman 2005, 148–151). Virgil here localizes the wounding of the deer, transporting us from Dido’s Carthage to the island that claimed Jupiter as its most celebrated native. Why Crete? The island was the site of a failed, aborted attempt at Trojan colonization on account of Anchises’ reminiscence of Teucer’s Cretan origins (3.102–191); a pestilence drove them from the prospective new home (3.137–146). Crete was associated with the famous Daedalian labyrinth (cf. 5.599–561 and 6.23–30); Dido is reminiscent of Ariadne. Crete was famous for its archery implements (5.306–307; 12.856–859), and also for the medicinal dittany that is referenced obliquely in the present simile (cf. on 73 below) and more explicitly at 12.412–415. The Cretans were proverbial liars (Callimachus, *Hym.* 1.8; Ovid, *Ars* 1.298 *Creta mendax*, where see Hollis); cf. the similar Roman propaganda about Carthaginians and Punic perfidy. Austin saw no special significance to the “literary epithet” other than the connection of Crete to archery. Maclennan notes both the archery and the “remoteness” of the island. There is a reminder here too that Aeneas told the story of the failed Trojan sojourn on Crete in his long narrative, during the course of which Dido fell ever more into a state of infatuation. On how Carthage is like Crete, see Newman and Newman 2005, 178. The Cretans will figure in the Aeneas-Apollo simile (cf. 145 below); on this see Cairns 1989, 113.

fixit: Cf. 4 ... *infixi pectore vultus*; 15 *si mihi non animo fixum ...*; 495 ff. of Aeneas’ weapons (where the Trojan is now *impius* and not merely *nescius* like the shepherd of the present comparison).

71 *pastor agens telis liquitque volatile ferrum*

pastor: Aeneas as shepherd; on the imagery see G. Bianco in *EV* III, 1007–1010; L. Kronenberg in *VE* III, 1164; W.S. Anderson, “*Pastor Aeneas*: On Pastoral Themes in the *Aeneid*,” in *TAPA* 99 (1968), 1–17; R.A. Hornsby, “The *Pastor* in the Poetry of Vergil,” in *CJ* 63.4 (1968), 145–152. There are three references in the epic that present Aeneas in the role of a *pastor*. At 2.304–308 during the fall of Troy he is compared to a shepherd who is witnessing the destruction of his fields. Most significantly, at 12.587–592, in another simile he is like a shepherd smoking out bees as he seeks to assault Latinus’ capital (an idea that was inspired by Venus); cf. the comparison of Dido’s Carthaginians as they labor to the bees in early summer (1.430–436). The Volscian Camilla is also accorded pastoral associations (cf. 7.817 and the image of the slain shepherd at 11.811). Aeneas’ pastoral identity is linked to the fall of Troy and the question of Italian, Latin identity (Books 2; 12)—and to the wounding of the Carthaginian Dido. Not many figures

in the epic are accorded this title: cf. the Rutulian shepherd Alsus; the Trojan prince Paris; the Cyclops Polyphemus—interesting company for Aeneas. The noun here is balanced by the key adjective in *rejet* at 72 *nescius*; for the artful, deliberate arrangement of words see Dainotti 2015, 110.

Nowadays almost everyone takes the *pastor* of Aeneas without hesitation; Tib. argues that Cupid is the referent (cf. D.Serv.: “quidam *nescius* ad Aenean referunt ...,” with the implication that others did not). Cupid is obviously associated with amatory shafts, and he did wound the queen—but to call him *nescius* (72) is difficult to explain. See further Conington’s note.

agens telis: As at 1.191, of Aeneas the deer hunter—the only time in the narrative of the epic that Aeneas uses the bow. *Agens telis* may seem a bit discordant with the image of the unknowing (72 *nescius*) wounding of the deer. The shepherd—well-armed—was after all probably pursuing wolves, not does; he struck a hapless deer instead of a lupine marauder. We may recall that Aeneas will never face the lupine Camilla. For the phrase cf. Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 10.219—not elsewhere in extant Latin. The present passage will be echoed at 4.465 ... *agit ipse furem*, of Dido’s dream vision of the fierce Aeneas hunting her down, as it were. The same participial (quasi-adverbial) use occurs in another context of the chase at *G.* 3.411ff. Servius defines the action as “urgens, persequens”; Virgil does not paint his hunting scene with exact clarity—the shepherd and the deer are far apart—and it is possible to imagine that the Aeneas-figure was deliberately hunting deer (the perhaps easier interpretation), or that the deer was the unintentional casualty of a shot aimed at another beast (again, likely a wolf given the pastoral context). Dido had overseen the sacrifice of many sheep; here she is shot by the shepherd. Virgil is often purposely ambiguous; on the idea that Aeneas actively preyed on Dido (but failed to realize just how seriously smitten she was), see Goldenhard *ad* 72.

telis: Principally of missile weapons.

liquitque: Cf. 390 below, where it is Dido who leaves behind Aeneas. The verb coordinates closely with 70 *fixit*. “The arrow has not only pierced, but remains infixed” (Henry). The shepherd Aeneas did not intend to wound this deer; the consequence of the inadvertent action is that the fatally injured animal did not die at once. Cf. the haunting comment “A deer has to be taken with one shot” from Cimino’s *The Deer Hunter*. Virgil has ... *ferrumque sub aure reliquit* (11.637) of Orsilochus’ wounding of Remulus’ horse.

volatile: The adjective occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at 8.694 *stuppea flamma manu telisque volatile ferrum*, with the same line-end. The scene there is Actium—an effective parallel given the association of Dido with Cleopatra. Conington notes here: “The epithet is not without force ... it is because the steel

is ‘volatile’ that the archer cannot ascertain its fortune and does not recover it.” On Virgilian archery see R.F. Thomas in *VE* 1, 119–120. Apollo is the supreme archer, and his bow is the decisive weapon in the Roman, Augustan victory at Actium (8.704–705).

72 nescius: illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat

nescius: Following on 71 *pastor*. The crucial adjective, in emphatic enjambement, and juxtaposed with the demonstrative that refers to the Dido-deer (“he ignorant, she dying”—Page). With *nescius* here cf. 1.299–300 ... *ne fati nescia Dido / finibus arceret*, of Jupiter’s sending of Mercury to calm the hearts of the Carthaginians who are threatening Aeneas’ shipwrecked men. These are the only two occurrences of the adjective in the first half of the poem; note also 9.552 ... *haud nescia morti* (of the wild beast to which Turnus’ victim Helenor is compared); the powerful apostrophe of 10.501 *nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae* (of Turnus’ behavior after the death of Pallas); 12.227 ... *haud nescia rerum* (of the disguised Juturna); possibly 648 (of Turnus’ *anima*, either *nescia* or *inscia culpa*). The Aeneas-shepherd is certainly unaware of his having struck the doe, whether or not he was actively intending to hunt her down. Servius argues that the point is that the shepherd is “ignoratus, latens”—unknown and hiding, as it were, from its prey. Dido however is all too well aware of the cause of her wound. Sidgwick argues that part of the poignancy of the image is that the *pastor nescius* cannot even pity the (unintended) victim. With the Virgilian unknowing shepherd we may compare the deer hunter of Ps.-Hesiod, *Sc.* 405 ff.: he may not know where his prey has fallen, but the warring vultures do.

illa: For the change in a simile from relative (70 *quam*) to demonstrative see Austin on 445.

fuga: The doe’s flight is all the more poignant when one recalls 1.357 *tum celerare fugam patriaque excedere terra*, of the admonition to Dido from the ghost of Sychaeus, a warning that was heeded at 1.360 *his commota fugam Dido sociosque parabat*, with emphasis on the girl’s flight from Tyre. The noun recurs at 155, in the flight of the deer during the hunt. 8× in this book.

silvas saltusque: Sibilant alliteration for the hendiadys. With *saltus* cf. 121 below (again in a hunting context); 7.797; 11.904–905 *cum pater Aeneas saltus ingressus apertos / exsuperat ...* (of Aeneas’ unknowing escape from Turnus’ ambush in the wake of the death of Camilla). *OLD* s.v. 2, usually in the plural of a woodland region with glades and passes, and typically in hilly or mountainous country (as Crete is); Virgil may have been thinking of Catullus, c. 34.11 (of Diana’s haunts). F reads *saltus silvasque* here, in reminiscence of *G.* 4.53 (see next lemma). The image of the forests and glades would normally be idyl-

lic and lovely; the invasion of violence into the pastoral landscape is a favorite theme of Virgil even from *E.* 1. Henry takes the *saltus* to refer to rough defiles and places of difficult access, as at Thermopylae or the Caudine Forks. Certainly the wild animal of the simile is in a wild locale, whatever the exact topography.

peragrat: Cf. 68 *vagatur*. Virgil is here imitating *G.* 4.53 *illae continuo saltus silvasque peragrant*, of bees (to whom the Carthaginians have already been compared). The prefix underscores the wild wanderings of the fatally wounded animal (especially after the double accusative). The verb echoes 1.384 *ipse ignotus egens Libyae deserta peragro*, where Aeneas spoke to his disguised mother—now Dido has in some sense assumed the image conveyed in the prior scene. The only other occurrence of the verb in the epic is at 10.723, of a lion. An old word (Accius), a favorite of Lucretius (cf. *DRN* 2.355 *at mater viridis saltus orbata peragrans*, a passage probably on the poet's mind here). The wounded deer, we might note, does what a hunter might well be described as doing.

73 Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo.

The verse is literally framed by the title/name of the young queen: *Dictaeos-harundo*.

Dictaeos: Another surprise of sorts in the emphatic position. “Dictaeon” of the *saltus* relates back to the *Cresia nemora* of 70, and localizes the Cretan reference to the celebrated mountain where Zeus himself was allegedly born. A learned Hellenistic reference (cf. Apollonius, *Arg.* 1.509; 1130; Callimachus, *Hym.* 1.4–6, with Miller; also Aratus, *Phaen.* 33–34, with Kidd); see further Van Wees 1970, 29, 116. Jupiter is thus the “Dictaeon king” by kenning at *G.* 2.536; cf. *G.* 4.152, and note *E.* 6.56. The Trojans are denied “Dictaeon fields” at *Aen.* 3.171. “Dictaeon” also evokes Diana as Dictynna, an appropriate enough nod for a hunting scene. See further R. Rocca in *EV* 11, 108–109; L. Fratantuono in *VE* 1, 356.

An ornamental epithet, then, one might think; learned and Alexandrian. But the full import of the “Dictaeon glades” that the wounded, dying deer traverses is not revealed until 12.411–415, of the Cretan dittany that Venus seeks for the healing of her son after his serious missile wound. The dittany described there is said to be from Cretan Ida, an herb known to goats when arrows have stuck in their flank—and so some have thought that the doe must be seeking the same remedy here. See further Armstrong 2019, 166–167.

haeret: Echoing 4 *haerent*; alliterative with *harundo*.

lateri letalis: The liquid alliteration of death, framed by the *haeret ... harundo*. *Letalis* is not a common adjective (possibly a coinage); cf. 9.580 *spiramenta*

animae letali vulnere rupit; 11.749 *qua vulnus letale ferat*; and the *letalis sonus* of 12.877 that Juturna hears before the climactic combat of Aeneas and her brother. Buscaroli has an exemplary note here on the force of the word of death.

harundo: The last word of the simile is, fittingly enough, another mention of a weapon, following on the previously cited *sagitta*, *tela*, and *ferrum*. Cf. 5.525 (of Acestes' arrow portentous arrow shot), and especially 12.387–388 *saevit et infracta luctatur harundine telum | eripere auxilioque viam, qua proxima, poscit*, of the aftermath of the wounding of Aeneas. These are the only three occurrences of the noun in the sense of a weapon in the epic, and the poet thus further cements the connection of the present wounding of the Dido-deer with Aeneas' serious wound in Book 12. A figurative word for a weapon; on the wide range of meanings for *harundines* and related terms see Armstrong 2019, 219–220; note also Sargeant 1920, 50–51.

Gildenhard observes that Virgil leaves no doubt that the doe will die, though the death is not described here, “for the process of dying will be prolonged.” At verse 56 Dido and Anna commenced sacrificial rituals; less than twenty lines later, it is Dido who is the wounded animal.

74 **nunc media Aenean secum per moenia ducit**

nunc: Following on 67 *interea*, and correlating with the repeated *nunc* of 77. The actions are thus repeated, as Virgil describes first the diurnal occupation and then the nocturnal. Of Dido's activity here Austin notes that “so much of her tragedy is her own doing”; as queen she was obliged, of course, to entertain the guest-hero, but there is no question that she seeks to be in Aeneas' company as much as possible. As if in something of a dream world where we can predict the waking outcome, the poet now transports us suddenly from the rites of Dido and Anna and the queen's mad roving of the city to the appearance of Aeneas: his entrance out of nowhere in this verse reflects something of the spirit of the sudden wounding of the deer in the simile. *Nunc* also because the simile looks to the future, and the tragedy has barely commenced.

media: Alliterative with the *moenia* it describes. The hyperbaton expresses the distance traveled; *media ... moenia* frames Aeneas and Dido; see Gildenhard for the speculation that Virgil means for us to think that Aeneas is inside the walls (as if an invader) as a harbinger of the eventual fall of the city. *Moenia* for *urbs*, with an emphasis on the settled, developed state of Carthage (cf. the line-end of 75). First the defensive fortifications of the city are mentioned, and soon the wealth and rich accoutrements follow. Cf. 1.437, of Aeneas' praise of the good fortune of those whose walls already rise. *Media* is repeated at 76, in a very different context.

Aenean: Dido was named at 69, where she was described as wandering throughout the city; now, just after the close of the deer simile, Aeneas is referenced: the two key figures thus framing the comparison in which they appear. This is the first time Aeneas is mentioned by name in the book.

secum: The pronoun referring to Dido is juxtaposed with the name of the man who is both so close and yet so distant.

ducit: A seemingly colorless verb—and yet the woman who was just compared to a wounded deer is now leading the unknowing shepherd who fired the shot; the active voice here describing Dido as *dux* (cf. 1.364 ... *dux femina facti*) is purposeful.

75 *Sidoniasque ostentat opes urbemque paratam*;

The studied seduction continues with a display of wealth and settled urban development.

Sidoniasque: From Sidon (vid. P. Xella in *EV* IV, 837–838; D.A. Secci in *VE* III, 1173–1174; J.P. Rey-Coquais in *PECS* 837). Etymologically we think here of *Dido* and of the connection of her name to *do, dare/dona* (cf. Paschalis 1997, 151); the dramatic descriptor reminds us of the impressive wealth of the queen and her apparent fascination with riches (again we may think of Cleopatra). For the adjective cf. 137, 575, and 683 below; also 1.446 and 613. It recurs three times in the epic in significant reminiscences of Dido: at 5.570–572 *extremus formae ante omnis pulcher Iulus / Sidonio est investus equo, quem candida Dido / esse sui dederat monimentum et pignus amoris*, of the horse of Aeneas' son at the *lusus Troiae*; at 9.266 *cratera antiquum quem dat Sidonia Dido* it occurs of a vessel given as a (premature) reward by Ascanius to Nisus and Euryalus before the night raid—a Didonian gift is always ominous. Finally—and most devastatingly—at 11.74 *ipsa suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido* it comes at almost the exact same line of that book to describe one of the twin *vestes* that Aeneas will use as a burial shroud for Pallas (a passage where Dido is referenced at 11.73 as *laeta*, and where the Roman reader might well have detected a connection between *manibus* of the queen's spinning hands and *manibus* of the dead, the vowel quantities notwithstanding). There seems to be no significance to whether Virgil uses *Sidonius* or *Tyrius*; he prefers the latter, but the former has the advantage of particularly recalling the name of Dido (who is always *Sidonia* and never *Tyria*).

Drew 1927, 83 speculated that *Sidonia* was an allegory for Scribonia, the daughter of Lucius Scribonius Libo and mother of Octavian's daughter Julia. This second wife of Octavian was divorced on the day of their child's birth, thus paving the way for the more enduring marriage of the future *princeps* to Livia. Even the most avid enthusiasts for historical ciphers in epic verse might

struggle to accept the echo, though in light of his daughter's career the future Augustus might have wished to have had Dido's problem of lamenting the lack of a child.

ostentat: Alliterative with *opes*. Dido here seeks to impress Aeneas with a display of riches (see Pease for the emphasis here on flaunting, not on frequentative showcasing). For the verb note also 3.703–704 *arduus inde Acragas ostentat maxima longe / moenia ...*; 5.357 (of the humorous sight of Nisus displaying the evidence of his fall in the foot race); 521 (of Acestes displaying his archery skill); 567 (of Polites' Thracian horse at the Troy game); 6.677–678 (Anchises showing his son Elysium); 771 *qui iuvenes! quantas ostentant, aspice, viris!* (Anchises during the *Heldenschau*); 7.656 (of Hercules' son Aventinus); 8.475–477 *sed tibi ego ingentis populos opulentaque regnis / iungere castra paro, quam fors inopina salutem / ostentat* (of Evander, in a very different sort of context from the present scene); 12.479 (of the disguised Juturna with her brother). The verb with *opes* also at Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6.61. We may hear here *tentat*, as if Dido were trying (not to say tempting) Aeneas.

opes: So at 1.363–364 *corripiunt onerantque auro; portantur avari / Pygmalionis opes pelago: dux femina facti*, of the recovered treasure that had been buried by Sychaeus. Dido's brother was avaricious; it is possible that it was a family trait (cf. the conflict between Cleopatra and her brother Ptolemy). Servius rightly reminds us that the wealth was either Pygmalion's or Sychaeus'.

urbemque paratam: Ominous of Carthage in light of future history, and another reminder that Aeneas is in the wrong city. The phrase is Livian (5.50. 8.3), where it occurs of the urging of the *tribuni plebis* to relocate to Veii after the Gallic sack of Rome—an idea that Camillus will oppose. *Urbem* here follows on 74 *moenia*. Austin notes that Carthage was still being built, such that the point here is that the city is “prepared” for Aeneas. Tacitus has *paratam praedam* at *Ann.* 16.2 of the location of the treasure of Dido that Caesellius Bassus claimed to Nero had been revealed to him in a dream (for the story see also Suetonius, *Vita Nero.* 31–32). At 683 Anna will upbraid the dying Dido for destroying *urbem tuam*.

For the verb *paro* in this book see on 118.

76 *incipit effari mediaque in voce resistit.*

Since the tour of the city walls and the display of the wealth and treasure of Carthage must have involved conversation, we may assume that the reference here to a tongue-tied Dido is in the matter of her romantic interest. The verse is once again framed by the verbs that describe the queen's actions (cf. 68). The silence of Dido here presages the more bitter reticence of her ghost in the underworld at 6.469 ff. Gildenhard notes the exquisite word order, with *incipit*

first, *media* in the midst, and *resistit* last. We might observe too that words denoting speech come as the second and penultimate words of the verse. Virgil is imitating Apollonius' description of Medea with Chalciope at *Arg.* 3.681ff.; Catullus, c. 51, is also probably in the poet's mind. Servius cites Horace, c. 4.1.35–36 (where see Thomas). Aeneas, we may remember, had no difficulty with speaking in his long story of Books 2–3, in the course of which Dido had fallen hopelessly in love with him.

incipit: The verb comes suddenly, even abruptly, as an indicator of how Dido begins to tell of something, only then to stop in mid-voice. The verb will recur at 160–161 of the portentous storm of the hunt. Cf. the queen's bitter comment at 316 *per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos*; the dread *quo magis inceptum peragat lucemque relinquat* (452), of her resolve to die; and the *sacra Iovi Stygio, quae rite incepta paravi* (638) of which Dido speaks to Anna: the forms of the verb throughout this book literally trace something of the tragic progression of the affair, not least in the shift from present indicatives to perfect passive participles.

effari: Echoing 30 *sic effata sinum lacrimis implevit abortis*, at the end of Dido's speech to Anna; her words there were choked off by tears, but she was at least able to deliver a speech (20 ... *fatebor enim*). Cf. 456 ... *non ipsi effata sorori*, where she will not speak to her sister; 499 *haec effata silet*, where she falls silent after addressing her. The prefix has real significance here: it is as if the queen wishes to blurt out the confession of her love.

media: The adjective in a quite different use from at 74. The elision of *medi-aque in voce* enacts the choking of the girl's words.

resistit: The verb is not common in Virgil; cf. the same form at 7.586 *ille velut pelagi rupes immota resistit* (of Latinus); 11.710 *tradit equum comiti paribusque resistit in armis* (of Camilla before she deals with the son of Aunus); note also 2.335 and 599.

77 nunc eadem labente die convivia quaerit,

nunc: Following on 74.

eadem ... convivia: The reference is back to the banquet from the end of Book 1 (the same word at 1.638), the long night that heard Aeneas' story through Books 2–3. Tilly takes *eadem* to refer to Dido (following Gossrau et al.; Page firmly against, while Conington, Pease, and O'Hara are among those who at least admit the possibility). Virgil does create a moment of suspense via hyperbaton; *convivia* comes as something of a surprise. In defense of taking *eadem* of Dido, one might note that the fast moving description has Dido's words choked off in 76, only now to have her actively (cf. 78 *reposit*) press her persistent request about rehearing Aeneas' stories; *eadem* may serve to underscore how

one and the same lovesick woman takes such seemingly contradictory actions (part of the point, admittedly, is that she cannot talk about her own feelings, but wishes to try to recapture the impossible experience of reliving the night of the stories). The noun, at any rate, occurs in the epic only of the banquet of Book 1 and Dido's wish here to reenact it (cf. *E.* 5.69 and *G.* 1.301). If Dido is tongue-tied (76), then Aeneas must again do the talking.

There may well be an echo here of the luxurious banquets that were attributed to Cleopatra, of the sort that gave rise to the infamous wager with Mark Antony about who could host the most lavish one (sc., the pearl story attested at Pliny Maior, *NH* 9.119–121; cf. Macrobius, *Sat.* 3.17.14–17). *Eadem* with *convivia* here looks again to the past: the young girl is obsessed with such matters as the fall of Troy and what some would judge to be the disappointing failures and aborted settlements of the Trojan exiles on the long journey westward; *in fine* Carthage would be the most serious of those failed attempts at a new home (and Aeneas is well aware that north Africa is not his fated destination), and Dido will take her place among the same ghosts of the past as a Deiphobus or a Palinurus.

Stattius has *Regia Sidoniae convivia laudat Elissae | qui magnum Aenean Laurentibus intulit arvis* at *Silv.* 4.2.1–4 (where see Coleman).

labente die: A characteristically Virgilian poetic image, lovely and evocative. The phrase recurs at 11.913–914 *ni roseus fessos iam gurgite Phoebus Hiberno | tingat equos noctemque die labente reducat*, of the suspension of military operations with the coming of night; cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 2.855. Note also Virgil's *veniet lustris labentibus aetas* (1.283), of a much more dramatic passage of time; 2.14 *labentibus annis*; 3.515 *sidera cuncta notat tacito labentia caelo*. Labor of stars and constellations is Ciceronian (*Arat.* 470, of *stellae*); Lucretian (cf. the *labentia signa* of *DRN* 1.2); Virgil seems to have expanded its use to include the setting sun. Suetonius in his life of Caesar (52.1.3–4) notes the Cleopatran *convivia* that were protracted till dawn (*in primam lucem*). This banquet is envisaged as starting at the conventional time of a traditional Roman *cena*, that is, about the ninth hour; if it were winter the dinner would have started earlier than usual. *Labente die* here looks back to Aeneas' own words at 2.8–9 ... *et iam nox umida caelo | praecipitat suadentque cadentia sidera somnos*. Cf. also Aeneas' reference to Dido's *tantus amor* to learn of Trojan *casus* (10); *tantus amor* has become the story of this new hour.

quaerit: Balancing *resistit* at the end of 76. With the image here and in the following verse we may recall 1.750 *multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa*—Dido was already quite eager even then. The first of three verbs in quick succession that describe the queen's actions (cf. 79 *exposcit pendetque ...*).

78 *Iliacosque iterum demens audire labores*

The verse is framed by that which the queen wishes to hear; the subject that she is fixated on—the stories of Troy and the dead past—literally frames the keyword *demens* of Dido at midverse. The last book of the poem's first third looks back to the fall of Troy even as it presages the fall of Carthage; the last book of the second third will look forward to the Augustan future and its glorious birth with the defeat of the lovers Antony and Cleopatra at Actium. Tib. notes here that Dido had exhausted all other means of delay, and now seeks to hear again the same stories as a desperate means of detaining Aeneas. The present vignette recalls 1.371–374, where Aeneas spoke to his disguised mother of how the day would be finished before he could finish telling of all the Trojan *labores*.

Iliacosque: For the adjective cf. 46. The reference to “Ilian labors” refers both to the fall of Troy and to the subsequent journey of the Trojan exiles, even if the former is the far more dramatic part of the tale (just as Book 2 has a wider popularity than 3), and notwithstanding the echo of 2.11 *et breviter Troiae supremum audire laborem*. Gildenhard rightly notes that Aeneas continues a “shadowy” role in the action; the previous two books, after all, were devoted to his *labores*, and now the poet's focus is on the girl. The enclitic here will reappear in 79, with the effect of enacting Dido's hasty eagerness.

iterum: Repeated at 79 to highlight Dido's insistence. 6× in this book: the same pattern as here occurs at 576–577, as Aeneas obeys the warning of Mercury and makes ready his departure from Carthage. Cf. the even more dramatic effect at 413, where the adverb is repeated in the same verse. See Gildenhard for the poet's game in using “again, again” to express how Aeneas repeats his story; also his speculation that there is a metapoetic reference here to how Virgil has been reworking Homer (we might add also cyclic epic, and Apollonius, etc.).

demens: Another authorial comment and defining characteristic of the queen. The adjective appears 5× in Book 4 alone. Dido will apply it to herself in an angry comment to Aeneas at 374; it is applied also to Pentheus in the comparison of her dream terrors at 469. Two immortals also employ it in this book: Venus at 107–109, as she asks who would be demented enough to engage in conflict with Juno (a highly ironic remark), and cf. at 560–562, where Mercury calls Aeneas *demens* for being able to sleep despite all the danger and trouble surrounding him. Otherwise the liar Sinon applies it to himself at 2.94; cf. 6.172 of Misenus; 280 of Discordia; 590 of Salmoneus; 9.560 (Turnus addressing Lycus); 577 (of Privernus); 728 (of Pandarus); 10.813 (of Lausus); 11.276 (Diomedes, of his attempt to attack Venus); 399 (Turnus insulting Drances); 12.601 (of Amata, the epic's other crazed queen). Here we recall 8 *male sana*. For how no god

intervenes to help the demented young woman (*contra* Mercury with Aeneas), see Newman and Newman 2005, 158. “Note how quickly her wild love is openly shown” (Austin *ad loc.*, who argues that Virgil here presents a contrast between the Eastern Dido and the more restrained Aeneas—who was, of course, also an “Easterner”). Conington specifies that *demens* expresses how a first hearing of the labors was more than enough to stir Dido’s passions; cf. Sidgwick’s “like a mouth round the flame.” With Virgil’s Dido here we may compare Valerius’ Medea at *Arg.* 7.118–120 (where see Davis).

audire labores: The line-end also at Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.172. Pease has a good note here on the question of language and the need for simultaneous translation between the Trojan Aeneas and the Carthaginian Dido; epic poetry dispenses at will with such technical concerns. For the use of the infinitive after 79 *exposcit* cf. 9.192–193, and see Paratore’s note (following Lejay).

labores: Echoing the sound effect of 77 *labente*. Aeneas at 2.11 referred to a “brief” account of the “last labor” of Troy; the infatuated queen was not satisfied with the long course of Book 2, let alone Book 3; *labores* is plural here to encompass the contents of the second book, not to say the varied episodes even of Aeneas’ self-described “*breviter*” narrative of the city’s *ultima nox*. For how *Aen.* 4 recalls the fall of Troy and uses the image (alongside Dido’s suicide) as a powerful presage of the fall of Carthage, see V.A. Estevez, “*Capta ac Deserta*: The Fall of Troy in *Aeneid* IV,” in *CJ* 74.2 (1978–1979), 97–109. For the association of Dido in this scene with the question of remembrance and “erotic forgetfulness,” note G.W. Most, “Memory and Forgetting in the *Aeneid*,” in *Vergilius* 47 (2001), 148–170 (especially 160).

79 *exposcit pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore.*

exposcit: Cf. 3.261 *sed votis precibusque iubent exposcere pacem* (during the episode with the Harpies); 7.155 *donaque ferre viro pacemque exposcere Teucris* (of the Trojan emissaries sent to Latinus); 9.192–193 *Aenean acciri omnes, populusque patresque, / exposcunt ...* (of the need to send word to Aeneas about the attack on the Trojan camp). The prefix is intensive; there is an alliterative effect of *exposcit* with *pendetque*.

pendetque: Dido hangs on every word of Aeneas; soon enough the verb will recur of how the queen’s passion spells the interruption of work on her city (88 *pendent opera*). Page is right that the metaphor has become “hackneyed” in English; in Latin it was highly vivid, especially after Virgil’s republican poetic predecessors (see below on *ab ore*).

iterum: Emphatic after the same adverb at 78, and looking back also to how she reacted during the first telling, even as it correlates with *narrantis* of the one who is telling the stories again: effective placement in an *apo koinou* construction.

narrantis: Not a common verb in the epic; cf. 2.549 ... *narrare memento* (Neoptolemus taunting Priam to tell Achilles how degenerate his son is—a terrible part of the story Aeneas now repeats); the related 9.742 *hic etiam inventum Priamo narrabis Achillem*, of Turnus telling Pandarus to go and announce to Priam that he has found Achilles—a grim, macabre progression of invitations for the imminently dead to speak with ghosts. Three occurrences of the verb then, with the parallels to this passage not being remotely optimistic.

ab ore: Something of a surprise after *pendet*, as the poet finally completes the picture. Dido is envisaged as looking up at Aeneas, literally hanging on his every word. There is an erotic undertone to the image, as the queen would no doubt wish to kiss the narrator (on the “cruel closeness” of this kiss see Montserrat 1998, 66–67). Virgil recalls here Catullus’ Ariadne at c. 64.69–70 *illa vicem curans toto ex te pectore, Theseu, | toto animo, tota pendeat perdita mente*; Lucretius’ Mars with his lover Venus is probably also lurking (*DRN* 1.32, though the very different context and import of that scene serves only to highlight the striking image here). Servius notes “et hic loco per omnia amantis adfectus exprimitur”: Aeneas may be the one telling the same story yet again, but the new story of the poet is to describe Dido’s continuing descent into madness.

80 *post ubi digressi, lumenque obscura vicissim*

post ubi digressi: A prosaic advance of the narrative before the seductive, evocative description of the descent of night with its erotic undertones. For *digredi* note also 2.718 *me bello e tanto digressum*, of Aeneas as he hands over the Penates to Anchises at the departure from Troy; cf. also 3.410 and 492. At 3.715 *hinc me digressum vestis deus appulit oris*, Aeneas arrived at the very last verse of his long story through two books, just after the death of Anchises at Drepanum; Virgil’s *post ubi digressi* thus harks back to the start of Aeneas’ wanderings after the fall of Troy and to the end of the long journey (at least in terms of the narrative up to the point of the storm and the arrival in Dido’s Carthage). Note also 5.650; the gloomy uses of the related noun *digressus* in the contexts of the departure from Andromache at Buthrotum (3.482) and of Pallas from Evander at 8.583. The plural *digressi* contrasts powerfully with 82 *sola* of the lonely girl. With adverbial *post* cf. 36 *ante*.

lumenque obscura: Like the sun before her, so the moon in turn will set. The elision enacts the action of the *obscura/luna* (i.e., *premit*). *Obscura* with 81 *luna* is of moonset; it may describe also the “dim” new moon of modern astronomical parlance, when the moon lines up between the earth and the sun and the sun’s brightness obscures her light. Moonset in Carthage between 16 and 26 November, we might note, comes in the hours between 6:20pm and 3:15am; for Virgil, the point is that the banquet went on for some time, and that now it

is very early in the morning. *Cura* is, appropriately enough, buried in *obscura*; the relatively dark night does not obscure the queen's anxiety, no matter how well the light is suppressed. *Lumen* is named first (with the moon enjambed); there is a deliberate contrast between the juxtaposed words denoting light and darkness, with what is suppressed appearing (seemingly paradoxically) in the first place. On the Virgilian uses of *lumen/lux* see A. De Vivo in *EV* III, 290–293; for the etymological connection of *lumen* with *luna*, see O'Hara 2017, 152.

Pease has a fine note on how so much of the Dido story occurs under the cover of darkness; certainly this reflects the idea of the concealment of a *culpa*, but it accords also with the associations of Dido with the moon. Pease cites Achilles Tatius 1.6.3–4 on the effect of the night on the emotions; on this passage see now Whitmarsh's Cambridge commentary. Cf. the common sentiment of it being “always darkest before the dawn”; Virgil's picture is of exactly that time of early morning, when not only the sun but also the lesser lights of heaven have set. Henry has a long (though for him, restrained) note on how Virgil is describing moonset. With the enclitic here cf. 81 *suadentque*; 82 *stratisque*; and especially 83 *auditque videtque*: the connectives hasten along the description in the high epic, mannered style.

Obscura recurs at 461, of the *nox* that for Dido is haunted by nightmares and the apparition of frightful specters; the adjective recurs in another memorable lunar scene at 6.268 *Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram*, etc., as Aeneas and the Sibyl descend into the underworld, and—most powerfully—in the description of the shade of Dido herself as *obscuram* at 6.453, as Aeneas recognizes her in the *Lugentes Campi* (another passage with striking lunar imagery, and a parallel to the present scene that has not received attention from the commentators to date). See further below on 81 *luna*; here the feminine adjective is left for a moment without a referent, leading one to wonder if it refers to Dido—as in fact it will in the underworld.

Cf. here Horace, *Ep.* 1.12.18 *quid premat obscurum lunae*, of questions of physical science (probably inspired by Virgil here); see on this language Mayer ad loc., and note Propertius, c. 3.5.27–28 (with Heyworth and Morwood).

vicissim: The adverb also occurs at 5.827–828 *Hic patris Aeneae suspensam blanda vicissim | gaudia pertemptant mentem*, just before the start of the Palinurus episode; 6.531 ... *age fari vicissim* (Deiphobus' shade to Aeneas); 7.435 (Turnus laughing at the disguised Allecto); 11.122–124 (Drances attacking Turnus); 12.462–463 (of the Rutulians in battle). See Austin on verses that end with an adverb. Here it refers back to 77 *labente die*, marking again the progress of time on this fateful day. For the “third night” in Carthage according to his chronology, see Nelis 2001, 175–176.

81 luna premit suadentque cadentia sidera somnos,

Perhaps the loveliest verse in the book. The line is entirely dactylic; see Gildenhard on the image of everyone but Dido being rushed off to sleep. For the formulaic aspects see Moskalew 1982, 66 ff. Virgil here recalls the poignant scene of Eurydice before her second death from *G.* 4.495–496, where she complains to Orpheus ... *en iterum crudelia retro / fata vocant, conditque natantia lumina somnus*, here reimagined (as throughout the episode) with Dido as the new Eurydice/Creüsa, abandoned by Aeneas just as his first wife had been at the fall of Troy. The moon is alone in its own class compared to the sun—a celestial expression of Dido's solitary (see on 82) state.

luna: The moon here in the emphatic first position marks the passage of time, and—more importantly—it introduces a complex web of Didonic allusions. On lunar imagery (including the goddess Luna/Phoebe) in Virgil vid. C. Santini in *EV* III, 280–281; D.M. Possanza in *VE* II, 841–842; Bailey 1935, 183–184; Fratantuono 2019. The mention of the moon occurs in an ominous context; that of 513 below (of magic herbs cut at moonlight for use in dark rituals) is ghastly. In the underworld, Virgil notes of Aeneas' first glimpse of Dido's shade ... *quam Troius heros / ut primum iuxta stetit agnovitque per umbras / obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense / aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam* (6.450–454). Dido's lunar associations may reflect something of the traditional iconography of the Carthaginian Tanit.

“Dido was associated with Diana on her first appearance to Aeneas (1.496–504), indeed Venus in the guise of Diana had first told Aeneas of this Carthaginian girl (1.314 ff.). The comparison of Dido (also Venus) to Diana is problematic on any number of levels, especially once Virgil compares Aeneas to Apollo at the hunt at 1.141–150. Dido is no Diana, and Aeneas' glimpse of her suddenly next to him in the eerie, sinister dark of the underworld is compared deliberately to the experience of a man who sees the moon or *thinks that he has seen her light*. Phoenician (6.450) Dido is no Diana; she wanders like the moon (cf. 1.742 *errantem lunam* and the etymology of “Dido” as *errans*), but any resemblance that she bears to the triform goddess is most noteworthy for its incomplete, inexact, inappropriate character. Dido is associated with Diana as huntress; as underworld specter (Hecate; on this see below on 509–511 and 609–610); and as the moon—but in the end she is no Diana, despite the deceptive, more than passing resemblance.” (Fratantuono 2019, 68, adapted). For the Virgilian interest in the “chiaroscuro” presentation of Dido-Diana with obscure, sometimes malignant lunar light, see Newman and Newman 2005, 218–219.

premit: For the verb cf. 148 and especially 332 (where Aeneas suppresses his own *cura*); vid. G. Garbarino in *EV* IV, 255–256. The moon “sinks her light”

(Mackail). *Premitt* coordinates very well with the juxtaposed *suadentque*, describing as they do seemingly discordant actions.

suadentque cadentia sidera somnos: The sibilant alliteration of the phrase contrasts effectively with how the queen cannot, in fact, find rest. It is borrowed from 2.8–9 ... *et iam nox umida caelo / praecipitat suadentque cadentia sidera somnos*, as Aeneas began his long story of the *Troiae labores* and the aftermath. Here it is fittingly echoed as Dido cannot sleep in the wake of the repeated rendition of those Trojan labors, just as at 4.5 she could not find rest before the coming of the dawn. For the plural *somnos* see Pease; it both poetic and practical, since the point in context is how everyone else is asleep.

Conington draws attention to how the banquet that has ended now must have concluded much earlier than that during which Dido first heard the story of Books 2–3, since *suadentque cadentia sidera somnos* at 2.9 marked the start of the recitation there. Horsfall notes how at 1.748 *nec non et vario noctem sermone trahebat* Virgil alludes to how Dido's questioning of Aeneas extended well into the night (*vario ... sermone* there, we might observe, framing the *noctem*); certainly we may conclude that the banquet recitation of Books 1–3 ended later than that referred to here (though note that the sleepless Dido at 4.9 is still able to speak of nocturnal terrors that haunted her before the dawn)—but Virgil is not interested in precisely defining exactly when each *convivium* commenced or concluded; what he reveals about the passage of time often has more to do with his commentary on the actors in his drama and their respective actions than with any pedantic interest in the hands on a clock.

See further Newman and Newman 2005, 122 for Dido's "visits to the deserted banquet hall by moonlight ... clearly the haunting of a now empty stage."

82 *sola domo maeret vacua stratisque relictis*

Austin comments on the "startling" word *maeret*, and on how Aeneas' seemingly sudden absence is highlighted by *relictis*: a mundane detail, we might add, that here has the same deep emotional significance for Dido that all such commonalities (not to say trivialities) have for those in love. Words referring to loneliness and abandonment strategically mark the beginning, middle, and end of the line.

sola: Coordinate with *vacua* of the empty house, and juxtaposed with *domo*: the home, after all, is not supposed to be empty. All the emphasis is on how the queen is once again alone. Servius argued here that a queen could never actually be left by herself, and that the force of the adjective is on the lover bereft of the beloved (citing Plautine practice, as at *Amphit.* 640, where see Christenson). But the pathos of the passage is far more intense if we recognize

that Dido—royalty or not—is in complete isolation. See Pease for the question (left unaddressed by Virgil) of where Aeneas was—either in the palace or on the ships. It seems likelier that he was in some guest wing of the palace, where his relative closeness heightens the effect.

domo: The *vacua domus* literally surrounds the verb that describes Dido's grief.

maeret: Echoing 32 *maerens*.

vacua: Powerfully echoed below at 588 *litoraue et vacuos sensit sine remige portus*, at the dawn when Dido realizes that the Trojan fleet has sailed. The image of the empty home relates to the question of a child for Dido (cf. 84–85). *Vacua* coordinates too with *relictis*; the verse anticipates the abandonment of Carthage and Dido by Aeneas.

stratisque relictis: From the more encompassing image of the house, Virgil moves to the more intimate detail of the abandoned couch. *Stratis* is yet another word that will be echoed later in the book in a terrible circumstance: cf. 391–392 ... *conlapsaque membra / marmoreo referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt*, of Dido after her swooning (where the “marble bridal chamber,” as it were, is like a grave rather than the source of life). The enjambment of the verb neatly describes what Dido now does in the wake of the relinquishing of the couch by her guest; in this instance the enjambment also creates a momentary suspense as to the exact construction of the phrase (on this see Gildenhard's note).

The exact identity of the couch has been questioned since antiquity. In terms of the pathos of the passage it must refer to the couch where Aeneas reclined for two dinners, rather than Dido's own bed—though the idea that *stratis relictis* could have a double meaning, with reference to the (Sychaean, marriage) bed that Dido has abandoned in her passion for Aeneas is tempting and conceivable.

83 *incubat. illum absens absentem auditque videtque,*

The three vivid present indicatives describe the queen's forlorn, frustrated behavior. Every word in the verse describes either Dido or Aeneas; the two that refer to the Trojan hero literally frame one that refers to the queen who is obsessed with him (*illum absens absentem*). “The magic of an inflected language” (Austin). For the Apollonian antecedent of the queen's nocturnal erotic torment (*Arg.* 3.744–827), see Nelis 2001, 175–176.

incubat: A surprise. The enjambed verb describes how Dido has fallen down on the couch where Aeneas reclined: *incubare* is rare in Virgil, and here the queen's action ominously echoes the scene at 1.89 ... *ponto nox incubat atra*, of the “black night” or profound darkness of the storm that shipwrecked the Tro-

jan fleet—now, in the dead of a real night, the Carthaginian queen who will soon enough curse Aeneas and his descendants literally broods over the couch where he had reclined. Interestingly, the next use of the verb in the epic comes at 6.610 *aut qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis*, of a class of sinners in the underworld who were afflicted with avarice and greed: the description echoes the present scene, with *soli* reminding us of 4.82 *sola*, and *repertis* of wealth recalling 82 *relictis* of the couch—we may remember that Dido was fond of treasure. At 7.88 *pellibus incubuit stratis somnosque petivit*, it recurs in another nocturnal context, as Latinus performs his incubation ritual at Faunus' grove, in which he learns of how he is to entrust his daughter Lavinia to a foreign suitor—exactly the opposite of the situation in Carthage, where the *novus hospes* is not fated to marry the queen. Lastly, at 12.367 *qua venti incubuere, fugam dant nubila caelo* it is used in a simile that describes the action of the Rutulian Turnus in battle. The framing uses (Books 1, 12) thus refer to storms; the next pair in frame (4.82; 7.88—at almost the same line of their respective books) denote actual nocturnal sleep or lack thereof, with *stratis* in both passages to secure further the parallel; the middle passage (6.610) comes in the middle of the epic—a marvelous arrangement that speaks to the meticulous craftsmanship of the epic. *Incubat* may echo 1.719 *insidat*, from the Cupid-Ascanius passage the poet recalls below at 84–85.

With Dido at the couch cf. the Apollonian Medea at *Arg.* 3.654: the throwing of oneself on a couch/bed, a common enough action of teenage girls in love.

absens absentem: An exemplary polyptoton, and a striking sound pattern especially before *auditque*. The same rhetorical effect is used at 1.684 *falle dolo et notos pueri puer indue vultus*, of Venus' instructions to Cupid. *Absens* of Dido will recur at 384 ... *sequar atris ignibus absens*, in the terrifying threat the queen makes to Aeneas; *absens* of Aeneas is repeated at 7.280 (where Latinus sends the gift of the Circaean horses, etc.); at 10.661 as Turnus seeks Aeneas in battle. The only other uses come in the night raid of Book 9, where Euryalus is missing (9.389), and where part of the fateful spoils taken by Euryalus includes a belt that the absent Caedicus had sent to Remulus (9.361–362, with enjambment for underscoring)—an effective foreshadowing of the fate of the bespoiler. The closeness of the words here is in paradoxical position given the distance between them.

auditque videtque: First with reference to the stories that she had sought to hear again (78 *audire labores*), and then of the visual effect of seeing him as he recited them. We may compare the *insomnia* of 4.9 that haunted Dido's sleep; on this night she is plagued with the voice and sight of her missing beloved. For the redundant first enclitic see Austin's extended note, and note the same phenomenon at 94.

Treating *illum ... videtque* parenthetically (e.g., Ribbeck) is one remedy for the imagined problem discussed below regarding where the border is to be placed between imagination and reality—a problem posed by Virgil as deliberately insoluble in some of his Dido passages, in reflection of the queen's state of extreme emotional distress.

84 aut gremio Ascanium, genitoris imagine capta,

An eerie line, with hints of sexual *nefas* and of the danger of having a child whose fate is so inextricably associated with that of Rome in the lap of the queen of Carthage. Virgil recalls here Venus' substitution of Cupid for Ascanius in Book 1, where Dido unknowingly held the god in her lap: 1.717–719 ... *haec oculis, haec pectore toto | haeret et interdum gremio fovet inscia Dido | insidat quantus miserae deus*. That action came in direct sequence after Venus' specific instructions at 1.683 ff. (note especially 685 *ut, cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido*). The only time Ascanius himself ever uses “lap” imagery is at 9.260–261 ... *quaecumque mihi fortuna fidesque est, | in vestris pono gremiis*, of his fawning address to Nisus and Euryalus before the disaster of the night raid. Juno speaks angrily of betrothed girls being seized from the lap of their beloved at the divine council (10.79). Dido here is reliving exactly the mechanism by which Cupid worked his Venusian magic on her; Virgil does not reveal precisely when the real Ascanius returned to the scene, though 1.683–684 does set one night as the duration for the trick (Pease correctly notes that Virgil's vagueness as to when exactly the impersonation ends is part of the interpretive problem here).

This question of when Cupid departs the scene relates to an old problem with 84–85: is Dido really holding Ascanius, or is she imagining doing so? Does the little conjunction *aut* introduce “an abrupt temporal and chronological break” (so Gildenhard)? Peerlkamp and Gossrau simply “improved” the text here by moving 84–85 *post* 79. Gildenhard notes that “the moment in the day when she cuddles with Ascanius is in any case not the evening: otherwise one would wonder about Aeneas' lack of parental supervision.” (Page agrees at least that Virgil here describes a real moment with Ascanius, following Conington; O'Hara *seq.*). But Dido had Cupid-Ascanius in her lap at the first banquet, and we may imagine that Ascanius—now real enough—was at the second (though this need not require transposition of lines). If Dido can imagine Aeneas speaking and can so vividly recall his physical appearance, she can remember the awesome (because of the presence of Cupid) experience of holding Ascanius in her lap (83 *videt* connects to the reference in 84 of Ascanius' physical resemblance to his father, so that lines 83–84 both end on notes of Dido's physical attraction to Aeneas). She could hold Ascanius without arousing suspicion; she cannot touch Aeneas. MacLennan (in agreement with Pease, Austin, and

Williams) notes: "... Virgil makes her imagine Ascanius' presence so strongly that the actual words might suggest that he is there, as some editors have believed." Cupid's power is so enduring that the experience of holding him is all too easy to replicate in the powerful, active mind of the lovestruck girl. Papillon and Haigh, Mackail, Butler, and Tilly do not wade into this controversy (following the example of Servius); we lament no treatment by Henry. Stephenson marks a temporal break between 84 *incubat* and *illum*, and then wryly notes that the real problem is imagining "the nursing of a young gentleman old enough to hunt wild beasts." Wisest of all may be Sidgwick (who thinks that the queen did cherish the child in her lap, though without entering into debates about how many days have elapsed): "The commentators are much exercised to know how Ascanius is left behind when Aeneas has retired. What does it matter? The detail is exquisitely told, and exquisitely appropriate."

Virgil is, as ever, an impressionistic poet. He resists precise analysis, even as he layers his multivalent verses with exceptionally detailed, richly textured notes to convey a wide range of meanings both straightforward and ambiguous.

gremio: Juxtaposed with the name of the boy Dido imagines in her lap. The noun is also used at 8.713 *caeruleum in gremium latebrosaque flumina victos*, of the reception of Antony and Cleopatra by the Nile god after the defeat at Actium. Cf. also the noun at 5.31 (of the burial place of the bones of Anchises); 11.744 (in a vivid battle scene); and especially the related 3.509 *sternimur optatae gremio telluris ad undam* (of the first landing on Italian soil) and 7.233 *nec Troiam Ausonios gremio excepisse pigebit* (Ilioneus' remarks at Latinus' court, of great interest in terms of the final divine settlement of affairs in Italy). Further on *gremium*, vid. Adams 1982, 92. The Romans reclined at meals, and there may be a hint of that here.

Ascanium: The first mention of Aeneas' son in the book. Vid. here E. Flores in *EV* 1, 366–366; J.D. Hejduk in *VE* 1, 133–134; Rogerson 2017; R. Baker, "Regius Puer: Ascanius in the *Aeneid*," in Marshall 1980, 129–145; L. Lopez de Vega and D. Granados de Arena, "La figura de Ascanio en la *Eneida*," in *REC* 27 (1998), 83–109; C.U. Merriam, "Storm Warnings: Ascanius' Appearances in the *Aeneid*," in *Latomus* 61.4 (2002), 852–860; J.S.C. Eidinow, "Dido, Aeneas, and Iulus: Heirship and Obligation in *Aeneid* 4," in *CQ N.S.* 53.1 (2003), 260–267. For echoes of Adonis in Virgil's Ascanius, see Binek 2018, 91ff.

genitoris: The father is juxtaposed with the son. Aeneas was also referenced as *genitor* in the parallel scene from 1.715 ff. For the noun in Virgil see Newman and Newman 2005, 48–49.

capta: Of Dido of course, though with hints of the capture of the boy himself by the queen alongside the prevailing image of the queen's own enslavement (the vowel quantity of the termination—nominative here and not ablative—

does not preclude such echoes). Sabbadini took it as an ablative absolute with *imagine* (contra Buscaroli, and Pease).

imagine: The first of three occurrences of the noun in the book. At 353 it refers to the *turbida imago* of Anchises, as Aeneas tells Dido of his own nocturnal hauntings; immediately after (354) he mentions Ascanius. Lastly, at 654 *et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago*, it recurs in another eerie passage, as Dido announces her own future—and of course Aeneas will see that *imago* in the *Lugentes Campi*. Virgil does not tell us much about the specifics of the physical appearance of Aeneas (on this problem see M. Griffith, “What Does Aeneas Look Like?,” in *CPh* 80.4 (1985), 309–319), but he does make clear that Anchises was the very image of his father. For how *imago* with reference to Ascanius recalls the remark of Andromache at Buthrotum to the child about how he evoked the memory of her dead son (3.489 *o mihi sola mei super Astyanctis imago*), see Rogerson 2017, 65–66; 74–75. Goldenhard speculates on a possible evocation of the Roman tradition of *imagines*; he also compares Lucretius, *DRN* 4.1209–1230, on the question of resemblance across familial generations.

Dido fantasizes about holding Ascanius in her lap, as she thinks she did during the banquet of the first night (where exactly was the “real” boy on the second, now that Venus’ game was at an end?); at 1.691–693 *at Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem / inrigat et fotum gremio dea tollit in altos / Idaliae lucos ...*, we read of the safe keeping of Aeneas’ son, complete with his divine grandmother cherishing him in her lap—a careful separation of the very special child from the Carthaginian queen. The only other image in the poem of someone in Venus’ lap is at 8.404–406, of Vulcan with his wife before the forging of the arms for Aeneas.

85 **detinet, infandum si fallere possit amorem.**

detinet: Enjambed to underscore the point; the verb comes here in studied order after *capta*: the one who is herself captured by the father, imagines herself capturing the child. Significantly, the verb is repeated at 347–348 *... si te Karthaginis arces / Phoenissam Libyaeque aspectus detinet urbis*, where Aeneas asks why his people should be begrudged an Ausonian home if Dido can be held by Carthage and Libya. The only other occurrence of *detinere* in the epic is also related to the present scene: at 2.788 *sed me magna deum genetrix his detinet oris*, the ghost of Creüsa speaks to Aeneas of how it is not the image of some *genitor* that detains her, but rather the Great Mother, the Trojan goddess Cybele herself.

infandum ... amorem: Cf. below on 613 *infandum caput*, in Dido’s curse on Aeneas. The entire sequence that opened at 77 ends here with a moving recol-

lection of 2.3 *Infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem*, where Aeneas opened his great and long tale at the first banquet in Carthage (at 1.597 he had already referred to the *infandos labores* of the Trojans). The *dolor* Aeneas experienced at the fall of Troy is replaced by the comparatively trivial (some might think) *amor* of the young woman—the *amor* that she cannot, as yet, express in words (this verse harks back to 76, of the queen's own story that she cannot tell (we may offer as parallel the case of how just as Aeneas told of Troy's last night, so Venus told the background story of Dido—the queen will demonstrate her abundant eloquence in full vigor later in this book). *Amorem* here recalls the god Amor; *Amor fallit* describes what happened in Book 1 (indeed, some editors would prefer to capitalize *amorem* here).

With the *infandus amor* here cf. 8.688 ... *sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniunx*, of the appearance of Cleopatra on the shield—the Augustan poets never name her.

si fallere possit: The notion of trickery—always applicable to a Carthaginian from the perspective of Rome—recalls here the divine action that engendered the tragedy now in progress: the deception of Venus/Cupid. Dido cannot dissimulate or deceive here, because Cupid has already triumphed in the matter of deceit. *Fallere* here recalls Venus' instruction *falle dolo* at 1.684; also 688 *fallasque veneno*. For the etymological trick with *infandum* see Paschalis 1997, 151; for the verb note Beghini 2020, 182 ff. (with extensive commentary on Virgilian uses).

The conditional here is echoed at 296 below, as the second great movement of the three-act tragedy commences: *At regina dolos (quis fallere possit amantem?)*, a verse laden with the notion of trickery as the queen learns of Aeneas' plan to depart from Carthage (and cf. 96 *fallit*). For *amorem* here F reads *amantem* (as in that later line). The Romanus here reads *imago*, either by diplography from the preceding verse, or (as some have thought) from a reminiscence of *si fallit imago* at E. 2.27. The two variants from two different capital manuscripts do accord, then, with other, similar Virgilian passages; the transcription errors may also reflect something of the seemingly less than straightforward meaning of the dependent clause. Dido had been able to hold Ascanius in her lap; the child looks like his father; the experience of close contact with the boy is the nearest she has come (in her *male sana* estimation) to anything approaching contact with the father. The ancient commentators connect Dido's attempts at (self-) trickery here with her later ruses.

What is beyond question amid the range of possible interpretations of this difficult passage is that the queen's *amor* is a monstrous, unspeakable thing; *infandus* is as strong a word as Virgil could muster for his meaning. Even if the original, neutral sense of *infandus* (see Tilly here) referred simply to that which

could not be spoken of, the developed nuances and force of the word could not be ignored in so dramatic a context. The descriptor *infandus* encompasses a wide range of moral faults and indeed sins against nature; the incestuous imagery occasioned by the queen's disturbed action at 84 is reflected in the force of the poet-narrator's verdict on her love.

Other "unspeakable" subjects in the epic include Venus' exclamatory *infandum!* at 1.251 about the loss of Aeneas' ships in the Junonian storm; Ilioneus' comment on the Carthaginian fire that has threatened Trojan ships at 1.525 (what Juno started, her favorite city Carthage will try to finish); the *dies infanda* of the liar Sinon at 2.132 (and cf. his comment at 2.84 about the "unspeakable" judgment against Palamedes); the Cyclopes (3.644); the war in Latium (7.583; cf. 12.804 where Jupiter uses the same descriptor of the war in his colloquy with Juno); Mezentius' mad behavior as referenced at 8.489 (*infanda furem*); the *infandum casum* (i.e., the potential loss of Pallas) Evander imagines Fortune threatening him with at 8.578; the death of his men in Turnus' powerful comment to the gods *quosne (nefas) omnis infanda in morte reliqui* at 10.673 (with double expression of that which is unutterable); Clytemnestra in Diomedes' reference to Agamemnon's murder at 11.267. 3× in the Dido drama if we include 1.525; 2× in the Sinon passage; 2× of the war in Latium—a grim set of allusions, not to mention the monstrous Cyclopes and other horrors both human and divinely engendered.

86 non coeptae adsurgunt turres, non arma iuventus

An emphatic repeated negative (*non ... non*) commences a typical Virgilian coda that offers commentary on the consequences of the lovesick girl's state: construction work on Carthage and her engines of battle grinds to a halt. No Roman could read these verses without thinking of the grim specter of three long and hard-fought wars. Pease makes the good point here that according to 1.726, Dido's banquet hall was already lavishly apportioned, while here there is clear evidence of incomplete fortifications (and this despite the alleged threat from her hostile neighbors, not to mention her angry brother Pygmalion). In this we may interpret another indication from the poet of the queen's love of luxury and decadence: she has priorities in her construction projects. The present verse recalls 1.437 *o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!*, where Aeneas commented on the construction of Carthage just after the bee simile of 1.430 ff. that described the work on the hive that is the nascent Carthage. Dido here emerges as a neglectful queen; she is the queen bee (Elissa/Melissa), but the hive is no longer humming in dutiful, respectable labor. Cf. also Venus' comment at 1.365–366. Williams highlights the significance of this passage for the authorial verdict on Dido; omnipresent in the tragedy of Books 1–4 is how

public figures cannot have private lives divorced from duty. See Austin on how Virgil commences a spondaic rhythm here to enact the slowing down of work; we may note the frequent enjambment, which enacts the “left over,” unfinished work that constitutes the first public sign of the queen’s sick infatuation. If nothing else, verses 86–89 make abundantly clear how crucial Dido is to everything in Carthage; the city depends on this young woman to ensure urban management, civic order, and especially civil defense.

coeptae ... turres: Framing the verb in artful word order, as *coeptae* (expressing the work that had started before the Trojan arrival) comes early in the line, before the verb. With *coeptae turres* cf. the *coeptorum operum* of 3.20; *coeptos labores* at 8.439. At 642 below *coeptis immanibus* refers to Dido’s preparations for her suicide—another example of verbal repetition in this book where the later passage works a ghastly twist on a prior use. Similarly, towers are referenced at 4.186–187 *luce sede custos aut summi culmine tecti | turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbis*, of the work of Fama—almost exactly a hundred verses later.

adsurgunt: The verb also of Orion at 1.535; 8× in the epic, with no apparent pattern to its occurrences. There is an echo here of the *bella surgentia* of 43. The first of several present tense verbs that describe the work that is not going on in the wake of the queen’s deepening obsession; for how this is “not a prototypical narrative sequence ... as there is no temporal progression whatsoever,” see Adema 2019, 66–68.

arma: The towers evoke defense; the arms the youth no longer exercise may be taken defensively or offensively, though the general import of the passage is on ensuring the safety of the city. Echoed by 87 *bello*.

iuventus: The noun also at 130, as the *delecta iuventus* proceed to the fateful hunt; also 162, of the *Troiana iuventus* at the same event. Cf. the uses of *iuenta* at 32 and 559. The line-end here looks forward to Juno’s injunction to Allecto: *arma velit poscatque simul rapiatque iuventus* (7.340); cf. the related 11.453 *arma manu trepidi poscunt, fremit arma iuventus* (after the possible Trojan breaking of the truce).

87 exercet portusve aut propugnacula bello

exercet: The verb echoes 1.430–431 *qualis apes aestate nova per florea rura | exercet sub sole labor*, of the work of the (Carthaginian) bees. A different sort of labor is envisioned at 99–100 below, as Juno addresses Venus: *quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos | exercemus?*, as amatory endeavors replace civic and military demands. At 622–623 *tum vos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum | exercete odiis*, Dido enjoins the Carthaginians of the future to pursue another very different sort of labor—another good example of the ever

darker progression of uses of the same term in the relatively brief compass of this book. All three uses of the verb in the book display emphatic enjambment.

portus: Alliterative with *propugnacula*. A reference to the great harbor at Carthage and its harbor works, specifically to the protected (cf. 88 *tuta*, with reference to both nouns of this verse) *cothon* or inner harbor that was reserved for military use. The noun here refers to the immense labor that resulted in the imposing maritime power of Carthage at its height, with all the memories of the naval wars by which Rome took decisive steps to attain mastery over the Mediterranean. Some critics have been troubled by the seemingly sudden “intrusion” of the naval reference, even to the point of emending the text to the colorless *portas* (the Palatine originally read *portisque* here). But Carthage was a coastal power, and the work of the city includes preparation for attacks by sea (e.g., Pygmalion).

propugnacula: A bulwark, some sort of rampart or fortification work. The term occurs also at 9.169–170 ... *nec non trepidi formidine portas | explorant pontisque et propugnacula iungunt*, of the besieged Trojans as they face the onslaught of Turnus and his Rutulians; also at 9.664 *it clamor totis per propugnacula muris*, right after the removal of Ascanius from battle in the wake of his successful attack on Numanus Remulus. The *propugnacula* probably refer to city ramparts, in contrast to the harbor fortifications included in the poetic reference to *portus*; the picture is thus a complete image of a formidable sea and land power.

88 *tuta parant: pendent opera interrupta minaeque*

The verse is framed by words that denote opposites.

tuta: In deliberate contrast after 87 *bello*.

parant: Alliterative with *pendent*. The verbs are in effective juxtaposition; *parant* is governed by the negative in the preceding verse, but the word order highlights the difference between the notion of preparation/work on the one hand, and suspension of labor on the other.

pendent: An effective echo of 79 ... *pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore*, of Dido literally hanging on every word of Aeneas (see here Paschalis 1997, 151–152). The practical consequences of the queen’s action there are articulated here. The verb is metaphorical, but it carries too a sense of the literal threat posed by hanging construction works that have been left unattended.

opera: In context of military works, though there is general application here as well.

interrupta: Elsewhere in Virgil only at 9.239–240 *interrupti ignes aterque ad sidera fumus | erigitur*, as Nisus makes his address to the Trojans as he volunteers for the night raid. The participle is effective; like *pendent* it is metaphori-

cal, while also conveying the violent consequences of leaving a city undefended and unprepared for attack.

minae: Introducing a marked alliterative effect that continues with 89 *murorum* and *machina*. Like 87 *propugnacula*, probably another (quasi-) technical term from the city siege work and fortification lexicon (cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 20.6.2 *per turres discurrebant et minas*; 24.2.12 *minae murorum*; 24.2.19 *moenium minas*; 29.6.11 *turrium minas*) rather than a poetic way of expressing the idea of “threatening walls” (so Heyne et al.); the etymology from *mons* and *eminere* is clearly felt here. Cf. Servius’ “*eminentiae murorum*.” Of “merlons on city walls” (Pease). There is a direct reminiscence here of the half-line 44 *germanique minas* from forty-four verses earlier. The reference is to something projecting from the walls to deter invaders and would-be besiegers; those projecting structures are of course menacing to anyone who would try to surmount them (and so Gildenhard sees in *minae* an implicit reference to the future; certainly the Punic Wars and the eventual sacking of Carthage in 146 B.C. loom in the background here). The language of the present verse is reworked at 8.668–669 ... *et te, Catilina, minaci / pendentem scopulo*, of the depiction of the punishment of Catiline in the underworld on the shield of Aeneas. The technical and the poetic are not in conflict; the projections from the walls threaten, and so they may be called “threats” even though they refer to actual physical structures. Servius should probably be trusted here, even if his Latin was colored by “late” innovations and accretions; *minae* balances the technical *machinae* of 89. Henry has a good note, devoid of polemic; cf. also Mackail’s brief, sober comment and Buscaroli’s helpful analysis. Pease is right that a choice is perhaps not “absolutely essential”; the physical and the metaphorical have never more easily shaded into each other than in Virgil’s verse.

89 **murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo.**

ingentes: Vid. A. Grillo in *EV* 11, 968–969 for a start in explicating this overworked, classic Virgilian adjective: an extraordinary 168 occurrences in the epic. For other uses in this book cf. 402 and 505 (the latter in connection to the building of Dido’s pyre). Here the adjective conveys the same sense as the “heavenly line-end”; the merlons are huge, and the crane needed to install them rises up to the heaven. Henry’s note on *ingens* at 5.118 is justly celebrated as one of his most famous; see Austin’s response here.

aequata: Cf. 586–587 *regina e speculis ut primum albescere lucem / vidit et aequatis classem procedere velis*, as Dido sees the Trojan fleet about to depart from her harbor. With *caelo* the hyperbole hints at the rebellious giants who would think to scale Olympus to depose the Jovian order; there is an element here of Carthaginian hubris that will be humbled with the coming of a Roman

future. There may also be a hint of leveling things to the ground (*solo aequata*, etc.), such as would be the ultimate fate of the once proud city.

machina: Here another technical term; the noun is repeated from 2.46–47 *aut haec in nostros fabricata est machina muros / inspectura domos venturae desuper urbi* (Laocoön's comment on the Wooden Horse); 146 ... *aut quae machina belli* (Priam's question to Sinon about the same); 237 ... *scandit fatalis machina muros* (as the Trojans prepare to receive the horse into the city). In context Virgil is describing a crane mechanism for work on the city walls (see Tilly, e.g., on how the noun can also describe defensive engines for protection in sieges); the mundane detail about construction labor, however, is cast in language that recalls how *machina* in the *Aen.* is a virtual technical term for the fateful and fatal horse. Again, the emphasis is on the future destruction of Carthage, a ruin the seeds of which were planted in a young woman's disastrous infatuation with a Trojan prince. Henry thought that the *machina* referenced was not a crane, but rather the very fabric of the walls. With either interpretation, what matters for the poet is his evocation of the Wooden Horse of Aeneas' story.

Irvine here records a note from a friend: "Did you ever see a picture of Cologne Cathedral before they finished it off after the Franco-Prussian War, with the crane which stood, for generations I believe, on the unfinished tower? It exactly illustrates this passage."

caelo: Gildenhard notes that the noun points forward to the divine change of scene that now commences.

90–128 Juno approaches Venus, as a divine interlude ensues in which the two key goddesses in the unfolding drama engage in a deceptive, delicate verbal repartee in which they reach a temporary truce of sorts, with lasting consequence for both Carthage and Aeneas' Trojans (not to mention the Romans of the future). This is the first intervention of Juno since the storm of Book 1 (thus balancing the first and last books of the first third of the epic); its effects will be no less devastating. This scene has not always aroused the sympathy of critics; cf. Butler's note here and especially Irvine's "It is a rather hopeless task to persuade the modern reader to an interest in the conspiracy of the goddesses" (with good analysis following, however, on the omnipresent question in Virgilian theology of what would have occurred in the end even without divine intervention). Venus had intervened because she was worried that the Carthaginians might harm Aeneas—a not unreasonable fear given the treatment of some of his men as Dido's forces sought to drive them back into the sea with fire—and in the way most appropriate to her interest in love and sex. Juno has other priorities, and in the final divine settlement of the epic she will win a

major victory that is not unveiled to Venus (let alone such mortal characters as Aeneas and Turnus). On this divine scene *inter al.* note Kühn 1971, 58–64; also S.J. Harrison, “*Sermones deorum*: Divine Discourse in Virgil’s *Aeneid*,” in Dickey and Chahoud 2010, 266–280, especially 271 ff.

There are shades here of the Euripidean depiction of the rivalry of Hera and Aphrodite alluded to in the *Helen*, fittingly enough given the shared concern of that play with the question of the departure of a hero from African shores. The Apollonian antecedent for this interlude is the visit of Hera and Athena to Aphrodite at the start of *Arg.* 3 (a meeting of all three contestants in the *iudicium Paridis*), where the goal is to secure Medea’s falling in love with Jason; for this key intertext see Nelis 2001, 146–148; there is also a reminiscence of Hera’s visit to Aphrodite in *Iliad* 14 (187–223) to seek help in the seduction of Zeus. The Virgilian reworking is original not least in context: in *Aen.* 1 Venus had her reasons for engendering a love affair, and Juno (let alone Minerva) was not involved. Now, Juno has her own concerns, and Venus a chance to react thereto.

90 *Quam simul ac tali persensit peste teneri*

Quam: With reference to Dido, as the scene now shifts from the mortal pair Dido-Anna to the divine dyad Juno and Venus. The verse is framed by words that denote the young woman and her condition.

simul ac: Juno wastes no time. Cf. here 12.222–223 *quem simul ac Iuturna soror crebrescere vidit | sermonem et vulgi variare labantia corda*, as Iuturna (Juno’s avatar) reacts to the Rutulian reaction to the treaty struck between Latinus and Aeneas—the only other occurrence of *simul ac* in the poem (note 3.630, where the *ac* is ellipsed).

tali: Dental alliteration with *teneri* frames *persensit peste*.

persensit: Alliterative with *peste*. The prefix emphasizes how thoroughly Juno came to have a sense of Venus’ actions in concert with Cupid; the verb is framed by what she sensed was now afflicting Dido. The only other occurrence of the verb in Virgil comes at 448 ... *et magno persentit pectore curas*, of Aeneas as he listens to Dido—another effective reuse of a word later in the same book. Suspense for a moment, as we wonder who the subject of the verb will be; one might have thought Aeneas could be the subject before we learn at 91 of the dread return of his divine foe Juno. With the verb here cf. 297 *praesensit*.

peste: Another strong word in the Virgilian vocabulary (vid. F. Stok in *EV* IV, 47–48). The word is used of the Harpy Celaeno (3.215); of the Cyclops (620); of the Fury Allecto (7.505); of Camilla in the estimation of her killer Arruns (11.792); of the Dirae (12.845 and 865); of the Junonian fire that menaces the Trojan ships (5.683; 699); of fire in the Trojan camp (9.540); cf. 6.736–737; 10.55–56. The principal echo here is of 1.712 ... *pesti devota futurae*, of Dido just before

Cupid's attack on her. 3× of fire, as Virgil continues his powerful association of flame imagery with the tormented girl (Servius has a perceptive note). The strong language is not an overdramatization of events; the obsessive infatuation of Dido is on the one hand a tedious retelling of a timeless story of the young in love; on the other hand, it is of incalculable consequence for the future of the Mediterranean given the public roles of Dido and Aeneas. *Pestis* of an amatory affliction is Catullan: cf. c. 76.20 *eripite hanc pestem perniciemque mihi* (addressed to the gods).

teneri: Cf. 84 *capta*. The repetition in the first syllable of the verb of the final syllable of *peste* serves to enact the “holding”/“capturing” of the queen.

91 cara Iovis coniunx nec famam obstare furori,

A marvelously balanced alliterative pattern: *cara*/*coniunx*; *fama*/*furori*. The line has a decided progression from happier, divine imagery and language to a darker and more frightening mortal reality.

cara Iovis coniunx: Homeric epithet. Not merely ornamental, but with implicit irony: Juno may be the “dear wife of Jove,” but the marriage was not a happy one; still, at the end of the epic they will be reconciled. Cf. Venus’ *tu coniunx* at 113. *Coniunx* with obvious connection to the idea of Anna and Dido to have the queen marry Aeneas, and to Juno’s role as nuptial goddess. “Jove” is literally embraced here by his beloved spouse; there is also an ironic comment here on Jupiter’s assurances to Venus at 1.254 ff.: one would not, after all, expect a dear wife to do anything to circumvent what her husband had solemnly declared. The sentiments of that speech to his daughter ultimately will need to be reread in light of Jupiter’s colloquy with his *cara coniunx* in Book 12, at the close of which the marriage may seem happier than not. *Coniunx* of Juno 8× in the epic, the most of anyone (fittingly enough given her patronage of marriage); next comes Lavinia at 7×, tied with Creüsa in interesting balance; then Sychaeus (5×). 1× only of Aeneas—tied with both Jupiter and Cleopatra, Antony’s *Aegyptia coniunx*. See further Newman and Newman 2005, 49. The irony implicit in *cara* has not always been appreciated; Wakefield emended to *clara*, citing Homer, *Il.* 18.184 (on this cf. Paratore ad loc.). We recall here Anna’s optimistic analysis at 45 *dis equidem auspibus reor et Iunone secunda*, some forty-five lines before.

famam: Anticipating the advent of Rumor at 173 ff. On the various classifications of *fama* note Syson 2013, 28 ff. Scandal and reputation: as the queen neglects the work of city-building and urban fortification, people begin to talk increasingly openly of what she is or is not doing.

obstare: Another word that will be repeated later: cf. 440 *fata obstant placidasque viri deus obstruit auris*, of divine action to prevent any backsliding by

Aeneas into succumbing to Dido's charms. The verb is used also at 7.58 *sed variis portenta deum terroribus obstant*, of the question of Lavinia's prospective union with Turnus; cf. too the significant 10.53–55 ... *magna dicione iubeto / Karthago premat Ausoniam; nihil urbibus inde / obstabit Tyriis*, from Venus' plea at least to save Ascanius during the divine council—another Junonian/Venusian interaction, though decidedly less cordial than the present scene (and note that passage's model at 6.63–65, of Aeneas' address to Apollo with its mention of those deities for whom Troy was an affront). Cf. also the same sentiment about scandal and rumor at 221 below.

furori: Again, a signal attribute of Dido's state; Servius comments perceptively “iam non amori”, with love transformed into madness. We may recall that Juno is a paragon of immortal fury. The Romanus and DServ. attest to an interesting variant here: *pudori* (cf. 27). But the alliteration (*inter al.*) secures *furori*, and the rendition of the girl's hallucinatory behavior at 83–85 amply speaks to her insanity. The image of *furor* at line-end contrasts with the evocation at the opening of a blissful, lawful marital state.

92 talibus adgreditur Venerem Saturnia dictis:

More artful word order: *talibus ... dictis* frames the verse, and the two goddesses are juxtaposed (vid. Dainotti 2015, 231). *Saturnia* toward the end of the verse balances 91 *cara Iovis coniunx* at the start.

talibus ... dictis: In Book 1 the goddess employed a storm; the work she does in Book 4 will consist of words exchanged with Venus. The rival goddesses, we might well imagine, have much to discuss.

adgreditur: Echoed at 107 *ingressa*. The verb recurs at 476 ... *et maestam dictis adgressa sororem*, of Dido approaching Anna after she has resolved on suicide. The verb can carry a hint of hostility (here it is used of the one who makes the first move in a conversation): it occurs twice in Book 2, first of the theft of the Palladium (165–166 *fatale adgressi sacrato avellere templo / Palladium*), and then in a battle scene (463 *agressi ferro circum*); cf. also the two uses in Book 3 (37–38 *tertia sed postquam maiore hastilia nisu / adgredior ...*, of Aeneas at Polydorus' grave; 358 *his vatem adgredior dictis ac talia quaeso*, of Aeneas with Helenus—a close parallel in language to the present instance). Also of Charon at 6.387 *sic prior adgreditur dictis atque increpat ultro*; cf. the second underworld use at 583–584 ... *qui manibus magnum rescindere caelum / adgressi superisque Iovem detrudere regnis* (of the sons of Aloeus). Nisus' attack on the sleepy Rhamnes is described as ... *simul ense superbum / Rhamnetem adgreditur* (9.324–325). An interesting word, then, with a variety of uses; the “attack” here is almost playful, and a game that will not, some might think, change the course of events very much—though, as we shall see, it will have its purposes.

Venerem: See Gildenhard for the prominent place of Venus at midverse, even as she is hemmed in by the words of Juno that frame the line.

Saturnia: As she is called already at 1.23; the epithet venerably Ennian (*Ann.* fr. 1.53 Skutsch, possibly a coinage “as a metrically convenient tag, or he may have meant to hint that after her original hostility she would eventually become the *dea sospes* of the *Saturnia terra*”; note too *sed. inc. fr.* 445); elsewhere in the epic cf. 3.380 *scire Helenum farique vetat Saturnia Iuno*; 5.606 (and 9.2) *Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno*; 7.428 *ipsa palam fari omnipotens Saturnia iussit* (the disguised Allecto to Turnus); 560 ... *talis dederat Saturnia voces* (Juno dismissing Allecto); 622–623 *nec minus interea extremam Saturnia bello | imponit regina manum*; 9.745–746 ... *vulnus Saturnia Iuno | detorsit veniens*; 802–803 *nec contra viris audet Saturnia Iuno | sufficere*; 10.659 ... *rumpit Saturnia funem*; 12.156 ... *ait Saturnia Iuno* (addressing Juturna); 178 *et pater omnipotens et tu Saturnia coniunx* (Aeneas at the Latin treaty settlement); 807 *sic dea summisso contra Saturnia vultu* (Juno with Jupiter). On the image of Saturn in the epic (a vast topic) note the helpful introduction of T. Joseph in *VE* III, 1120; for the epithet note C.W. Amerasinghe, “*Saturnia Iuno*: Its Significance in the *Aeneid*,” in *G&R* 22.65 (1953), 61–69.

Valerius reworks this verse at *Arg.* 6.458–459 *ac prior hanc placidis supplex Saturnia dictis | adgreditur veros metuens aperire timores*, again of a Venusian colloquy; see on this Wijsmans ad loc.

93 “*egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla refertis*”

A verse that drips with irony, as our translation seeks to show; Venus and her son carry off the glories of amatory wars, not real ones. On Virgil’s portrayal of the “common topos” see Newman and Newman 2005, 196. Taken out of context (as for a cento), this verse could lend itself to a very different scene. Venus played the huntress Diana in Book 1; here Juno accuses her of a different sort of masquerade. This passage is one of several considered in the important article of P.A. Perotti, “Ironia o beffe del destino nell’*Eneide* (Prima parte),” in *Latomus* 66.1 (2007), 80–93.

egregiam: Cf. 150 ... *tantum egregio decus enitet ore*, of Aeneas’ appearance at the hunt that is likened to that of Apollo; we may recall here 1.444–445 ... *sic iam fore bello | egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem* (of the Carthaginians). Juno will reuse this adjective in another sarcastic comment about another potential amatory union: 7.555–556 *talia coniugis et talis celebrant hymenaeos | egregium Veneris genus et rex ipse Latinus* (after Allecto’s dastardly work). *Egregia laus* is Ciceronian; Tacitean. The key word in the sarcasm comes in the emphatic first position, while the adverb that follows ensures that no one missed the joke. The adjective is related to the notion of the outstanding spec-

imen *ex grege* (cf. the image of Dido as sacrificial victim); there is also a nice touch in how it contains *regia*, appropriately enough given the Carthaginian royal context. The queen is both sacrificial victim and royal war prize. For *laus* in Virgil vid. A. La Penna in *EV* III, 146–147; cf. 233 *nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem*, from Jupiter's message for Mercury to convey to Aeneas (cf. the problem of 273 below). A deliberate contrast, then, between the sort of praise sought by the mother and one son, and the sort envisioned by Jupiter both for the other son and his own offspring Ascanius.

vero: Cf. 279 below *At vero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens*, after Mercury's manifestation; *tum vero* at 397 (of the Trojans); 450 (of Dido); 571 (of Aeneas).

spolia ampla: For spoils in Virgil note R. Katz in *VE* III, 1211–1212; cf. V.J. Cleary, "To the Victor Belong the *Spolia*: A Study in Vergilian Imagey," in *Vergilius* 28 (1982), 15–29; S.J. Harrison, "Augustus, the Poets, and the *Spolia Opima*," in *CQ* 39 (1989), 408–414; the extended discussion of Henry 1989, 20 ff. *Amplus* is not common in the poet; at 2.310 it describes the ruin of the house of Deiphobus in the fall of Troy; it is the reading of the Palatine at 2.503 ... *spes ampla nepotum*, of the fall of the fifty marriage chambers in Priam's royal palace; it is employed with some irony at 3.353 *illos porticibus rex accipiebat in amplis*, of Helenus' reception of the Trojans at the toy Troy at Buthrotum; cf. of Elysium at 6.743–744. But the key parallel here is from 1.725–726 *fit strepitus tectis vocemque per ampla volutant / atria*, from the start of Dido's first banquet.

refertis: As if Venus (and her son; cf. 94) were *imperatores* returning for a triumph. The verb is very common in Virgil; the second person present indicative plural occurs here only. Cf. 10.862–863 ... *aut hodie victor spolia illa cruenta / et caput Aeneae referes ...*, of the haunting scene where Mezentius addresses his horse Rhaebes before proceeding to seek to avenge his dead son Lausus (whose name is connected semantically with *laus*).

94 *tuque puerque tuus: magnum et memorabile nomen*,

tuque ... tuus: In framing alliteration, as Juno addresses her fellow goddess with the personal pronoun of immediacy, and then adds a mention of her son—the one who did the actual work, we might note. For the redundant enclitic see on 83 ... *auditque videtque*.

puer ... tuus: Not without an air of contempt and insult; there is also a play here on how Aeneas too is Venus' child, and in an important sense both of Venus' sons have worked their amatory magic on the queen. Cf. Venus' address to Juno at 113.

magnum ... memorabile: Alliterative. *Memorabilis* occurs in the epic only here and at 2.583.

nomen: The occasion of yet another vexing textual problem, the solution of which ultimately may rest (as often) on subjective interpretive grounds more

than anything else. The reading adopted here *contra* the alternative *numen* is attested only in a few Carolingian manuscripts—but Geymonat (followed by Conte) is likely correct in printing it; in agreement are Ribbeck; Conington; Sabbadini; Buscaroli; Pease; Götte's Tusculum; Paratore; Rivero García et al.; Heuzé's *Pléiade*; Holzberg's Tusculum; cf. also Kraggerud 2017, 175. *Numen* is preferred by Heyne (after Pierius; Heinsius; Burmann); Henry; Hirtzel's OCT; Irvine (who thinks that *nomen* is the easier reading—the matter can be debated; cf. Fanshawe's embellished rendering "Great glory sure, and goodly spoils ye gain, / You and your boy: a doughty enterprise / Ye have achieved, and worthy to remain in lasting marble ...", reading *nomen*); Mackail (without comment); Butler; Austin; Tilly (again with no lemma); Mynors' OCT (without even a mention of *nomen*; Perret's Budé; Binder and Binder's Reclam; Goold's Loeb; Maclennan; Gildenhard; Cussen 2018; also Henry 1989, 189 n. 14 (in a note on *numen* in Virgil). Williams prints the Oxford text but concedes that *nomen* is "very attractive" (cf. Page, and Papillon and Haigh); O'Hara's student commentary prints Hirtzel's Oxford text here, without comment). Sidgwick silent.

Numen and *nomen*: easy words to confuse, and so also at 5.767–768 ... *quibus aspera quondam / visa maris facies et non tolerabile numen/nomen*, where we preferred *numen* for contextual reasons. Normally the weight of manuscript evidence would dictate that we prefer *numen* here, but *nomen* strikes us as the *difficilior lectio*, and the one likelier to have been corrupted into the other.

The same textual problem may be found at *Met.* 4.416–417 *Tum vero Bacchi memorabile Thebis / nomen erat* (so Tarrant, *contra* Bömer; Anderson; Barchiesi's Mondadori), where the weight of the manuscript tradition is in favor of *numen* ("fortasse recte," the editor admits). The decisive evidence for *nomen* in the estimation of some comes from the Ovidian imitation at *Met.* 10.607–608 ... *habebis / Hippomene victo magnum et memorabile nomen*, of Hippomenes' boast before his race with the lovely Atalanta (a passage where there is no manuscript confusion).

Adding to the puzzle is that the closest Virgilian parallel to this passage comes in the disputed *Helena-szene*: 2.583–584 ... *namque etsi nullum memorabile nomen / feminea in poena est nec habet victoria laudem*, of Aeneas' contemplation of the killing of Helen before he is interrupted and stopped by Venus. This is not the place to consider the vast problems of that minefield of Virgilian scholarship. Suffice to say that if the Helen scene is genuine, then *magnum et memorabile nomen* is a deliciously stinging rebuke of Venus here: the erotic conquest of Dido by the goddess and her arrow-happy boy is connected to the Helen of the judgment of Paris that so rankles Juno (cf. 1.26–27); Aeneas admitted that there was no title of glory to be found in victory over a woman, and Venus herself intervened to prevent Helen's death at her son's

hands—but now the goddess and her other son are enjoying the triumph of a victory over another lovesick woman.

If we read *numen*, then the phrase comes in apposition either to Cupid alone or (as some prefer) to both deities; *nomen* offers the better connection to the trophies and title of praise from the preceding line, with verse 95 clarifying all too precisely the nature of that praiseworthy, spoil-laden achievement. We may compare too Camilla's words to the hunter Ornytus at 11.688–689 ... *nomen tamen haud leve partum | manibus hoc referes, telo cecidisse Camillam*, with something of the same spirit of Junonian sarcasm and irony about a “victory.” Some have claimed that *nomen* merely repeats the content of 93; Conte is right here (“adeo inridetur Venus a Iunone ut eadem ficta gratulatio, quasi dicolo abundanti effecto, dupliciter profertur”). *Numen* likely entered the text simply because the verse opens with a powerful second person mention of Venus and her son.

Nomen with *memorable* also at Ovid, *Met.* 6.12; Lucan, *BC* 9.964; Statius, *Silv.* 1.1.67; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 4.184 *egregium Ausoniae decus ac memorabile nomen* (rightly cited by some as another parallel to the present passage); 8.31; 439; 12.33; 397. *Memorable numen* not once in argentine verse. *Magnum numen* is Ciceronian (*Phil.* 3.32.9 *magna vis est, magnum numen unum et idem sentientis senatus*); Livian (1.23.4.3–4).

Numen certainly occurs below at 204; 269; 382; 611; *nomen* at 172; 324; 383; 674: 4× each.

95 una dolo divum si femina victa duorum est!

A marvelous continuation of the goddess' enjoyment of her mockery of her divine rival, as she underscores the impressive victory if one woman is conquered by the trick of two gods (cf. 2.583–584, where the point was that there was no *memorable nomen* in killing one woman). The numbers almost frame the verse; the complex word order is itself an enactment of the trickery of the amatory powers: a wry commentary of the goddess on the duplicitous double-speak so often associated with matters erotic.

una ... duorum: On Virgil's use of numbers see J.D. Morgan in *VE* 11, 917–918. *Una* here will be echoed by Venus in a different sense at 110 *unam*.

dolo: The key word in the sarcastic sentiment, introducing a triad of alliterative dentals. The noun here opens a ring that closes at 128; note also 4.296–297 *At regina dolos (quis fallere possit amantem?) | praesensit*; 563 *illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat* (Mercury in his final warning to Aeneas). Vid. here F. Speranza in *EV* 11, 122–123. Again we may recall that the Carthaginians were proverbial liars, liable to acts of trickery and deceit. Virgil may be recalling Coroebus' famous sentiment during Troy's fall: 2.290 ... *dolus an virtus, quis*

in hoste requirat? For the argument of how Virgil will apply the stereotype of “Punic perfidy” to Aeneas, see Gruen 2011, 135–136.

si: “The hypothetical form perhaps implying a slight sneer” (Conington).

femina: Perhaps with a reminiscence of 1.364 *dux femina facti*, of Venus’ description of Dido’s absconding with the treasure from Tyre. The “conquered woman” is placed fittingly between the *divum ... duorum*. The noun is repeated at 211 (in Iarbas’ bitter address to Jupiter), and in Mercury’s famous comment ... *varium et mutabile semper | femina* (569–570). Pease cites De Witt 1907, 74 for the observation that the misogynistic use of *femina* these 3× in the book reflects traditional Roman morality, for which the whole erotic escapade of this book would be deplorable. In this regard we may again recall Cleopatra. Ovid has *femina iam partes victa rogantis agat* (*Ars* 1.278).

duorum: “Bene cessit masculino femininum” (Servius, in a note that has not aged well). The line-end is borrowed by Lucan, *BC* 9.1078 ... *si tellus duorum est*, of the indignant Caesar’s refusal to consider sharing power with Ptolemy after the latter’s complicity in the assassination of Pompey. Cf. also Ovid, *Ars* 2.559 ... *ubi par fortuna duorum est*.

96 nec me adeo fallit veritam te moenia nostra

“Cold litotes” (Highet 1972, 266, who sees an allusion to Lucretius, *DRN* 1.136).

me ... te: Balanced, as Juno makes clear that she knows what her rival is thinking. *Me* nearly frames the verse with *nostra*.

adeo: An emphatic particle; cf. 533 below. The question of just where the emphasis comes has been debated; Pease argues that the elision of *me* does not allow it to take the emphasis, which he understands to be of the whole phrase *nec ... fallit*; Austin prefers to have it underscore what it directly precedes. The point may be that while Venus and Cupid have won a trickster’s victory over the Carthaginian queen, they have not come close to deceiving the Carthaginian patroness.

fallit: Echoing 85 ... *infandum si fallere possit amorem*. Dido had tried in vain to work a trick on a trick, as it were; Juno proceeds straight to the point: Venus is worried about Carthage; the immediate reference here is to 1.661–662 *quippe domum timet ambiguam Tyriosque bilinguis | urit atrox Iuno, et sub noctem cura recursat*. That fear had engendered the *dolus* the goddess arranged with Cupid (1.663 ff.). What is interesting is that Venus did not mention any worries about Carthage in her speech to her father Jupiter at 1.229 ff.; in reality it was Jupiter who arranged to send Mercury to Carthage to make sure that Dido would not try to prevent the shipwrecked Trojans from landing there (1.298–300 *ut terrae utque novae pateant Karthaginis arces | hospitio Teucris, ne fati nescia Dido | finibus arceret ...*). Jupiter was the one responsible for the first

mollifying of Dido; his employment of his messenger Mercury on this mission opens a great ring that will close when the winged god is sent to urge Aeneas to leave. It was apparently fated that Aeneas should be received in Carthage (the alternative, presumably would be to have allowed him to be killed, perchance, by the Carthaginians, or to be forced to wander back out on the sea in the immediate wake of the Junonian storm). It was Venus who was worried about the Carthaginians (she is apparently not privy to Jupiter's sending down of Mercury—perhaps not Juno either), and her anxiety is focused on the perfidious Carthaginians and their patron goddess—a goddess who happens to hate the Trojans.

veritam: Echoing Venus' fear as expressed to Cupid at 1.670–672 *nunc Phoenissa tenet Dido blandisque moratur / vocibus, et vereor quo se Iunonia vertant / hospitia*: again an interesting remark after 1.661–662, the sentiments of which regarding the Carthaginians and Juno are virtually repeated here, with the addition of a fear about the *hospitia*—but the hospitality was something that Jupiter had arranged on his own (1.298–300). The only other uses of the verb in the epic are at 6.613 ... *nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras* (of a class of sinners in the underworld); 9.207 (Nisus to Euryalus).

moenia nostra: Cf. 74 *moenia*. Juno will contrast this phrase at the end of her speech in her reference to *tuae ... dextrae* (104). The possessive adjective is a strong reminder of Juno's patronage over the city. The detail about Venus' fear of "Juno's walls" works a subtle and important change of emphasis on Venus' fear as expressed at 1.661–662; the *domum* there is echoed in the *domos* of 97, but Juno in 96 *moenia* and 97 *altae* sets up a subtle allusion to the *moenia Romae* of 1.7: at this relatively early stage of the epic, for Juno the threat has been about the future city of Rome that would destroy Carthage (1.19–23); in the present scene she suppresses admission of that fear, focusing instead on the fear Venus had expressed at 1.661–662 that occasioned her sending Cupid to Dido. In the summary of Juno's anxiety at 1.19–23, the articulated fear is about a race from Trojan blood (1.19 *progeniem sed enim a Troiano sanguine duci*); by the final divine settlement of 12.830–840, the goddess' apprehension would be assuaged. Servius interprets the *moenia nostra* as "Iunonis hospitium"; the poet's emphasis is on the walls of the growing, ever more impressive city (notwithstanding the work that has been suspended because of the queen's neglect)—the notion of the queen's hospitality will be reserved for 97, in second place. On the juxtaposition of noun/adjective at line-end see Austin.

Cartault 1926, 344–345 observes that Juno essentially seems to have a transcript of Venus' speech to Cupid from Book 1. We need not think about eavesdropping; the poet's principal concern is for the audience to remember the

previous passage, even if strict logic might engender wondering about how Juno knows what she knows even to the letter.

97 suspectas habuisse domos Karthaginis altae.

suspectas: So of the *suspecta dona* at 2.36 (i.e., the Wooden Horse); in Book 2 the Trojans had brought the instrument of Greek trickery into their doomed city, while in Book 4 a recurring theme is that the (proto-Roman) Trojans are themselves in the city of Carthaginian trickery. At 3.550 *suspecta arva* refers to the territory around Buthrotum, where too many Greeks reside for comfort; these are the only participial uses of the verb in the epic. Cf. 1.437–438 ‘*o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!*’ / *Aeneas ait et fastigia suspicit urbis*, of Aeneas gazing over Carthage; 6.668 (the Sibyl seeing Musaeus towering above his fellows in Elysium); 8.527 (of gazing on the portentous sight as the divine arms of Aeneas appear in the heaven; 9.403 (Nisus at his prayer to Luna); 10.898–899 (Mezentius gazing at the sky as he makes his response to Aeneas before his death); 12.195–196 (Latinus at the treaty ratification with Aeneas). An interesting range of uses, then, with clear association of the Trojan horse and the city of Carthage, and a reminiscence of Aeneas’ own first view of her walls. See further B. Fenik, “Parallelism of Theme and Imagery in *Aeneid* II and IV,” in *AJPh* 80.1 (1959), 1–24 for detailed consideration of the numerous intertexts between the two books.

habuisse: See Austin ad loc. for how here we have the common enough use of *habere* with a past participle, which in the later development of the language would become the normal way of expressing the perfect tense and thus pave the way for Romance language practice. The *suspectas ... domos* artfully frame the infinitive.

domos: Cf. the same sentiment (*domum*) at 1.661. The noun is a clear indicator of the hospitality motif (see Conington here). *Suspectas ... domos* vividly expresses Venus’ acknowledged fears about Aeneas’ Carthaginian soon-to-be paramour.

Karthaginis: The verse draws to a close with a resounding mention of lofty Carthage. For the name of the city note 224; 265; 347; 670 below; also 1.13; 298; 366. Outside of those books that involve Aeneas’ actual sojourn in the city, it appears only at 10.12–13, as Jupiter predicts the Second Punic War to the divine council, and at 10.53–54, as Venus harks back to her father’s revelation in her own impassioned address: Juno’s statement here in some sense foreshadows Jupiter’s news in Book 10 about the Punic Wars, which comes in part from the curse of Dido at 4.625–626 (sc., the prediction of Hannibal). On the orthography *K/Carthago*, see Cussen 2018 (*Notas* vol.), 199–200. For the Virgilian presentation of Carthage note F. Cassola in *EV* 1, 680–682; L. Fratantuono in *VE*

1, 236–236; and especially Giusti 2018; for the city itself, A. Beltrán in *PECS*, 201–203. On how Virgil consistently underscores the future history of the Punic Wars, note V. Simpson, “The Annalistic Tradition in Vergil’s *Aeneid*,” in *Vergilius* 21 (1975), 22–32.

altae: Echoing the ... *atque altae moenia Romae* of 1.7. Austin has one of his characteristic, excellent notes here on this key adjective (“it is almost as if Virgil felt it to be part of the noun which it qualifies”). Pease notes the “literal” meaning of the appellation here, given the height of the *Byrsa* of Carthage, as is readily apparent to anyone who visits the ruins of the old city and either gazes over the harbor, or who ascends *Byrsa* hill between the shops of the vendors of Hannibal statuettes and the imposing Cathédrale Saint-Louis de Carthage/Acropolium.

“... Carthago vero, quae principatum Africae tenet, stadii decem porrecta videatur stadiique parte quarta ...” (*Laus Alexandriae* [Riese, p. 140]).

98 *sed quis erit modus, aut quo nunc certamine tanto?*

quis erit modus: Echoing Pan’s words to Gallus at *E.* 10.28 *ecquis erit modus*. Cf. Jupiter’s words to Juno at 12.793 *quis iam finis erit, coniunx? quid restat restat?* *Modus* recurs at 294 ... *quis rebus dexter modus*, as Aeneas tries to determine how exactly to convey the news that he will be departing from Carthage; also at 475–476 ... *tempus secum ipsa modumque / exigit*, after Dido has resolved to kill herself—another grim progression of uses. Adjectival *quis* as at 10 above. For how “Saturnia” normally displays excessive behavior, only here to express a wish that the feud and rivalry she has had with Venus might come to an end, see Paschalis 1997, 152 n. 12.

quo nunc: “Quorsum” (Benoist). “Whither now”: with the second half of this verse one may compare 1.11 ... *tantaene animis caelestibus irae*; both Juno and Venus have already interfered quite a lot in the action, and now Juno sets the stage for the next development in immortal intervention and manipulation. Here it introduces a construction that has vexed scholars since antiquity, with no definitive solution (if there is a problem at all) possible. The ellipse of the verb expresses the hasty expression of the goddess’ rhetorical questions; this is one way to explain the grammar (the perceived problem of which hinges on the exact construing of the ablative *certamine tanto*). Servius offers “quid opus est ...,” which gives essentially the same meaning as imagining some form of *tendere* to be supplied (so Wakefield, followed by many commentators), though the ablative is far easier to explain if we take *quo* with an implied verb of motion. Tilly considers the ellipse “extraordinary.”

certamine tanto: Heinsius conjectured *certamina tanta*, which has found its supporters (it was widely accepted even into the nineteenth century by some

critics—Page a happy exception, alongside Conington and Benoist—and it has retained a foothold in most apparatuses; no modern editor accepts it); it rests on no manuscript support, and serves as a good example of a textual change inspired by the wish to “improve” on the poet’s text. “I can only say that I do not believe the ablative to be legitimate ...” (Palmer *ad* Ovid, *Her.* 2.35). Mackail comments here: “The wording, though compressed, presents no difficulty, and there is no authority for the older vulgate *certamina tanta*, the arbitrary emendation of Heinsius” (Austin agrees: “it is an intelligible ellipse, whatever the exact construction”—*recte*). Hahn 1930 does not comment on this ablative, which may be either modal (the likeliest explanation) or even locative (see O’Hara’s note here, working a change on his predecessor Page). Henry also silent, regrettably. *Certamen* openly admits the rivalry and conflict between the goddesses, as Juno transitions from her two verses summarizing Venus’ fears to the presentation of her offer. With *certamine tanto* here cf. Venus’ remark at 108 ... *aut tecum malit contendere bello?*

99 *quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos*

The goddess of marriage presents the goddess of love with a seemingly irresistible offer. The verse is once again admirably balanced, and displays a striking alliteration in *potius—pacem—pactosque*. Here we see in full view how Juno is focused on the political-military future of (Trojan, she thinks) Rome *vs.* her beloved Carthage, while Venus is more attentive to the immediate comfort and security of Aeneas. Etymological chiasmus with *pacem/pactos* and ABBA arrangements of nouns and adjectives; see here O’Hara 2017, 152 on “the derivation of *pax* from *pango* or *pactus*,” with citation of the Augustan Age grammarian Sennius Capito.

quin: The language of impatience. *Quin potius* is conversational (Plautine; also Lucilian); admitted into high verse by Lucretius (*DRN* 1.798; 4.127); only here in the epic (cf. *E.* 2.71 *quin tu aliquid saltem potius ...*).

pacem aeternam: Juno attempts to rewrite history and rework destiny by detaining the Trojan Aeneas in Carthage indefinitely, all so as to secure what will allegedly then be some sort of “ewige Ruhe.” *Pax aeterna* is Ciceronian (*Pro Balbo* 35.16); significantly, it recurs in Virgil at the authorial apostrophe of 12.503–504 ... *tantone placuit concurrere motu, | Iuppiter, aeterna gentis in pace futuras?*, before the description of the battlefield slaughter wreaked by both Turnus and Aeneas.

For *aeternus* cf. 201 *excubias divum aeternas*, of Iarbas’ devotion to his father Jupiter Ammon.

pactosque hymenaeos: “Hymenaeus” (vid. A. De Vivo in *EV* II, 869–871; K. Wasdin in *VE* II, 634) was the name applied both to the traditional nup-

tial song and to the god of weddings; in Virgil the god is never mentioned, only the song as a metonymy for marriage. Most familiar in Latin literature through Catullus, c. 61. Cf. here 127 *hic hymenaeus erit* (Juno at the close of this colloquy); the crucial 316 *per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos* (Dido to Aeneas). It looks back to the baleful reminiscence of Helen in the description of Aeneas' gifts for Dido (1.651 ... *inconcessosque hymenaeos*, of the ill-fated union of Helen with Paris); cf. 3.328 *Ledaeam Hermionem Lacedaemoniosque hymenaeos* (Andromache's account of Neoptolemus' marital history); 6.623 ... *vetitosque hymenaeos* (of incestuous sinners in the underworld); 7.398 ... *ac natae Turnique canit hymenaeos* (Amata in the terrifying sequence where she absconds with Lavinia to celebrate an all too premature wedding); 555 *talia coniugia et talis celebrent hymenaeos* (Juno to Allecto after her Fury's instigation of war); 10.720 ... *infectos linquens profugus hymenaeos* (of Acron); 11.217 *dirum exsecrantur bellum Turnique hymenaeos* (of the women of Laurentum); 355–356 *quin natam egregio genero dignisque hymenaeis | des pater et pacem hanc aeterno foedere iungas* (Drances to Latinus at the war council, with a strong echo of the present passage); 12.805–806 *deformare domum et luctu miscere hymenaeos | ulterius temptare veto* (Jupiter to Juno). For the quadrisyllabic ending see Austin ad loc.; on the question of whether Virgil ever uses *hymenaeus* in an optimistic, positive setting note Newman and Newman 2005, 286. Plural for singular, either as a poeticism or to emphasize the joining of two parties.

With *pactos* cf. Acton's *pacta coniunx* of 10.722; also Turnus' rueful comment at 10.649 *quo fugis, Aenea? thalamos ne desere pactos*, which echoes Juno's remark at the divine council *quid soceros legere et gremiis abducere pactas* (10.79). The question of the legitimacy (especially in the estimation of a Roman audience) of the union of Dido and Aeneas will be a crucial one later in the book; for now it may be observed that Juno—especially given her provenance as patroness of marriage—is proposing what one might think will be a lawful, properly arranged wedding.

100 **exercemus? habes tota quod mente petisti:**

exercemus: The first verb comes in emphatic enjambment, of the proposed (plural) action of the goddesses; the second and third change to the singular, as Juno makes observations about what Venus has achieved already. Verbs frame the verse. With *exercemus* here we may recall 86–87 ... *non arma iuventus | exercet*, of the suspension of military drills and training in the wake of the queen's worsening obsession. The verb poses what Austin terms “a Virgilian experiment in language.” *OLD* does not cite this use; *Gildenhard* does not comment. Perhaps the closest Virgilian parallel to this passage = 7.380 *intenti ludo exercent*, in the simile that compares Allecto's effect on Queen Amata to the

action of boys in playing with a top (*OLD s.v.* 5 “to set or keep in motion, stir, agitate”); besides thinking of the parallel situations of the doomed, suicidal queens as pawns of superior external forces, there is a notion of the work that is needed to put a new state (i.e., lasting peace) into motion by means of a marital alliance between Dido and Aeneas—but instead of an expected ablative like *pactis hymenaeis*, the verb (in its dramatic position here) governs both objects of 99—the peace must be set in motion, and so too the marriage that will make it possible. “To exercise peace” is the opposite of *inimicitias exercere* (Cicero; Sallust; Livy; Velleius).

What Juno is recommending here will be echoed at 520–521 ... *si quod non aequo foedere amantis / curae numen habet* ..., of Dido’s prayer.

habes: In framing arrangement with *petisti*. Juno is correct in her assessment that Venus has achieved what she set out to obtain at 1.676–688.

tota mente: Servius notes the recollection of Venus’ admonition to Cupid at 1.676 ... *nostrum nunc accipe mentem*. Catullan (c. 62 *nec mirum, penitus quae tota laborant*; c. 64.69–70 *illa vicem curans toto ex te pectore, Theseu, / toto animo, tota pendebat perdita mente*); cf. Ovid, *Ars* 3.424; *Rem.* 414; 674; *Met.* 5.275; 9.635; *Trist.* 1.9.53; 3.3.47; 5.8.21; Lucan, *BC* 7.766–767; Seneca, *Phaed.* 185. See Pease here on the origins of the adverbs of the Romance languages. The phrase here is echoed almost at once at 105 *simulata mente*, of Venus’ (not incorrect) assessment of Juno’s intentions; we may recall 1.26 *alta mente*, of Juno.

petisti: Echoing the simple, eerie description of the disguised Cupid’s attack on Dido: *reginam petit* (1.717).

101 *ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem.*

A marvelous, self-contained verse to describe the victory of Venus over the Carthaginian girl, with images of fire/burning (*ardet*) and madness in terrible frame. The present line recalls 1.491 *Penthesilea furens mediisque in milibus ardet*, of the picture of the celebrated Amazon warrior in Dido’s Junonian temple, the last image that is glimpsed by Aeneas before the arrival of Dido-Diana; the connection has been considered by J. Warden, “Another Would-be Amazon: Propertius 4, 4, 71–72,” in *Hermes* 106.1 (1978), 177–187 (cf. 182–183); cf. also J. Pigoñ, “Dido, Diana, and Penthesilea: Observations on the Queen’s First Appearance in the ‘Aeneid,’” in *Eos* 79 (1991), 45–53. Dido is not Diana, and she is not Penthesilea either; the impropriety of the comparison will come to full incarnation when Virgil introduces Camilla in the second half of the epic.

Virgil may have been inspired here by Catullus, c. 64.196–197 *quas ego, vae misera, extremis proferre medullis / cogor inops, ardens, amenti caeca furore*.

ardet amans: Alliteration to open the line. The verb is repeated at 262–263 ... *Tyrioque ardebat murice laena / demissa ex umeris*, of Aeneas’ cloak that Dido

made for him. For *amans* of Dido note also 296; 370; 429; 479 below; at 1.352 it is used of Dido when she was still in love with Sychaeus. At 4.221 ... *oblitos famae melioris amantis* it describes both the queen and her lover; cf. 520. Deiphobus uses it of Menelaus at 6.526; cf. 10.189 of Phaëthon. Almost exclusively, then, of Dido and Aeneas.

traxit: As with *ardet*, the emphasis is on Dido's role in her own sickness; as elsewhere, Virgil plays with where the line should be drawn between divine machinations and human culpability and responsibility. The commentators usually cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4.673–676 and/or Lucan, *BC* 9.934—but Virgil's striking expression is difficult to parallel except via such possible/likely imitations, and the oddness of the bold metaphor serves only to breathe renewed life into what could otherwise become a hackneyed repetition of what we already know—this young woman is hopelessly infatuated.

per ossa: Vividly recalling 66 ... *est mollis flamma medullas*. Bones recur at 625 *exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor*, of Dido's curse that will be incarnated in Hannibal Barca. On Virgil's description of what is able to pass down through the bones see Heuzé 1985, 46.

furorem: The defining element yet again, here in a pronounced medical metaphor. Dido's madness is like a cancer that has invaded and gained mastery over her body. If the *furor* recalls poison, it is a burning poison that is consuming her very bones.

The line-end here is borrowed at Ps.-V., *Ciris* 164 (where see Lyne). Cicero has *ardet furore* in a letter; cf. Seneca's ... *non satis magno meum | ardet furore pectus* (*Thyest.* 253), with Boyle.

102 *communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus*

Juno as (anachronistic) political scientist: it is as if we were discussing the Roman-Sabine settlement.

communem: In the emphatic position, balanced by *paribus*. Juno here makes a proposal that has significance in light of the poem's overarching question about the relationship between Trojans and Latins/Italians in the envisioned settlement in Latium. There is an echo here of Dido's quite generous, flattering offer to Ilioneus at 1.572–574 *vultis et his mecum pariter considerare regnis? | urbem quam statuo, vestra est: subducite navis; | Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur*. Juno's vision would of course mean that a race from Trojan blood would never come to overthrow Carthage (1.19–20); one might imagine that despite the goddess' rhetoric, she envisions Carthage as the senior partner in any commonalty with the Trojan exiles, notwithstanding the fawning rhetoric of 103, where she paints a picture of Dido serving her Phrygian husband. *In fine*, Troy will be reduced to such a junior position in the final settlement of affairs in

Latium reached by Juno and Jupiter at 12.830ff. *Communis* is used elsewhere of Helen, the common fury of Greece and Troy (2.573, in the Helen episode); of the *unum et commune periculum* of which Aeneas speaks as he prepares to carry Anchises out of the ruined Troy (2.709); by the ghost of Creüsa at 2.789 *iamque vale et nati serva communis amorem* (her last words); cf. 8.275; 9.183; 11.435; 12.16; 18 (of the altars set up for the *dis communibus* before the ratification of the doomed Trojan-Latin treaty). MacLennan points out the incongruity of a goddess of marriage and a goddess of sex jointly ruling a shared people. Three of the first four words of the verse identify this proposed new people. D.Serv. noted the possibility that *communem hunc populum* could refer to the Carthaginians alone, the point being that Juno was offering the chance for Venus to rule over Dido's people in concert with her; while technically possible as a translation of the Latin, this interpretation would miss the point of Juno's game: she is proposing a new, jointly ruled people—not the sharing of one of the two. For the predicative use of *communis* here, with analysis of the grammar of 102–103, see Hahn 1930, 11. Cf. 104 *dotalis* in a similar construction.

hunc: Deictic. The two goddesses are portrayed as looking down on the people who serve for the moment as puppets or playthings.

ergo: Elementary deduction and logical exegesis: Venus handled the matter of Dido falling madly in love; now the obvious next step is a shared polity.

populum: Alliterative with *paribus*.

paribus: With a brief mystery as to the referent before it is clarified in emphatic *rejet*.

regamus: Not without some subtle humor on Juno's part: Juno and Venus will be the real queens. Juno is thoroughly enjoying herself in this scene. The verb recurs at 229–230 *sed fore qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem | Italiam regeret ...* (Jupiter's characterization to Mercury of Venus' aspirations and promises concerning Aeneas); cf. also 336.

103 *auspiciis; liceat Phrygio servire marito*

auspiciis: Another key, emphasized word, with echo of Anna's analysis of the situation at 45 *dis equidem auspicibus reor et Iunone secunda*. More anachronism: Juno proposes a shared governance in which Venus and she will function as if they were the Roman consuls, with joint authority to take the auspices in their capacity as senior magistrates. This is the leadership or authority of a king or general (*OLD s.v.* 4); it is exactly the authority of Turnus that Drances decries at 11.347 *cuius ob auspicium infaustum moresque sinistros*. The fact that *auspex* could mean a functionary at a wedding ceremony (*OLD s.v.* 2) adds to the appropriateness of Juno's comment.

liceat: Cf. Venus' impassioned repetition of this verb to her uncle Neptune at 5.796–797 *quod superest, oro, liceat dare tuta per undas / vela tibi, liceat Laurentem attingere Thybrim*; and her similar appeal to her father Jupiter at 10.46–47 ... *liceat dimittere ab armis / incolumem Ascanium, licet superesse nepotem*.

Phrygio ... marito: In framing word order around the verb that describes how Dido is envisioned as serving her Phrygian husband. For *Phrygius* see G.C. Lacki in *VE* 111, 1005–1006; in Virgil a convenient synonym for “Trojan.” The west-central region of Anatolia on the River Sangarios, the realm of the mythic Minos, and Gordias of the celebrated knot. In Homer the Phrygians are a distinct people, in alliance with their Trojan neighbors (cf. *Il.* 10.426–432). “Phrygian” recurs at 140, of the Trojans gathered for the hunt. In the second half of the epic, the term becomes one of opprobrium, most notably in Numanus Remulus' taunt about the *Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges* at 9.617; cf. Turnus' reference to Aeneas as a *Phryx semivir* at 12.99. This sort of prejudice against the Phrygians/Trojans is also expressed by Iarbas (cf. especially 215–218 below). Here there is a subtle and effective use of contempt: Juno uses a term that while accurate enough is laden down with the effeminate reputation of the Phrygians, such that to speak of a “Phrygian husband” is something of an oxymoron. See Henderson *apud* Gildenhard for the idea that there is a bit of humor in having Juno essentially say that Dido may be a servant to a servant, if Virgil is thinking about the tradition of Phrygian slaves (e.g., Aesop; the Phrygian slave in Euripides' *Orestes*).

“Phrygius” was all too attractive an adjective to manipulate for the early sixth-century centonist Luxurius, given that his subject was the marriage of the Vandal chief “Fridus”—and so we find *Epithal. Fridi* 48–49 *occultum inspires ignem paribusque regamus / auspiciis: liceat Frido servire marito* (borrowing from 1.688 as well as the present sequence).

For *maritus* see on 35 above; here it comes with a particular sting, since it denotes a lawful husband—exactly what Aeneas will not be. On how Juno's offer would not be a bad one in different circumstances, and with commentary on how the goddesses in this scene act like Roman *matronae*, see E.W. Leach, “Venus, Thetis, and the Social Construction of Maternal Behavior,” in *CJ* 92.4 (1997), 347–371.

servire: The verb occurs only twice in Virgil. In a significant parallel to the present scene, at 2.785–787 *non ego Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumve superbas / aspiciam aut Grais servitum matribus ibo, / Dardanis et divae Veneris nurus*, the ghost of Creüsa offers a comment on what colloquially in English might be called the “bright side” of her fate: she will not be a servant of Greek matrons. The verb here also carries something of a comment (not to say rebuke) on Venus and her son Cupid: they have treated Dido as little more than a puppet,

and she has been a slave to their designs. For Juno's attempt to put the worst possible face on the affair, see Monti 1981, 30. "Ac si diceret 'exuli'" (Servius): but the comment says as much about Aeneas as about Dido. DServ. has an extended note here on different interpretations of Juno's thinly veiled contempt (e.g., the significance of "servire" and not "nubere" for the marriage reference).

"The bitterness is marked" (Page). "A venomous line" (Austin).

104 *dotalisque tuae Tyrios permittere dextrae.*"

dotalis: In framing alliteration with *dextrae*, in a markedly dental line. Rare in Virgil; cf. 9.737 ... *non hoc dotalis regia Amatae* (Pandarus' bitter insult to Turnus in the Trojan camp); 11.369 ... *et si adeo dotalis regia cordi est* (Drances' insulting remark to Turnus near the very end of his speech at the war council). Twice, then, with reference to the question of the Rutulian hero's prospective marriage to Lavinia—and never with respect to a dowry that will actually be paid, or of a nuptial union that will ever be contracted. Again, there is a real hint that Venus will be the senior partner in the deal that Juno is proposing. Juno also seeks to force Venus to explain the true import of her machinations with Cupid in Book 1: what exactly did the goddess of love think would be the result of engendering a love affair? The capricious Venus was focused in a sense only on the ephemeral—Dido and her Carthaginians must not cause harm to Aeneas (as in fact Ilioneus could testify had already been done to the shipwrecked castaways on the queen's strand). Juno is merely offering the logical consequence of the love affair, and underscoring the idea that the union has political consequences that could benefit Venus. It is theater, of course—but it is good theater, and by the end of the play Juno will prove to be the virtuoso actress.

Henry has a charming note here on the precise meaning of *dotalis*, not without note of how "Kings and queens don't care much about such nice distinctions." The Tyrians are essentially the slaves of the slave; cf. Servius' comment "regalem spectavit personam."

tuae: Alliterative with *Tyrios*. *Tuae* ... *dextrae* in framing word order around the Tyrians who will constitute Dido's dowry.

Tyrios: The Tyrian prize comes at the middle of the verse. For the adjective cf. 111; 162; 224; 262; 321; 544; 622.

permittere: The verb recurs at 640 *Dardaniique rogam capitis permittere flammae*, in a very different context. Cf. 1.539–540 ... *quaeve hunc tam barbara morem / permittit patria* ..., of Ilioneus' incredulous response to the mistreatment of the shipwrecked Trojans by Dido's shore patrols; 9.96–97 ... *certusque incerta pericula lustret / Aeneas? cui tanta deo permissa potestas?* (Jupiter to Cybele); also 5.718 and 9.240.

dextrae: For the right hand cf. 60 above. With a strong reminiscence of the traditions surrounding Roman marriage (cf. Servius' identification here of the "manus convention"). The final word of Juno's address will prove to be a crucial one in light of the question of the legitimacy of the marriage of Aeneas and Dido. The queen will invoke Aeneas' right hand at 307–308 and 314–319, just as Euripides' *Medea* refers to a marriage promise allegedly given by Jason with his right hand (*Med.* 21–22). See further Monti 1981, 1ff. For the place of the *dextrarum iunctio* in Roman marriage rites and the question of its appearance in ritual ceremonies see Treggiari 1991, 149–151; 164–165. Here not so much something like Venus' power or might, but a direct, anachronistic reference to Roman marriage practice. For the right hand of paternal power in the giving away of a bride, see Buscaroli ad loc. Lurking here too is the question of the union between Cleopatra and Antony (indeed, of the status of her relationship with Caesar before him); also Antony's lawful marriage to Octavia.

Ovid was inspired by this concluding passage at *Her.* 7.149–150 *Hos potius populos in dotem, ambage remissa, / accipe et advectas Pygmalionis opes*, where Dido mentions to Aeneas not only the Tyrians, but also the treasure that she had absconded with in flight from her brother.

105 olli (sensit enim simulata mente locutam,

The verse is framed by words that refer to Juno. Venus commences her response, fully aware (*enim*) of Juno's game. "She repels craft by craft" (Conington).

olli: This (poetic) archaism occurs 23× in the epic, usually (18×) in the initial *sedes*; see Pease, and Austin for the sum of what must be said. Here perhaps with a gentle note of humor: Juno is Venus' elder, after all (but cf. 1.254, where it is used by Jupiter of Venus). Ennian, Lucretian color—and, after all, both immortals and epic heroes cannot be expected to discourse in the normal pattern of conversation; their language harks back to an earlier, better age.

sensit enim: Also at 9.534 *sensit enim nimia caede atque cupidine ferri*, of Nisus during the night raid. Cf. also Ovid, *Met.* 9.242; 10.424; *Fast.* 1.659; 4.358.

sensit: Alliterative with *simulata*. For the verb cf. 588 *litora que et vacuos sensit sine remige portus*, of Dido on her final morning; also 541–542 ... *nescis heu, perdita, necdum / Laomedontea sentis periuria gentis?* For the use of the perfect tense with a divine subject, see Adema 2019, 126–127 n. 33.

simulata mente: Echoing 100 *tota ... mente*. Cf. here 512 *sparserat et latices simulatos fontis Averni* (of the ghastly liturgy of the Massylian priestess). Pease notes that Venus ascribes to the Carthaginian patroness Juno exactly the sort of duplicitous sentiment that a Roman would stereotypically apply to Carthaginians; Venus of course is also fond of practicing trickery and deceit in pursuit of

amatory goals, and so the verbal repartee here is one of craft against craft, as Conington observed. *Simulata* recalls 1.709–710 *mirantur dona Aeneae, mirantur Iulum, | flagrantisque dei vultus simulataque verba* (of the disguised Cupid at Dido's banquet). Cf. 3.349–350 *procedo et parvam Troiam simulataque maganis | Pergama ...* (at Buthrotum).

locutam: The verb also at 276 (of Mercury); 337 (of Aeneas); 595 (of Dido).

106 quo regnum Italiae Libycas averteret oras)

A crucial verse in the broader framework of the epic's concern with the intersection of Troy, Carthage, and Rome, of largely unappreciated significance. There is a strong echo here of 1.37–38 ... *mene incepto desistere victam, | nec posse Italia Teucrorum avertere regem*, of Juno's private reflection on her frustration regarding the Trojan survivors of the war.

Venus' analysis of Juno's offer is that she is being disingenuous, for the specific reason that she is trying to transfer or divert (*OLD* s.v. *averto* 3) the kingdom of Italy to Libyan shores. But the kingdom of Italy is in Italy, under Latinus; what we have here is a somewhat presumptuous assumption about how her beloved Aeneas and his Trojans are to be equated with the *regnum Italiae* that Jupiter had predicted at 1.254 ff. (note that while at 1.27–28 Juno was worried about the averting of the *rex Teucrorum* from Italy, here Venus thinks about the averting of the *regnum Italiae*, having heard her father's speech—thus a kingdom “not existing but prospective”—Pease). Jupiter had predicted the *bellum ingens* Aeneas would wage in Italy (1.263); he had also promised Venus *moresque et moenia ponet* (264, also of Aeneas), a prediction that will need revision in light of his promise to Juno at 12.834–838 *sermonem Ausonium moresque tenebunt, | utque est nomen erit, commixti corpore tantum | subsident Teucrum morem ritusque sacrorum | adiciam faciamque omnis uno ore Latinos; | hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget*. The present colloquy of the goddesses involves the same pair whose private conversations with Jupiter provide a divine frame to the epic. Neither goddess would be pleased with what Jupiter says to her rival, but Juno will enjoy Jupiter's last words on the matter. 1.264 *moresque et moenia ponet* takes on a subtle change in light of the settlement with Juno at 12.834–837 in particular, where we learn that the Ausonians will retain their *mores*; the Trojans will sink down, mixed together in body only; Jupiter in addition will give *mos ritusque sacrorum* (reading 12.837 *adiciam* of additional gifts, as at 11.354), and he will make them all Latins; ultimately a race mixed with *Ausonian* blood (i.e., the Romans) will rise up (cf. Juno's thus finally assuaged fear from 1.19–20 *progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci | audierat Tyrios olim quae verteret arces*, which the supreme god thus responds to at the last). There will be an invasion and conquest of Tyrian citadels from

Italy, but it will be an Ausonian, Italian invasion and not a Trojan one; it is true that the Trojans will be mixed in body with the Italians who are already in Italy, but it will be a matter of body only and nothing else (Jupiter's 12.835 ... *commixti corpore tantum*). The point is both subtle and crucial, for ultimately it offers the rationale for Juno's letting go of her wrath and rage; neither goddess, as yet, knows the future in detail, and Juno for the moment is indeed worried about a *nova Troia*, either in Italy or elsewhere.

4.106 ... *Libycas averteret oras* echoes 1.20 ... *Tyrios ... quae verteret arces*. In Venus' estimation, Juno seeks to steal a kingdom, as it were; she hopes that the mighty vision of a powerful empire that Jupiter unveiled in Book 1 will be true of Carthage, not of the future Rome. But Venus' thoughts are anticipatory, hasty and presumptuous, and the ultimate composition of what will indeed be the *regnum Italiae* will be subject to further divine refinement and analysis. In the end, it will not be Trojans who invade Libya, but Italians; Venus' analysis of Juno's plan also unintentionally and inadvertently looks forward to the historical reality of the Punic Wars.

regnum Italiae: The words should be taken closely together. For the mention here of the kingdom of Italy cf. 275–276 *respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus / debetur ...*, of Mercury's admonition to Aeneas, following on Jupiter's note to his messenger 229–231 *sed fore qui gravidam imperiis belloque fremetem / Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucris / proderet ...*, detailing why Venus rescued Aeneas. The Trojan hero speaks to Dido of Italy at 345–347 in powerful repetition, and admits *Italiam non sponte sequar* (361); she responds with her famous retort *i, sequere Italiam* (381). Wakefield thought that the ablative *Italia* would be better than Virgil's genitive (comparing 1.38), a change that Conington considers ingenious. "Italy in Virgil" is a vast topic: for a start vid. A. Bernardi in *EV* III, 34–50; G.C. Lacki in *VE* II, 681–683.

With *regnum* cf. 47 above; the noun is frequent in the book (cf., e.g., 374, in a bitter comment of a rueful queen about her own kingdom); note also 199; 214; 350; 355; 381; 591; 619.

Italiae Libycas: In deliberate juxtaposition, encapsulating a long, variegated, and ultimately brutal history; cf. 1.13, with *Karthago* and *Italiam* similarly opposed. *Libycus* also at 271; 320; 348. Borrowed perhaps from Atacine Varro.

quo: For *ut* (so D^{Serv.}).

averteteret: Cf. 389 *aegra fugit seque ex oculis avertit et aufert* (of Dido); 393–394 ... *quamquam lenire dolentem / solando cupit et dictis avertere curas* (of Aeneas); also 362 *aversa* (of Dido)—all in passages from their emotional, dramatic interaction. At 547 ... *ferroque averte dolorem* Dido presages her suicide.

Servius read *adverteret* here and *ap.* 3.379 (note also Tib. *ap.* 5.128, *contra* his reading here), noting "absolutior quidem est haec lectio, sed verior et figuratior

illa est ‘Libycas averteret oras’. Virgil’s point here is clear: Juno is interested in “turning aside Italy’s kingship to the shores of Libya” (Tilly). In another level of irony, that is exactly what will happen in the course of the Punic Wars; what seems to matter most in terms of calming Juno is that the people who come to destroy Carthage must not be Trojans, or at least must not be Trojans in *sermo* and *mores*. Her ultimate wish is expressed to Jupiter at 12.826–829 *sit Latium, sint Albani per saecula reges, | sit Romana potens Italia virtute propago: | occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia*—a powerful tricolon in praise of *Italia*, and the obituary for Venus’ beloved Troy. We do well to remember that the last mention of Juno in the epic is 12.841–842 *adnuat his Iuno et mentem laetata retorsit; | interea excedit caelo nubemque relinquit*—she wins in *fine*.

oras: A common noun in Virgil, though here only in this book.

In the notion of diverting the kingdom of Italy to Libyan shores, there is something of a reverse of the image of 1.1–2, of Aeneas moving from the shores of Troy to Italy. The present scene will be echoed in the divine council that opens Book 10, where Venus comments *nil super imperio moveor: speravimus ista, | dum fortuna fuit; vincant quos vincere mavis*.

Pease cites Ussani’s “Sul libro quarto dell’*Eneide*” (*Atene e Roma*, 1907), on the possible allusion here to Antony’s reported bequests to Cleopatra.

107 sic contra est ingressa Venus: “quis talia demens

contra ... *ingressa Venus*: Balancing 92 ... *adgreditur Venerem*. The elision rather enacts the engagement of the goddess with her rival; the adverbial *contra* makes clear the inherent conflict. *Ingredior* occurs also at 177, of the advance of Fama. With its use here cf. 6.867 *tum pater Anchises lacrimis ingressus obortis* (in the Marcellus passage). On the verb Servius notes “calliditatis est, ut supra” (referring to 92).

est: The variant *rem* (pe) offers an interesting example of how simple things can be corrupted.

quis: Juxtaposed with *Venus*, since the imagined referent of *quis* is the goddess herself.

talia: Not without a hint of *Italia*, and here placed prominently as Venus commences her response. It refers to everything that Juno had proposed; Venus’ mind in this passage is on the future glory of Aeneas, Ascanius, and the Trojans—a glory that she knows from Jupiter will come from Italy (cf. 106 *regnum Italiae*).

demens: Echoing the description of Dido at 78 above. Especially after *contra* (with which it virtually frames the verse), for a moment there is suspense as to where Venus is going to go with her reply.

The line-end here is repeated at 11.399–400 *nulla salus bello? capiti cane talia, demens / Dardanio rebusque tuis ...*, in a bitter address of Turnus to Drances at the Latin war council. Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 6.139.

108 abnuat aut tecum malit contendere bello,

abnuat: Cf. 128 *adnuit*. The verb occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at 5.530–531 ... *nec maximus omen / abnuit Aeneas, sed laetum amplexus Acesten* (after the king's portentous arrow shot); and at 10.8 *abnueram bello Italiam concurrere Teucris* (Jupiter before Juno and Venus at the divine council). The latter passage is the key parallel; Venus asks the rhetorical question who would be so demented as to contend with Juno in war (answer: perhaps Venus), and much later Jupiter will clarify to his fellow immortals that he had not given his nod of assent to a war between Italy and the Teucrians. Jupiter's comment at 10.8 is interesting given that he had foretold of such a war at 1.264–265 in his speech to Venus—in other words, Juno's machinations with Allecto engendered a conflict that was already fated to take place, a destined struggle that Jupiter already knew was coming as early as Book 1. *Abnuat* is the first of two potential subjunctives, in a verse where the crafty Venus casts as imaginary that which is precisely what she will seek to do. The subtle hint to the traditional Jovian gesture of nodding in assent, etc., is present here too: Jupiter will soon enough play his role in the drama of this book.

tecum: With *contendere*, in an example of standard oratorical language. Page highlights how the word is placed early in the verse in an ironically emphatic position, far separated from its partner *contendere*.

malit: Not a common verb in the epic, and only here in its first half; cf. 8.323 (... *Latiumque vocari / maluit*, of Saturn); 10.43 (... *vincant quos vincere mavis*, in Venus' rhetorical exercise to Jupiter in ironic bitterness against Juno at the divine council); 12.396–397 (of Iapyx' pursuit of the medical arts); 935 *et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mavis* (the defeated Turnus to Aeneas). Cf. also 111 *velit*.

contendere: The verb recurs at 12.815 *non ut tela tamen, non ut contenderet arcum* (in Juno's solemn pledge to Jupiter about what she did and not persuade her avatar Juturna to do in the matter of helping Turnus). *Contendere bello* is Caesarian (*BG* 7.67.7.6).

bello: A strong word, and made stronger by the emphatic final position. It refers on the one hand to the repartee of the goddesses in the present moment—a verbal clash and rhetorical dance that is at once playful and deadly serious—and, on the other hand, to the notion of war more generally, which in context means the forthcoming conflict in Italy and, more distantly, the prediction of a struggle against Carthage in the future. There is an echo here of Juno's remark at 98 ... *aut quo nunc certamine tanto?*

109 si modo quod memoras factum fortuna sequatur?

si modo: Cf. 5.25 *si modo rite memor servata remetior astra* (Palinurus to Aeneas). The language of a disingenuous wish, as DServ. already realized. *Si* is repeated at 110: so much of what Venus says here is conditional.

modo: Alliterative with *memoras*.

memoras: Echoing 1.8–9 *Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso / quidve dolens regina deum ...* “Non indica il ricordo di un fatto, ma l’accenno a un progetto” (Paratore).

factum fortuna: Fricative alliteration, the last pair of three (if we include *si ... sequatur*) alliterative patterns in the one line. *Factum fortuna* is a deliberately juxtaposed pair of perhaps paradoxical concepts: *quod memoras factum* has a tone of completion, as if what Juno had spoken of was finished and done; *fortuna* followed by its subjunctive verb speaks to uncertainty about the future. O’Hara comments on the “dense” Latin that is reflective of the typical back and forth of “diplomatic” exchanges, where the meaning of even seemingly simple words may be subject to minute parsing. The absolute use of (singular) *factum* occurs also at 1.351, of Pygmalion’s concealment of the murder of Sychaeus; cf. Iulus’ sentiment to Nisus and Euryalus at 9.299 ... *casus factum quicumque sequentur*, with a reminiscence of this passage. The plural is much more common (see below on 190).

fortuna: Vid. R. Scarcia in *EV* 11, 564–567; P. Hardie in *VE* 11, 497–498; Bailey 1935, 235–240. In the final analysis, neither goddess is aware of the ultimate resolution of the problems at stake in the long process by which we move from Troy to Rome. As often, one may question here whether or not *fortuna* should be capitalized; the very uncertainty inherent to future events is part of the ambiguous nature of the concept/goddess and its/her relationship to other forces (especially *fatum/fata*; cf. on 110). *Fortuna* recurs in this book at 434 *dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere* (Dido in conversation with Anna); 603 *verum anceps pugnae fortuna* (Dido again). For the problematic relationship of both Juno and Venus to fortune in this scene, cf. Henry 1989, 55–56; what emerges from the present passage is that Venus—for all her certainty that she has scored a victory over Juno in this verbal *tête-à-tête*—has no real plan to follow up on her successful work with Cupid in the matter of Dido’s obsessive love; she is capricious and concerned more often than not with the ephemeral. She is also perhaps overly reliant on the assurances of Jupiter in Book 1: assurances that were solemn and imposing, but also open to refinement and further explication (not to say adjustment).

sequatur: We may recall here Anna’s optimistic comment about *Iuno secunda* at 45.

The line-end here is echoed at 8.15–17 *quid struat his coeptis, quem, si fortuna sequatur, / eventum pugnae cupiat, manifestius ipsi / quam Turno regi aut*

regi apparere Latino (in Turnus' report for the Venulan embassy to bring to Diomedes)—and, more significantly, in Venus' remarks at the divine council (10.48–49): *Aeneas sane ignotis iactetur in undis / et quacumque viam dederit Fortuna sequatur*, where the goddess prays that at least Ascanius might be saved from harm, even if dreams of *imperium* for a reborn Troy must be set aside—a passage where Venus carefully reworks her sentiments from here.

110 *sed fatis incerta feror, si Iuppiter unam*

fatis ... feror: More fricative alliteration, partly here in a hint, perhaps, of Venus' frustration with Juno's proposal (Juno, unlike Venus, actually had a plan for what might come next)—at least, so she might wish Juno to think, so that she might appear to be in the weaker position when she is certain she is in the stronger. *Incerta* is neatly framed—frustrated or not, the goddess thinks that she has a clever enough riposte for her interlocutor. Servius was rather seduced by Venus' rhetoric here: “bene omnia tetigit quibus res humanae reguntur: casum, fata, voluntatem deorum.” There is no question that Venus is being “simultaneously smug and coy” (so Gildenhard). Whether *in fine* she has reason to be is another matter, and lurking throughout this exchange is the glaring problem that she did not make any plans beyond Cupid's intervention—in this Juno has anticipated her.

For fates/fate vid. U. Bianchi in *EV* 11, 474–479; R. Jenkyns in *VE* 11, 474–475; Cairo 2021. Like 109 *fortuna*, a concept that could prompt multiple books on its Virgilian uses. Jupiter is supreme god in part, one might think, because unlike his divine colleagues he does not seek to circumvent the dictates of fate, and thus he becomes almost associated with it, as if they were one and the same (cf. Bailey 1935, 228 ff.—the most convenient analysis). *Fata* and *Iuppiter* come here as the second and the second-to-last words in the verse.

incerta: The only occurrence of the adjective in this book. Cf. Evander's apprehensive remark at 8.580 *dum curae ambiguae, dum spes incerta futuri*.

feror: Cf. Dido's groan of *heu furiis incensa feror* at 376 below. Venus portrays herself as one carried about here and there by the fates, in a state of uncertainty because she does not know the future. She is correct, though she does not realize it; she is lying, and yet at the same time—unknowingly—she is telling the truth. A brilliant Virgilian display of how ultimately both Venus and Juno are the poet's marionettes.

si: The repeated language of condition and (feigned) doubt for the future. But part of the poet's trick is that while both Juno and Venus are engaged in rhetorical games, in reality neither is aware of the final dictates of Jovian *fata*. For *si* instead of the textbook *num* see Pease, and Austin. “Another stretch of idiom ... perhaps imitated from Greek” (Sidgwick ad loc.)

Iuppiter: The introduction of Jupiter to the colloquy comes with a direct echo of the conversation of father and daughter at 1.223 ff. that provides the foundation for Venus' relative certainty about the future. With the mention of *fata* in this line we may recall Jupiter's declaration to Venus from the start of his address to her at 1.257–258 *parce metu, Cytherea: manent immota tuorum / fata tibi*, etc.: the goddess is being somewhat disingenuous with Juno, though there is also a hint—unintentional or not on her part—of how she has not, in fact, outlined a plan for what will come next for Aeneas and Dido (again, a consequence both of her capricious nature and her overreliance on Jupiter's promises). The mention of Jupiter offers a near equation of the god with fate; Venus has already spoken to her father, and so she introduces him here, almost with a thinly disguised note of triumph. She is a daughter who has a secret shared with her father, and she will not reveal it to her stepmother. At the same time, she wants to divulge it, and the excitement is hard for her to conceal, tinged as it is with an air of triumphalism.

Fatis incerta feror must be interpreted in light of Venus' evocation of Jupiter (with its harking back to Book 1). Henry thought that *fatis incerta* must mean that Venus was uncertain of fate, an interpretation that Austin dismisses: “surely impossible.” Pease is right here that “the grammatical construction of *fatis* is hard to explain”—for that is precisely Virgil's point. Verse 109 introduced the problem of how it was uncertain where fortune (personified or not) would follow; now Venus expands on that sentiment, and notes that she (like everyone else) is being carried about by the fates, and that she is subsequently *incerta* because she does not know what the future portends (a lie on her part in view of 1.254 ff.). She does say that she is “uncertain of the fates,” because she does not care to reveal anything about Jupiter's private revelation to her with Juno (just as much later she will not be privy to the conversation between Jupiter and Juno in Book 12). She is playing a rhetorical game, just the same as Juno—but in the end, it is a game that Juno will win. Binder interprets *fatis* as “kausaler Ablativ” (following, e.g., Lejay; Buscaroli); Austin comments here “another experiment in language which it is difficult to force into the formal conventions of grammar.” The ambiguous syntax reflects the seeming ambiguity of fate to those who are not aware of its dictates.

At 7.594 *frangimur heu fatis inquit ferimur procella*, Latinus will echo Venus' sentiments here, in a deadlier immediate context.

unam: Echoing Juno's very different use of *una* at 95. Here it comes in the emphatic final position, as Venus responds to the proposal about creating a single polity. The referent for this numerical adjective is delayed—Venus wishes to craft a momentary rhetorical suspense. Once again we may recall an underlying problem in this debate: Venus has not seemed to care that the implication

of a love affair between Dido and Aeneas (as respective leaders of their people, after all) would likely if not necessarily imply some sort of shared government (on this see further Monti 1981, 30–31). Venus had not thought matters through to that point, and in this Juno sees a opening for her plan of attack. With the “one city” referenced here cf. 117 *una*.

Seneca has *At gens hominum fertur rapidis / obvia fatis incerta sui* (HF 184).

111 esse velit Tyriis urbem Troiaque profectis,

In an important sense, both of the polities referenced in this verse will be dead in light of the final settlement of Juno and Jupiter in Book 12. What is interesting to note here is that Venus thus far knows more of the future than Juno on account of her discussion with Jupiter in Book 1; the goddesses will spar again in the more serious debate of the divine council in Book 10, and then ultimately it will be Juno who scores her victory with Jupiter in their private discussion in 12. On how the question of a shared political entity is approached by such diverse figures as Anna and Venus (not to mention Dido and Aeneas), see Reed 2007, 88–95 (with consideration *inter al.* of the overarching problem of how “Dido threatens to forestall the Roman order and meld it with the Other.”)

esse: For the shades of meaning here see Pease, who interprets the infinitive as referencing a permanent, lasting state of being, *contra* Bell 1923, 147, who takes *esse* to stand for *feri* (with emphasis on the coming into being of the *urbs*). But the two meanings shade into one, and certainly one theme of the Dido episodes both in Books 1 and 4 is the question of the construction of Carthage. Throughout this divine exchange one must recall that Carthage already exists, even if it is unfinished.

velit: Cf. 108 *malit*. Venus certainly portrays Jupiter’s will as if it constitutes one and the same thing as fate and destiny. The verb is balanced by 112 *probet*, as Venus speaks of both the will and the approbation of Jupiter/fate.

Tyriis: Here the appellation of the Carthaginians has particular force: they had departed, after all, from Tyre. *Tyriis* and *Troia* in alliteration.

urbem: The crucial word comes at the midpoint of the verse. This is one city, of course, that will never come to fruition—except in the eventual foundation of Roman Carthage. The city is framed by the (dative) possessors, with emphasis on what they will hold; the names of the two peoples directly embrace it—first the Tyrians, then the Trojans.

profectis: We may recall 1.2 *profugus* of Aeneas. Venus’ emphasis here is on how both the Tyrians and the Trojans were travelers (indeed exiles) who had set out from other locations; the question of the hour is whether or not they are fated to share one new city. But the principal echo is of 1.732–733 *hunc laetum Tyriisque diem Troiaque profectis / esse velis nostrosque huius memi-*

nisse minores, of Dido's prayer to Jupiter at the first banquet in Carthage (the *minores* in question might well indeed remember the day, though not as Dido intended). Cf. also 1.340–341 *imperium Dido Tyria regit urbe profecta*, | *germanum fugiens*; 3.614–615 *nomine Achaemenides, Troiam genitore Adamasto / pauper (mansissetque utinam fortuna!) profectus*; 7.209 ... *Corythi Tyrrhena ab sede profectum*; 255–257 *hunc illum fatis externa ab sede profectum / portendi generum paribusque in regna vocari / auspicibus ...*; 8.51 ... *genus a Pallante profectum*. For how the Trojans are identified here by the fact of their departure from Troy (since they have not yet been transformed into anything else), see Fletcher 2014, 145.

112 *miscerive probet populos aut foedere iungi.*

The verse is framed by the passive infinitives.

misceri: Cf. 12.835 ... *commixti corpore tantum*. For the passive infinitive note 160 *Interea magno misceri murmure caelum* (of the storm at the hunt that will certainly lead to something approaching the import of the opening of the present verse); 411–412 ... *totumque videres / misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor!* For the possible negative connotations of the verb, see Pease, and MacLennan. Pease finds it “remarkable” that Juno would propose such a thing, but she is principally playing a rhetorical game of cat and mouse with her divine rival—she knows well enough that there can be no union between Trojans and Tyrians, though she also knows that Venus has created a mess by her (unnecessary—cf. 1.297 ff.) actions with Cupid, and that the goddess has no plan for what to do next. With the reading *foedere* (see below), the “people” poised at mid-line are both mixed and joined by a treaty—a sort of hendiadys, with the first infinitive describing the intermarriage between Dido, Aeneas, and their peoples—and the second describing the legal framework by which the Tyrians and the Trojans will become one city.

probet populos: Alliterative. The verb is rare in Virgil; cf. 5.418 ... *probat auctor Acestes*; 12.813–814 *Iturnam misero, fateor, succurrere fratri / suasi et pro vita maiora audere probavi* (Juno's confession to Jupiter).

aut: Either connective or disjunctive (see Pease here); the difference between the two in the present context is not so great. The point though is that there will be one city, with mixed populations and a treaty to govern the joining together.

foedera: The subject of an interesting textual crux, and possibly another of those happy Horsfallian “moments of glory” for the Carolingian manuscripts. The variant *foedere* (p) was known to Servius; the Virgilian parallel passage is 8.56 *hos castris adhibe socios et foedera iunge* (Tiberinus to Aeneas), where the ablative *foedere* is attested in the Palatine and elsewhere (cf. 7.546 *dic in amici-*

tiam et foedera iungant; 12.822 *cum iam leges et foedera iungent*). The present verse is discussed by Kraggerud 2017, 175 under the heading “A reading to give Venus’ rhetoric an edge?,” with the comment “So far no editor has adopted *foedere*, though it might have been considered a nice case of a *lectio difficilior potior* provided that <*populos*> *foedere iungi* expresses a tighter bond between Trojans and Tyrians than *foedere iungi*.” (For the opposite view, taking *foedere* as a *lectio facilior* in an attempt to “regularize” the grammar as it were in accordance with normal prose usage, see Eden *ad* 8.56).

Here one may be open to the criticism that there is merely a wish to take up Kraggerud’s implicit challenge about printing *foedere*. We agree with Kraggerud’s serious consideration of *foedere*, even to the point of printing it (albeit not with anything remotely approaching temerity). It does seem to us to express a “tighter bond” between the peoples. That said, the principal hesitation here (leaving aside the witness of the capital manuscripts) might be from the attractiveness of a tricolon: *urbem*; *populos*; *foedera*, each with one infinitive (*esse*; *misceri*; *iungi*). With ablative *foedere*, on the other hand, there are two objects of the indirect statement—the city and the peoples—and these two accusatives relate more closely together than any mention of treaties. One treaty here is simpler and more to the point than plural *foedera* (cf. Pease here though, with the argument that the plural would emphasize the mutuality of the bond—and certainly elsewhere *foedera* is standard poetic language for one treaty); the one city would meld two peoples, and it would have one *foedus*. *Populos* would be in balance to *urbem*, both at the midpoint of their respective verses. Lastly, *foedere* would more easily be corrupted into *foedera* than the other way around. *Difficilior lectio potior* indeed—and *foedere* may be printed, even if (as so often in textual cruces where the meaning is not very different either way) not without a healthy degree of doubt and hesitation.

Relevant here too, we should note, may be 10.104–106 *accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta. | quandoquidem Ausonios coniungi foedera Teucros | haud licitum nec vestra capit discordia finem*, as Jupiter opens his solemn declaration at the divine council—the one time in the epic where he addresses both his wife and his daughter together. Cf. also Grattius, *Cyn.* 163; Ovid, *Met.* 7.403; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 11.149. Was Virgil thinking here of Catullus, c. 64.372–373 *quare agite optatos animi coniungite amores, | accipiat coniunx felici foedere divum?*

Servius too was not sure of the correct reading, and his analysis is important here: “si ‘foedera,’ per se plenum est; si ‘foedere,’ ad populos pertinet.” The *populos* of 111 would seem to be the main focus of the passage—and the *una urbs*, with the singular *foedus* with emphasis of the same class as the numerical adjective with its (key) noun.

113 **tu coniunx, tibi fas animum temptare precando.**

Marked dental alliteration (*tu ... tibi ... temptare*), as Venus utters what she thinks is another masterful riposte after what she considers to have been an altogether successful parry of Juno's attack. Venus here engages in "naughty pretending" (Austin). Venus can barely restrain herself from revealing what Jupiter had announced to her in private in Book 1. Already Servius recognized the parallel to 1.76–77, of Aeolus with Juno.

Tu ... tibi: Balancing Juno's contemptuous *tu ... tuus* at 94. Juno's address there had been to Venus and her son Cupid; Venus here aims her barbs at Juno only: she has full confidence in her father's solemn assurances from 1.254 ff. In point of fact (though neither goddess has any idea yet about it), what Venus semi-sarcastically urges Juno to do here is exactly what will happen at 12.807 ff., in the matter not of the mixing of Troy and Tyre, but of the destined union between Troy and Italy. Jupiter initiates that second divine colloquy of the epic (Venus had inaugurated the first); here the daughter is all too secure in the belief that she has her father's ear and attention, to the exclusion of his wife.

coniunx: Cf. 91 *cara Iovis coniunx*. There the prominently placed appellation is a key element of Venus' game: surely Juno can talk to her husband. Shades of a recollection here of the appeal of Hera for help from Aphrodite in the matter of the seduction and distraction of Zeus in *Il.* 14, but with interesting changes worked on the Homeric model.

fas: The highpoint of Venus' artful, thinly veiled hypocrisy: she could not have chosen a more solemn word to describe what she considers to be the proper prerogative of a wife, while in Book 1, she, the daughter, had usurped what here she demurely implies is not her proper place. For *fas* see F. Sini in *EV* 11, 464–466; R. Smith in *VE* 11, 473. 21× in the epic; cf. 4.350 ... *et nos fas extera quaerere regna* (Aeneas to Dido). The etymology from *fari* is particularly felt here given the context of the question of who should approach Jupiter. See Pease on its use in a strictly divine context, as opposed to descriptions of the relationship between mortals and divinities; perhaps too with another anachronistic reference to Roman religious practice (see Gildenhard). Balanced, chiasitic word order: the relationship between the divine spouses is what makes it *fas* for Juno to handle this problem.

animum: For the use here see Negri 1984, 147–149. "La sede della volontà."

temptare precando: Echoed below at 413–414 *ire iterum in lacrimas, iterum temptare precando* / *cogitur et supplex animos summittere amori*, of Dido after the poet's authorial apostrophe to the power of *Amor improbus* (412). For other uses of *temptare* in the book cf. 293 *temptaturum aditus* (of Aeneas trying to decide exactly when to have his discussion with Dido); for *precor* note also the

occurrences at 521 and 621. The line-end also at Statius, *Theb.* 3.240; cf. 2.369–370. Binek 2018, 79 ff. compares the present scene with the seduction of Vulcan by Venus (8.403 ... *precando*).

114 perge, sequar.” tum sic exceptit regia Iuno:

perge, sequar: Dripping with sarcasm, as Venus casts herself in the role of a dutiful soldier following her commander. The stepdaughter will approach after the stepmother as Jupiter is petitioned. *Pergere* is not a particularly common verb in Virgil; cf. 1.372 *O dea, si prima repetens ab origine pergam* (Aeneas to his disguised mother); 401 *perge modo et, qua te ducit via, derige gressum* (the disguised Venus at the end of her response to Aeneas, closing a ring with the beginning of her son’s speech); 5.198 *observans quae signa ferant, quo tendere pergant* (Aeneas following the doves of Venus that lead him to the Golden Bough); 11.521 ... *pergit in hostem* (Turnus after giving instructions to his subordinate commanders); 12.153 *perge: decet ...* (Juno to Juturna about the question of helping her brother Turnus—a parallel to the present passage in terms of the crisp verbal arrangement; cf. Dainotti 115, n. 372); 586 *arma ferunt alii et pergunt defendere muros* (of the defense of Latinus’ capital against the attack Venus suggested to Aeneas). Venus’ words reveal her thought that Juno will agree to the idea of going to make an appeal to Jupiter; her expectation is that she will stand behind Juno and smirk silently as Jupiter denies the petition. Juno understands the Venusian game all too well, and in her response she completely ignores any reference to Jupiter or to Venus’ idea, choosing instead to propose a scheme that will in part provide a counterbalance to an earlier trick of the goddess of love. Venus’ words exhibit a fatal weakness in context: she assumes that Juno will agree to her plan, and so she boldly proclaims that she will follow where Juno leads—thus allowing Juno to offer a different proposal that Venus cannot easily refuse. Servius here took a different view, relating the goddess’ point first to the exercise of marriage rites, and then to the act of sexual union.

Sequar will recur at 384, of Dido’s terrifying threat to Aeneas; cf. the more pathetic case of her self-reflection at 538. For the first-person future singular note also 1.342 (of the disguised Venus reviewing the story of Dido to Aeneas); 9.391; 490 (the last two occurrences in connection with Nisus and Euryalus).

tum sic: Standard in poetic conversational transition. Cf. 222 below; the collocation also at 2.775 (= 3.153, 8.35) *tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis*; 6.562 *tum vates sic orsa loqui* (of Deiphobe); 8.115 *tum pater Aeneas puppi sic fatur ab alto*; 154 *tum sic pauca refert* (Evander to Aeneas); 9.234 *tum sic Hyrtacides ...*; the hemistich 9.295 *tum sic effatur* (Iulus to Nisus); 10.228 *tum sic ignarum adlo-*

quitur (Cymodocea to Aeneas); 11.820–821 *tum sic exspirans Accam ex aequalibus unam | adloquitur ...* (of the dying Camilla); 12.10 *tum sic adfatur regem atque ita turbidus inquit* (Turnus to Latinus); 175 *Tum pius Aeneas stricto sic ense precatur*.

sic: Anticipating the description of Juno's response, and in balanced response to 107 *sic contra est ingressa Venus*. For its use with *excipere* cf. Caesar, *BG* 7.28.6.1–2; also Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.35–36 ... *at ille | exceptit blandoque prior sic ore locutus*.

exceptit: The right verb for a speech that begins midverse, almost as if Juno cannot wait to make her response to Venus' sarcasm. The verb recurs at 374 *excepti et regni demens in parte locavi*, of Dido's bitter complaint to Aeneas; note also the action of Rumor at 297–298 ... *motusque exceptit prima futuros | omnia tuta timens*. The verb can be used in contexts both amicable and hostile; so of Pallas receiving Aeneas at 8.124 *exceptitque manu dextramque amplexus inhaesit*; of the hapless hunter Ornytus as he falls prey to Camilla at 11.684 *hunc illa exceptum (neque enim labor agmine verso)*. The verb has a rich range of meanings, all of which are at play here; it can refer to sustaining the force of an attack (*OLD s.v.* 11), which is certainly what Juno does in the present instance; also of capturing by ambush (*OLD s.v.* 13), another idea that is at work in the goddess' scheme. Any metaphor from hunting/the setting of traps would anticipate exactly what Juno will propose. The opening of the verse is Venus'; the close, Juno's.

regia Iuno: The appellation of the goddess also at 1.443–444 (regarding her role in the selection of the site for the founding of Carthage); 7.438–439 (Turnus to the disguised Allecto); 10.62–63 (Juno at the divine council); also in Ovid; Seneca; Statius; Valerius. Here it comes after Venus' invocation of the goddess as Jupiter's *coniunx*, with authorial comment on Juno's royal status and monarchical associations. 4× of Juno in the epic; 2× of Lavinia; once each of Amata; Ascanius; Diodes; Ganymede; and Pyrgo—another interesting set of associations, with Juno and Lavinia in the ascendant. Never of Dido, who is, however, the preeminent queen of the epic (*regina* 19× times, *vs.* 6 of Amata, 5 of Juno, 3 of Camilla, 2 of Cleopatra—another potentially insightful set of statistics). Here, in combination with *exceptit* it speaks to a forthcoming Junonian victory in the current duel, a victory hinted at too by the goddess' intervention (not to say interruption) at midverse. Maclennan: “a masterpiece of patronising lordliness.” For a different view note Goldenhard.

115 “mecum erit iste labor. nunc qua ratione quod instat

Williams comments here on the “prosaic diction,” as if Juno were recording items on an agenda. Tib. thought that Juno had missed the point of Venus' trick

(“non intellecto Veneris dolo”), though in fact the royal goddess is several steps ahead of her stepdaughter.

mecum: Following on Venus’ 113 *tu ... tibi*, and leading one to think that she will take Venus’ advice. The sequence that opens here is a marvelous instance of the rhetorical artifice whereby you attempt to make your interlocutor think that you are agreeing with their proposed plan, when in fact you have a quite different agenda.

iste labor: “That labor of which you speak,” we might think (for this usual force of the demonstrative see *inter al.* Tilly’s note)—namely the suggestion to approach Jupiter in petition about the political joining of Troy and Carthage (so Servius). Juno engages here in deliciously savage, though wonderfully understated verbal games. The *labor*, Venus (and the audience) might initially think, is the goddess’ proposed approach to Jupiter—it could be nothing else. Juno holds everyone in suspense, however, before proposing what amounts not to a conjoined, but rather to an altogether different idea. The language is brilliantly effective here: especially with *iste*, Venus may well assume that Juno will go and speak to Jupiter at some point; she had said that she would follow where Juno leads, though obviously she cannot insist or even suggest that she be present at such a meeting. But almost at once Juno introduces the matter at hand (*nunc ... quod instat*), a matter that in her appraisal is in need of Venus’ assistance. “Juno instantly moves on” (Gildenhard). *Erit* looks forward to something that Juno assumes will never happen—she has, after all, no intention of approaching Jupiter (i.e., the future tense of contemptuous dismissal, though veiled here in the polite language of a master orator). Juno will not take up Venus’ suggestion at the present juncture: and yet in the end that is exactly what she will do much later, in Book 12—and with tremendous success. In the progression of divine encounters between the two goddesses and Jupiter we thus have the following pattern: Venus-Jupiter (1); Juno-Venus (4); Jupiter-Venus-Juno (10); Jupiter-Juno (12).

For *iste labor* cf. 2.708 *ipse subibo umeris nec me labor iste gravabit* (Aeneas of safely conveying Anchises out of Troy); note also 11.509–510 ... *sed nunc, est omnia quando | iste animus supra, mecum partire laborem* (Turnus to Camilla).

nunc qua ratione quod instat: Repeated at 8.49, as the river god Tiberinus addresses Jupiter.

ratione: Not as common a noun in Virgil as one might think. Cf. 2.314 *arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis* (Aeneas during the fall of Troy); 8.299–300 *arduus arma tenens; nec te rationis egentem | Lernaeus turba capitum circumstetit anguis* (of Hercules); 9.67 *qua temptet ratione aditus ...* (Turnus before the Trojan camp).

instat: The verb occurs here only in the book.

The question of what exactly is referred to by *quod instat* is an integral part of understanding and appreciating Juno's rhetoric. Juno proposed a union between Troy and Carthage (99 ff.); Venus had raised the problem of possible Jovian opposition and the question of fortune, fate and destiny ten lines later (109 ff.). Juno now indicates that she will attend to *iste labor*—that is, the approach to Jupiter that Venus suggested was her proper task as a wife. In context, *quod instat* will refer to how Dido and Aeneas are to be brought together in erotic union (117 ff.). Bringing them together in a passionate affair is not the same thing, of course, as uniting Troy and Carthage in one polity. It is in fact the natural sequel to what Venus had already successfully undertaken with Cupid in Book 1. If carried out, it would certainly make matters far more difficult were Jupiter actually to be approached and to be asked to approve a jointly administered Trojan-Tyrian city in north Africa, only for the request to be denied. Juno in the sequence that unfolds here declares that what is pressing—*quod instat*—is actually for Dido and Aeneas to be active lovers. Venus cannot argue the point (given both her role as goddess of love and her actions in Book 1). For Juno, the result would be to delay yet again Aeneas' mission to Italy. She had a plan, and she has been relentlessly focused on the execution of her intentions. In contrast, Venus had no plan after her machinations with Cupid. By the end of this scene, she will still be bereft of a strategy. Due to her reliance on what Jupiter told her in Book 1, she is not remotely worried in this scene. On the contrary, she could not be more confident. But Juno is a chess player who sees many moves ahead. Part of Juno's game here too is that she usurps the traditional prerogatives of Venus: she will be the one to assume the Venus role, in a manner reminiscent of how Venus playacted Diana in Book 1. The usurpation is legitimate in that Juno is the marriage goddess and the whole matter can be cloaked in what will ultimately prove to be a fake nuptial veneer. But the real import of what happens is that Dido and Aeneas will enter into a passionate affair, as if Juno were merely finishing what Venus and Cupid had started. Again, Venus has no room to object—even if she were aware that she should be exercising far more caution than she displays in this conversation. Not to be lost in all of this is how Juno here takes on something of the same role that Anna played with Dido: the sister had offered encouragement about pursuing an affair, and Juno will offer a plan for how such an affair can commence. Dido and Anna may have constituted a *folie à deux*; Juno is supremely in control of the present machinations.

116 confieri possit, paucis (adverte) docebo.

Four of five words in the verse are verbs, as Juno focuses on the need for action to address the matter at hand.

confieri: Only here in Virgil; venerably archaic (Plautus; Terence; Pacuvius; Lucretius). The prefix is intensive: Juno promises that everything that is now pressing (115 *quod instat*) will be handled. We may note that at Lucretius, *DRN* 5.890–891 the form is used of the impossibility of combining horses and humans into centaurs (part of a discussion of creatures that cannot exist in nature). In the present instance, Juno is about to propose a union that is impossible to perdure, despite being all too natural in terms of human relations and amatory attachments. It can come into being (unlike Lucretius' centaurs)—but it is doomed from its inception.

The rare verb has occasioned the many textual variants here.

possit: Alliterative with *paucis*.

paucis ... docebo: Cf. the aforementioned parallel scene at 8.49–50; also 11.314–315 *nunc adeo quae sit dubiae sententia menti, | expediam et paucis animos adhibete docebo* (Latinus at the war council). *Paucis* is to be taken with the future indicative and not the imperative *adverte*.

adverte: An interesting, parenthetical imperative that has received due critical comment. The verb recurs (also in the imperative) at 611–612 *accipite haec, meritumque malis advertite numen | et nostras audite preces ...*, in Dido's appeal before her suicide. Here Gildenhard (following MacLennan) has wondered if part of the point is that Venus is not paying attention. This would be an especially attractive idea after *paucis*: Juno will keep matters short (formulas need not always be merely formulaic). There may well be an element here of condescending insult against Venus: she is a notoriously capricious goddess, whose mind is constantly racing from one concern to another, as if she were perennially a passionate lover with ephemeral anxieties. Juno is about to unveil her trick—and she encourages her rival interlocutor to try to remain focused and attentive. Venus is enjoined to turn her attention to something—namely how Juno will offer her own plan for amatory ensnarement, so that the simile of 68–73 can in some sense come to life. For the didactic future cf. 6.759; for the verb note A. Grillo in *EV* 11, 118.

117 **venatum Aeneas unaque miserrima Dido**

The verse highlights the doomed couple by name. This is the only line in the epic where the two names occur together (cf. 124, which gives almost the same effect). How quickly “the Jovian issue of the joined cities is ... put off the agenda” (Fratantuono 2007, 105); the hunt mentioned here will commence rapidly (129 ff.). We may recall one of Aeneas' early acts on arrival in Africa: the hunting of the stags at 184 ff. Diana will not figure in the hunt of Book 4, except insofar as Dido has already been compared to the goddess.

venatum: With emphasis by position. In proposing the hunt as the locus for the affair to commence, Juno follows on Venus' masquerade as a Diana-like huntress at 1.305ff. The verb is rare in Virgil; cf. 7.493–494 *hunc procul errantem rabidae venantis Iuli / commovere canes ...*, of another fateful hunt; also 9.551–552 *ut fera quae densa venantum saepta corona / contra tela furit ...*, of the trapped Lycus (he becomes like a wolf, living up to his name, as it were); 12.5–6 *saucius ille gravi venantum vulnere pectus / tum demum movet arma leo ...*, in the comparison of Turnus to a lion in Punic fields. We recall the simile of Dido as wounded deer at 68–73; here the name of Aeneas comes after the verb of the hunt, while his quarry is at the end of the line after the pathetic adjective. Pease observes that the figurative use of the verb may well be present; his caution is admirable though not necessary: we remember the deer simile as Juno makes the first mention of the fateful hunt where the poetic comparison will be incarnated, to devastating effect. The verb offers a neat trick: in *venatum* we think both of Venus and of her *natum* whose name follows at once. The supine of this verb is Plautine; Livian; once in Ovid; also in Varro's Menippeans.

una: Cf. the image of the “one city” at 110–111. The notion of togetherness comes prominently at midverse, between the mention of the names. The adverb emphasizes how the couple will be together at the hunt, as Juno unveils her plan for how they will be together for a significantly longer time.

miserrima Dido: For the adjective vid. V. Ugenti in *EV* III, 546–548. An interesting appellation for Dido from the lips of her Carthaginian patroness Juno. We may recall here 1.717–719 *reginam petit. / haec oculis, haec pectore toto / haeret et interdum gremio fovet inscia Dido / insidat quantus miserae deus ...* Ovid has *miserabilis Dido* (*Am.* 2.18.25) and *misera* of Elissa (*Am.* 2.18.31); cf. *Her.* 7.7; also the memorable *Fast.* 3.545 *arserat Aeneae Dido miserabilis igne*. Besides Anna at 437 below, the only other character in Virgil who is accorded this superlative is Phlegyas in the underworld at 6.618. The queen is *miserrima* because of the successful work of Venus and Cupid; as Tilly notes, the superlative likely reflects how Dido will be supremely lovesick at the hunt precisely because she will once again be in Aeneas' company. Maclennan notes that Juno is not speaking here in sympathy, but rather in mockery (“a gibe, not pity” as Austin terms it). Certainly Dido is a favorite in some sense of Juno (a point that will come to full fruition at the end of the book, where the goddess will take pity on her at 693ff.). But there is also an element of mockery, of insult that is aimed at the sort of work that Venus and Cupid accomplish. The *scholia Daniel.* here speculate that one reason for Juno's pity is that Dido is about to lose her chastity (“aut *miserrima* quae perdiderit castitatem”)—a novel idea, if nothing else. Gildenhard notes that the son of Venus, in con-

trast, receives no epithet. By 124 Juno will be referring to Dido as *dux*—a term more of insult than of commendation. See further Paratore's good note ad loc.

118 in nemus ire parant, ubi primos crastinus ortus

nemus: For the noun see on 70 *nemora* above: as throughout in this sequence, what was described in simile there will be brought to vivid life on the morrow. DServ. takes care to tell us that the reference is to mountains and forests. The mention of entry into the grove at the start of the line balances 117 *venatum*.

ire: For the infinitive note also 310; 413; 468; 660. Here we reach something of the height of Juno's prosaic style, as she employs the complementary infinitive after a present indicative. Her poetic register will markedly change as she proceeds to describe tomorrow's dawn.

parant: We have not heard of this; the plan for the hunt is first revealed by Juno in this divine colloquy. The verb is alliterative with *primos*. Suspenseful use of the simple present indicative of what will be a most momentous day in the grove. For the verb in various forms in this book note also 75 and 88 above; 299; 390; 503; 555; 676—a range of fairly unremarkable uses of a routine verb, though often enough of portentous occasions and actions where the very simplicity of the expression belies the seriousness of what is happening.

ubi ...: Interestingly, *en passant* a characteristically lovely Virgilian reference to a dawn; this will be the dawn of what Nelis 2001, 176–177 takes to be the fourth day in Carthage. Austin comments here on how suddenly Juno employs an elevated style for her reference to what will be one of the most significant dawns of the epic. We may compare here 4.6–7, of the dawn that witnessed Dido's exchange with Anna; the dawn of the hunt will set in motion a great sequence of events that will not come to full fruition until another significant dawn at the start of Book 11 (4.129 = 11.1), as Virgil proceeds to draw together his Dido and Camilla narratives. For the formulaic language see Moskalew 1982, 66–72, with extensive discussion of the poet's practice as compared to Homer and Apollonius.

primos: The Medicean and the Romanus have the nominative *primus* here, though it is far better to take the single adjective *crastinus* with 119 *Titan*, and the accusative *primos* with *ortus* in balanced chiasmus (Conington rightly points out the “awkwardness” occasioned by having two nominatives in succession). The error understandable enough from a hasty copyist, or perhaps out of concern for the otherwise apparently unattested prior use of *primos ... ortus* (cf. Seneca, *Oed.* 338, and especially Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 13.132–133 ... *primos ad luminis ortus / extulerat* in clear imitation of the present passage). There may also have been a thought of 6.255 (see below on *ortus*).

crastinus: One of four occurrences of the evocative adjective in Virgil; cf. 8.170 *et lux cum primum terris se crastina reddet* (Evander with Aeneas); 10.244–245 *crastina lux, mea si non inrita dicta putaris, / ingentis Rutulae spectabit caedis acervos* (Aeneas' boast); 12.76–77 ... *cum primum crastina caelo / puniceis invecta rotis Aurora rubebit* (Turnus, in the last and most elaborate of the Virgilian “tomorrow” passages); note also *G.* 1.425 ... *numquam te crastina fallet / hora* ... (of the admonition to obey celestial signs as harbingers of weather). Mostly poetic; already in Plautus; once each in Horace and Propertius; slowly more popular as one moves from Ovid to Lucan to Statius. A mark, too, of Livy's fondness for poetic flavor in his historical prose.

ortus: Of the rising of either the Dawn or the Sun. The noun recurs in the epic only at 6.255 *ecce autem primi sub limina solis et ortus*, before the descent into the underworld. *Primus* there with *sol*, a reminiscence of which may have occasioned the copyists' error of *primus* (with 119 *Titan*) in the present passage (note too the *primus Oriens* of *G.* 1.250). Cf. also *E.* 9.46 *Daphni, quid antiquos signorum suspicis ortus?*; *G.* 1.441; 3.277 ... *solis ad ortus*; 4.544 ... *ubi nona suos Aurora ostenderit ortus* and 551 ... *ubi nona suos Aurora induxerat ortus*. A good example of the poetic plural.

119 extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem.

The present passage is echoed at 5.64–65 ... *si nona diem mortalibus orbem / Aurora extulerit radiisque retexerit orbem*, with a change from *Titan* to *Aurora* as the subject. Cf. 9.461. The poet of the *Ilias Latina* also imitated this description: ... *cum crastina primum / extulerit Titana dies noctemque fugarit*.

extulerit: *Efferre* occurs only here in the book; cf. the description of Pallas at 8.589–591 *qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda, / quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignis, / extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resolvit*.

Titan: Vid. M.V. Cerutti in *EV* v, 193–194; S. Wheeler in *VE* III, 1274. Cf. 6.825 ... *Titaniaque astra*, in Anchises' solemn exposition in Elysium (“grand epic for the Sun”—Austin ad loc.). The present passage is the only citation of the sun as *Titan* in Virgil. “Phaëthon” is used of the sun at 5.105 ... *Phaëthontis equi iam luce vehebant*, of the sunrise of the day of the memorial games in honor of Anchises. Here the mention of the sun god presages the comparison of Aeneas to Apollo at 141–150 below: the rising of the sun will be the action of *Titan*; shortly thereafter it will be Aeneas who virtually incarnates the sun god Apollo. The *Titan* is almost certainly Hyperion (never named in Virgil), whose son was Helios/Sol (his siblings being Selene and Eos; cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 371, with West). In archaic Greek verse Hyperion and Helios are sometimes conflated; later writers both Greek and Latin maintain a distinction between the father and son (vid. here Gantz 1993, 30). For Sol in Virgil see on 607 below; he is named half a dozen

times in the epic, twice in its first half and both times in connection to Dido. In Homer and Hesiod Apollo is not yet the sun god (and notice too that here Juno does not name a god who was the offspring of Jupiter's affair with Latona); this archaic practice is conveniently adopted since a reference to Phoebus, e.g., (as at 4.6) would obscure the poet's wish to highlight Apollo prominently for his association with Aeneas. One might say that the concerns of Juno's jealousy and Virgil's similes here align. Once again, then, a purposeful description of the dawn/the morning sun. These analyses also explain why it is Titan and not Aurora who is named here (cf. 5.64–65): "Titan" allows one to think of the sun and in consequence of Apollo, thus lighting the way for 143 ff.

On Virgilian references to the sun note L. Fratantuono, "*Roseus Phoebus: Solar Imagery in Virgil's Aeneid*," in *Classica et Christiana* 15 (2020), 127–141.

radiisque retexerit: Alliterative, as first the means and then the action are denoted. The sun god will uncover the earth, as it were, with his rays; the queen's passion for Aeneas will also soon enough be fully revealed (though see below on 120 ff.). *Retegere* is rare in Virgil; besides the aforementioned morning passages where the verb is used in an extended, metaphorical sense (*OLD s.v.* 2), note the primary meaning at 12.374 (*OLD s.v.* 1b). With the sun's rays here cf. 8.622–623 ... *qualis cum caerulea nubes / solis inardescit radiis longeque refulget*, in the dramatic description of the appearance of Aeneas' divine *lorica*.

Conington saw a possible weaving metaphor here ("the orb of the sun which having been unwoven at night is rewoven in the morning"), by consideration of reading *retexere* and not *retegere* (cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 5.389 ... *radiisque retexens aetherius sol*). He admits that his idea would work better for 5.64–65, where it is Aurora and not the sun who is doing the imagined unweaving. "The interpretation is not tenable even for one single moment ..." (Henry, launching into characteristic style; Page labels the idea "purely fanciful"). See further the sympathetic Paschalis 1997, 154. On the Lucretius passage Pease acknowledges "a lilt which may have suggested Virgil's phrase"; he compares instead *G.* 4.51–55 (with *recludere* of the sun); and the possible influence of a fragment of Ennius' *Ann. of sedes incerta: inde patefecit radiis rota candida caelum* (see Skutsch 1985, 712–713). Note also below on 123 ... *nocte tegentur opaca*.

On Juno here MacLennan notes: "She is preparing for the theatrical show of her power which is the storm." Gildenhard comments on how the goddess here is usurping the normal prerogative of the poet to describe the coming of morning—"taking control," as it were, of Virgil's presentation of his story.

120 his ego nigrantem commixta grandine nimbum,

The bright imagery of 118–119 now takes a decidedly darker turn, as we are reminded of the Junonian storm of 1.81 ff. Venus had suggested to Juno that

Jupiter should be consulted about the possibility of Troy and Carthage being joined into one settlement (110–112); Juno triumphs here in a rhetorical *tour de force* by usurping the weather god's prerogative and commissioning her own storm (122 ... *ciebo* at line-end is the triumphant coda to her playing in her husband's realm). For the heavy spondees and "massed consonants" that enact something of the ferocity of the storm that is soon to break, see Austin ad loc. This storm will mark the commencement of the affair; another storm will mark something of its end (i.e., in the opening sequence of Book 5).

his: The little demonstrative refers to Aeneas and Dido (117), vulnerable as they will be in the face of this new tempest sent from the wrathful goddess; perhaps with a nod back to *miserrima* of Dido (this will be her first experience of a Junonian-inspired storm). *His* is deliberately juxtaposed with *ego*, the proud personal pronoun of Juno's newest intervention. This is a comparatively minor atmospheric disturbance compared to the ferocious tempest of Book 1; its import, however, will be felt for some time. See Gildenhard on the possible delineation of the limits of the goddess' power. Pease notes that "Hera [sic] speaks as an atmospheric deity." Suspense is built in the grand style: we do not find a verb for which *his* is the indirect object until 122 *infundam*. *Ego* here in direct riposte to Venus' *tu ... tibi* at 113, and following on Juno's 115 *mecum*. When first we read this verse, we might well have thought that the *his* referred to the *radiis* of 119.

nigrantem: Alliterative with *nimbus* ("a typical Virgilian compound expression"); "gran" is echoed in "gran" *dine*. Virgil was probably inspired here by Pacuvius, *Teucer* fr. 355 Warmington (= 412 Ribbeck) ... *noctisque et nimum obcaecat nigror* (and see below on 122 *tonitru*). For the chromatic imagery see Edgeworth 1992, 141; *nigrare* occurs also at 5.97 (of Aeneas' sacrifice of two black *iuveni* to the shade of Anchises); 6.243 (of the same sacrifice, this time of four bulls prior to the descent to the underworld); 8.353–354 (of Jupiter's "black aegis," which Evander says the Arcadians often see him don on the Capitoline); 9.87 (where Cybele notes to Jupiter that Aeneas' ships were once a grove marked by black spruce trees). Cf. 454 *nigrescere*, where in a portent Dido sees sacred waters turn black (514 is a related passage). Aeneas' Trojans at 404 are compared to a line of black ants as they carry out their preparations to depart from Carthage. The verb is a Lucretian nod (*DRN* 2.733). "Participium pro nomine" (Servius); cf. Conington's concern (following Forbiger) on whether it is active or neuter—questions that likely did not occur to the poet.

commixta grandine: Framed by the *nigrantem ... nimum*. With *commixta* cf. the parallel 161 below and also 8.254–255 ... *glomeratque sub antro | fumiferam noctem commixtis igne tenebris* (during the Hercules-Cacus epyllion); 9.75–76 ... *piceum fert fumida lumen | taeda et commixtam Volcanus ad astra favillam*

(as Turnus plans to set fire to the Trojan fleet); note also 3.633; 12.618; and the related passages 6.762 (of Aeneas' *postuma proles* Silvius, who is *Italo commixtus sanguine*) and 12.835, of the Teucrians, *commixti sanguine tantum* with the Italians.

Hail (*grando*) is a feature of the storm predicted here (cf. 161); it is referenced metaphorically during the boxing match (of Entellus' blows that rain down like hail) at 5.458–459; in a “battle as storm” simile at 9.668–669; cf. 10.803 ff. for the same usage. Only of this storm, then, in the epic in literal occurrence.

nimbus: Cf. 161. The reference is to a thunderstorm (note 123 *tonitru*). Vid. M.A. Vinchesi in *EV* III, 774–776; S.J. Harden in *VE* I, 275–276 on Virgilian storm-clouds. On Virgilian meteorology note also D. Sider in *VE* II, 820. Paschalis 1997, 153 argues for a semantic association here with *nubere*.

121 **dum trepidant alae saltusque indagine cingunt,**

A self-contained verse that describes the action of the hunt over which the tempest will burst, with increasing suspense about the fate of the *his* from the start of line 120. The commentary tradition here has focused on the exact meaning of *alae* in particular. While the hunters hunt their game, in effect Juno will hunt Dido and Aeneas. The present line will be balanced by 123, where the action of the companions of the Tyrian and Trojan leaders is described.

trepidant: The same verb at 2.685–686 *nos pavidi trepidare metu crinemque flagrantem | excutere et sanctos restinguere fontibus ignis*, of the reaction to the portent of Iulus' flaming hair; and at 6.491 *ingenti trepidare metu ...*, of the fear of the shades of the Greeks at the sight of the all too alive Aeneas: these are the only occurrences in the first half of the epic. At 8.246 ... *trepidant immisso lumine Manes* it describes how the ghosts would react if light were let into the underworld; cf. 9.114 *ne trepidate meas, Teucri, defendere navis* (of the *vox horrenda* before the transformation of the ships into mermaids); the *trepidantia castra* of the Trojans that Turnus derides at 9.147; the reaction of the Latins to the sudden spear of Nisus at 9.418; victims of the tower collapse during Turnus' *aristeia* at 9.538–539. Lastly there two interesting occurrences in Book 12: 403–404 *nequiquam trepidat, nequiquam spicula dextra | sollicitat ...* (Iapyx's attempts to cure Aeneas' serious wound); 737 *dum trepidat, ferrum aurigae rapuisse Metisci* (Turnus taking the wrong sword). The verb here offers something of an amalgam of these senses of fear and nervous energy. In context after the grim introduction of the storm in 120, one might well think that *trepidant* refers to the fear occasioned by the tempest (notwithstanding its presence in a *dum*-clause). Rather, it serves to pause and set vividly the stage for Juno's meteorological drama. “Festinant” (Servius). Instead of flight from a storm, first we encounter the excited energy of the eager hunters.

alae: Introducing another element of play with diverse narrative imagery: from a root meaning of “wing” (as of a bird), *alae* can by extension be used of wings of (often if not usually auxiliary) cavalry or of some other military formation (*OLD* s.v. 5); here perhaps by further extension it describes a band of hunters who are presumably drawing out the game for the hunt (*OLD* s.v. 6c), the so-called “alatores” (as at the very close of Isidore’s tenth book of etymologies, with “Quattuor autem sunt venatorum officia: vestigatores, indagatores, alatores, pressores”—the ones who find the game; the ones who entrap it; the ones who draw it out; the ones who hunt it down); of course the men who would normally do cavalry duty in battle can also serve in the mimicry of military action that is a hunt (Servius simply interpreted the word to mean “equites,” which protect the cavalry in the manner of the enveloping wings of a birds).

Likeliest here is that there is no particular technical meaning for *alae* (and so we can also safely dismiss any reference (*pace* Heyne, Wagner, and Forbiger) to the red feathers of *G.* 3.372, which were employed to scare game; cf. 12.749–757). By 132 the *alae* referred to here are being called *Massyli equites*. We cannot prove that Virgil did not have a more specific or specialized hunting reference in mind here, but such technical vocabulary is not necessary for the understanding of the passage. See further below on *indagine*.

saltus: Cf. at 72.

indagine: Only here in Virgil. A ring of hunters, or of the nets thrown by the hunters (*indu/ago*). “A cordon” (Pease), of exactly the same sort of image as at *E.* 6.56 or *G.* 3.411–413. The noun is also found in Hirtius’ conclusion to Caesar’s *BG* and in Livy; 1× in Ovid; 4× in Statius and 3× in Silius. A striking, rare word (vid. *TLL* VII 1 col. 1106). It would seem that what Virgil does here is to have Juno begin the verse with a reference that might initially be taken to refer to nervousness occasioned by the storm (*dum trepidant*), only then to introduce the *alae* as subject, and lastly to paint a clear and unmistakable picture of hunters in action (*saltusque indagine cingunt*). It is of course also possible to take *alae* and *indagine* as balanced technical terms from the hunting lexicon, though it seems better to interpret the *alae* simply as “horsemen,” with what the horsemen are doing being described with the striking image of the *indago*. The operators of the hunting cordon want to drive the game into the circle (as the etymology indicates); in one sense the real prey of this hunt are Dido and Aeneas, and they will be driven by divine action into the cave that will witness their fateful union.

cingunt: The verb also at 41 above; compare the participle at 248. Alliterative with *ciebo* at the end of 122: gods and mortals are engaged in their own respective acts of trying to encircle and entrap their quarry, as it were.

We may here note that in the aforementioned passage 12.749–757, we find a striking simile of Turnus as deer and Aeneas as Umbrian hound (imitated by Ovid at *Met.* 1.533–538, of Apollo’s pursuit of Diana): the last animal simile in Virgil, modeled on Homer, *Il.* 22.188–193, where Achilles is the hound and Hector a fawn (see further De Jong ad loc.). The deer escapes: Turnus is not yet vanquished (we may note in passing that at Grattius, *Cyn.* 171–173 we find *at fugit adversos repperit hostes / Umber: quanta fides utinam et sollertia naris, / tanta foret virtus et tantum vellet in armis!*: Umbrian hounds are especially keen-scented, but they are somewhat lacking in *virtus* as they flee from the wild quarry they track down). At 156–159 below, Ascanius will hope for more serious game than deer, though his most portentous hunting action will prove to be the inadvertent slaying of Silvia’s stag at 7.474–510 that instigates the war in Latium.

The present scene of the hunt and the storm is recalled by Silius Italicus in his ecphrasis of the shield of Hannibal at *Punica* 2.395 ff. (for commentary see Bernstein ad loc.). Silius has ... *subitoque exterrita nimbo / occultant alae venantum corpora silvis* (2.418–419) of the effect of the storm on the hunters, in clear imitation of Virgil’s passage. Perhaps not surprisingly, Silius’ passage has also occasioned controversy; Forbiger interpreted it to mean that the “bodies of the hunters hid themselves behind the *alae*” (so Bernstein). Henry provides a more natural reading with *alae* as nominative plural and not dative singular: the *alae venantum* hide their terrified bodies in the woods. Whatever the exact construction of Silius’ text, his passage does not settle any questions about the precise reference of the *alae* in Virgil’s use here.

122 *desuper infundam et tonitru caelum omne ciebo.*

The verse is marked by two future indicatives that contrast effectively with the two present indicatives at 121 that describe the hunters. The elisions enact the confused and overwhelming power of the divine tempest. This verse displays Juno in her full capacity as usurper of her husband’s meteorological prerogatives. Cf. Servius’ interpretation, that Juno is working from the *aër* that is her realm, and not the *aether* of Jupiter.

desuper: The divine puppetmaster looms above. Cf. 1.420, as Aeneas and Achates gaze down on the nascent city of Carthage; 2.47, of the Trojan horse; the happier context of Musaeus’ shade showing Elysium to Aeneas at 6.678; Hercules over Cacus at 8.249; Apollo brooding over the scene at Actium at 8.705; Apollo as he addresses Ascanius at 9.639; Messapus over Aulestes at 12.295.

infundam: Especially vivid: Juno literally will pour down a stormcloud on the hapless hunters—most especially Aeneas and Dido (cf. 120 *his*). The verb is not

particularly common in the epic; note *nix umeros infusa tegit* of Atlas below at 250; the *infusus populus* at 5.552; the *infusa flumina* of 5.684 that do not help with the fires that threaten the Trojan ships; *super oleum fundens* at 6.254; the *infusa mens* referenced by Anchises' shade in Elysium at 6.726–727; of Vulcan in the arms of Venus at 8.406; the *infusus sol* at the morning of 9.461.

tonitru: Also at 5.694 (of a Jovian response to the Junonian burning of the ships); 8.391 (in the simile at the seduction of the essentially thunderstruck Vulcan). Virgil possibly imitates Pacuvius here, who has *flamma inter nubes coruscant, caelum tonitru contremittit* (*Teucer* fr. 357 Warmington = 413 Ribbeck). Henry 1989, 196 n. 38 has an excellent note on which deities in Virgil are depicted in association with thunder.

caelum: Vid. M. Scaffai in *EV* I, 601–603. Alliterative with *ciebo*. *Caelum omne* is Lucretian; Ciceronian; cf. 9.541 ... *caelum tonat omne fragore*; 12.757 ... *caelum tonat omne tumultu*. Less common an expression in silver verse.

omne: Servius notes here “pro ‘totum’; ‘omne’ enim numeri est, ‘totum’ quantitatis.” Cicero’s poetry admits *caelum totum*, and so too Lucretius; in a later age Manilius and Ovid would accept it (the latter but once). Virgil does not.

ciebo: For the verb see Fratantuono and Smith on 5.85. Also in tempestuous contexts at 2.418–419 ... *saevitque tridenti / spumeus atque imo Nereus ciet aequora fundo*; 8.353–354, of the action of Jove’s stormy aegis; cf. 12.158 *aut tu bella cie ...*, where Juno tells Juturna to set battles in motion. Goldenhard compares here Lucretius, *DRN* 6.376, from the poet’s attempt to provide a scientific rationale for what heroic epic ascribes to the action of angry gods. The variant reading *movebo* was occasioned by a scribe who was mindful of 7.312 ... *Acheronta movebo*.

123 *diffugient comites et nocte tegentur opaca*:

Another self-contained verse to describe the action of the hunters and companions of Aeneas and Dido once the goddess’ storm is unleashed, in alternate balance with 121. Two more future indicatives, to balance the preceding description of Juno’s intended actions. For the meter of this verse cf. on 58 above.

diffugient: The companions of Aeneas and Dido will scatter in different directions. The verb also at 2.212 and possibly 226 (both times in the Laocoön passage); cf. 2.399 during the fall of Troy; 5.677 of the Trojan women at the ship burning; 9.756 of fearful Trojans; 10.804, of Aeneas in a storm simile where every ploughman flees and the wayfarer seeks shelter. The verb here will be balanced by 125 *devenient*, of Dido and Aeneas.

comites: The noun also at 140 and 162; cf. 664 and 677 below, first of Dido’s companions who witness her suicide, and then of Anna’s bitter self-identification as *comes soror*.

nocte ... opaca: Juno's elaborate description of the morrow's dawn at 118–119 gives way to her prediction of how Trojans and Tyrians will be covered in the dark night of her storm. At 8.658 *defensi tenebris et dono noctis opacae* the dark night is a friend to the Gauls as they seek to storm the Capitol; at 10.161–162 Aeneas and Pallas make a river journey under the cover of the *nox opaca* (and we may recall that the Arcadian youth is compared to Lucifer at 8.589–591). The adjective with *nox* also at Ovid, *Her.* 16.47; Seneca, *Thyest.* 790; Statius, *Theb.* 1.520; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 7.372; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 6.70–71; 15.591. Cicero has *cum autem terras nox opacasset* (*ND* 2.95.15). For the reference to night see on 26 above. The “dark night” neatly frames the verb in another case of syntactic enactment.

tegentur: In contrast to the actions of the sun's rays at 119 *retexerit*. The verb has particular relevance in the context of the consummation of the union of Aeneas and Dido: their companions will be hidden in daytime, thanks to the dark night of Juno's storm; the hero and the queen will be hidden, as it were, in the cave that will conceal Dido's betrayal of her oath of loyalty to the dead Sychaeus. The verb is one of the most common in Virgil (vid. E. Riganti in *EV* v, 71–72); elsewhere in this book note its uses at 164; 186; 250; 260; 343; 403; 454; 457; 477; 494; 637. Conington correctly observes that the point is that none of the companions (most prominent among them Ascanius) are to see Dido and Aeneas; there is also a contrast between how the *comites* will be covered by the dark night, while the Tyrian and Trojan leaders will be sheltered in a cave (with implicit comment on how they have both now effectively begun to ignore their respective peoples).

124 *speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem*

The fateful cave frames the verse along with the references to the pair of lovers who will be enclosed within it. This verse will be repeated verbatim at 165 below, as prediction becomes all too ominous reality. Pease comments on how the heavy spondees reflect the pause of Dido and Aeneas as they enter the cavern—a fateful pause to be sure.

speluncam: Another keyword in prominent position. On Virgilian caves note E.W. Leach in *VE* I, 249; here we may compare the recessed cave that is the home of nymphs and a shelter from the Junonian storm at 1.159–169—the present cavern will not be anything close to a *locus amoenus*. In the Homeric hymns to Hermes a cave is the locus for the dalliances of Zeus with Maia, while Hera is asleep; in Virgil Aeneas and Dido consummate their affair in a cave in the wake of Juno's machinations with Venus, and Mercury will be the herald of Jupiter's displeasure after the prayer of Iarbas: an interesting reversal of the Homeric hymn pattern.

Dido dux: Alliterative. Juno referred to Dido as *miserrima* at 117; the appellation *dux* here recalls the description of Dido as *dux femina facti* by the disguised Venus to Aeneas at 1.364. The leader of her people: and yet during the storm and the escape to the cave Dido will be doing anything but acting as Tyrian *dux*. *Dux* of Dido may also be used with a hint of how the queen will be the one who leads Aeneas to the cave, and not *vice versa*. She knows the terrain, of course—and it accords better with Roman propaganda about the seductress Cleopatra to blame Dido and not Aeneas for what is about to happen. The cave may be thought to be somewhat recessed and hidden, too—we may note that nobody else seems to find it, which would not be the case were it an obvious place of refuge from the storm. Cf. 74 *ducit*.

There is a syntactic ambiguity here that deserves close attention (“Synactical ambiguity tends to be, as here, momentary and evanescent”—Clausen 2002, 43). *Dux* comes at the middle of the verse, immediately after *Dido* (with whom it is most naturally taken), and before the delayed conjunction that is followed by the reference to Aeneas as *Troianus*. The noun may be read with both Dido and Aeneas—both of whom, of course, are leaders of their respective people. The more “innocent” way to read the verse would be to take *dux* of Aeneas alone—Aeneas the *Troianus dux*—but word order, alliteration, the fact that the host Dido and not Aeneas would be the likelier to know where a cave may be found, and most of all the reminiscence of Dido as *dux femina facti* (Juno here recalling Venus’ earlier comment on the queen) all serve to highlight who is the real *dux* for this moment in time. So closely is *dux* associated here with Dido that most of the commentators (O’Hara a happy exception) do not even observe the ambiguity, and simply take the noun to be of the queen and not the Trojan. “The willing woman and the not unwilling man” (Clausen 2002, 43, who compares the reverse situation of Catullus and Lesbia). As Clausen notes, nobody can translate the effect that Virgil presents here (cf. the Pléiade “et Didon et le chef des Troyens”; the Tusculum “Dido und mit ihr der Führer der Troer”). See further Paratore’s good note.

The present reference to the queen’s name may also bear a hint of how “Dido” is not properly the queen’s name (= Elissa), but rather a title (see here Newman and Newman 2005, 138–139: “a claim to legitimacy more than a proper name ... a token and guarantee of status”).

et: “The postponed *et* seems to link the two unsuspecting subjects more closely” (Williams). Cf. the somewhat similar case of *nec* at 33 above.

Troianus: Emphasizing Aeneas’ origins (cf. 165). At 8.188 he is the *Troianus hospes* at Evander’s settlement; cf. 11.125 (*vir Troiane*), as well as 230 where he is the *Troianus rex*. The report of Rumor will reference Aeneas as one born

from Trojan blood (191 below). The adjective is conventional enough of Aeneas, though here it comes perhaps with a hint of how Aeneas is still wedded to the past: union with Dido spells a delay in the pursuit of his Italian destiny, and Dido's infatuation has already been shown to be grounded in her interest in the lost glories of Troy.

eandem: MacLennan points out the significance of the "same" cave: unlike the companions who scattered in different directions, Dido and Aeneas will go to the same cave. *Eandem* here balances *diffugient* at the start of 123, as the difference in the respective actions is highlighted.

Where will Ascanius be during the waiting out of the storm?

125 *devenient. adero et, tua si mihi certa voluntas,*

A marvelous example of Junonian rhetoric at its finest. *Devenient* is juxtaposed with *adero*; *tua* is balanced with *mihi* as Juno brings Venus into the planning.

devenient: Echoing 123 *diffugient* of the companions. "The pause is effective; Juno waits for a moment to let Venus appreciate her plot to the full" (Austin).

adero: An ominous, indeed chilling verb in context. This future indicative active form will recur once more in the epic, in Dido's dread curse at 386 below. "A frightening promise" (MacLennan). Henry compares Ovid, *Met.* 10.395, of the far happier case of Venus being present for the union of Pygmalion and his creation.

tua, etc.: The word order is rhetorically effective: Juno frames Venus' "sure will" around the little pronoun (*mihi*) that refers to the goddess who is actually principally in charge of the drama about to unfold.

certa voluntas: This reference will be echoed at 7.548 *hoc etiam his addam, tua si mihi certa voluntas*, of the Fury Allecto with Juno, as she seeks to gain permission essentially to set the entire world aflame with madness and rage. That scene constitutes the first time in the epic where we see some hint of Juno's surrendering of her wrath (7.552 ... *terrorum et fraudis abunde est*), in harbinger of her eventual reconciliation near the end of the epic. Juno here entraps Venus (just as her storm will entrap Dido and Aeneas): the goddess of love cannot easily reject a plan that essentially follows on her own actions with Cupid—and who ever heard of a case where Venus was not interested in supporting an amatory assignation? Irvine has a good observation here (following on Servius' note about *voluntas* as relating to Venus' "officium"): "These words are added because, as Servius hints, *Venus* and *coniugium* were not necessarily the same thing to a Roman mind. There is nothing here that a Roman would accept as marriage, though Juno calls it one and uses the same line (126) as when she offered a real marriage, with promise of offspring, to Aeolus at 1.73. She is ... a traitor to her own especial function."

Voluntas is not a common word in Virgil. Besides these parallel occurrences, it occurs at 6.675–676 ... *sed vos, si fert ita corde voluntas, | hoc superate iugum, et facili tramite sistam* (Musaeus to Aeneas and Deiphobe in Elysium); 12.646–647 ... *vos o mihi, Manes, | este boni, quoniam superis aversa voluntas* (Turnus to Juturna); 808 *ista quidem quia nota mihi tua, magne, voluntas* (Juno to Jupiter regarding the fate of Turnus).

126 [conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo.]

This verse is discussed by Conte 2016, 30–31, where he defends his bracketing of it in his Teubner text as an interpolation from 1.73 (following *inter al.* Peerlkamp; Ladewig; Ribbeck; Haupt; Thilo; and Sparrow 1931, 142–143); cf. Goold's Loeb, where it is italicized; Holzberg's Tusculum, which boldly omits it entirely (a marked change from Götte's predecessor volume); Kraggerud 2017, 176–178 ("Negatively affecting the context if accepted"), based on his 1990 *SO* article. Mackail ad loc.: "But there can be little doubt that it is an insertion from 1.73 where it is in its proper place. Here it is irrelevant, and only interferes with the purport of Juno's speech." In disagreement: Henry; Gossrau; Benoist; Hirtzel's OCT (with note in his apparatus of those who "damn" the line); Irvine; Sabbadini; Buscaroli; Pease; Austin; Mynors' OCT (without comment); Geymonat; Perret's Budé; Paratore; Binder and Binder's Reclam; Rivero García et al.; Heuzé's Pléiade; Maclennan; and Gildenhard. Conington; Page (followed by O'Hara); Sidgwick; Papillon and Haigh; Butler; Tilly; and Williams all print the verse with no comment on the problem (Stephenson's school commentary asleep for verses 122–126)—though Tilly does make an attempt to explain the perplexing grammar if the line is retained. Conington, for example, simply refers to his note at 1.73—but as other critics have noted, what reads smoothly and easily there is very difficult to construe here. Newman and Newman 2005, 151–152 accept the line as genuine here; they argue that "Dido's promise of marriage (IV. 103–104) will be just as empty as the marriage promised by Juno to stormy Aeolus" Virgil does not, however, give any comment on the marriage of Aeolus and Deiopea. So also Paschalis 1997, 152–153, who draws together the vocabulary of this verse in his semantic web.

Conte 2016, 31 concludes that "Once restored by eliminating the intrusive line, the sequence runs sensibly and above all is soberly euphemistic ..."

We may note that the perceived problems of this verse and the following occasioned another, more radical suggestion: Güthling in his 1877 *Adnotationes ad Vergilii Aeneidem* (16) opted to delete 126 *stabili* through 127 *erit*.

"Ab hoc contextu videtur abhorrere": Conte in his apparatus here (cf. Austin's admission ad loc. "... it does not fit the context easily," with comment on how *propriam* is left incomplete in sense). Conte in his extended discussion in his

Critical Notes volume highlights the main syntactical problem: *propriam* refers at 1.73 to the nymph Deiopea, who will be Aeolus'. In the present passage, as Conte notes, "*propriam* for whom?" we may ask. For Aeneas naturally, and not for Venus, whom Juno is addressing and to whom the adjective *propriam* would relate, for obvious grammatical reasons ... Here in book 4 it is only possible to refer *propriam* to Aeneas; in reality it is an absurd forcing of the syntax ... In short, the short text [i.e., without 126] offers just a fleeting, discreet hint at marriage. This is Virgil's style. We may simply add that the formulation *hic hymenaeus erit* [127] sounds bitterly equivocal: Juno is talking of a wedding, but a treacherous ambiguity lurks in her choice of language."

The main argument in defense of the authenticity of the verse here is admittedly a weighty one: it is attested in every manuscript, as well as in the ancient commentators. If it is an interpolation—and we agree with Conte and Kraggerud (the two modern scholars who have considered the problem at greatest length) that it is—it would have been inserted at a very early date. It emphasizes the permanence and legality of the union envisaged between Dido and Aeneas (indeed, it is a verse that Dido herself probably would very much be in favor of retaining in the text). One thinks inevitably of the unfinished nature of the epic, and of marginal annotations of early editors and critics. But in our judgment the syntax and grammar of the verse simply do not work here absent torturous critical calisthenics, and Conte is correct that there is much to gain from omitting it, and little to commend its retention. It is probably fanciful to think that an early defender of Dido as aggrieved party inserted the line here—but then again, stranger things have happened in the long reception of Virgil's epic. Sparrow 1931, 143 speculates that an editor may have been commenting on 127 *hymenaeus*, and that a careless scribe then inserted the gloss into the text.

Conubium does appear at 168 below; cf. 213 and especially 316 and 535. *Stabilis* recurs after 1.73 in the epic only in this repeated verse. Austin has a lengthy note on the history and prosody of *coniubium*.

127 *hic hymenaeus erit.*" non adversata petenti

hic hymenaeus: Alliterative. *Hic* ("here") refers to the significant *spelunca* of 124. *Hymenaeus* echoes Juno's suggestion at 99–100 *quin potuis pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos / exercemus?* Juno concludes her speech with exactly the same idea that she had raised in her initial speech, before Venus had introduced the question of Jupiter, fortune and fate (109 ff.). Juno here works an important, subtle change on her previous comment. The present verse offers the only usage of singular *hymenaeus* in Virgil; it probably refers specifically to the nuptial hymn and not (as at 99–100) by metonymy for marriage (though compare Catullus, c. 66.11). Juno is indeed "splitting hairs," as the idiom says:

this is not a marriage in the strict Roman sense that Juno as nuptial patroness would countenance. This will be a *simulacrum* of a marriage. No mention of *hymenaeus* or *hymenaei* will appear, we might note, in the incarnation of the goddess' vision at 165–168 below. In fact, by omitting verse 126, what we gain is that 127 *hymenaeus* will not be repeated, but instead *conubia* will be mentioned (168)—an important change in a passage that is otherwise heavily indebted to the present rendition. See further below ad loc. Butler speculates that the reference is to the god of marriage (an idea already dismissed by Page)—if so, he does not actually appear in the cave later, just as there is no mention of his song. MacLennan thinks that the “odd” character of what actually transpires in the cave is perhaps signaled here by the singular *hymenaeus*; the term in any case is highlighted precisely by its prominent position at the very close of Juno's speech. “The words forcibly call attention to the strange conditions under which their union will be completed” (Page). See further Newman and Newman 2005, 286 for the possible implications of the word. Again, especially with the omission of 126, the speech closes on a powerful note of deliberate Junonian plotting both as to what will happen and what will not. The goddess wants Aeneas delayed from arriving in Italy. It is less clear that she would want any joint Trojan-Carthaginian polity. Certainly she would not countenance such a union with Troy in the ascendant, or even, perhaps, as an equal (the latter option being what Dido had proposed at 1.572–574). Again we may consider how in the end the final settlement that does satisfy Juno (and even make her happy) is how Troy will sink down in the union with Italy, mixed together only in body and definitely reduced to junior status in the relationship.

erit: The speech closes with another powerful future tense. Juno's oration ends with the apodosis to the condition that commenced with 125 ... *tua si mihi certa voluntas*. One complaint raised against the athetizing of 126 is that the apodosis would then be “by itself too weak and too unemphatic” (so Henry). Judgment here is inevitably subjective, but it would seem that on the contrary the effect is a powerful one: subtle and restrained, sober and quietly confident. It is one of the great triumphs of divine oratory in the epic.

adversata petenti: The goddesses in neat juxtaposition, as the verbal repartee comes to an end. *Adversari* only here in Virgil; the Romanus reads *aversata* (a reading known to Servius). The language is careful, as befitting divine diplomatic negotiations: Venus' action is referenced as one opposing (rather than actively aiding) Juno's proposal. This is especially noteworthy in light of Juno's mention at 125 of the question of Venus' *certa voluntas*.

petenti: Juno as suppliant.

128 *adnuit atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis.*

A verse redolent with the psychology of the immortals and the problems inherent to divine intervention in the question of Dido and Aeneas, deserving of extended comment. The present line constitutes the final appearance of the goddess Venus in the book; she is cited in passing at 4.163 *nepos Veneris*, with reference to her role as Ascanius' grandmother (and cf. 227 ff.), but otherwise she now absents herself from the action. The force of the line rests on the interpretation of why exactly Venus smiles here—that is, what is the exact reference of the *dolis ... repertis* that frames (not to say entraps) the smiling goddess. Does it refer back to the authorial comment at 105–106 ... *sensit enim simulata mente locutam, | quo regnum Italiae Libycasque averteret oras?*

We might think that the reference is perhaps to the trick mentioned by Juno at 95—namely the deception of Venus and Cupid that ensnared Dido (the present colloquy of the goddesses is the first time that Venus would have learned of Juno's knowledge of the deed). This would follow on 90–91, where Virgil gives the explanation for why Juno engaged Venus in the first place. Page finds this impossible (he argues that it would require *dolos repertos*—but the ablative could be of attendant circumstance, or even causal). We have noted that Venus had no plan to follow up on her trick from Book 1. She is secure in the solemn pronouncements made by Jupiter to her at 1.254 ff. Ever true to her capricious nature, she does not have a set of intervenient steps arranged in order to facilitate arrival at the ultimate vision of Trojan destiny unveiled by Jupiter. Indeed, her response to Juno's suggestion of a shared Trojan-Carthaginian polity was that Jupiter should be consulted (4.107–113). Juno had indicated that she would attend to that (114 *mecum erit iste labor*), only then at once to propose the storm and the coming together of Dido and Aeneas in the fateful cave, complete with its *hymenaeus* as veritable soundtrack. Juno crafted a proposal in her response that could not easily be refused (and so *adnuit* here, following on Venus' own remarks at 107–108). Venus assumes that all will be well: Jupiter has made his pronouncement; if Juno does proceed to the *labor* (114) of consulting with him, certainly he will refuse her proposal about one city and one government. If Dido and Aeneas are to be joined in love, the goddess of love could not possibly reject the scenario, not least after her own efforts to make sure that the potentially hostile Dido would be infatuated with the Trojan exile. Venus may smile smugly as this conversation ends, proud of what she did with Cupid (which was not countenanced by Jupiter, we might note); in her estimation, what she did with Cupid has forced Juno to accept the idea that the hated Aeneas will be held in high honor in Carthage (as opposed to being shipwrecked and in mortal peril). The implications and consequences of Aeneas' union with Dido are not on Venus' mind. They are

very much on Juno's, which is why the older goddess wins the verbal fencing here. Venus smiles because it was not enough for her vanity to have scored a victory with Cupid over Dido—she wants her rival to know of what she has done. The sarcastic contempt Juno expressed at 94–95 did not sting Venus in the least—rather, the smug goddess assumed that her adversary's contempt was merely what some might call “sour grapes.” Anyone who has listened to a petulant teenage girl with a rival can understand the significance of Venus' smile here.

MacLennan interprets the reference to the “discovered tricks” as being Venus' detection of Juno's schemes, following Austin—but if so, Venus does nothing to hinder the progress of events. Henry has a very long note here, in which he raises the idea that the *doli* mentioned here might refer to some secret knowledge that was conveyed to Venus of what Juno was scheming to do—an idea that seems rather implausible (it is certainly an unnecessary complication, which begs the question of what exactly Venus had learned). It is true that Venus had sensed that Juno was speaking disingenuously (cf. 105–106 of the goddess' *simulata mens*)—but that was specifically with reference to Venus' conclusion that Juno wished to establish the *regnum Italiae* in Africa. Pease concludes here that “Venus knew (I, 257–295) that the plans of Juno were not destined to be fulfilled, and hence could afford to laugh.” Gildenhard argues that the point may be that Venus is smiling at the very mechanism of Juno's proposed instigation of a relationship between Dido and Aeneas—the goddess of lawful marriage reduced to something akin to a divine *leno*. D.Serv. offers still another possibility: “cur autem dolis repertis risit? qui altius intellegunt sic tradunt: hoc est quos iam pridem compererat cum Ilium oppugnaretur.”

Venus' trump card in this scene is her security in Jupiter's assurances to her. She may well think that Juno will proceed to Jupiter, only to have her proposal rejected (perhaps even before there can be an early morning hunt and storm). But where she is trapped—whether she knows it or not, and likelier she does not—is in the matter of the union of Dido and Aeneas in the cave that will now certainly happen, given that Juno has zero intention of consulting with Jupiter. Venus clearly does not think that said union would be particularly momentous (or if she does, she does not think that it will ever happen). Juno knows that it will lead to yet more delay of the Italian future, perhaps even to the possibility Venus recognized at 104–105. For the moment, Juno will secure the delay she wants—and Venus will disappear from the narrative, not to return until 5.779, where the goddess appeals to her uncle Neptune in the aftermath of yet another Junonian delaying tactic. She had no strategy as successor to her *doli* with Cupid, and she will have no plan to mitigate the consequences of the morning's hunt.

In fine, there are many *doli* afoot in the games being played by Juno and Venus. But the reason we are here at all is the game unnecessarily initiated by Venus at 1.657 ff. (unnecessary in light of Jupiter's assurances to her and his own action at 1.297 ff. to mitigate any Carthaginian hostility against the Trojans, albeit an action unknown to Venus). Venus learns in the present colloquy that her trick has been discovered by Juno, and she is both certain in her superior position vis-à-vis Jupiter's speech, and smugly proud of her achievement as she now sees Juno engaged in an attempted response to that trick, an attempt she is certain will fail. In her own estimation, then, she has many reasons to smile.

adnuat: Echoing 108 *abnuat*. The verb occurs elsewhere in the epic at 1.250; 9.106; 10.115 (with reference to Jupiter); 11.797 (of Apollo). But the key parallel and real conclusion to the present scene comes at 12.841 *adnuat his Iuno*, of Juno's happy agreement (she is described as *mentem laetata*) with Jupiter's plans for Troy and Italy. The little demonstrative *his* there refers to the momentous decisions taken in that divine colloquy; cf. the same significant use of *his* above at 120. Venus' nod here is quasi-Jovian—she is arrogant in her secret knowledge of what Jupiter had told her in Book 1—but Juno will truly have the last laugh of the poem, as it were.

dolis: Recalling Juno's remark at 95 *una dolo divum si femina victa duorum est!*

risit: Smiles do not come often in the epic; on the humor evinced here see Bourquin 2019, 76–80, and more generally note R.B. Lloyd, "Humor in the *Aeneid*," in *CJ* 72.3 (1977), 250–257; the extended, general discussion of R.F. Thomas in *VE* 11, 628–630. Cf. 5.181–182; 358; *subridere* at 1.254 and 12.829 (Jupiter's speeches that frame the epic's divine action); 9.740; 10.742.

Cytherea: For this name of the goddess vid. M. Scarsi in *EV* 1, 801; cf. Klause 1993, 76 ff. on such cultic appellations. The semantic idea of "hiding" or "concealing" may be at play here (see on this Paschalis 1997, 50–51). For the (uncertain) etymology see Boedeker 1974, 19–20; Faulkner, and Olson on *Hom. Hymn. Aph.* 6–7; also West on Hesiod, *Theog.* 188–200, especially on 191–198; Garvie on Homer, *Od.* 8.288; Steiner on *Od.* 18.193. Venus was worshipped at Cythera as a goddess of lightning and storm (cf. Asheri et al. on Herodotus 1.105; Frazer on Pausanias 3.23.1)—a connection that is particularly appropriate in context. Fittingly, at 1.657 the same name was applied to the goddess as she planned her *dolum* with Cupid (*At Cytherea novas artes ...*); for other Cytherean references in Virgil note 1.257; 5.800; 8.523; 615. Cythera is where little Ascanius would be safely hidden during the trick, lest he should know about the deceit (1.682 *ne qua scire dolos*).

129–159 Dawn breaks for the morning of the hunt. The principal focus of the vignette is on the triad Dido, Aeneas, and Ascanius—with the Trojan hero prominently featured as if he were the god Apollo. For the inspiration of this scene on mosaic art see W. Anderson, “Ancient Illustrations of the *Aeneid*: The Hunts of Books 4 and 7,” in *CW* 99.2 (2006), 157–165.

129 Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit.

This gorgeous, self-contained verse will be repeated at 11.1, as what will unfold as the book of Camilla commences; this is the only recycled line in Virgil that will be used to open a book (vid. here Sparrow 1931, 79 ff.; Moskalew 1982, 67; 182). What Juno had foretold at 118–119 now becomes reality. Dido has affinities both with Camilla and with the Arcadian Pallas, who is compared to the Morning Star at 8.589–591, and whose requiem occupies the first of the three movements of Book 11 (cf. the tripartite division of Dido’s book). Probably inspired by Homer, *Il.* 19.1–2; *Od.* 23.243. A related dawn passage will recur at 584–585, with greater elaboration. This is the dawn of the fourth day in Carthage (see Nelis 2001, 176–177, with comparison of Apollonius’ Medea waiting for Jason before dawn at *Arg.* 3.819–824). Virgil here has in mind too his own ... *aut ubi pallida surget / Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile* (*G.* 1.446–447, one of the poet’s weather signs).

Bibaculus has *interea Oceani linquens Aurora cubile* (fr. 7 Courtney = 72 Hollis, preserved by Macrobius, *Sat.* 6.1.31 *ad Aen.* 4.585; Courtney notes that Macrobius might have done better to relate it to the present passage; cf. also Hollis’ commentary here).

Oceanum: On Oceanus note G. Panessa in *EV* 111, 813–815; P.J. Jones in *VE* 11, 927. Oceanus is named as a terminus of the world at 1.287 in Jupiter’s great vision of the future Roman glory under Caesar; see further below on 480 for the same image (with reference to Atlas), and cf. 7.101 and 226. In terms of Virgilian citations of Oceanus in the context of the opening and close of day, note the grim 2.250–252 *Vertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox / involvens umbra magna terramque polumque / Myrmidonumque dolos ...* (of Troy’s last night); 8.589 *qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda* (in the simile describing Pallas). Oceanus is also named in one of the subjects of Iopas’ song at Dido’s first banquet (1.745–746 *quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles / hiberni ...*). Its occurrences in passages describing the passage of time, then, come only of the fall of Troy, and in contexts relating to Dido, Pallas, and Camilla.

“... Carthage looks east over the Gulf of Libya, and the sun can well rise gloriously over the sea” (Maclennan). “The dawening up-rist out of the see” (Chaucer).

interea: See on 67 above. Pease notes how the divine colloquy must have taken place during the night; almost at once as it finishes, we might imagine, the fateful dawn breaks.

surgens: A common Virgilian verb (though *deest* in *EV*), also in this book at 43 and 352. Also of Aurora at Statius, *Theb.* 12.563.

Aurora reliquit: Ironic in context: Aurora leaves Tithonus in the morning to begin her rosy ride across the heavens, while the present morning will witness the coming together of two lovers. On Virgil's Aurora vid. S. Fasce in *EV* 1, 418–419; L. Fratantuono in *VE* 1, 158; Bailey 1935, 186–187; Pötscher 1977, 121; Fratantuono 2012. Her very name evokes the dew she brings (*ros, roris*). This is her second appearance in the book after 6–7 above; her third and final epiphany will be at 584–585, with heralding by Mercury (cf. the similar prior note of morning by Juno regarding the present case) at 568—unlike Juno at 118–119, Mercury will name Aurora. See Gildenhard here for how there are thus three mornings described with references to Aurora, and how the goddess increasingly comes into her own mythological light. This morning will be marked by color, which makes the mention of the traditionally colorful Aurora all the more meaningful; cf. A. Keith, “The Dawn in Vergil,” in *Studies in Philology* 22 (1925), 518–521: “In one respect Aurora retains an individuality [i.e., in comparison to Lucifer and Sol]. She seems to get entire credit for the colors associated with dawn” (518).

reliquit: The present *relinquit* has some manuscript testimony both here and at 11.1. For the verb note further below on 155; vid. R. Scarcia in *EV* IV, 229–230.

“Note the happiness of the passage, beauty and color and excitement everywhere, with no hint of the misery to come” (Austin).

130 *it portis iubare exorto delecta iuventus,*

Verb and subject frame another self-contained line. Once again we are reminded that hunting is a mimicry of war; this verse could easily be employed to describe the going forth of an army to battle.

it: “This little word tends to appear as initial in its line” (Pease). Cf. the same form at 173; 404; 443; 665. For the emphatic position and use of the verb without a prefix see Binder.

iubare exorto: The noun occurs here only in Virgil (the argentines were more enthusiastic). It is of venerable, Ennian (both *epicus* and *tragicus*) antiquity and serves to connect this passage more closely to the comparison of Pallas to Lucifer at 8.589–591: *iubar* is properly the Morning Star. Cf. Ennius, *Ann.* fr. sed. inc. 571 Skutsch *interea fugit albus iubar Hyperionis cursum*; Varro, *DLL* 6.6 (with De Melo; = Pacuvius fr. 347 Ribbeck *exorto iubare, noctis decursi itinere*); Paulus Festus 92; Servius here (“nato lucifero,” taking it as an example of *hys-*

teron proteron; Conington concurs). Henry argues for an identification with the sun in the present passage, which may well be right (so Pease, who notes the more correct meaning of *iubar* as “the sun’s mane”; cf. *G.* 1.438); as with the omission of any reference here or at 118–119 to Phoebus Apollo, so the absence of any explicit mention of the sun (e.g., with *sol*) serves to allow for the prominent epiphany of Aeneas as Apollo at 143 ff. The image of the Morning Star was employed explicitly at the close of Book 2 (801–802, of Lucifer rising over Ida); the star in question is of course the planet Venus. Henry’s complaint is stated with his customary vigor and verve: “What kind of a picture would the hunt have made going out in the dim twilight under the rays of Lucifer-stealing out as if it was afraid to be seen. No, no. Virgil knew better, and brings forth his splendid array under the fresh bright beams of the just-risen sun.” No fan Henry of *hysteron proteron* where celestial bodies are concerned. Good astronomy, but the poet’s concerns encompass more than the order of the risings of the heavenly bodies.

“Sunbeam for the sun” (Maclennan, noting the synecdoche). Gildenhard takes it of the “radiance of heavenly bodies” in general. Page silent; Williams takes it of solar light. The very imprecision of the term serves the poet’s purposes: he wants no explicit, unquestionable reference to the sun, and he wants to associate this passage with other Luciferian scenes to highlight the connection between Dido and Pallas.

Exoriri is not a common verb in Virgil, which makes its recurrence at 625 below in Dido’s curse all the more powerful in light of the happy scene here—a prime example of how Virgil invests even glorious moments with tinges of grief past and future. Note also the occurrences of the verb at 2.313 (of a rising shout); 3.99 (of joy); 128 (again of a shout); 5.765 (of cries of mourning); 12.583 (of *discordia*); 756 (a third time of *clamor*); *G.* 1.438 (of *Sol*).

delecta iuventus: Also at 8.499 ... *o Maeoniae delecta iuventus*; 9.226 *ductores Teucrium primi, delecta iuventus* (cf. 2.18, of the *delecta virum corpora* enclosed in the Wooden Horse; also the *delectos populi proceres* Aeneas consults at 3.58–59; the *delectae carinae* of 5.115; the *delectos oratores* of 7.152–153; the *delectos Latio et Laurentibus agris* Turnus references at 431). The phrase perhaps borrowed from Cicero (*Pro Mil.* 67.7); Livian; Lucanian; Silian. With *iuventus* here cf. 86 and 162. The “chosen youth” probably refers both to Tyrians and Trojans without discrimination or distinction; they are the “important” people of the day, as it were. Cf. the auxiliary Massylian *equites* that are introduced at 132— allies of Dido.

131 retia rara, plagae, lato venabula ferro,

Another verse that has occasioned much critical comment, this time on account of the “awkward zeugma” (Pease) occasioned by the lack of an expressed verb. “A surprising asyndetic continuation ...” (Gildenhard). “Striking” (Williams). But Lejay (followed by Austin) is right here: no verb is needed. Virgil vividly describes the excited rush from the gates. This is no solemn procession, but rather a day’s entertainment for a royal retinue. The line is a virtual continuation of 130, this time devoted entirely to the implements of the chase. The *delecta iuventus* exit from the *portae*, and they carry with them all the accoutrements referenced here—hunting gear in artful threefold arrangement, with 1) noun and adjective; 2) simple noun; 3) noun with framing descriptive ablative. The progression is careful: first the netting needed to surround the general area for the hunt; then the nets designed to trap the game; then finally the spears to slay them. “Not very sporting,” as Austin observes in his verdict on ancient hunting.

retia rara: Alliterative. Nets are mentioned in the epic only here and at 10.710 ... *postquam inter retia ventum est* (in a hunting simile); cf. other similar hunting references at *E.* 3.75; 5.60; *G.* 1.307; 3.413. *Retia rara* also at Horace, *ep.* 2.33 (where see Mankin); cf. Martial, *Ep.* 11.21.5 (with Kay’s note). For *rarus* in Virgil see Fratantuono and Smith on 8.98; the adjective occurs here only in Book 4.

plagae: “A net used by hunters to catch game, trap” (*OLD s.v.* 4). The extended use of the noun already in Plautus (*Pseud.* 648); Lucretian (*DRN* 5.1251). *Hapax* in Virgil. The understanding of *plagae* of the (finer-meshed) nets used to entrap the game provides a far better picture than the Servian view that the noun refers to “funes illos quibus retia tenduntur circa imam et summam partem” (followed by Nettleship); even in antiquity, he attests, people interpreted the *retia rara* and the *plagae* as referring to nets of varying mesh.

lato ... ferro: Also at 1.313 (= 12.165) *bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro*; cf. Ovid, *Her.* 4.83; *Met.* 8.342 (at the Calydonian boar hunt); Seneca, *Phaed.* 50. For Virgilian uses of *ferrum* vid. G. Tabarroni in *EV* 11, 500. Here the principal echo is of the *volatile ferrum* of 71, from the Dido-deer simile. The remaining uses of the noun in the book are (unsurprisingly) all grim, and all with reference either to Aeneas’ weapon that Dido will use for her suicide (*ferrum* again, fittingly the same weapon as in the simile), or to the violent actions Dido imagines as being visited upon the Trojans (547; 580; 601; 626; 663; 679).

venabula: Elsewhere in Virgil only at 9.553 ... *et saltu supra venabula fertur*, again of an animal in a hunting simile. Derived from *venari* by Varro (*DLL* 8.53.4; see further De Melo ad loc.). The noun already in Cicero in a famous passage concerning one of Verres’ more notorious crimes (*In Verr.* 2.5.7.15). Grattius has *ille etiam valido primus venabula dente* (*Cyn.* 108).

Retia and *venabula* are also mentioned together by Manilius (*Ast.* 5.202 *retiaque et valida venabula cuspede fixa*).

132 Massylique ruunt equites et odora canum vis.

Another self-contained verse, paratactic and evocative. For the vigorous effect engendered by the monosyllabic line-ending, see Austin's extended note.

Massylique: Vid. M. Malavolta in *EV* III, 403–404; V. Koven-Matasy in *EV* II, 795. Here the reference to these Numidians (from what is today northeastern Algeria, near the ancient city of Cirta) of Dido's hunting retinue is without ominous import, at least within the context of the present scene (though see below); at 483 below it will be a Massylian priestess who will figure in the queen's deceptive speech to Anna as she plans her suicide—a striking example of how imagery and vocabulary from earlier in the book is reused later in a darker context. Aeneas references the *Massylum gentes* in his prayer to Apollo at 6.58, identifying them and the *Syrtes* in his rendition of what he experienced in north Africa. An interesting pair of allusions to choose from his sojourn in Carthage: no mention of Dido (whose shade he will of course encounter in the underworld). One might think that the Massylian horsemen—caparisoned for the hunt, no doubt, and presenting a memorable enough picture—must have made a quite lasting impression on Aeneas. A sanitized memory of Book 4 for prayer to Apollo, in any case.

The Massylians are sometimes confused with the Masaesylians of western Numidia, the tribe of the famous king Syphax (his name endures in the modern Tunisian city of Sfax). Indeed, the reference to the Massylians here perhaps recalls the tragic story of the Massylian king Massinissa's suicidal fiancée or wife, Hasdrubal's daughter Sophonisba/Sophoniba (attested, e.g., at Livy 30.12.11–15.11; Diodorus Siculus 27.7; never mentioned by name in Polybius)—so Gildenhard. Sophonisba's story is confused in the sources. She may have been betrothed to Masinissa, only to be forced by the Carthaginian senate to marry Syphax. Her youth is emphasized in some sources, alongside her loveliness and education in music and literature. After the defeat of Syphax at the Battle of Cirta in 203 B.C., she fell into the hands of her *quondam* fiancé Masinissa, who freed her and married her at last; when the Romans demanded her participation in a triumphal parade, Masinissa sent her poison so that by suicide she could be spared humiliation (though even here, the sources do not agree—Plutarch, for one (*Vita Scipio.* 29), claims that Rome was afraid that Masinissa would torture her for her marriage to Syphax).

This possible historical allusion to a famous romantic episode from the Second Punic War serves as an historical parallel for the Virgilian Dido's suicide. Like Dido, Sophonisba lived better in her *Nachleben* than in her short life. Virgil

wanted this verse to be remembered (cf. the innovative use of *odora* explored below, and the monosyllabic ending); what could easily have been a swiftly passed over, “ornamental” line is given special purpose and power if it were meant to introduce a memory of a famous Massylian in Roman history and his ill-fated, suicidal lover.

ruunt: The verb is artfully placed between the (nominal) adjective and the noun. It is a favorite word in Virgil; note 164; 401; 429; 581; 669; 674; F. Cavazza in *EV* IV, 602–605. Here it contributes to the excited mood. The noun recurs with reference to the *lusus Troiae* (5.560); Arcadian cavalry (8.518; 10.239); Turnus’ select twenty cavalrymen (9.48); the Latin cavalry that stumbles upon Nisus and Euryalus (9.367; 379); the Volscian cavalry contingents under Camilla (7.804; 11.432–433); also of Aeneas’ light cavalry that he has sent out as a feint to cover his planned surprise infantry march on Latinus’ capital (11.511–513), and his allied Etruscan cavalry (11.517). Mezentius is an *equus* at 10.893 soon before his death; note also Marcus Claudius Marcellus in the *Heldenschau* (6.858).

canum: For Virgilian canines note F. Capponi in *EV* I, 646–648; R.F. Thomas in *VE* I, 86–87; Toynbee 1973, 102 ff. Their keen scent is amply documented in ancient literature (Pease provides exhaustive citations). Dogs feature in the scene on Cloanthus’ cloak of the Trojan hunter Ganymede, where his hounds bark at his Jovian abduction (5.257); Ascanius’ hunting hounds are a proximate cause of the war in Italy (7.479–482). Hunting dogs also figure in similes involving Mezentius (10.707–718), and the aforementioned case of Aeneas as Umbrian hound trying to chase down Turnus as deer (12.749–755). Perhaps the only case in the epic of dogs in a non-violent context (leaving aside the lulled Cerberus in the underworld) are the two dogs of Evander (8.461–462). Austin notes that the hounds would have been named; Virgil reserves canine nomenclature to Cerberus, in contrast to Ovid’s game in his Actaeon narrative. For a rather different poetic citation of hunting dogs, one might recall Ps.-Tibullus, c. 3.9.6 *O pereant silvae, deficiantque canes!* (where see Fulkerson).

odora ... vis: Artfully framing the hunting hounds. Hypallage. *Odorus* only here in Virgil. The (thematic) adjective is also cited at Varro, *DLL* 6.83 (where see De Melo); it is rare, and apparently only here until later Latin in the sense of the pursuit rather than the emission of a scent: this may be Virgil testing the limits of language. *Canum vis* is Lucretian (*DRN* 4.681; 6.1222); memorably in that poet, hunting dogs dream of their exploits (4.999 ff. *venantumque canes in molli saepe quiete / iactant crura ...*). Pease notes how the last words of this verse decrease in length by one syllable each.

Vis can be taken of a large group, as implicitly there would be here (*OLD* s.v. 8), but the force of the noun is on the keenness of the dogs’ sense of smell, not on their number.

The *odora vis* lacks a proper verb, as some have duly noted—again, the poet is more interested in the dazzling impressionism of his verbal painting than in matching up subjects and verbs.

133 *reginam thalamo cunctantem ad limina primi*

reginam: The focus returns to Dido, who was last seen at 84–85 in her possibly hallucinatory holding of Ascanius, captivated as she was by his resemblance to his father. The noun is deliberately juxtaposed with *thalami*: in another context, this verse could be part of an epithalamium or some poetic description of a nuptial union. See Austin for how Virgil deliberately placed this word first, when he could have easily chosen *Poenorum* or *cunctantem* instead.

thalamo: Cf. on 18; the noun recurs below at 392; 495; 550. Cf. the baleful reference to *thalami* in Priam's palace at 2.503; also 6.94 *externique iterum thalami* (i.e., the cause of the forthcoming Italian war; cf. 7.97 and 388, also 10.649); the dread *ferreique Eumenidum thalami* of 6.280; the *thalamus Ditis* of 6.397; the fatal *thalamus* of Deiphobus and Helen (6.521, 528); 6.623 *hic thalamus invasit natae ...* (of a class of sinners); of Venus' *thalamus* with Vulcan (8.372); of Numanus Remulus' marital link to Turnus (9.594); 10.398 *Anchemolum thalamos ausum incestare novercae*; the bloody *thalami* of the Danaids on Pallas' *balteus* (10.498). One may well wonder if *thalamus* is ever mentioned in the epic absent troubling associations (on this see Newman and Newman 2005, 11).

cunctantem: A significant participle in the epic, here prominently at the middle of the verse. Certainly Dido would have done better to continue lingering in her rooms. The form recurs at 390–391 *linquens multa metu cunctantem et multa parantem / dicere ...*, where the one hesitating is Aeneas before Dido. Most famously, it recurs of the Golden Bough at 6.210–211 *corripit Aeneas extemplo avidusque refringit / cunctantem ...*, thus giving rise to the spillage of considerable critical ink; also of Turnus before Allecto at 7.449–451 *tantaque se facies aperit; tum flammae torquens / lumina cunctantem et quaerentem dicere plura / reppulit ...*; of Vulcan as he is seduced by Venus at 8.387–388 *dixerat et niveis hinc atque hinc diva lacertis / cunctantem amplexu molli fovet ...*; and, lastly and perhaps most notoriously, of Aeneas as he hesitates before killing Turnus at 12.940–941 *et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo / coeperat ...* All of these passages are significant, indeed some of them charged with the deepest emotional resonance. The present passage has occasioned comment because it seems questionable why Dido should hesitate here (the classic, masterful study of the detail is C. Segal, “Dido's Hesitation in *Aeneid* 4,” in *CJ* 84.1 (1990), 1–12).

Some have speculated that the queen's “lingering in her bower” (Goold's Loeb, after Fairclough) is merely a light touch of the poet's comment on the

stereotype of women taking a long time to prepare. Others have thought that Dido is depicted as hesitating because she has been lost in her obsessive love for Aeneas, and she is filled with nervousness as she knows she will once again see him, this time at an eminently public event. Tilly notes that she lingers so as to build audience expectation. Austin takes her to be an image of a demure, even skittish bride—the pathos being heightened by the fact that she does not know that this day will witness what she, at least, takes to be a legitimate marriage (cf. here L. Caldwell, “Dido’s *Deductio*: *Aeneid* 4.127–165,” in *CPh* 103.4 (2008), 423–435). Certainly the participle effects a strong pause after the excited, rushed activity of 130–132. “Proper etiquette for the queen to appear last” (Pease). The bridal chamber is framed by the hesitating queen—this is, in some sense, her last opportunity to reclaim her crown as an *univira*, loyal to Sychaeus’ memory. It is also the last chance before she runs the risk of becoming the deer of the hunting simile of 68–73. Stephenson argues that the point is not so much about Dido, as about the impatience of those waiting for her.

Not to be missed here is Irvine’s savage criticism of the English Renaissance Virgil translator Richard Stanyhurst, who expanded the present passage into “As yet in her pincking not pranckt with trinckerye trinckets.” Irvine notes: “An Oxonian may be forgiven for regretting that he did not come from the sister University.”

limina: Another common Virgilian noun; cf. 202; 473; 645; D.S. Corlàita in *EV* III, 225–226. Conington takes discreet care to note that this is the palace door, not the door of the queen’s chamber.

primi: Alliterative with 134 *Poenorum*. Cf. the *delecta iuventus* of 130: only the best for the royal hunt. The enjambment further expresses the mood of excitement as the queen’s arrival is awaited.

134 *Poenorum exspectant, ostroque insignis et auro*

Poenorum: The only occurrence of this name in the book; cf. 1.302; 442; 567; 6.858; 12.4. Mention of Punic chieftains inevitably evokes memories of the Punic Wars. Here it connects to the purple of Dido’s horse; the dye was produced in Africa (cf. *puniceus*), and there is a subtle reference here to said manufacturing: *Poenorum* in prominent, enjambed position makes us think first of the great generals of Carthage before we move on to the chromatic association of the name with purple. On how the genitive plural occurs only here and at 12.4 see Newman and Newman 2005, 161; 233–234. Tib. hints at the possible evocation of the shame of the Punic chieftains who are left waiting outside.

exspectant: The verb also in this book at 225 (though see below ad loc.); 430.

ostro ... auro: Purple and gold are not always lucky colors in the *Aeneid* (for chromatic commentary vid. Edgeworth 1992, 96–106; 144–146; cf. C. Stocks, “Dying in Purple: Life, Death, and Tyrian Dye in the *Aeneid*,” in *PVS* 28 (2014), 173–196). *Ostrum* is referenced a dozen times in the epic: at 1.639 and 700 of the purple coverlets at Dido’s banquet; of purple-dyed garments as prizes for the Sicilian games at 5.111; of the purple and gold of the captains in the regatta at 5.133; of Latinus’ horses at 7.277; of Camilla’s purple at 7.814; of the doomed Acron’s purple at 10.722; of the purple and gold *vestis* with which Aeneas covers the dead Pallas at 11.72 ff. (Dido had woven it); of Chloereus’ purple at 11.722; of how Lavinia’s blush before Turnus is compared to blood-red purple dye staining ivory at 12.67; of how various captains are *superbi* in their purple and gold at the beginning of the last battle sequence at 12.126. For the production of purple dye see Pease (who provides an exceptionally long catalogue of citations of purple garments—with or without gold—in association with the wealthy, as well as of the connection of the color collocation with Cleopatra).

Gold is mentioned some 78× in the epic. It has a strong thematic connection in the present scene to Dido: cf. 138 below where it is repeated for emphasis. Elsewhere in this book it occurs at 148 of Apollo’s golden hair band, and at 264 of the purple and gold cloak for Aeneas that will figure in the Pallas requiem scene from the opening movement of Book 11. *Aurum* 3× with reference to Camilla (7.816; 11.576; 779). The adolescent Camilla does not wear a golden hair ornament, *contra* Dido’s practice; she does, however, have a desire for gold and finery in her pursuit of Chloereus just before Arruns’ fatal wounding of the woman he considers a dire pest. Again, Pease provides ample citation of references to gold, not omitting how the magi brought it as a gift to the infant Jesus.

insignis: Only here in Book 4. More briefly held suspense: we wait for a moment to learn of the introduction of Dido’s horse. Gildenhard observes that at first we might think that the purple and gold is Dido’s and not her steed. Very different will be the state of Pallas’ charger Aethon at the Arcadian hero’s requiem: *post bellator equus positus insignibus Aethon | it lacrimans guttisque umectat grandibus ora* (on which see Fratantuono ad loc. Horses do cry).

It should be observed that the sort of hunt envisaged in Book 4 is a showpiece of royal splendor and pageantry and not so much a serious athletic/agonistic, e.g., endeavor. Some have observed that the very colors described here would scare off the game; we may recall that this is a hunt where the animals do not have that much of a chance anyway given the netting and cordoning off of the area, and that the purpose is to display glory and not to vanquish

some mighty animal (see below on 158–159). In short, this is not the Calydonian boar hunt, indeed far from it.

135 *stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.*

A self-contained, markedly alliterative (*stat sonipes ... spumantia; frena ferox; spumantia mandit*) verse to introduce the (unnamed) horse. The verbs frame the line. “Not only is there the sound of hoofs but also the chink of bridle and bit” (Tilly).

stat: The verb works here not so much as a joke with *sonipes* as to coordinate closely with *mandit* at line-end: the horse is being restrained, and—*ferox* as it is—it cannot wait to charge forth to the hunt. While Dido tarries in her *thalamus*, her horse is exceedingly impatient. Further on this quite common verb in Virgil vid. A. Bartalucci in *EV* IV, 1026–1029.

sonipes: Elsewhere in Virgil only at 11.599–600 ... *fremet aequore toto | insultans sonipes* (as the great cavalry battle commences); 11.638–639 *quo sonipes ictu furit arduus altaque iactat | vulneris impatiens arrepto pectore crura* (of Remulus’ horse). Sound imagery now follows on chromatic; the “sounding-footed one” is, however, standing still here as it awaits its royal rider (cf. the rushing Massylian cavalry of 132). An archaic word (Lucilius), not found however in extant fragments of Ennius; revived by the argentinians. Austin has a good note on the sound made by the feet of horses that are not wearing horsehoes. The threefold alliteration of the verse commences. “Prancer” (Tilly).

frena ... spumantia: Also of Neptune’s horses at 5.817–818; cf. Ovid, *Am.* 2.9v.29–30; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 10.318; 12.254–255; 681. *Frena* are also referenced at 3.542; 6.100; 8.168; 10.253; 11.195; 719; 889; 12.372. With *spumantia* cf. 158 *spumantem*.

ferox: An adjective with a particularly interesting range of uses in the epic. Significantly, also at 1.302–303 ... *ponuntque ferocia Poeni | corda volente deo ...* (of the Carthaginians after Jupiter sends down Mercury); cf. 1.263 of the peoples Aeneas will face in Italy in Jupiter’s prediction to Venus (and note 7.384); the wounded snake in the ship of Sergestus simile at 5.277; Jupiter’s comment to Juno at 10.609–610 of how it is Venus who is sustaining the Trojans, ... *non vivida bello | dextra viris animusque felix patiensque pericli*; of a boar in a simile (10.711); of Latinus’ comment to Turnus about his *ferox virtus* at 12.19–20; of Turnus’ insult to Aeneas at 12.895, where he addresses his foe with the vocative *ferox* before noting that it is Jupiter and not Aeneas who frightens him.

spumantia: Cf. the reference to the “foaming boar” at 158 below; the grisly image of the sword foaming with gore after Dido’s suicide at 664–665.

mandit: “Chomping at the bit,” as the saying goes. The verb also in the epic at 7.279 *tecti auro fulvum mandunt sub dentibus aurum* (of Latinus’ horses); cf.

grislier uses at 3.627 (of the Cyclops); 9.340 (of a lion); 11.669 (of the gory death scene of Camilla's victim Euneus). *Mordet* has some weak attestation as a variant here.

136 tandem progreditur, magna stipante caterva,

tandem: Either Dido lingered for an especially long time, or the adverb merely emphasizes the heightened anticipation of the queen's entrance for this grand occasion. Also at 304 and 333 in declarative sentences; at 349 in an interrogative.

progreditur: The subject subtly changes: we might have expected this to be of the horse; Gildenhard remarks on how the queen remains "strangely oblique" in this passage, relegated first to be the object of the captains' expectation, and then here as the unexpressed, changed subject of the verb. *Progredi* also occurs of Aeneas he prepares to enter the "toy Troy" of Buthrotum (3.300); cf. 8.125 *progressi subeunt luco fluviumque relinquunt* (Aeneas and his Arcadian hosts); 8.337 ... *progressus* (of Evander as he proceeds to the tour of the future Rome); 11.608 (of the two sides in the cavalry battle as they prepare to clash); 12.219–221 *adiuvat incessu tacito progressus et aram | suppliciter venerans demisso lumine Turnus | pubentesque genae et iuvenali in corpore pallor* (of the Rutulian hero, in a markedly different context from Dido here).

magna stipante caterva: Exactly reminiscent of her first entrance in the epic, just before the comparison to Diana: 1.496–497 *regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido, | incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva*: the evocation of the previous scene and the queen's comparison to the goddess of the hunt prepares for the comparison of Aeneas to Apollo at 143 ff., and is appropriate in itself given the hunting setting of the present scene. We should not forget Venus either, who masqueraded as a Diana-like huntress at 1.305 ff. MacLennan sees an image of a Roman aristocrat, of the clients arriving for the morning *salutatio*.

Stipare recurs at 544, in another example of a repeated word that returns in a darker context. We may note too 11.12–13 ... *namque omnis eum stipata tegebat | turba ducum*, of the crowd of captains that gathers around Aeneas before the requiem for Pallas—another grim echo of the present scene. *Caterva* occurs 15× in the epic in various contexts; here one may imagine that it refers to the retinue of the queen as she departs from her *thalamus* and then proceeds from the *portae* of the palace.

137 Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo;

The beginning of a three-line focus on the queen's adornment, following on the half-line mention of her horse's purple and gold at 134b. Every word in the verse is devoted to some detail of the queen's dress; the interlacing order of adject-

tives and nouns adds to the verbal picture. Pease notes “... in many respects the Carthaginians seem to have been a very inartistic people.” The craftsmen and artisans who ply their wares today on Byrsa hill near the ruins of Dido’s city would disagree.

Sidoniam: Cf. on 75. The reference to Sidon is prominently placed at the start of the verse; cf. the same effect at 132 and 134.

picto ... limbo: Hyperbaton to describe the cloak’s embroidered border. *Limbus* may be read (for *nimbus*) at 2.616 *insedit nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva* (it has no manuscript support but is a *difficilior lectio* cited by Servius); that passage has no bearing on the present scene. We are not told what the embroidery (*picto*) of this cape did or did not depict. For the participle cf. 146; 206–207; 525 below. *Limbus* is discussed by M. Scarsi in *EV* III, 224–225.

chlamydem: Not a lucky article of clothing in the *Aeneid*. At 3.484 Andromache at Buthrotum presents a Phrygian *chlamyis* to Ascanius. Cloanthus’ prize at the regatta is a golden *chlamyis* with purple meander, with the embroidered story of the abduction of the Trojan prince Ganymede (5.250 ff.)—one of the proximate causes of Juno’s hatred for Troy (1.28). The Arcadian Pallas wears a *chlamyis* as he rides forth to his ultimately fatal destiny (8.587–588), part of the accoutrements that Anchises had once presented to Evander (8.167). A Sicilian victim of Mezentius similarly wears a *chlamyis* (9.581 ff.); the Trojan Chloereus has a saffron *chlamyis* that figures in the doom of Camilla (11.775). Not a particularly common word (first attested in Plautus; vid. *TLL* III col. 1011). It is a sort of cape or cloak, particularly/properly associated with equestrian use and so appropriate here (it was short so as to leave the arms and legs free). See further Reed 2007, 120; Horsfall *ad* 11.775 for the question of whether wearing it imputes any sort of moral failing. Certainly not a garment for traditional, self-respecting Romans. The word order puts the emphasis on where the article of clothing came from more than anything.

circumdata: Also of Diana’s nymph Opis at 11.595–596 ... *at illa levis caeli delapsa per auras / insonuit nigro circumdata turbine corpus*, as she proceeds to watch for her chance to avenge Camilla. The participle is a baleful recollection of *G.* 4.497 *iamque vale: feror ingenti circumdata nocte*, of Eurydice as she says farewell to Orpheus before her second death. Cf. also of the bull’s hide that will not protect Pallas from Turnus’ shaft at 10.483; of Venus at 416. Another good example of how a seemingly innocent word can be used across the poet’s works and books to give unsettling, dark allusions. Paschalis 1997, 153 perceptively comments on how the description of Dido is that of someone being restrained or controlled.

The poetic use of the passive participle with an accusative has attracted considerable commentary; Page has a useful, convenient appendix of Virgilian

instances. DServ. has a very long note on this passage, in which there is an attempt to draw a connection between Dido's vesture and the clothing of the Roman *flaminicae*. Pease's verdict of "not very satisfactory" is correct; Virgil's other uses of the *chlamys* are the most relevant associations here.

138 cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,

With this description we may compare 11.573 ff., of the dress and accoutrements of the young Camilla as she pursues her own hunting activities; she has a tiger-pelt instead of a golden hair ornament or a *palla* (576–577). She manages to acquire her own (ominous) purple and gold vesture by the time she is leading the Volscian contingents at her entry in the catalogue of Italian heroes at 7.814–816. Virgil plays throughout the Camilla narrative on the commonalities and crucial differences of the hunt and war (fatally conflated in some regards by Camilla); Dido here is presented as engaging in showpiece, pageant-style hunting in contrast to the serious woodland pursuits of the adolescent Camilla. Gold is perfectly suitable for Callimachus' Artemis (*Hym.* 3.110–112); it would be difficult, perhaps, to explain how the young daughter of the exiled Metabus had any gold, especially when the exile was exceedingly rushed and Camilla only an infant—but the implicit comparison of the youthful huntress to Dido benefits from her lack of gold until she emerges as the leader of cavalry squadrons for the Italian war.

cui: The little dative relative of Dido: all the focus is on her quiver and hair, and especially the gold.

pharetra: Camilla is accorded the striking epithet *pharetrata* at 11.649; Diana laments that it was of no avail to the Volscian heroine that she carried the quiver of the hunting goddess (11.844). The quiver figures in Venus' masquerade as Diana, complete with the disguised goddess' comments on the fashion preferences of Tyrian girls (1.323; 336). Dido here incarnates one feature of the Diana simile (cf. 1.500). Camilla's avenger Opis carries her own quiver, as one might well expect (11.590; 859). Note also 8.166 (with Fratantuono and Smith), of the quiver and Lycian arrows that Anchises had given to Evander, with connection both to Pallas and to Camilla. Here a golden quiver that contains arrows that will never be used.

auro ... aurum: The poet's focus is on the queen's predilection for gold; cf. 1.357 ff., of the gold and other treasure that the dead Sychaeus revealed to the queen. The gold in balanced order, first of the quiver and then of the girl's hair fastener. Virgil does not make exactly clear what Dido had in her hair—the Roman bachelor may not have been much of an expert on women's hair adornments, some might think—note that at 7.815–816 Camilla has a *fibula* for her hair. Tilly thinks that it is a golden ribbon.

It is a matter for modern amusement that the emphasis on gold here is followed by more gold in the “Gold”en Line 139 (a trick Virgil would not have known, at least by that name). We learn at 4.698 that Dido was a blonde, only in the poet’s description of the moment of her death.

crines: Aeneas’ hair will figure in Iarbas’ contemptuous criticism at 216 below; a lock of Dido’s hair will be the key to her release from her death agonies (698; 704).

nodantur: The verb here only in Virgil.

An interesting acrostic may begin in this verse: CANI -- DICI -- AP (138–141; 144–147; 150–151), possibly reading the passive infinitives of *canere* and *dicere* before marking the name of the god of song in neat balance, just as Aeneas is compared to him.

139 aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.

A golden line (vid. S. Bartsch in *VE* 11, 568–569; cf. Fratantuono and Smith on 8.319).

aurea: The third and final mention of gold in the description.

purpuream: Purple juxtaposed with gold. The color reference here harks back to the *ostrum* of 134, in the chromatic description of Dido’s horse. For the adjective see Edgeworth 1992, 150–154. Venus notes at 1.337 that Tyrian girls are accustomed to wear purple boots; at 1.591 Venus shines a purple light around Aeneas as he appears before Dido. Helenus at Buthrotum recommends to Aeneas that he pray in purple garb when he arrives in Italy (3.405). Purple flowers are cast by Aeneas in honor of the dead Anchises (6.79), just as a purple *vestis* is put on the body of the dead Misenus (6.221) and as Anchises’ shade says that he will cast purple flowers for the dead Marcellus (6.884) in framing floral, purple ring with the earlier scene in the book; cf. also the purplish light of Elysium at 6.641. Young Rutulians are in purple and gold at 7.163; cf. the grisly use of the color with reference to Rhoeteus’ death at 9.349. The dying Euryalus is compared to a purple flower at 9.435; the doomed Acron has purple at 10.722. Purple color leaves the face of the dying Camilla at 11.819. The dittany on Crete that Venus plucks to heal Aeneas’ wound has a purple flower at 12.414; the suicidal queen Amata tears her purple clothes at 12.692.

The color adjective thus has frequent associations with death (especially of the young); these funereal undertones mark the impending doom of the queen. Here it is highlighted by the hyperbaton as we wait for its noun at line-end.

subnectit: “The verb betwixt to keep the peace.” Possibly a coinage. *Subnectere* offers another grim association, namely of the picture of the Amazon Penthesilea on the walls of Dido’s Junonian temple: 1.492–493 *aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae | bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo*. The verb

and Amazonian imagery are repeated at 5.311–313 *alter Amazoniam pharetram plenamque sagitiis / Threiciis, lato quam circum amplectitur auro / balteus et tereti subnectit fibula gemma*, of the second prize in the foot race. The verb is used also at 10.134–138 in the simile that compares Ascanius' head to a gem inset in tawny gold, complete with a golden *circulus* that clasps it. The verb recurs participially at 217 below of Iarbas' comment on Aeneas' appearance.

fibula: The clasp and the robe are juxtaposed. Camilla has a *fibula* as well (7.815); cf. also 5.313 and 12.274. Commentators argue about exactly where the brooch is fastened (shoulder—Pease, e.g.; girdle—Page, e.g.).

vestem: This refers either to the *chlamys* of 137 or to a garment underneath it (Pease thinks the latter, arguing that otherwise 138 would be an “awkward intrusion”). An easy word to pass over. This is the last element of the gorgeous scene of Dido's entry, and it will relate to 11.72–77, where Virgil describes how Dido had fashioned two robes of purple and gold (11.72 *tum geminas vestes auroque ostroque rigentis*), one of which Aeneas uses to cover the body of Pallas. Servius thought that Aeneas used both cloaks—one for the head and one for the body. It is likelier that Aeneas used but one, sc. the one that had been made presumably for Ascanius (for whom Pallas is a surrogate sacrifice). On this see further L. Fratantuono, “*Harum Unam: Dido's Requiem for Pallas*,” in *Latomus* 63.4 (2004), 857–863.

“This is the last occasion on which we see Dido in prosperity and pride” (Maclennan).

140 **nec non et Phrygii comites et laetus Iulus**

This verse is something of a reworking of 1.707–709 *nec non et Tyrii per limina laeta frequentes / convenere ...*, of Dido's Carthaginians as they assemble for the banquet. For how we begin to advance hierarchically here from the Phrygian companions to Iulus to (141 ff.) Aeneas, see Gildenhard.

nec non et: For the connective formula see Austin.

Phrygii: The Phrygian companions of Aeneas, with Iulus prominently featured at line-end. For the name see on 103.

comites: For the noun see on 123; the “Phrygian companions” here are balanced by the reference to the *Tyrii comites* of 162 (in the darker context of the storm).

laetus: One of the key adjectives in the epic, with a growing bibliography (vid. E. Evrard in *EV* III, 97–99; A. Fo in *EV* III, 307–309 on its opposite; D. Wiltshire, “Hopeful Joy: A Study of *Laetus* in Vergil's *Aeneid*,” Dissertation North Carolina, 2002; Duval 2004). The adjective will be echoed at 157 *gaudet*, as Ascanius delights in the hunt. Iulus has no reason here not to be *laetus*, given his limited knowledge of what has been transpiring, not least his impromptu trip

to grandmother's Cytherean haunt. In the end Iulus may be one of the only "happy" people in the fourth *Aeneid*.

Iulus: We may well wonder how Aeneas' son managed to grow up so quickly. Here and only here in Book 4 is he "Iulus"; he was Ascanius at 84 above, and he will be named so at 156; 234; 354; and 602. The poet deliberately combines one of the more stereotypically negative appellations of the Trojans (*Phrygii*) with a name invested with the history of the Julian *gens*, one announced solemnly by Jupiter to Venus at 1.267–268 at *puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo | additur (Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno)*, etc.—a passage where Jupiter subtly forecasts the eventual divine settlement of Book 12 by the shift from the name Ilus to Iulus. The "Julian" name is especially significant given that it occurs only here in Book 4 of this youth—and the name marks the first appearance of Aeneas' son as something more than a child to be held in someone's lap: he is now Iulus as he participates in his first "grown-up" act in the epic. Dido had thought of cradling Ascanius *in gremio* (84–85); indeed, the (enjambé) verb there was 85 *detinet*—almost as if Dido were holding Ascanius back from his destiny. Here the (also enjambé) verb is 141 *incedunt*, and it applies both to the Phrygian companions and happy Iulus as he advances to the hunt—and to what will ultimately prove to be a Roman (and not Phrygian or Tyrian) future. His happiness (*laetus*) is easy enough to imagine given the special activity of this day (more notable still if this were his first chance to participate in such an adventure)—it is also a subtle authorial comment on the future that Jupiter had already announced. Several commentators on this verse note that *Phrygius* is neutral here and not (as often) derogatory (MacLennan, e.g., argues that it represents a place of "curious indifference," in contrast to the contemptuous reference of Juno at 103). But Virgil's point is precisely to compare the Phrygian past with the Julian future.

The boy's excitement (like that of his companions) is marked by the enjambé verb. For the position of the name *Iulus* at the end of the hexameter (as in all but one of its occurrences in the epic), see R. Cowan, "Scanning *Iulus*: Prosody, Position, and Politics in the *Aeneid*," in *Vergilius* 55 (2009), 3–12.

141 *incedunt. ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnis*

incedunt: Cf. 1.497 *incessit* of Dido as she entered, just before the simile of the divine huntress. Virgil is at pains to associate the queen's comparison to Diana with the imminent comparison of Aeneas with Apollo. In contrast to the Mas-sylian cavalry of 132, this is indeed a solemn and stately procession. "There is a sense of the theater here" (MacLennan). Tilly notes that there is a pause before the appearance of Aeneas, just as before that of Dido at 133. The verb is not particularly common in Virgil; note 1.46 *incedo* (of Juno); 1.690 ... *et gressu gaudens*

incedit Iuli (of the disguised Cupid); 8.722 ... *incedunt victae longo ordine gentes* (on the shield); 10.764 (of Orion, in the simile comparing Mezentius to him); also 5.68; 188; 553. The scene at 1.690 is probably most in Virgil's mind here; *gaudens* there balances 140 *laetus* here, and provides a timely reminiscence of Cupid's machinations just before *pulcherrimus Aeneas* is introduced.

ante alios ... omnis: The collocation also with reference to Dido's brother Pygmalion at 1.347 *Pygmalion, scelere ante alios immanior omnis*; significantly, the same language as here is applied to Turnus at 7.55–56 ... *petit ante alios pulcherrimus omnis | Turnus ...*, of the Rutulian hero's pursuit of Lavinia—a very different scene from the present prelude to the union of Aeneas and Dido. *Ipse* of Aeneas is echoed at 147 *ipse* (of Apollo).

pulcherrimus: An “extremely strong superlative” (Page), echoing *pulcherrima Dido* at 60. Dido and Venus are each accorded this superlative twice; Aeneas and Turnus, once each (so also Jupiter). The word order enacts how Aeneas stands out for his exceptional handsomeness before all his fellows. D^{Serv.} connects the appellation to the *animus* of Dido, the one for whom Aeneas' appearance is of most importance. Gildenhard sees a nod here to the tradition of goddesses granting enhanced loveliness to their favorites; after the work of Venus and Cupid with Dido, Aeneas' looks need no improvement. Iulus is described simply and profoundly as *laetus*; both Dido and (especially) Aeneas are accorded longer descriptions that focus on physical appearance.

142 *infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iungit.*

A verse that is easy to pass over quickly in light of the dazzling comparison of Aeneas to Apollo that commences in the next verse. The verbs frame the line; Aeneas' name comes prominently in the middle. Juxtaposed with it is *socium*, which describes Aeneas' status as he brings himself in (*infert*) and joins together the contingents. *Se socium* and *Aeneas atque agmina* render the line highly alliterative. Another line that could be detached for use in a military scene.

infert se socium: Aeneas is *socius* to the *Phrygii comites* of 140, and of course to his son Iulus. But the word also bears more than a hint of the sense that he is an ally to Dido, and it is this idea that follows in the rest of the verse with *atque agmina iungit*. *Socius* heralds Aeneas' joining of the bands. The noun recurs at 289 and 572 (of Aeneas' men); 375 (Dido's bitter recollection of saving the Trojans); 601 (Dido wondering about killing them). The elision of *socium Aeneas* enacts the joining. Similarly, *agmina iungit* (on which see below) can be interpreted in two ways. Aeneas could simply be said to join the *Phrygii comites* and Iulus to himself (cf. Tilly's “joins their company (to himself)”)—but the context and the point of the recreational hunt as a shared activity highlight Aeneas'

uniting of the diverse contingents. Aeneas both brings himself forth as a *socius*, and, what is more (*atque*), he unites the contingents. Mackail's "joins his trains to hers" is correct. The plural is thus not so much a poeticism (*pace* Buscaroli), as a genuine reference to the different contingents.

Infert se here of Aeneas echoes 1.439–440 *infert se saeptus nebula, mirabile dictu, / per medios*, where he was hidden in Venus' mist as he entered Carthage. Cf. 5.622 *ac sic Dardanidum mediam se matribus infert* (of Iris-Beroe); 9.53 ... *et campi sese arduus infert* (of Turnus); 10.575–576 *interea biiugis infert se Luca-gus albis / in medios fraterque Liger*; 11.742 ... *se turbidus infert* (of Tarchon with Venulus); also 11.36 *ut vero Aeneas foribus sese intulit altis* (Aeneas before he sees the corpse of Pallas).

atque agmina: The elision enacts the joining of the *agmina*.

agmina iungit: Echoed in the darker context of 11.145–146 *contra turba Phry-gum veniens plangentia iungit / agmina ...*, of the Phrygians joining the Arcadians at the requiem for Pallas. *Agmen* also in this book at 154; 404; 406; 469. Aeneas is the one who joins the contingents together; he is the focal point of the entire scene, and for a brief moment in this verse, Trojans and Carthaginians are indeed one polity, with Aeneas at the center.

143 *qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta*

The evocative commencement of another of the more celebrated similes in the epic, the second in this book after the Dido-deer image of 68–73 (vid. *inter al.* Pöschl [1950] 1977, 84 ff.; Otis 1964, 73–76; Clausen 2002, 41; Miller 2009, 7; 159; Fratantuono 2017, 176–177). This is the companion simile to the description of Dido as Diana at 1.494–504 (itself a recollection of Homer, *Od.* 6.102–109, of Nausicaä as Artemis). In the context of recent historical events for Virgil's audience, there is a powerful undertone here of sibling incest, of the sort practiced at the court of the Ptolemies, as in the union of Cleopatra and her brother. On this key allusion see P. Hardie, "Virgil's Ptolemaic Relations," in *The Journal of Roman Studies* 96 (2006), 25–41 (for a more positive reading of the association of Aeneas-Apollo and Dido-Diana, see Hornsby 1970, 93; Mackie 1988, 78). The simile is indebted to Apollonius' comparison of Jason to Apollo at *Arg.* 1.307–309, just as Medea is associated with Artemis at *Arg.* 3.876–884—Virgil reverses the order of the similes (on these Hellenistic models see Nelis 2001, 133–135). The present line is a *de facto* translation of *Arg.* 1.309. The image of sibling incest for the Alexandrian poet Apollonius was of course quite different than for Augustan Virgil. For an argument in favor of seeing Dionysian imagery in the present simile, see C. Weber, "The Dionysus in Aeneas," in *CPh* 97.4 (2002), 322–343; in contrast note Paschalis 1997, 153–154 for Apollo as a bringer of order. On the implications of the simile for the question of Aeneas' appear-

ance, see Heuzé 1985, 308ff. Tib. notes logically enough that since Aeneas was more handsome than any other mortal, a god was needed for the comparison.

Himerius, *or.* 48.10–11 (pp. 200–201 Colonna) preserves details of a paean of Apollo by Alcaeus in which the god takes a trip soon after his birth in a swan-chariot (a gift from Zeus) to the Hyperboreans, and then to Delphi (Alcaeus, fr. 307c Lobel-Page/Campbell). Henry has a delightful note recommending Himerius to his readers.

qualis est: Cf. 2.471; 8.589; 9.563; 11.492; 624; 12.451.

hibernam: The seasonal adjective recurs at 309 below, in Dido's angry question about Aeneas deciding to set sail in winter (in other words, Aeneas will leave Dido in winter just as his *comparandus* Apollo left his winter haunt at Lycia—another dark transformation of an earlier passage). Otherwise the word occurs in the epic only at 1.745–746 *quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles / hiberni ...* (one of the subjects of Iopas' song at Dido's banquet); 5.126; 6.355–356 *tris Notus hibernas immensa per aequora noctes / vexit me violentus aqua ...* (Palinurus' shade to Aeneas); 7.719. Winter provides the first image of the extended comparison between Aeneas and the god. Apollo in this simile will do something of what Aeneas has already done: he will depart from Asia/the Troad, and proceed to Delos. The exact force of the adjective has been the subject of some question (“winter” vs. “wintry,” etc.); the point is that Apollo is depicted as wintering in Lycia and then proceeding to Delos in the spring.

Since Servius some commentators have taken great interest in Apollo's changing address. The ancient commentator grants the god six months in Lycia and six in Delos; Henry and others wonder when he would then have had time to visit his beloved Delphi. Thus Henry assures us that likely Apollo spent only a short time on his maternal Delos en route to his celebrated shrine. Interest in the travels of the god can be traced to the *Hom. Hym.* to Pythian Apollo; the topos may have arisen from the tradition of the wandering of Leto before her arrival on the natal island of the divine twins.

Lyciam: Vid. G. Bonamente in *EV* 111, 212–213; D.A. Secci in *VE* 11, 768; Fratantuono and Smith on 8.166. A region of Asia Minor in modern southern Turkey; notably in Virgil Camilla has a Lycian quiver (7.816). There was an oracle of Apollo at Patara in Lycia (see, e.g., Herodotus 1.182), which explains the references below at 346 and 377 to the Lycian *sortes* (another darker turn for a reference from what is here a glorious scene). Lycia was associated with archery (vid. Horsfall *ad* 7.816); the Trojan Anchises had Lycian weaponry that he gave to Evander (8.166). For the connection of the name to images of brightness and light see Paschalis 1997, 57; on possible lupine associations (especially as regards Camilla and her Lycian quiver), note Fratantuono 2018, 16 n. 66.

Xanthique: For the Xanthus note A. Zumbo in *EV* v, 651–652; P.J. Jones in *VE* III, 1405. There were several rivers named “Xanthus,” but Lycian Patara was near the mouth of the one referenced here. A recurring theme in the first half of the epic is the idea that a new river in the west can be associated with the famous Trojan Xanthus; so at 3.350–351 in Buthrotum, and the reference of 6.88–89 *nec Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra / defuerint ...*, of Apollo’s Sibylline oracle with respect to the war in Italy. Neptune references the Trojan river at 5.803–811 in his recollection of Achilles’ combat with the Scamander (*Il.* 21.233–269)—Xanthus was the name the Homeric gods used for the Scamander (*Il.* 20.74). Iris-Beroe invokes the Xanthus together with the Simois (a common collocation) at 5.634 as part of her appeal to the Trojan women to burn the ships. The Xanthus is also associated with the horses of Rhesus (1.469–473). Paratore is right that the point is that Patara was at the mouth of the Xanthus—but the other allusions to the river in Virgil make it clear that Troy is being evoked in this verse, as we move with Apollo/Aeneas from east to west. Here there may be a nod to the color blond, especially after the golden imagery of the appearance of the lovely Dido.

fluenta: Rare in Virgil: besides *G.* 4.369, note 6.327 of the *rauca fluenta* of the Styx; and 12.35–36 ... *recalent nostro Thybrina fluenta / sanguine ...* (Latinus to Turnus). Lucretian (*DRN* 5.277; 949–950); not a popular noun with Virgil’s successors (note Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 12.548; 14.150). Echoed below at 147 ... *fluentem*, of the god’s flowing locks.

144 *deserit ac Delum maternam inuisit Apollo*

Verb and subject frame the verse. *Deserit* here is balanced too by 145 *instaurat*. Apollo is an active god in this simile: six third-person singular present indicative actives occur in careful order: 144 (2 verbs); 145 (1); 147 (1); 148 (2).

deserit: Alliterative with *Delum*. Cf. 42 *deserta*. The verb in various forms will recur at 323 ... *cui me, moribundam deseris, hospes*, in the inevitable context of Dido’s complaint about her abandonment; at 330 and 677 *deserta* (of Dido); at 468 of the deserted land in which the nightmarish Aeneas of Dido’s dreams will pursue her; and at 582 as the Trojans carry out Aeneas’ orders to take their departure and abandon the shores of Carthage. The only non-participial uses in this book are applied to Apollo’s leaving Lycia for Delos, and of the Trojans as they leave Dido’s shores. Fittingly, Apollo is depicted here as doing to Lycia exactly what Aeneas will do to Dido; the fact that Aeneas has already traversed from the Troad to Delos (and has even told the whole story of his wanderings to Dido) heightens the effect of the comparison.

ac: Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* 8.3.73) cites this verse with *aut* in his use of this simile as an example of what is permitted to poets and not recommended for orators.

Delum: Vid. L. Beschi in *EV* 11, 19–21; R.F. Thomas in *VE* 1, 349–350; *Barrington* 61 A3, 1 13, 57 B4, 60 D5; Map 3. Since it was the natal place of the divine twins, it has special resonance here as the destination of Apollo given the comparison of Dido to Diana, and now of the Trojan hero to the archer god. Delos is the second stop on Aeneas' westward journey away from the ruins of Troy (3.73–124); the reference to the *antiqua mater* (3.96) the Apolline oracle there told the Trojans to seek out is felt here in the epithet *maternam* (with allusion to Latona's difficult delivery on the island). That oracle was misinterpreted by Anchises, with a resultant pestilential detour to Crete (3.128–142), which accounts for why the *Cretes* are named at 146 in the very first geographical reference in the simile after Delos. The Dido-Diana simile also alluded to Delos via its celebrated, sacred mountain Cynthus (1.498); cf. the same at 147 below. For the vatic connections of the island and the possible relevance thereof to the present sequence, see Newman and Newman 2005, 316–317.

Tib. interestingly reads the Greek accusative form *Delon* in his lemma here. *maternam*: The adjective recurs at 258 *materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia proles* (of Mercury); at 5.72 of Aeneas' mother Venus' myrtle; at 6.193 of mother Venus' doves; at 7.402 of Amata; at 11.340–341 of Drances' *materna nobilitas*; and at 12.107 of the *materna arma* with which *saevus Aeneas* does battle. Here it is used not without a poignant reminder that Dido will never be *materna* (a privilege even the epic's other suicidal queen Amata was accorded)—she is at least true to her Diana comparison in that she will be childless. The significance of this adjective is made clear when one considers the change that Virgil has worked on his model Apollonius' reference to the island as “most holy” at *Arg.* 1.308. For Delos as a maternal, nursing locale see Mineur on Callimachus, *Hymn.* 4.6.

invisit: The verb is rare in Virgil. It recurs at 8.159 *protinus Arcadiae gelidos invisere finis*, in Evander's recollection of Anchises' own journeying; elsewhere only at 11.588 *labere, nympa, polo finisque invise Latinos*, in Diana's instructions to Opis about how she is to keep watch to be ready to avenge the doomed Camilla.

Apollo: The name of the god is reserved for resounding revelation at line-end. Servius reminds us here (referencing his own note *ad* 4.58) that Apollo had no wife, and so the comparison of Aeneas to the god may reflect the “matrimonium infelix” that is to come. Either that, the ancient commentator suggests, or both Apollo and Aeneas are being cited merely as great archers.

This is where Apollo's wanderings in the simile come to an end (he is on the heights of Cynthus on Delos at 147–149); again, the mention of the Cretans at 146 who have come to join in the Delian festival may remind us that in Aeneas' wanderings, the Delos stopover was followed by the plague in Crete. Certainly

for the moment neither Dido nor Aeneas, we may think, is focused on any trouble: “The animation and delight conveyed in these passages [i.e., the Diana and Apollo similes] suggest that both lovers are radiantly content in roles that take them into a celebratory world of nature, free from responsibility and conflict” (Henry 1989, 76).

145 *instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum*

instauratque: Cf. on 63 *instauratque diem donis*, of Dido’s obsessive sacrificial and religious rites. When Apollo arrives back on Delos, he renews the dance.

choros: Echoing 1.499 *exercet Diana choros ...*, though the huntress was surrounded by oreads on Cynthus in a somewhat different image from that of Apollo here. On dance in Virgil see C. Corbato in *EV* 1, 768–769; N. Goldschmidt in *VE* 1, 333–334.

mixtique: Not without reference to the question of joining diverse people into one polity; cf. above at 112 *miscerive probet populos aut foedera iungi*. MacLennan draws attention here to the confused action of the excited peoples, in contrast to the solitary god on Cynthus at 147–149—a picture of Aeneas (especially as seen by Dido) amid the throng of both Trojans and Tyrians. The elision enacts something of the presence of the crowd around the altars. For the idea that violence and disorder lurk behind a temporary façade of Apollonian order, see Paschalis 1997, 153. Weber 2002, 323 sees the distinct image of Dionysus here. What is certain is that while Apollo may renew the dances on Delos, we are left ultimately with the image of the god alone on the Cynthian heights (147–149).

altaria: The noun recurs at 517 ... *altaria iuxta*, during the black magic rites in which Dido indulges. *Altaria circum* also a line-end at 2.515 *hic Hecuba et natae nequiquam altaria circum* (at the fall of Troy); 8.285 *tum Salii ad cantus incensa altaria circum* (at Pallanteum); also *E.* 8.74. Not in any other poet. On Virgilian altars note Cucchiarelli on *E.* 1.43; Fratantuono and Smith on 5.54 and 94, and cf. above *ad* 56 *aras*.

circum: See Pease for the Virgilian predilection for placing this adjective in last place after a neuter plural.

146 *Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi;*

An exotic verse, on which much has been written regarding Virgil’s choice of this trinity of seemingly backwater peoples (especially the last two); cf. Van Wees 1970, 122–123. Every one of the peoples of this verse has an attested reason for participating in an Apollonian festival; the poet’s point is how the god of order and reason brings together disparate, diverse peoples—indeed, some of them semi-civilized. The Trojan Aeneas has done something of the same in

this brief moment in which Trojans, Tyrians, and Massylians are united at one and the same hunt, with Aeneas the clear man of the hour.

Cretesque: On Crete and the Cretans note on 70 *Cresia* and 73 *Dictaeos*. Here the presence of the Cretan worshippers of Apollo who have come to Delos recalls the abortive attempt of the Trojans to proceed from Delos to Crete during their wanderings (3.128–142). The Dido-deer simile (4.68–73) was also situated in Crete, which provides another appropriate connection for the present scene at a hunt. The first of a triad of worshippers of Apollo, who have certainly made ever longer and more arduous journeys to Delos. Cretans were chosen as the first Apollonian priests at Delphi according to the *Hom. Hym.* (388 ff.); that alone would make their presence here highly appropriate.

The repeated enclitic (with the first lengthened in arsis; for the diastole cf. 64 *pectoribus*) is a Grecism that fits the content of the line; see here Austin's long note.

Dryopesque: Vid. here G.M. Santamaria in *EV* 11, 142. Like the Agathyrsi of this line, the Dryopes do not appear in extant Latin verse before here. Servius says that the Dryopes lived near Mount Parnassus (i.e., near Apollo's beloved Delphi); he cites the reference to them at Statius, *Theb.* 4.122 (where see Parker), which speaks of the Erasinus dragging away their harvests (*trahens Erasinus aristas*). Apparently conquered at some point by Hercules, the Parnassian Dryopes were forced to relocate to the Argolid (see further Harder on Callimachus, *Aet.* fr. 24–25; Ellis on Ovid, *Ibis* 487–488; also Frazer on Pausanias 4.34). A people of the oak tree, the children of Dryops, the son of Apollo. Mention of the Dryopes allows some nod to Delphi and its environs in the simile. Note also Lucan, *BC* 3.179–180; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.174.

fremunt: The verb also at 668 *tecta fremunt*, of the reaction in Carthage after the news spreads of the queen's suicide. At 229–230 Jupiter speaks of *belloque frementem / Italiam*. Vid. further A. Traina in *EV* 11, 590–591. A relatively common Virgilian verb (41 occurrences in his works). The verb is prominently placed midverse; it describes perfectly the sort of activity we might associate with these three peoples.

pictique: For the verb see on 137. The exact force of the descriptor is uncertain. It is usually taken to refer to some sort of tattooing (cf. Pomponius Mela 2.2.4; 2.10.1 *Agathyrsi ora artusque pingunt, ut quique maioribus praestant*). Dido's garment had a "painted," that is, an embroidered border; the Agathyrsi themselves are painted. See further the next lemma.

Agathyrsi: On these Scythian, Sarmatian, or Thracian people (described by Pomponius Mela 2.1.10) note M. Bonamente in *EV* 1, 51–52; S. Casali in *VE* 1, 37; S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, "Picti Agathyrsi (Vergilius, Aeneis 4, 146)," in Tar 1984, 119–125 ("... exotisches, halb mythisches Volk"); cf. Herodotus 4.49; 100;

104 (with Asheri et al.). The “*thyrsus*” in their name has given rise to thoughts of Dionysiac imagery. They were neighbors of the Geloni, who are also *picti* at *G.* 2.115 (where see Thomas). Servius identifies the Agathyrsi as worshippers of Apollo Hyperboreus, taking care to note that *picti* does not refer to any tattooing (“non stigmata habentes”), but rather to their blue hair (“*cyana coma*”); this detail about the hair color is borrowed from Pliny the Elder’s *caeruleo capillo Agathyrsi* at *NH* 4.88.4; DServ. makes the obvious enough comparison to the Britons, famous for their woad. Others have speculated that it refers to painted garments, or even to coloring the face or body in some way. Pease settles for tattooing, with an extensive note on ancient citations of the practice in both Thrace and Britain. Butler rightly notes that it is possible to have both tattoos *and* blue hair. The word order separates the Cretans and Dryopeans (both Greeks) from the far more distant, exotic Agathyrsi. We may recall that according to Alcaeus, the young Apollo went first to this region of the world before he proceeded to Delphi. Juvenal cites the *immanes Agathyrsi* at *Sat.* 15.135, alongside the *Sauromatae truces* (see further Courtney ad loc.).

For the quadrisyllabic line-end see cf. 99 above.

147 ipse iugis Cynthi graditur mollique fluentem

ipse: Cf. 141 *ipse* of Aeneas.

iugis: Repeated soon at 153.

Cynthi: Mount Cynthus on Delos, a hill some three hundred and fifty feet in height; vid. R. Rocca in *EV* I, 787; V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* I, 328; *Barrington* 61 A3. Here the mention of Cynthus recalls 1.498, of the similar placement of Diana on its ridges. We may recall the programmatic significance of Virgil’s Cynthian appellation for Apollo at *E.* 6.3 and *G.* 3.36 (after Callimachus). On Virgilian mountains note P.J. Jones in *VE* II, 854. See below on 159 for mountains as the haunts of lions.

graditur: In studied, deliberate contrast to 146 *fremunt* of the peoples who have come to the god’s festival. The verb and form also of Aeneas at 1.312 (just before he meets his mother in her Diana costume; cf. too 1.411); also of Polyphemus (3.664); Euryalus (9.223); 11.535 (Camilla). The principal echo, however, is of 1.501 *gradiens* of Dido as she is compared to Diana. The verb describes slow and stately motion; it is juxtaposed with a word that describes the flow of Apollo’s hair with its soft ivy frond. Austin comments on how the simile has become a “statement of fact,” as if the god were really present. Conington thinks that Apollo is actually joining the dance; most modern critics disagree, but it is very much in Virgil’s usual manner to leave matters somewhat ambiguous. Apollo is a god of particularly complex and diverse associations; the description here is very different from, e.g., the briefer yet dramatic appearance of

Actian Apollo on the shield at 8.704–705 (where the weapons of the god will be used in war and not in a hunting context). At Actium Apollo is the pre-eminent bringer of order and vanquisher of chaos; the present picture is, like the Dido-Diana image of 1.494–504, more than a little disquieting because of the ominous undertones that lurk beneath the surface of the light and relaxed atmosphere of the Delian festival. For Diana and Apollo cannot be joined in any incestuous union, and there will be no *mixti populi* in the epic except, ultimately, in the matter of the Trojans who will be *commixti corpore tantum* with the Italians (12.845; cf. 6.672).

mollique: For the adjective note P. Pinotti in *EV* IV, 560–562. The enjambement of the description of Apollo's hair and its soft ivory frond enacts how the god's locks flow forth luxuriously. *Mollis* with *frons* is inspired by Catullus, c. 64.293 *vestibulum ut molli velatum fronde vireret*; cf. Propertius, c. 1.20.22 *mollia composita litora fronde tegit*. The description of Apollo's hair balances that of Dido at 138 ... *crines nodantur in aurum*. Weber 2002, 330 sees the adjective as a “*vox propria*” for that which is connected to Dionysus. The point of the details about the god's coiffure is that the comparison is ultimately of Aeneas to Apollo: the Trojan Aeneas has an effeminate hairstyle (at least in the Roman estimation); one may compare 216–217 below, where Iarbas mocks the Trojan's womanly locks in his appeal to Jupiter.

fluentem: In the same form and *sedes* of the Nile at *G.* 3.28. Echoing *fluenta* at 143 above. “Unguentatum” (Servius). Alliterative with 148 *fronde ... fingens*.

148 *fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro,*

Another artful arrangement, with the ablatives framing the verse and the verbs in the second and penultimate positions. We move from the soft *frons* to the implicitly harder gold. An entire verse is devoted to Apollo's arrangement of his hair.

fronde: The noun also at 459 and 506 below.

premit: For the verb see on 81. There is an element here of restraint and control (on this note Paschalis 1997, 154); from the description of Apollo's binding of his locks with both *frons* and gold we shall move at once to his weapons (149)—a more serious instrument of his bringing of order.

crinem: Echoing 138, of Dido's hair.

fingens: The verb recurs at 337–338 ... *neque ego hunc abscondere furto / speravi (ne finge) fugam ...* (Aeneas to Dido); cf. the participial form at 188 *ficti*. Some commentators are at pains here to argue that the god is not actually arranging his hair as he walks, and yet that is essentially what the Latin says: again, the picture is an effeminate one, and deliberately so for the comparison of the Trojan hero. Gildenhard notes that the participle is also syntactically super-

fluous, which adds to the picture of the god lavishing attention on his hair as he adorns it with the *frons* and with gold. “Unique in Latin verse for not applying *ingere* either to a woman or to a male of precarious sexuality.” As with Diana as Dido, there is an impropriety in the connection of Aeneas to Apollo that is subtler and more amenable to correction and refinement. Put another way, a fake Diana and a fake Apollo can indeed be united (as will happen in fewer than twenty verses), but the union is doomed *ab initio*. The “correction” of this simile will begin at 345–346 below, as Aeneas invokes the *Lyciae sortes* of Grynean Apollo as authority for his pursuit of Italy (cf. also 376–380 on the same); this correction will continue in how Apollo essentially presides over the great revelations in Book 6 (cf. 6.9–12). The god, too, undergoes a subtle transformation in this simile: first he renews the dances (145); then he proceeds in stately, slow advance on Cynthus (147) and restrains his flowing locks (147–148); lastly, we learn how the weapons sound on his shoulders (149). Intertwined with the effeminate image of the god arranging his hair is the slowly unfolding change from leader of the dance to wielder of bow and arrow.

atque: The elision with the verb once again enacts the action.

implicat: 13× in the epic; in a much ghastlier context at 2.215 of the serpents that attack Laocoön and his sons.

auro: For the gold compare 138–139. On Aeneas’ sharing of Dido’s gold see Willis 1996, 287.

149 *tela sonant umeris: haud illo segnior ibat*

With this verse the tone changes at once; we may recall the sudden wounding of the deer in the simile of 68–73, indeed perhaps even Apollo’s presiding over the sudden death of the young (a grim duty he shares with his sister). Weaponry intrudes here on the world of the dance and the picture of Apollo’s maintenance of his own *de facto* hair salon.

tela, etc.: From Apollo’s hair we move at once to his weapons, the celebrated bow and quiver of the god that sound on his shoulders. As Servius recognized, the image is exactly recalled at 9.659–660 *agnovere deum proceres divinaque tela | Dardanidae pharetramque fuga sensere sonantem*, just after the disappearance of the god in the scene of his intervention with Ascanius. The vivid sound imagery recurs of Camilla in the self-contained verse 11.652 *aureus ex umero sonat arcus et arma Dianae*. We inevitably recall Homer, *Il.* 1.46; the dark context there is another hint of the trouble to come here. This is the last image of the god in the simile, as his weapons sound on his shoulders. In the present context, Aeneas-Apollo will certainly spell doom for Dido, just as Actian Apollo will bring destruction to Cleopatra on the shield. Gildenhard has a long note

here (citing Lyne 1987, 124 and 1994, 199 and Horsfall's *CR* 38.2, 243–245 review) on the question of the relevancy of apparent echoes and allusions. We would add in support of judicious, sober warnings about the race to find inter/intra-texts the cautionary K. Maurer, “*Notiora fallaciora*: Exact, Non-allusive Echoes in Latin Verse,” in Deroux 2003, 121–156, following on the same author's “Gallus' Parthian Bow,” in *Latomus* 57.3 (1998), 578–588. On possible Homeric echoes here, note also L.B. Hughes, “Dido and Aeneas, an Homeric Homilia?,” in *Latomus* 61.2 (2002), 339–351.

sonant: For the verb note also 183; A. Traina in *EV* IV, 941–944; Roiron 1908, 350. *Tela sonant* also at Statius, *Theb.* 6.218. Alliterative with *segnior*.

umeris: The shoulders highlighted also at 1.500–501 ... *illa pharetram | fert umero* ... For the distinction between that which is *ex umeris* and that which is *in umeris* see Pease; already a question in *DServ.*, though perhaps not for Virgil.

haud: Cf. *haud aliter* at 256; *haud secus* at 447; *haud ignara futuri* of Dido at 508.

segnior: The adjective only here in the book. The same construction is repeated at 8.414 *haud secus ignipotens nec tempore segnior illo*, of Vulcan waking up early to work on Aeneas' divine arms. The negative framing of the comparison is deliberate: Aeneas was no lazier or more slothful than an Apollo, which means of course that both man and god were vigorous. But in the characterization of Aeneas as *non segnis* there is a hint of how those who are effeminate and womanly can be labeled *segnes*, as in Tarchon's remark about the lazy, luxury-loving Etruscans at 11.736 *at non in Venerem segnes nocturnaque bella*. Another example then of a description that on cursory examination is easy enough and does not occasion comment, but that on closer investigation reveals a subtle authorial judgment on the character. This is the only description of Aeneas' own actions in the simile; the next verse is entirely given over to his handsome appearance.

ibat: The classic use of the imperfect, taking a virtual moving picture of the image rather than a snapshot. Cf. 130 *it*. We learn very little about Aeneas in this little vignette, other than that he is exceptionally attractive; at 503 Dido was *laeta*, a key adjective that in the present scene is restricted to Iulus (140). The enjambment of Aeneas' name serves only to highlight the key figure.

150 Aeneas, tantum egregio decus enitet ore.

See Gildenhard here for the “near golden pattern of the line” and the “asyndetic juxtaposition.” Aeneas' extraordinary appearance is the final image before the hunt commences in earnest.

Aeneas: Recalling the naming of the hero at 142, and thus signaling a return to the narrative after the long simile. The name opens the last verse of the com-

parison; see Stahl 2016, 225–226 (*contra* Segal 1990, 1–12) for the argument that “... here Aeneas has to be the second to appear on the scene and join the waiting inferior monarch.”

tantum: A little word that carries significant meaning in context: the point of the comparison of Aeneas to the god is in the way he carries himself and in his physical appearance (Pease’ “carriage and beauty”). Image and reality and the difference between the two is very much at the heart of the Dido-Aeneas comparisons to the children of Latona.

egregio ... ore: The emphasis again on the physical appearance of Aeneas; the present passage is analogous to 4.11 *quem sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis!*, as Dido reflected on her *novus hospes*. *Egregius* is repeated from 93, where it was sarcastically applied by Juno to the *laus* won by Venus and Cupid in their conquest of one girl. *Egregio ... ore* frames *decus enitet*. The phrase is borrowed by Ovid at *Her.* 4.78; note also Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.367.

decus: Vid. R. Laurenti in *EV* 11, 10–12; Fratantuono and Smith on 8.301 *salve, vera Iovis proles, decus addite divis* (of Hercules). The shade of Anchises memorably addresses Aeneas at 6.546 *i decus, i, nostrum: melioribus utere fatis*. The word has hymnic, cultic associations (see Nisbet and Hubbard on Horace, c. 1.32.13); Turnus hails Camilla as the *decus Italiae virgo* at 11.508 (and Iris as the *decus caeli* at 9.18). Often of the hint of divine looks (as at 5.647, of how the disguised Iris is betrayed by her loveliness). Here we may recall most of all Venus’ enhancement of Aeneas’ looks when he was revealed to Dido at 1.588 ff., where the goddess paid particular attention to his *decora caesaries* (a hint, perhaps, of the appearance of Caesar before Cleopatra). Cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 1.51–52 *hi tantum movere decus primique per artem / sideribus videre vagis pendentia fata*; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 11.365–366 *amisit quantam posito conamine laudem, / cui tantum est voluisse decus ...* With the emphasis on Aeneas’ physical charms we may recall Dido’s reaction at 1.613 *Obstipuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido*; see further see Heuzé 1985, 310.

enitet: The (rare) verb occurs only here in the epic; cf. *G.* 2.211 *at rudis enituit impulso vomere campus*. Virgil probably has in mind Catullus, c. 61.21–25 *floridis velut enitens / myrtus Asia ramulis / quos Hamadryades deae / ludicrum sibi roscido / nutriunt umore* (the myrtle was sacred to Venus).

Pease considers the present tense “a little awkward” after 149 *ibat*, though noting that *enitebat* would not fit the meter. The imperfect *ibat* is used vividly of Aeneas’ advance; the present *enitet* reflects the present reality of his *decus*, so apparent and intoxicating to the Carthaginian girl.

151 postquam altos ventum in montis atque inuia lustra,

The hunt begins, as the poet resumes his narrative. The three elisions of the verse enact how the company of hunters is lost in the high mountain terrain and in the trackless wilderness.

postquam: See on 17. With this verse compare Livy 38.22.1.3–2.1 *postquam ad inuia ventum est, flexere iter in partem montis* (in the narrative of the battle of Mount Olympus), possibly in imitation.

altos ... montis: Following on the mention of Cynthus at 147. The geography around Carthage is not devoid of mountains; Zaghuan is some thirty miles southwest of Tunis, and reaches a height of 4,249 feet; in imperial times the Zaghuan aqueduct supplied water to Roman Carthage. Weber 2002, 333–334 continues his attempt to underscore Dionysus' presence in the scene by emphasizing how the trackless mountains are exactly the proper abode of the god. The *altos montis* here recall 1.61–62 *hoc metuens molemque et montos insuper altos / imposuit ...* (Jupiter's restraint of the winds); 2.635–636 (see below); 8.691–692 ... *pelago credas innare revulsas / Cycladas aut montis concurrere montibus altos* (of the description of Actium); 11.810 *continuo in montis sese avius abdidit altos* (Arruns after his attack on Camilla); note also *E.* 1.83; *G.* 1.357–358; 3.412 and 535; 4.112; *Aen.* 7.563; 674; 8.321; 10.707; 11.849; 12.523. The Cyclopes wander in lofty mountains (3.644). The epithet already in Lucretius. Pease considers the epithet to be “stock” and conventional enough, which may well be true—but again, it is also true that the region is not devoid of heights.

The mountains here will be echoed at 154, as Virgil finishes his picture of first the goats and then the deer.

ventum: The impersonal passive also at 8.362 *ut ventum ad sedes ...* (Aeneas at Evander's hut); cf. 6.45 *ventum erat ad limen ...* (Aeneas with the Sibyl); 10.710 ... *postquam inter retia ventum est* (in a hunting simile); 12.739 ... *postquam arma dei ad Volcania ventum est* (of the limits of Turnus' mortal weapon); and most of all the solemn declaration of 12.803 *ventum ad supremum est ...* (Jupiter to Juno). Livy has *ut vero in extrema iuga Massici montis ventum est* (22.14.3.2).

Impersonal verbs do not constitute a particularly rare feature of the language. Yet here, in context, the rather detached air of *ventum in montis*, etc. may contribute to the theatrical nature of the scene, as we are reminded of the manipulative actions of Venus and now especially Juno.

inuia lustra: We may recall Achaemenides' description of his life at 3.647 *lustra domosque traho ...*; note also Camilla's upbringing ... *interque horrentia lustra* (11.570); also *G.* 2.471 (of the haunts of wild animals). Specifically connected by DServ. with the dens of wolves (cf. the significance for Camilla's lupine associations). *OLD* s.v. 2. By extension the noun could refer to a place of ill-repute or of debauchery (cf. *lupanar* from *lupa*, etc.), a meaning known already to

Lucretius (*DRN* 4.1136), though it would probably be a stretch of speculation to imagine a reminiscence here of negative propaganda about Cleopatra (admittedly D.Serv. does note here in passing “unde et lupanaria meretricum lustra dicuntur”). Wild animals do not need roads or maps. *Invia lustra* also at Statius, *Achill.* 2.102–104 ... *mox ire per invia secum / lustra gradu maiore trahens visisque docebat / adridere feris ...*, in imitation of the present hunting scene.

The adjective *invius* here echoes 1.537, of the *invia saxa* Ilioneus references in his account of the Syrtes; otherwise only in the epic at the jingling prophecy of 3.383 *longa procul longis via dividit invia terris* (Helenus to Aeneas); 6.154 of the *regna invia* of the underworld (Deiphobe to Aeneas); 9.130 of the *maria invia Teucris* (Turnus to his men).

This verse is oddly reminiscent of 2.634–636 *Atque ubi iam patriae perventum ad limina sedis / antiquasque domos, genitor, quem tollere in altos / optabam primum montis primumque petebam*, of Aeneas on Troy’s last night as he seeks to rescue his father from the city’s ruin. In the previous passage there was an arrival at the threshold of the dwelling, and a desire to go into the high mountains to escape (*perventum; in altos montis*); here there is a simpler arrival at high mountains that will be a locus not of refuge but of doom (*altos ventum in montis*, with the lofty mountains effectively framing the impersonal verb as if to indicate how they essentially swallow up the host of hunters).

152 ecce ferae saxi deiectae vertice caprae

ecce: The animals make their appearance. The interjection recurs at 576, as Aeneas urges his men to make ready for the departure from Carthage. See further C. Dionisotti, “Ecce,” in *BICS* 50 (2007), 75–91. Gildenhard comments on the alternating word order, as we glance first at the animals and then at the terrain, and then back again, etc.

ferae: In marked hyperbaton with *caprae*, thus enacting the dislodging and (enjambéd) running down of the animals from their stony haunt. Suspense is thus sustained as the scene of the sudden advent of the animals unfolds. For the adjective note E. Zaffagno in *EV* 11, 501–502; it recurs at 466 of *ferus Aeneas* as he appears in Dido’s dream; also at 4.550–551 *non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam / degere more ferae ...*, of the queen’s rueful lament that she could not live in the manner of a wild animal. The only mortal in the poem to be accorded this adjective is Aeneas; the only god, Jupiter (2.326, as Panthus comments on Troy’s fall).

saxi ... vertice: An old image (already in Accius); at 2.307–308 ... *stupet inscius alto / accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor* it is used in a simile to describe Aeneas’ awareness of the destruction of Troy—another moment where Aeneas is presented as a shepherd (cf. the Dido-deer simile of 68–73). Virgil thus here

recalls that previous passage to prepare the way for other reminiscences of the simile of the *pastor's* wounding of the Dido-deer.

deiectae: Perhaps describing the results of the implicit action of the *alae* of 121, if we were to imagine them as = *alatores*. The participle has generated commentary (see e.g., Heyne; Wagner; Conington; Nettleship); the point seems to be that the animals were dislodged from their mountain haunts, and then that they rushed down from the heights. Hyperanalysis of the passage has led to images of goats falling off cliffs; mountain goats—even if spooked—know how to maintain their footing. As Mackail concludes, “The meaning of *deiectae* may be either ‘hurling themselves down’ or ‘dislodged’ by the beaters: probably the latter.”

vertice: Cf. 168 below, where the nymphs howl on the highest peak; 247 ... *caelum qui vertice fulcit* (of Atlas); 445 ... *et quantum vertice ad auras* (in a simile); 698 (of Dido's head with its fateful lock). A popular Virgilian noun of varied uses, once again of particular interest in the present book for its shifting senses; vid. G. Garuti in *EV* V, 510–511.

caprae: For goats note Toynbee 1973, 164–166; “wild goats” at R. Katz in *VE* II, 560–561. The animal has occasioned considerable zoological and taxonomic commentary here. *Caprae* appear certainly only here and at 12.414–415 in Virgil; *caprae* occur at 10.725 *conspexit capream aut surgentem in cornua cervum*, in the simile comparing Mezentius to a lion that spies a gazelle or a deer. *G.* 2.374 is textually vexed and references one or the other animal (probably *caprae*). *Capreoli* appear at *E.* 2.40–41. *Caprae* are nanny-goats, while *caprae* are gazelles or roe-deer; the former can be wild or domesticated (hence *ferae*), the latter are always wild. Ancient sources disagree here: Pliny (*NH* 8.203, 228) says that one can find *caprae* near the Syrtes, but *caprae* nowhere in Africa; Servius here notes that *ferae caprae* = *caprae*, by which he perhaps means “wild goats.” *DServ.* and *Tib.* speak (correctly and more clearly) of “wild goats”; *Tib.* has an extended comment on how domesticated goats are accustomed to the presence of men, as opposed to their wild counterparts who are “vero timidae, leves ad cursum, quo fiebat ut saxi de vertice et iugis praecipitentur.” The distinction in this passage at any rate is between the comparatively harmless game referenced at 152–155, and the truly glorious quarry envisaged by Ascanius at 158–159: he wants to see a boar or a lion. Essential reading on the frequent confusion between *caprae* and *caprae* is L. Holford-Strevens, “*Caprae*,” in *Exemplaria Classica* 8 (2004), 69–74.

At 12.414–415 ... *non illa feris incognita capris | gramina, cum tergo volucres haesere sagittae*, “*ferae caprae*” are again referenced, this time in connection to how they know how to find the dittany that can cure arrow wounds. These

“wild goats” have also attracted scholarly attention; J. Eiring, “The ‘Knossos-Hunt’ and Wild Goats in Ancient Crete,” in *British School of Athens* 12 (2004), 443–450 has demonstrated how these are actually “feral domesticated goats,” the famous Cretan “kri-kri” (*Capra aegragus cretica*). Virgil thus connects the present passage of the hunt of Aeneas and Dido with the reference later to the curing of arrow wounds that recalls the Dido-deer simile by virtue of the significant repetition of the detail about the *ferae caprae*: the kri-kri, we might say, know better than Dido (not to mention Aeneas in Book 12) how to heal their wounds. We might note too that Venus’ machinations with Cupid engendered Dido’s wound, which was incurable; in Book 12, Aeneas’ wound (of uncertain provenance) is incurable absent the intervention of Venus and her fetching of the wild goat remedy of Cretan dittany.

The *caprae* at line-end are balanced by the *cervi* in the same *sedes* of 154.

153 *decurrere iugis; alia de parte patentes*

decurrere: Following on 152 *deiectae*, with a strong emphasis on the downward movement of the animals. Note also the related 159 *descendere*. The verb is employed also of Laocoön running down from the citadel at 2.41; of Mnestheus’ vessel sailing forth like a dove that has been roused from a cavern (5.212); of Iris as she races down to earth on her rainbow bridge (5.610); at 11.188–189 *ter circum accensos cincti fulgentibus armis | decurrere rogos ...* (of the Trojans and their allies at the requiems); of Turnus running down from a citadel (cf. Laocoön) before the cavalry battle (11.490). The Servian commentaries note what they consider to be the particular appropriateness of the perfect tense to describe what was done so swiftly.

iugis: Echoing the same noun/form at 147, of the heights of Cynthus. Tilly argues that the ablative is local—the goats running along the slopes (cf. Gould and Whiteley’s “ablative of route”; MacLennan’s “over the slopes”), citing 147—but the prefix of the main verb and the general tenor of the passage seem to call for a separative ablative, of goats running down from the heights (so Austin). The contrast is between the rushing mountain goats as they come down the mountain, and the solemn, far slower gait of the god as he was pictured on Cynthus. Pease does not comment here.

alia de parte: Cf. Catullus’ *at parte ex alia florens volitabat Iacchus* (c. 64.251). Austin thinks that Virgil had a painting/mosaic in mind here, as at 1.474 *parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis*, of one of the images in Juno’s temple, or at 8.682–683 *parte alia Marti currumque et dis Agrippa secundis | arduus agmen agens*, on the shield. Note also 8.433; 9.521; 10.362; 12.346.

parte: Alliterative with *patentis*, as Virgil transitions from the wild goats to the deer.

patentes: The “open” plains are, appropriately enough, both enjambed and in hyperbaton. Cf. *G.* 4.77 ... *camposque patentes*; *Aen.* 5.552 *infusum populum et campos iubet esse patentes*. There is also an enacted image of the deer racing across a broad expanse of plain. Note also Lucan, *BC* 4.19.

154 *transmittunt cursu campos atque agmina cervi*

A highly alliterative line (*cursu campos ... cervi*) to focus attention on the deer, with the repeated gutturals mimicking the sound of the animal hooves. Verb and noun frame the verse. See Gildenhard for how the galloping of the deer is enacted by the transition from a spondaic rhythm to a dactylic at the fifth foot here and then in 155; also by the *hysteron proteron* arrangement of the action in 154–155 and, we might add, the repeated gutturals.

transmittunt: The verb is not common in Virgil. An eerie recollection of *transmittunt cursu* comes at 6.313 *stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum*, of souls waiting to cross the Styx. Cf. 3.329 *me famulo famulamque Heleno transmisit habendam*; 4.03 *quin ubi transmissae steterint trans aequora classes*. Austin translates “they go skimming across”; Henry has a perceptive note about how objects not in motion appear to move when passed rapidly by something else. “Put behind them” (Mackail).

cursu: The flight of the deer across the plain is echoed soon at 157, as Ascanius races past now these, now those animals in eager charge on his horse. For the noun note also 46; 196; 299; 653; 672.

campos: Also at 4.04, of the movement of an *agmen* of ants.

atque: The elision with the following noun enacts the action of the enjambed verb (155 *glomerant*). On the epexegetical conjunction see Page.

agmina: Cf. the same noun above at 142, with reference to the hunters and not the hunted. The adjective is delayed, to striking effect as the deer literally flee over lines. Object and subject are juxtaposed.

cervi: The key word at line-end, balancing 152 *caprae*. Deer had to be mentioned in this scene, lest anyone forget the simile of 68–73. The delay of the subject serves only to heighten the suspense.

As with the wild goats of 152–153, so with the deer here the commentators have been busy since Servius’ remark *ad* 1.184–185 that there were no deer in Africa Proconsularis; he speculates that perhaps it is a case of how in epic times everything was everywhere (“... quia heroicis temporibus ubique omnia nascebantur ...”). Pease notes that Oppian (*Cyn.* 2.253–290) depicts the combat of African stags with snakes. “Later writers attacked or defended Virgil for ascribing deer to Africa.” Perhaps Virgil has in mind here the Atlas deer or Barbary stag (*Cervus elaphus barbarus*), the only native African deer.

155 pulverulenta fuga glomerant montisque relinquunt.

pulverulenta: The adjective also at 7.624–625 ... *pars arduus altis | pulverulentus equis furit* (after the opening of the *Belli portae*); also at 12.462–463 ... *versique vicissim | pulverulenta fuga Rutuli dant terga per agros*, in a passage echoing the present scene of the flight of the dusty herd of deer. Cf. also *G.* 1.66. The word is archaic and rare; Lucretius has it of Ceres (*DRN* 5.742); once in Cicero's *Aratea*, and once each in Propertius and Statius; 3× in Ovid; 4× in Martial. Tib. noted that the adjective logically should go with the flight and not the deer; Pease notes that there is dust on the bodies of the deer as well (indeed, this would indicate just how vigorously they were kicking it up in their flight).

fuga: The noun is repeated from the flight of the deer in the Dido-deer simile (72).

glomerant: Here the verb most recalls 1.500 *hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades* ..., of the mountain nymphs who surround Diana in the Dido simile. The verb here is used of the deer, the animal that recalls the simile of 68–73 above: Virgil thus elegantly and subtly brings together the two previous Dido similes in one hunting scene, just before Dido and Aeneas consummate their love. It occurs once elsewhere of a cloud of dust (9.33–34 *hic subitam nigro glomerari pulvere nubem | prospiciunt Teucri ac tenebras insurgere campis*). The verb is used twice in Book 2, once of the Trojans (315–316 *sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem | cum sociis ardent animi*), and once of the Greeks (727 *tela neque adverso glomerati examine Grai*). It describes an action of Etna at 3.577; cf. of the fire-breathing Cacus under assault from Hercules and unable to flee (8.251–255); of birds in the haunting simile where the souls of the dead are compared to the falling leaves in autumn or birds in winter migration (6.311); of the crowd of warriors that close in on Nisus (9.440); of Trojan warriors in diverse circumstances (9.539; 689–690; 791–792). The verb is Lucretian; it does not occur in its uncompounded form at all before him. “In classical Latin it is rather more frequent than the compound” (Jocelyn on Ennius, *Thyest.* fr. 302). With the action of the deer (*agmina glomerant*) we may compare 142 ... *agmina iungit*, of Aeneas with the Trojan and Tyrian hunting contingents.

montisque: Closing a ring with the beginning of the pair of images at 151 *in montis*. It will recur at 159, as Virgil finishes the third and final vignette of the hunt.

relinquunt: One of Virgil's favorite verbs, employed here to give a quiet coda to the dramatic scene of the deer in flight. “The excitement of the verse design calms down, and resolves itself in the final colon, which is simplicity itself” (Gildenhard). Cf. the other occurrences in the book at 82; 129; 277; 281; 414; 432; 452; 466; 507. On the orthographical variety of *quo/cu/qui* see Cussen 2018 (*Notas* vol.), 186–190.

The deer leave the mountains, and this is an unsuccessful hunt in that we never learn of any actual hunting by Dido or Aeneas; only Ascanius receives a brief vignette of his activities here (157–159), and he, too, does not slay any animal. All of this serves to underscore how the real hunt is for Dido.

156 at puer Ascanius mediis in vallibus acri

at: Introducing a sharply contrasting picture. Ascanius stands out here not only amid the rushing flight of the animals, but also in contrast to his father and his royal host Dido.

puer Ascanius: A favorite appellation (19× total) for those who would wonder about his age (the grandchildren of goddesses mature quickly); Pease thinks that he is about eleven or twelve here, following Heinze 1915, 154 (a bit old to be held in Dido's lap to be sure). For a Roman audience he could be anywhere up to seventeen years of age by virtue of his title. *Puer Ascanius* also at 1.267; 2.598; 3.339 and 487; 5.74; Cymodocea refers to Ascanius the same way at 10.234 as she refers to the siege of the Trojan camp in her address to Aeneas; there of course we find an element of deliberate pathos (cf. Venus' similar reference at 2.598; Andromache's at 3.339). At 10.604–605 ... *tandem erumpunt et castra relinquunt / Ascanius puer et nequiquam obsessa iuventus* the siege is finally broken, and the poet-narrator either recalls Cymodocea's mention of Ascanius' boyhood, or else the noun is quasi-formulaic for Aeneas' son. *Parvus Iulus* at 2.710–711; 723–724 may also come to mind (in another emotionally heightened context); that appellation for the boy is in fact reserved for use only in Book 2. See further Moseley 1925, 48 ff. Euryalus is 4× called a *puer*; cf. 3× of Pallas; 2× of Cupid; 1× each of such figures as Ganymede; Lausus; Marcellus; Troilus. A term of endearment and sympathy then, associated with the threat of sudden death to the young. Ascanius' picture here at the hunt will be echoed in the deadlier situation of 7.477–478, where it will be a hunting locus that provides the stage for Allecto's maddening of Ascanius' hounds and the subsequent loss of Silvia's stag and the start of the Latin war.

mediis in vallibus: Cf. Ovid, *Her.* 16.53–54 *est locus in mediis nemorosae vallibus Idae / devius et piceis ilicibusque frequens*. Note here the scene of the first Carthaginian hunt at 1.184–186 ... *tres litore cervos / prospicit errantis; hos tota armenta sequuntur / a tergo et longum per vallis pascitur agmen*, before Aeneas' shooting of the seven stags for his men. The locus of the *Heldenschau* in Elysium is situated *in valle reducta* (6.703; Venus presents the arms to her son in the same sort of place at 8.609); cf. 679 ... *convalle virenti*. Ascanius is in the middle of the valley, waiting for the animals that have been driven down from the heights. *Mediis* is at mid-line. Gildenhard notes that Ascanius was not mentioned in Juno's description of the hunt.

acri: The keen, spirited steed is appropriately referenced in enjambment. For the adjective note B. Zucchelli in *EV* I, 15–17. Here we remember 1.444 ... *caput acris equi*, of the sign that Juno provided to Dido and her companions as the place for the settlement of Carthage; it is an ominous reminder of the goddess just before her storm breaks. The phrase recurs in the dramatic opening of Book 8, where Turnus raises the standard of battle over the Laurentine citadel and commences war preparations: 3 *utque acris concussit equos atque impulit arma*. A further eerie echo comes when we learn at 5.570–572 during the Troy game that Dido had given a horse to Ascanius; it is likely that this gift was bestowed on the occasion of this hunt, likely the boy's first opportunity to engage in horsemanship; cf. 5.667–668.

Skill in horsemanship and familiarity with how to ride and tame a horse is the stock in trade of boyhood heroism from epic to Alexander with Bucephalus and beyond. Ascanius knows how to ride a spirited, difficult horse: this is no case such as that of Thackeray's (or Kubrick's) son of Barry Lyndon.

"Some readers are apt to be intolerant of Ascanius, perhaps because as boys they disliked this pattern of boyhood" (Irvine). "This [scene] is as near as Virgil gets to saying that he is an over-excited brat" (MacLennan). We may recall the claim of Hecuba over the dead Astyanax at Euripides, *Troad*. 1211 that Trojan youths do not pursue horsemanship or archery to excess.

157 gaudet equo iamque hos cursu, iam praeterit illos,

gaudet: Again, the word order is careful: the emphasis was on first the keenness of the animal (156 *acri*), then here on how Ascanius rejoices (in both his horse and the hunt). The verb follows on 140 *laetus*. The only other occurrence of *gaudere* in the book comes at 190 below, of Rumor.

iamque ... iam: With continuing emphasis on the boy's excitement. See Austin for the poet's use of this collocation instead of *modo ... modo*. Here we may compare Turnus at 12.82 *poscit equos gaudetque tuens ante ora frementis*. Ascanius is happy to have a difficult, challenging horse. The first of three present indicatives that describe Ascanius: *gaudet*; *praeterit*; 159 *optat*, as the boy's progress is tracked.

equo: With Ascanius' horse—possibly a gift from Dido—we may compare the queen's own impatient animal at 134–135. The horse imagery of Carthage was a symbol of that people's tremendous skill in war, as well as of their opulence (1.441–445). See further here R.F. Thomas in *VE* I, 82–84. The only horses we hear about at this hunt are those of the queen and the boy; there is no mention of Aeneas' mount, since the poet is more focused on the comparison to Apollo walking on the heights of Cynthus. No decoration specified for Ascanius' steed, in contrast to Dido's.

cursu: Recalling 154 *transmittunt cursu campos* (of the deer). Pease notes that *cursu* works with both clauses, as does *praeterit*.

praeterit: The only other uses of this verb in the epic come at 5.156–157 *et nunc Pristis habet, nunc victam praeterit ingens / Centaurus ...* (during the regatta); and at 8.560 *o mihi praeteritos referat si Iuppiter annos* (in Evander's prayer as he prepares to send Pallas off with Aeneas). A common enough verb for a race (so of Atalanta defeated by Hippomenes at *Met.* 10.680 *praterita est virgo*). Cf. also *G.* 2.322; 4.148. Ascanius passes by the fleeing deer on his spirited steed. What is absent from the picture is any actual hunting of the animals. For two lines he rides about, rejoicing in his swift horse and outrunning the fleeing deer; for two lines he wishes that more serious game would appear, a boar or a lion. Nowhere does he win any hunting trophy. Virgil thereby reserves his "success" in hunting for the far more serious instance of Silvia's stag (7.496 ff.).

With this line cf. *Ilias Latina* 812–813 *et nunc hos cursu nunc illos praeterit ardens / proeliaque horrendi sub imagine versat Achillis* (after the death of Sarpedon).

158 *spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis*

spumantemque: More hyperbaton: we must wait to learn that this refers to a boar, though the "stock epithet" (Pease, who provides an exhaustive catalogue of citations) might well give away the trick in advance. An echo of Dido's foaming horse chomping at the bit (4.135). The foaming of the (imaginary) animal is given the prominent place.

We recall here the disguised Venus and her comment at 1.324 *aut spumantis apri cursum clamore prementem*, when she asked Aeneas and Achates if they had perchance seen one of her sisters, a huntress who might be engaged with tracking down a wild boar. On this echo see further Newman and Newman 2005, 133.

dari: The passive infinitive implies that some deity would present the wild game to Ascanius. Pease speculates that it might well be Diana, the hunting goddess (as at, e.g., *E.* 7.29). Significantly, this is one hunt where Diana is nowhere; Venus had masqueraded as a Diana-like huntress, and Dido had inappropriately been compared to Diana—and so there is no place for the actual hunting patroness, and consequently no serious game. This is the poet's main point here, alongside the incongruity of how Dido-Diana is also the wounded deer of 68–73: only a fake Diana can also be an animal slain by a hunter.

pecora inter inertia: While we never see Ascanius (or anyone else) actually hunt down any animals, certainly Ascanius thinks that the wild goats and the herd of deer are too easy for his debut on the hunting stage. The phrase is repeated at 9.730 *immanem veluti pecora inter inertia tigrim*, of the comparison

of Turnus to a tiger in the Trojan camp after Pandarus foolishly let him inside—a battle sequence where Ascanius does not play a role, thanks to Apollo's timely removal of the boy from combat (9.638 ff.). Ascanius would thus find his prayer answered when the Turnus-tiger was in his camp, though by then fighting was not an option for him. *Iners* here recalls the grim passage at 2.363–365 *plurima perque vias sternuntur inertia passim / corpora perque domos et religiosa deorum / limina* (during the fall of Troy). The adjective recurs as a term of opprobrium: 9.55 ... *Teucrum mirantur inertia corpora* (Turnus' men before the Trojan camp); 11.732–733 *quis metus, o numquam dolituri, o semper inertes / Tyrrheni, quae tanta animis ignavia venit?* Turnus notes at 9.150 that he will employ *inertia furta* against the Trojans (with reference to the trick of the Wooden Horse). A “contemptuous phrase” (Maclennan) from the thoroughly unimpressed youth.

Pecus occurs only here in the book; one might recall 1.434–435 ... *agmine facto / ignavum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent*, in the simile of the (Carthaginian) bees.

votis: Cf. Dido's pointless prayers at 65 above. The noun is juxtaposed with *inertia*; the herd of deer is too tame for the eager boy's taste, and there is also a hint that the prayer he utters for more challenging game will be unanswered. The question of dative or ablative here may not have occurred to Virgil, though it is perhaps best taken as the former (after *dari*—so Gildenhard, *contra* e.g., Conington, Pease, and Austin, who construe it with 159 *optat*). The term is used here fittingly of Ascanius' grandiose thoughts: his prayer is a trivial one, however understandable for an overexcited boy at his first hunt. The concerns of the youth contrast effectively with the tragic problems of Dido and (soon enough) Aeneas.

159 *optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte leonem.*

optat: For the verb cf. 24 and 619. On prayer requests see Lehr 1934, 25–26.

aprum ... leonem: Real game, as opposed to the wild goats and deer of 152–155.

aprum: *Sus scrofa*. Feral boars in Virgil are studied by R. Katz in *VE* 1, 194–195; cf. Toynbee 1973, 131–136. The Herculean labor of the Erymanthian Boar (cf. 6.802–803) and the Calydonian boar hunt provide the most famous ancient examples of a classic heroic exploit. Bristling boars (*saetigeri sues*) figure in sacrifices both at Arcadian-Trojan requiems (11.198–199) and at the (doomed) Latin-Trojan treaty settlement (12.170–171). With these wild boars we may compare the reference to the same as part of Circe's menagerie at 7.17–18.

Once again there has been question about the presence of the animal in north Africa; Herodotus 4.192 denies the region not only deer but also wild boar. If nothing else, mosaics seem to refute the historian. Pease highlights here how

it is Ascanius who wants to see a boar and not Dido or any of the Carthaginians (in other words, what would this young Trojan know about the zoology of Libya?); he also discusses the question of Semitic boar hunting.

For the boar as quintessentially dangerous hunting prey (and on the hunt as an aristocratic spectacle), cf. Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 1202–1204 (with Biles and Olson ad loc.). Ascanius will meet no boar at this hunt; there may be a hint of Adonis lore.

fulvum: Tawny lions already in Lucretius (*DRN* 5.901 ... *corpora fulva leonum*); cf. Germanicus, *Arat.* 149 (of the constellation Leo); Ovid, *Her.* 10.85; *Met.* 1.304; 10.551; *Fast.* 2.339; Seneca, *Oed.* 919–920; *HO* 1932–1933; Statius, *Theb.* 1.397; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 2.193–194; 7.288.

On the color see Edgeworth 1992, 130–132; Fratantuono and Smith on 5.309. A color whose associations in the epic relate in part to the Roman future, and so eminently fitting in the context of Ascanius' prayer here. It first occurs at 1.275 *inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus*, of the tawny pelt of the Romulean she-wolf. Aeneas takes up his father at the rescue from Troy with a pelt of a tawny lion on his shoulders (2.722). Below at 261–262 ... *atque illi stellatus iaspide fulva / ensis erat* ..., Aeneas has his sword with yellow jasper that Dido had given to him—this is likely the sword of her suicide. At 5.374, the boxer Dares recalls that he slew Butes on the yellow sand of Troy; he will soon be defeated himself in turn. The sand of Elysium is tawny in color (6.643). Latinus' horses chomp on yellow gold (7.279); the Italian hero Caeculus' men have tawny wolf-skin headgear that recall the Romulean she-wolf (7.688). Aeneas is given a yellow lion pelt at 8.552 by Evander's men, in recollection of 2.722. Ascanius himself is compared to a gem set in yellow gold (10.134). Aeneas chases the blond Camers at 10.562; at 11.642, Catillus slays Aeneas' blond, likely Etruscan ally Herminius. The color is associated with both the Etruscan Tarchon (11.751) and the Trojan Chloereus (11.776); also with the tawny bird of Jupiter that carries off a swan at 12.247. The truce-breaking augur Tolumnius kills the son of Gylippus on yellow sand (12.276), just as the pieces of Turnus' broken sword shine on *fulva ... harena* at 12.741. Lastly, Jupiter addresses Juno as she looks down at the Italian war from a yellow cloud (12.792 *fulva ... de nube*), just before the god announces the suppression of Trojan *sermo* and *mores*.

Ascanius' prayer for a *fulvus leo*, then, can be taken on two levels: on the one hand, it is a purely conventional reference to a yellow lion, to a worthy hunting target that the eager boy wishes would appear in lieu of what he considers to be trivial game (not without implicit commentary on how the Aeneas-shepherd of the simile shot a deer and certainly no lion). On the other hand, the color looks forward to the future, just as Jupiter will reflect on at 232 ff. below as he sends down Mercury to Aeneas: if Aeneas is not interested in future glory, will he

also begrudge Ascanius a Roman future? Not without purpose does the present Ascanius vignette come just before the storm that will bring together Aeneas and Dido. The impetuous, even reckless boy has been called a “brat” by some critics. But his mind is focused on better things, we might think, than what concerns either Dido or (soon enough) Aeneas.

Servius also saw deeper meaning in the lion reference here: “per transitum tangit historiam; nam Ascanius praeter Iulum et Iulum, quae habuit nomina, etiam Dardanus et Leontodamus dictus est, ad extinctorum fratrum solacium. ideo nunc eum dicit optare adventum leonis, paulo post *Dardaniusque nepos Veneris* [163].” On Ascanius’ willingness to plunge into peril (like any good hero), see Rogerson 2017, 145–147. We need not think that Cupid is still lurking here; Venus was clear enough that that disguise would last for but one night (1.683–684), and while it is true that Virgil never explicitly describes the switch back from immortal to mortal boy, there is also no reason to imagine that her decision about the duration of the masquerade was changed.

Even Punic lions mourned for Daphnis: *E.* 27–28 ... *tuum Poenos etiam ingemuisse leones / interitum montesque feri silvaeque loquuntur.*

descendere: Cf. 153 *decurrere*, of the wild goats. The verb (11× in the poem) recurs at 491, in a very different context.

monte: Following on 151 and 155. At 164 mountains will recur in connection with storm imagery.

leonem: On Virgilian lions see S. Rocca in *EV* 111, 179–180; R. Katz in *VE* 11, 750–751; cf. Toynbee 1973, 61–69; Kitchell 2014, 108–111; Meyer 2020, 118 ff. on this scene; Fratantuono and Smith on 8.177. Turnus is compared to a lion under attack by a throng of hunters at 9.792–793 during his violent assault inside the Trojan camp; at the beginning of Book 12, he is compared to a wounded lion in Punic fields (4–8). In that simile (which opens its book—12 is the only book of the epic to commence with a simile), the weapon that wounds the lion is the *telum* of a *latro* (7–8)—an interesting label if it is to be taken with reference to Aeneas. The wound of the Turnus-lion is emotional and not physical (see on this Putnam 2011, 108–109; cf. Panoussi 2009, 209). A lion wounded by hunters near Carthage might well have been injured by Carthaginian hunters. Certainly in contrast to the legendary Hercules, no figure in the epic ever slays a lion, or even wounds one; the only characters compared to lions are Nisus (339–341); Mezentius (10.723–729) and Turnus (3×—9.792–796; 10.454–456; 12.4–9)—all doomed. See further here Newman and Newman 2005, 221–222.

Seneca cites 158–159 (*Ep.* 64.4.7) when he expresses his own wish to embrace challenges.

160–173 The Junonian storm bursts forth over the hunt; soon enough Dido and Aeneas are in the cave that will witness the grim commencement of their union and quasi-marriage. The storm and subsequent impromptu wedding were remembered by Statius at *Silv.* 3.1.73–75 ... *qualem Libyae Saturnia nimbium / attulit, Iliaco dum dives Elissa marito / donatur testesque ululant per devia Nymphae*—a passage of epic parody and humorous bombast.

160 Interea magno misceri murmure caelum

This verse is a nearly verbatim repetition of 1.124 *Interea magno misceri murmure pontum*, which occurs at the end—not the beginning—of the storm set in motion by Juno and Aeolus against the Trojan fleet; cf. 1.55 *illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis*, of Aeolus' winds. In Book 1 the verse comes just as Neptune realizes that the prerogatives of his kingdom have been usurped. Here the *pontum* of Neptune's realm is replaced by the *caelum* of Jupiter's. The breaking of the storm comes with fitting surprise; we move seamlessly from the picture of the rejoicing, exuberant Ascanius to this tempest. Aeneas' son had prayed for a foaming boar or a tawny lion to descend from the mountain; his prayer has been answered not with wild game to hunt, but with a violent storm from which to seek shelter (cf. 163). A markedly alliterative verse: *magno misceri murmure*. "The nasal consonants and mostly dark vowels of the phrase suggest the rumbling of distant thunder" (Maclennan). "This is no ordinary thunderstorm, no mere diversionary maneuver, but the overture to a tragic drama" (Moskalew 1982, 76). For the reminiscence of the storm of *G.* 1.357–359 see Briggs 1980, 86. Henry here thought that the point of the storm was in part to illustrate that the union of Dido and Aeneas was an image of that between Earth and Sky, an idea that appealed to Jane Ellen Harrison in her 1912 classic *Themis* (180 n. 12); for a critical view of this cosmological exegesis see Pease.

Iarbas echoes the language of this storm scene at 210 ... *inania murmura miscent*, as part of his rhetorical question about whether Jovian tempests are rightly feared. The storm at the hunt that leads directly to cave and consummation involves considerable repetition not only from the tempest of Book 1, but also from Juno's colloquy with Venus (120 ff.). The point is both to underscore the relentlessness of Juno's efforts to hinder and hamper Aeneas, and also, perhaps, to reflect subtly on how while the union of Dido and Aeneas will be of immense consequence both for Troy/Rome and Carthage, it is also, *in fine*, a very old and repetitious story of disastrous love and bad romance. The Junonian storm of Book 1 was bought with the promise of a legal marriage; the rain and hail of Book 4 will lead to a sham nuptial union.

Interea: Introducing a significant change of subject and scene. Cf. above at 67 and 129; 291 below.

magno ... murmure: Lucretian (*DRN* 6.101 *tum magis hinc magno fremitus fit murmure saepe*; 197–198 ... *magno indignantur murmure clausi | nubibus in caveisque ferarum more minantur*, of the winds). Virgil adapts this weather imagery at 5.369 *ora Dares magnoque virum se murmure tollit*, before the boxing match. Cf. also *Ilias Latina* 600; 1055; Ovid, *Met.* 8.552–553; 9.40. Very different is the murmur of the bees at 6.709 ... *strepit omnis murmure campus* (cf. 12.591–592, of murmuring bees in a more problematic context). If we had more of Ennius we would probably have a better sense of the origins of Lucretius' and Virgil's language here.

misceri: The passive infinitive works especially well after the same form at 158 *dari*, of what Ascanius prayed would be given to him. The verb heralds 161 *commixta grandine*, of the hail predicted by Juno at 120. "A favorite word with Virgil, with the idea of confusion" (Pease).

murmure caelum: Perhaps an echo of Lucretius, *DRN* 5.1221 ... *et magnum percurrunt murmura caelum*; note also *DRN* 1.68–69 ... *nec fulmina nec minitanti | murmure compressit caelum*. Cf. too the description of Etna at *Aen.* 3.581–582 ... *intremere omnem | murmure Trinacriam et caelum subtexere fumo*. The mention of the heaven here echoes Juno's *caelum omne ciebo* at 122. The enjambment of the verb builds suspense and conveys something of the spread and power of the gathering tempest.

Silius has a much brief version of this storm on the shield of Hannibal at *Pun.* 2.417–419: ... *it clamor ad auras | latratusque canum, subitoque exterrita nimbo | occultant alae venantum corpora silvis*.

161 **incipit, insequitur commixta grandine nimbus,**

The asyndetic juxtaposition of the verbs enacts the speed and violence of the storm; the verb that describes how the thundercloud followed the upheaval in the heaven is, appropriately enough, the second or "following" verb. The anaphora of the verbal prefixes further contributes to the effect.

incipit: For the verb cf. 76; also 316 and 452.

insequitur: Cf. 1.87 *insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum*, as well as 105 ... *insequitur cumulo aquae mons*: another borrowing from the earlier storm. Also in storm imagery in the metaphorical use at 7.793 *insequitur nimbus peditum* (of the men who follow in Turnus' wake in the Italian catalogue). Venus uses the same verb and form in her appeal to Jupiter at 1.240–241 *nunc eadem fortuna viros tot casibus actos | insequitur*, of how the Trojans never seem to have an end to their griefs; cf. Dido at 1.615–616 *quis te, nate dea, per tanta pericula casus | insequitur?*, and Venus' bitter comment to Neptune about Juno at 5.786–787 ... *cineres atque ossa peremptae* [sc., Troiae] | *insequitur*. The verb also of Pyrrhus as he pursues Polites into Priam's inner sanctum at 2.529–530 ...

illum ardens infesto vulnere Pyrrhus | insequitur; cf. 8.146–147 *gens eadem, quae te, crudeli Daunia bello | insequitur* (Aeneas to Evander); of Aeneas at 3.32 *insequor* (the only first-person use in the epic), as he tries in vain to pluck the shoots at Polydorus' grave; also at 12.465–466 and 746–748 (Aeneas pursuing Turnus). A less grim occurrence comes at 5.321 (Salius in the foot race); cf. 9.275–277, where Ascanius addresses Euryalus as one close in age to him. Almost always, then, in baleful circumstances; only finally in Book 12 are the uses positive for Aeneas, as at last he is the one in pursuit of his enemy.

commixta grandine nimbus: Directly echoing 120 ... *commixta grandine nimbum*, in Juno's description of the cloud with its hail. For the repetition see Sparrow 1931, 67. Servius opines that the hail is cleverly added lest the storm have been ignored by the hunters. On the image of the very mixing of the elements of nature, see E. Vance, "Warfare and the Structure of Thought in Virgil's *Aeneid*," in *QUCC* 15 (1973), 111–162, 137. Paschalis 1997, 152–153 argues that the mixing together of the elements in the storm leads to the separation of Dido and Aeneas from the other hunters, and further to their own union in the cavern: "The storm components function as negative reflection of 'coniugium' (172) and 'conubium' (126, 168; cf. 166 'pronuba') ..."

162 et Tyrii comites passim et Troiana iuventus

The start of the fulfillment of Juno's prediction at 123 *diffugient comites*. The effects of the storm are felt in threefold progression by the Tyrians, the Trojan youth, and then the Dardanian grandson of Venus (163), before the poet turns to the soon to be quasi-newlywed couple.

Tyrii comites: Echoing the *Phrygii comites* of 140. There the Phrygians shared a verse with happy Iulus, who was of course prominent among their number; here, for a fleeting moment, the Tyrians and the Trojans are viewed together, in reflection of Aeneas' action at 142 ... *agmina iungit*—though only in the context of how the storm scatters them in different directions (cf. 163–164 of the *diversa tecta* they sought); note too the force of the verbal prefix at 123 *diffugient comites*. *Tyrii comites* only here.

passim: A key word at midline. The present verse demonstrates one of the important points of the epic's commentary on nations and polity: the Tyrians and the Trojans will not, after all, be united—and Juno's storm is what separates them, even as the Tyrian leader and the Trojan leader are brought together. Tyrians and Trojans were separate as they gathered for the hunt; Aeneas joined the contingents together; what the Trojan hero joined together, Juno's storm has put asunder.

Passim recurs at 195; 13× in the epic, 10× in the first half. The scattering of the contingents under the force of the sudden storm is in studied contrast with the prior, stately entry of Dido and Aeneas, etc.

Troiana iuventus: A recollection of 130 ... *delecta iuventus*, which in context referred most of all to the Carthaginian youth. The application of the reference to the young has thus been switched from a focus on Carthage to a focus on Troy, in balanced progression. *Troiana iuventus* also in the epic at 1.467; 699; 2.63; 8.182; 545: never in the last third of the epic. Elsewhere in extant verse only at *Ilias Latina* 542; 570.

163 *Dardaniusque nepos Veneris diversa per agros*

In the storm and subsequent flight, Virgil subtly echoes *G.* 4.499–500 ... *et ex oculis subito, ceu fumus in auras / commixtus [cf. 4.161 commixta] tenuis, fugit diversa ...*, of the fading away and flight of Eurydice (she vanishes like smoke in the wind).

Dardaniusque nepos Veneris: A significant epic periphrasis. Virgil may have been inspired by Plautus, *Miles* 1265 *nescio tu ex me hoc audiveris an non: nepos sum Veneris* (cf. 1413 and 1421), of the braggart soldier Pyrgopolynices' questionable claims to divine ancestry. This is the only extant use of the phrase before Virgil; after the *Aeneid* it does not recur until Apuleius. (Venus will refer to Ascanius as her grandson at 10.47 during the divine council; cf. Anchises' prayer *servate nepotem* at 2.702). The appellation *Dardanius* adds to the undertone of comedy: Ascanius is the "Dardanian grandson of Venus"—just how many grandchildren did the goddess of love have? The boy who but four lines earlier was hoping to encounter a wild boar or a lion here flees with everyone else from the admittedly no doubt ferocious, Junonian tempest—grand epic periphrasis for someone running from rain and hail. Further, this is the only reference to Venus in the narrative of the hunt and the subsequent fateful union of Dido and Aeneas in the cave; the goddess left the action of the book at 128 with her famous smile and laugh, and will not reappear until late in Book 5, save for a passing allusion in Jupiter's complaint to Mercury about Aeneas' behavior at 227 ff. below. MacLennan comments on how Ascanius is given better treatment in the poet's reference here than he received at 156—but the title is ridiculous given the Plautine echo, and the boy is in flight, not in the performance of some epic feat.

The reference here to Ascanius is very different, then, from the mention of *laetus Iulus* at 140. Aeneas' son makes three appearances in the hunt: first as "happy Iulus" as he proceeds out for the day's adventure; then as the "*puer* Ascanius" (156) as he wishes for a boar or a lion to liven up his experience of the hunt; and now, lastly, as the "Dardanian grandson of Venus" as he flees from Juno's storm: we thus move from the name most associated with the Roman future and the Julian *gens* to his older name before Jupiter's renaming of him at 1.267–268, to a periphrastic reference that is redolent with the spirit of the

old Troy (*Dardanius*). Cf. also the reference to the youth as *Dardanius ... puer* at 10.133. The poet in the present passage deliberately subverts his focus on the Roman future, returning us to the Trojan past just before Dido and Aeneas commence their ominous rendezvous in the cave.

For Dardanian references elsewhere in the book cf. 224; 365; 626; 640; 647; 658; and see further D. Musti in *EV* III, 998–1000; S. Harrison in *VE* I, 338; Fratanuono and Smith on 5.45 and 8.134. Here it follows close on 162 *Troiana*.

The noun *nepos* recurs at 629 ... *pugnent ipsique nepotesque*, of Dido's imprecation that foreshadows the Punic Wars. Both Anchises and Venus use the term 1× each of Ascanius as their grandchild; cf. the sad case of the *parvus nepos* of Panthus at 2.320.

diversa: More enjambment, as the hunters scatter in different directions. The adjective occurs here only in Book 4; it is more important than the delayed noun *tecta*, because the emphasis is on how everyone ran to this or that place, essentially to whatever dwelling or shelter that was at hand. *Diversa* is in deliberate contrast with how Dido and Aeneas will somehow manage to find the same cave, all to themselves (165). Austin emphasizes how they went by different routes to different shelters.

per agros: The line-end also at *G.* 1.81; 2.54; 345; 4.522; 7.551; 12.463. "Allenthalben im Gelände" (Binder).

164 *tecta metu petiere; ruunt de montibus amnes.*

tecta: Of improvised shelter; while certainly there may have been dwellings of various degrees of quality here and there, the word refers not to houses so much as to whatever was at hand to provide a safe haven. *Tecta* (from *tegere*) echoes Juno's ... *nocte tegentur opaca* (123): she foresaw a covering by the dark night, not any sort of shelter. Hyperbaton of the noun to enact the search for a refuge.

metu: Another key word, easy to pass over quickly: they are not only seeking to avoid a drenching, but are in fear at the clearly unusual, supernatural storm. On Virgilian fear note A.G. McKay in *EV* III, 509–510; J. Schafer in *VE* II, 476. Whether causal ablative or of attendant circumstance, the salient point is that everyone was afraid.

petiere: The perfect tense of the action of the *Tyrii comites*, the *Troiana iuventus*, and the *Dardaniusque nepos Veneris* is juxtaposed with another present tense verb describing the action of nature. On the possible "simple form of coordination of equivalent perfect and historic present present tense forms," see H. Pinkster, "The Present Tense in Virgil's *Aeneid*," in *Mnem.* 52.6 (1999), 705–717, 707–708. We may compare the equally dramatic perfect 153 *decurrere* of the wild goats as they ran in fear.

Tecta ... petiere is a reworking of the poet's *tecta petunt* from *G.* 4.62 and 187 (in much more pleasant conditions). Pease sees a resemblance in this verse to *G.* 3.554 *balatu pecorum et crebris mugitibus amnes* in terms of repeated sound effects, but it is unclear if there were a conscious or even unconscious imitation here *vs.* mere coincidence.

ruunt: Cf. 132.

de montibus: Yet another reference to the mountainous terrain (147; 151; 153; 155; 159). The wild goats and deer had fled down from the mountains, and Ascanius had wished that a lion might similarly descend. Instead, here rivers (from the torrential downpour) are what rush down from the heights.

amnes: The only occurrence of the mostly poetic noun in the book. Virgil is fond of it, though he prefers *flumen*. An old word (Ennius; Plautus). "The dry river-beds are flooded in a moment" (Austin). *Ruunt flumina* is both Ovidian (*Met.* 1.285) and Silian (*Pun.* 207). Servius has a practical explanation: "ne vel investigare Tyrii possent reginam." But there is no hint in the passage that anyone was looking for anyone else, except—perhaps—Dido and Aeneas for each other, or one to lead the other. Virgil is ambiguous after his usual fashion, making some things clear and concealing other things to allow for multiple possibilities. Perhaps most notably, nobody, it would seem, was looking for *puer* Ascanius.

The line-end here recurs at Statius, *Theb.* 1.365; 8.460; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 5.624; 11.466.

165 speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem

The verse is repeated verbatim from Juno's speech at 124; the enjambed present tense *deveniunt* will replace the future of the original. "Prophetic repetition" (Sparrow 1931, 67; 70); cf. 226, 232–235 and 270–271 below. Page has an excellent note here (rightly praised by Irvine) on how the repetition heightens the ominous mood, so that what might have seemed mere chance is cast as the result of divine forethought. In precise analysis, Juno took credit for the storm (122 *infundam*; *ciebo*); she said that the *comites* would scatter (123 *diffugient*) and that Dido and Aeneas would come to the cave (124 *devenient*), and that she herself would be present (125 *adereo*, in juxtaposition): we may assume that while the storm was the goddess' work, it was Dido who led Aeneas to the cave (or at least Dido and Aeneas who came to the cave together). See further below on 167 *dant signum*. Other critics have interpreted the *dux Troianus* here as the chivalrous defender of the queen after all her companions had fled. This is the first reference to Aeneas since 150; of Dido since 139.

speluncam: Not surprisingly, there have been attempts to find the cave, which is more a literary locale than a topographical, one more inspired by Apollonius than by any real place.

Dido dux: See above on 124 for the ambiguity of how *dux* is in agreement with *Troianus*, and yet also shades into Dido's name with which it is juxtaposed. Dido would have known where the cave was.

eandem: In contrast to 163 *diversa*.

How different in many regards is what happens in this cave from the setting of the union of Apollonius' Jason and Medea at *Arg.* 4.1128 ff.

166 *deveniunt. prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno*

Another difficult line, in part because of what does or does not happen in verses 166–168, and because of the textual question of *primae*—Heinsius' conjecture for *prima et* or *prima*. Heinsius is followed by Conte in his Teubner; no other modern editor seems to agree. “Superflua la congettura” (Buscaroli). The image of Mother Earth will return at 178, as Virgil provides a lineage for *Fama*.

deveniunt: Echoing Juno's *devenient* at 125, with the prize for perhaps being the easiest word in the verse. After this verb, the incarnation of Juno's *adereo*, etc. Servius notes here that Virgil is deliberately coy, concealing the “*rem pudendam*” in this simple verb. According to this interpretation, Dido and Aeneas may be imagined as entering the cave and proceeding to engage in a sexual act; for how the omens in the cave, etc. do not in any way suggest a real state of *conubium*—rather a “hideous parody” of one—note the exemplary summary of Horsfall 1995, 128.

prima et Tellus: For the god vid. K. Galinsky in *VE* III, 1249. We may compare here Aeneas' prayer at 7.135 ff., where he invokes *inter al. ... primamque deorum / Tellurem Nymphasque ...*, with which we may compare the mention of Earth and the Nymphs (168) in the present scene. “*Terra*” is invoked in much the same way by Aeneas at 12.176 and by Turnus at 12.777–779, though the second passage makes clearer that the hero is invoking the same god as *Tellus* (“*terra*” in the first = *haec terra*, i.e. of Latium).

The reference at 7.15–16 to *prima Tellus* probably secures the same here; *prima* of *Tellus* would also balance *pronuba* of Juno. But first we might note that at 125 ff. (even if we retain verse 126), there was no mention of *Tellus*, or of the Nymphs of 168 (no fires or ether either as at 167).

At 3.94–96 *Dardanidae duri, quae vos a stirpe parentum / prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere laeto / accipiet reduces*, the “*prima tellus*” announced by Apollo's Delian oracle is misinterpreted to refer to Crete—with disastrous results. The usage there of the same phrase is different from the present scene, which has been variously interpreted. Somewhat different too is *G.* 1.12–13 ... *tuque o, cui prima frementem / fudit equum magno tellus percussa tridenti*, of the bringing forth of the horse for Neptune. *Tellus* for most critics here is the earth

goddess Gaea, the first of the gods; others would simply take *prima* to refer to the order of the divine action here (e.g., adjective for adverb): first Tellus and then Juno gives the signal (167), etc. Heinsius' conjecture removes the issue by having the adjective refer both to Tellus and to *pronuba Iuno*—an attractive solution and one where *primae* might easily enough have been corrupted into *prima et*.

Tellus was not, some have argued, a standard figure in Roman weddings. DServ. notes “quidam sane etiam Tellurem praeesse nuptiis traditur, nam et in auspiciis vocatur”; this is not attested elsewhere. Ceres was a part of the rites (cf. Hersch 2010, 275 ff.; also on above on 58). “Prima Tellus” has given rise to a cosmic interpretation of the scene, with the primal elements represented even to the association of the rivers of 164 or the Nymphs of 168 with water. Mackail says that Tellus here presents the “panis farreus ... which was the symbolic or sacramental bread of the marriage ceremony.”

With *prima* here cf. the powerful anaphora of 169 *primus ... primus*.

It is a testament to the range of possible serious critical appraisals of complex passages that commentators from Tib. to Conington and Henry have found the divine powers at work here to be engaged in an auspicious patronage of this union, with the gods taking the parts of the nuptial liturgy that would normally be performed by men, and even the sounds of nature being interpreted as reflections of wedding rituals. But certainly Virgil makes his opinion on the auspices clear enough at 169–172.

pronuba: The term occurs only twice in Virgil, here and at 7.318–319 *sanguine Troiano et Rutulo dotabere, virgo, | et Bellona manet te pronuba ...*, of Juno's threats before she summons Allecto: Juno and the Roman war goddess Bellona are thus the only matrons of honor in the epic. Venus missed her own son's “wedding.”

167 *dant signum; fulsere ignes et conscius aether*

dant signum: Tellus and Juno “give the signal.” Another mysterious reference. The only parallels in the poem are 8.523, where Venus gives a sign before the bestowal of the arms; and 12.245, where Juturna gives the omen of the eagle and the swans. Here we find the first of three verbs that describe whatever happened in the cave, at least on the divine side; the perfects *fulsere* and *ulularunt* complete the increasingly ominous picture. What exactly the *signum* is, we do not know. Austin takes it of the signal for the wedding procession, with a resultant progression from procession to torches (*ignes*) to witnesses (*consciis*). A parody, then, of the normal practice of Roman marriages. Some critics have parceled out the duties of Tellus and Juno, with earthquakes for the former and flashing of ethereal flames for the latter. The “sign” may well be the elemental

response to the union—the fire in the heavens. The present tense is of vivid narration, here combined with the perfect of instantaneous action; cf. 3.564–565.

fulsere ignes: The verb only here in the book. “The perfect of a sudden event” (Tilly). The flashing of fire has been interpreted as representative of the nuptial torches. Here, lightning takes the place of that liturgical prop. The *ignes* has been taken as a hendiadys with *aether* (i.e., the “fires in the air”); see e.g. MacLennan here (following Wagner), who takes *conscius* with both fire and ether; Gildenhard is more hesitant. It seems best to maintain a threefold progression from fire to the ether to the nymphs, even if we do not associate those three references plus Tellus to = the four primal elements.

conscius aether: The adjective with *aether* only here. Few editors capitalize Aether in this scene, though it could be done without much objection. Significantly, the *aether* will recur in a parallel passage at 607 ff., where Dido invokes first Sol, then *conscia Iuno*, then Hecate whose name is “howled” (*ululata*) through the cities, etc. That invocation comes as part of the queen’s curse; it is modeled on the present scene of the divine attendants of this quasi-marriage (*ululata* echoed in 168 *ulularunt*). Sol usually sees everything; the sun god cannot perceive anything now because of the darkness of the storm (and, further, Aeneas has been compared to Apollo, so that mention of the sun has been consciously suppressed both in the hunt and in the storm sequences). *Conscius* is alliterative with 168 *conubiis*.

With *aether* here cf. 668 ... *magnis plangoribus aether* (after Dido’s suicide); also 574; vid. L. Fratantuono in *VE* 1, 32–33. The *aether* was traditionally associated with Jupiter (whose prerogatives Juno has here usurped), in contrast to Juno’s *aër* (from a false etymology of “Hera”). The “all-powerful father Aether” of *G.* 2.325 fructifies the earth. A wedding demanded a witness, and the ether will do; in this case there is no reference to Jupiter, but rather to the matron of honor who has for the moment taken over his ethereal realm. If there is a reference here to such celestial unions as that between Aether and the earth at *G.* 2.325 ff., it is only to pervert the happy context of the model; in that scene of a sacred marriage, birds sang in pleasant acknowledgment of the fruitful union of Sky as he descended into the lap of his happy spouse (325–326 *tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether / coniugis in gremium laetae descendit ...*); here the Aether is a witness to the *conubia*, and nymphs howl on the highest peak—the situations could not be more different.

168 *conubiis, summoque ulularunt vertice Nymphae.*

conubiis: Another enjambed keyword. This is in some sense the only word that Virgil offers for what happened after 166 *deveniunt*. Dative after either *con-*

scius or *fulsere* (the alliterative effect points to the former); the genitive *conubii* also has capital attestation, with little difference in meaning. If verse 126 is to be retained, then the noun here directly echoes *conubio* there. At 127 *hic hymenaeus erit*, Juno referenced the wedding song that she envisioned for the union of Dido and Aeneas; that nuptial hymn will in fact be the howling of the nymphs of this line. *Conubiis* here must be interpreted with reference to 172 *coniugium vocat*, of Dido's judgment on what happened in the cave; she for one called it a marriage—a sentiment that ultimately Aeneas would not share. In all of this there may be a hint of the question of the union of Cleopatra and Antony, which would have been conducted in rites considered barbaric to traditionally minded Romans. “Virgil in no way tries to hide the fact that what takes place in the cave is no real marriage” (Nelis 2001, 149). Note also O'Hara's extended note here, which takes a less definitive position (following on Williams 1968, 379 ff.). “L'unione fatale” (Buscaroli), at any rate.

Nymphae: On Virgilian nymphs see S. Fasce in *EV* 111, 731–736; E. Fantham in *VE* 11, 921–922; Bailey 1935, 34–37; Fratantuono 2019b. For the etymological connection with water (*nympha/lympha*) cf. Roscher 111.1, 500–502. The mention of the nymphs here recalls 1.71–75, where Juno promised the nymph Deiopea to Aeolus as a bride in exchange for his help in the instigation of the storm. We may recall too that Aeneas wondered if his disguised mother was one of the nymphs (1.329). Here the nymphs howl, in evident horror at the sight in the cave. The Nymphs at the end of the scene balance Tellus and Juno at the start—an ominous retinue of female divinities for whatever happened in the *spelunca*. There is also a recollection here of 1.499–500, where nymphs were attendant on their mistress Diana in the simile describing Dido's entrance. The oreads there crowded around the goddess (*glomerantur*) like the deer of 155 above; now the nymphs howl at what is essentially the one successful “hunt” of this fateful morning: Dido the deer now forever possessed of her fatal wound, with no chance of recovery. Henry argues that the nymphs here must in fact be oreads, since they are on peak of the mountain; this would accord with the reminiscence of Diana's nymphs from Book 1. For the association of the nymphs with fertility see Pease; Dido of course will remain childless.

Nymphs also in Apollonius, where the Golden Fleece gives off flames that may be remembered in the fire of this scene. See further Nelis 2001, 148 ff.

ulularunt: The verb recurs at 609–610 *nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes / et Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae*, in the invocation of Dido as part of her imprecation on the Trojans. Howling occurs elsewhere in the epic at 2.488, where the women in Priam's palace react with strong emotion to the entrance of the murderous Pyrrhus into the royal inner sanctum; at 7.18 of the howling of the transformed wolves at Circe's lair; and at 11.662 of Penthesilea's Ama-

zons (to whom Camilla and her retinue of battle heroines are compared). The verb is framed by the locus of the eerie sound. This comes as the third and final verb in the eerie reception of the “marriage” by the forces of nature. The onomatopoeic verb ably expresses the perverse quasi-*hymenaeus*. For the verb’s application normally to women, see Newman and Newman 2005, 148. It is difficult to take the verb in a neutral sense, though some have taken the effort to do so. The howling of the nymphs may recall the temple of Hecate in Apollonius that served as a locus for the public union of Jason and Medea. Stephenson takes the howling to refer simply to the “sounds of woods and waters” that are associated with nymphs.

summo ... vertice: Cf. 152 ... *saxi ... vertice*. A collocation of studied poetic pedigree: Catullus c. 64.340; Cicero, *Arat.* 297 Soubiran; Lucretius, *DRN* 3.1001; 6.701. At *Aen.* 2.682 it refers to Iulus’ head with its fire portent; at 11.526 of the locus for Turnus’ planned ambush for Aeneas’ infantry force—a pair of uses of strikingly opposite import. Caves suggest descent into the earth; in contrast, the ether is far above, and the nymphs are on the highest peak. The hunters had spooked animals into descending from the heights; now the storm has driven the lovers into the cavern, as divinities and forces of nature look down on the scene and register their comments by omens both visual (*fulsere ignes*) and auditory (*ulularunt*).

169 *ille dies primus leti primusque malorum*

A line of incalculable significance both for Carthage and Rome. For a reminder that we are a hundred lines from the wounding of the Dido-deer (and with reference to allusions to Cleopatra’s own doom), see J.M. Benario, “Dido and Cleopatra,” in *Vergilius* 16 (1970), 2–6, 3–4.

ille dies: Recalling 2.248–249 ... *quibus ultimus esset | ille dies ...*, of Troy’s last day; cf. the startling declaration of 9.759 *ultimus ille dies bello gentique fuisset*, of what would have happened to the Trojans had Turnus let his companions into the camp where he had been fighting singlehandedly. For the “beginning of evils” motif borrowed from Homer and Greek tragedy, see especially J.L. Moles, “Aristotle and Dido’s *Hamartia*,” in *G&R* 31.1 (1984), 48–54, 51. There may be a recollection of *Il.* 11.604 (where see Hainsworth), of Patroclus proceeding to his eventual, inevitable doom. In Homer we must wait a considerably longer time for the grim outcome, though even in Virgil an important topos is how the queen does not die quickly or easily. On this see M.C.J. Putnam, “Dido’s Long Dying,” in *Daedalus* 143.1 (2014), 96–106. On the poet’s repeated emphasis on how things will develop for the queen, note F. Muecke, “Fore-shadowing and Dramatic Irony in the Story of Dido,” in *AJPh* 104.2 (1983), 134–155.

primus ... primus: Anaphora recalling 166 *prima ... Tellus* and closing a ring on the brief, effective description of the rendezvous in the cave. The repeated word frames the keyword of death. Interlocking, balanced word order that emphasizes how this was the first day of doom.

leti: The only occurrence of the word in the book. A poetic word for death and destruction, indeed usually with reference to violent death. The noun looks forward not only in the shorter term to the violent death of Dido, but also to the unimaginable horror of the Punic Wars. Gildenhard does well to ask when exactly this “first day of death” draws to a close, with good analysis of the “world-historical significance” of what might otherwise have been a tawdry romp in a cave. We are reminded that the actions of leaders have special significance and potentially global consequences. Death prominently at midverse. “Her union with Aeneas in the cave has negated all that marriage promises ...” (Newman and Newman 2005, 143). The topos of sex and death is very much present here; sexual union between Dido and Aeneas is the beginning not of new life (there will be no child), but of violent death: an age-old conceit from ancient epic even to American horror cinema, where from Carpenter’s *Halloween* to Roman’s *House on Sorority Row* the surviving “last girl” of a murderous maniac is often the virgin. Some have tried to specify that the day of death refers to Dido’s fate, and the day of evils to Rome’s relationship with Carthage; Virgil may not have intended so rigid a schematization.

primusque: Grammatically it should of course be *prima* with 170 *causa*, but Virgil has sacrificed logic for euphony and the power of repetition.

malorum: 169–170 will be echoed with a change at 7.481–482 *ut cervum ardentis agerent; quae prima laborum | causa fuit belloque animos accendit agrestis*, of Ascanius’ hunting hounds that tracked down Silvia’s stag under the baleful influence of Allecto. Indeed, the Palatine originally read *laborum* here, and *malorum* has a degree of respectable attestation in the Book 7 passage. *Laborum* would be alliterative here after *leti*, though perhaps intolerably flat after such a strong word referencing violence and death (Conington considers *malorum* also a drop in register after *leti*). With the *dies malorum* here cf. Lucan, *BC* 6.312 *ultimus esse dies potuit tibi Roma malorum*, of what might have happened if Pompey had defeated Caesar. For how Ascanius “does not remember this day,” despite his gift of a horse from Dido that he may well have ridden in this hunt and will certainly ride in the *lusus Troiae*, see Henry 1989, 33–34. Certainly not even the briefest moment is afforded to Dido and Aeneas to savor their coupling.

Valerius Flaccus imitates the present verse at *Arg.* 4.276–277 *ille dies aegros Amyci sudoribus artus | primus ...*, where see Murgatroyd; cf. Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 12.273.

170 causa fuit; neque enim specie famave movetur

causa fuit: Cf. not only the echo at 7.481–482, but also Juno’s indignant rhetoric at 10.90–91 ... *quae causa fuit consurgere in arma | Europamque Asiamque et foedera solvere furto?*, referencing her actions in comparison to those of Venus. For the noun note 290 below.

neque enim: As at 1.198; 643; 2.376; 6.52; 368; 7.195; 581; 8.251; 9.617; 704; 748; 10.217; 865; 11.537; 684; 12.74; 764. Dido’s response to what has happened is deliberately framed in the negative both here and at 171.

specie: Here of the appearances of propriety, of the expectation that a queen in particular will avoid scandal. *Species* is a rare word in the epic; cf. 2.407 *non tulit hanc speciem furcata mente Coroebus* (of the abuse of Cassandra); 6.208–209 *talis erat species auri frondentis opaca | ilice, sic leni crepitabat brattea vento* (of the appearance of the Golden Bough). Servius takes *species* to refer to how Dido does not care that she had a cave instead of a proper marriage bed. Again the visual and the auditory, with the one following on the other: hereafter Dido and Aeneas will be seen together in public, as if they were husband and wife; the *species* of a marriage gives way to *fama* that spreads far and wide. The visual element of the scandal is mentioned first; we may recall the poet’s emphasis on how it was Aeneas’ appearance that most captivated the queen.

famave: Preparing for the dramatic epiphany of Rumor at 173 ff.

movetur: The subject of the verb is held in suspense for a moment. The verb is balanced by 171 *meditatur*.

On how “while the narration of Dido’s “wedding” gives way to the description of the progress of *Fama* (4.170 ff.), in an instance of reverse symmetry, Lavinia’s “wedding” is preceded by the mention of *Fama*’s flight (7.392),” see Binek 2018, 147n187.

171 nec iam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem:

nec iam: Subtle: the queen had been thinking about a secret, furtive love—and now all pretense is abandoned. The negative follows on 170 *neque*.

furtivum ... amorem: The adjective occurs in the epic only here and at 7.559–661 *collis Aventini silva quem Rhea sacerdos | furtivum partu sub luminis edidit oras, | mixta deo mulier ...* (of the birth of Hercules’ son Aventinus). The *furtivum ... amorem* envelops the queen and her thought process. An echo here of Catullus, c. 7.7–8 *aut quam sidera multa, cum tacet nox, | furtivos hominum vident amores*. The deception theme (always appropriate for a Punic queen in the estimation of Roman propaganda). We may compare below at 337–338 ... *neque ego hanc abscondere furto | speravi (ne finge) fugam ...*, of Aeneas to Dido. There is also a dark echo of the present language at 6.24–25 *hic crudelis*

amor tauri suppostaque furto / Pasiphaë ..., of the Daedalian trick that facilitated Pasiphaë's unnatural coupling with the father of the Minotaur. *Furtivum* is alliterative after 170 *fama*. "Furtive love" also at Tibullus, c. 1.5.75 (where see Murgatroyd, and Maltby); an epithet of Venus at Tibullus, c. 1.8.57; Ovid, *Ars* 1.275. Practically a technical term in Latin love elegy. See further here Casali 2018.

Dido: At last the subject is specified; the girl's name is placed prominently at midverse.

meditatur: Another uncommon word in the epic. The verb balances 170 *movetur*, in alliterative pattern. Here the echo is of 1.673–674 *quocirca capere ante dolis et cingere flamma / reginam meditor ...*, of Venus' words to Cupid about her plans for Dido. The only other occurrence is a participial use at 10.455 *meditantem*, of the bull to which Pallas is described before his fateful clash with Turnus (= a lion). On the verb Servius comments: "nec incongrue dictum; actus enim est in ipsa meditatione; nam exercitium est meditatio. sciendum tamen hodie hoc in usu non esse."

172 **coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam.**

The crucial verse at the end of the sequence, framed by the key words *coniugium* and *culpam* in alliterative advance from what Dido calls what she is doing, and what in reality it is. Attempts have been made to restrict the sentiments of this verse to Dido (i.e., she thinks that what she is doing is a *culpa*, but the poet does not necessarily agree with his creation). Better is the simple, straightforward explanation: Dido knows that what she is doing is wrong, and so does Virgil.

coniugium: The same noun at 48 above; cf. 431. Here it comes after 168 *conubis*. The queen calls what happened in the cave a marriage; we are given no indication of what Aeneas thought.

vocat: A common verb before an uncommon one. The diuresis after the verb serves only to highlight its force; the studied simplicity of both the common verb and the paratactic expression underscores the seriousness of the act (on the metrical trick note H.H. Huxley, "Significant Diuresis in Vergil and Other Hexameter Poets," in *Vergilius* 33 (1987), 23–28). Austin comments on how Virgil knew how to keep such momentous events as 160–172 in brief compass, devoid of verbiage. Henry takes a sympathetic view here of the victim of heaven. On the stressing of Dido's guilt note *inter al.* E. Phinney, Jr., "Dido and Sychaeus," in *CJ* 60.8 (1965), 355–359; more generally on the topic see Sugar 2018, 90 ff.

hoc ... nomine: Framing the verb. "Coniugium" provides a convenient excuse to prettify what is in reality a fault.

praetexit: The verb recurs at 500–501 *non tamen Anna novis praetexere funera sacris / germanam credit ...*, of Anna's failure to realize something deadlier than a love affair/fault that her sister is trying to conceal. The metaphor is from weaving; cf. Paschalis 1997, 154. On what Dido does here note Monti 1981, 3–4, with reference to the allegorical interpretations of what happened in the cave as reminiscences of the Roman nuptial liturgy. The poet's focus is on how Dido presents what took place in privacy; it is clear enough that a sexual relationship commenced, and that the queen casts the indiscretion and subsequent affair as a legitimate marriage. The degree to which her people (let alone the Trojans) were fooled is debatable.

culpam: A direct echo of 19 *huic uni forsam potui succumbere culpae* (Dido to Anna). Dido should have been an *univira*, faithful to the dead Sychaeus; she has abandoned that bond, and now she lives in what she declares to be a marriage to her Trojan *hospes*. This idea is present alongside the fact that what happened in the cave was a sexual assignation or tryst and not a proper marriage in the Roman sense. There is no indication that either Aeneas or Dido actually saw Juno in the cave acting as *pronuba* at some impromptu nuptial rite; the goddess' *adereo* at 4.125 speaks more to her orchestration of events than to any service as matron of honor (except in the parodic sense). Here we do well also to remember that even absent the work of the immortals, it is completely plausible that Dido and Aeneas would find shelter in a cave together during a storm and consummate their union—such things constitute the hackneyed content of many a dime store romance. We may note too that in 170b–172, the poet perhaps provides an account of the queen's own exercise of free will in the wake of events; she may not be moved by appearances or rumor, but she does bother to call her current state a marriage.

173–197 Rumor soon swiftly spreads abroad, bringing the news of what Dido and Aeneas are doing far and wide, not least to the Gaetulian prince and *quondam* suitor Iarbas.

173 *Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes,*

Extemplo: Also at 1.92 *extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra*, at Aeneas' first appearance; 2.176 *extemplo temptanda fuga canit aequora Calchas* (after the theft of the Palladium); 376 (when Androgeos realizes that he is in enemy hands); 5.426 (at the start of the boxing match); 746 (when Aeneas prepares to announce his father's dream apparition); 6.210 (Aeneas' taking of the Golden Bough); 7.276 (Latinus' preparation of gifts for the Teucrians); 8.4 (the reaction to Turnus' raising of the battle standard on the Laurentine citadel); 262 (the opening of Cacus' lair); 11.451 (the response of the Latins to what may

well be the breaking of the burial truce by the Trojans); 621 (during the cavalry engagement); 863 (as Arruns hears the twang of Opis' bow before he dies); 12.138 (Juturna addressing her brother). Rumor did not take long to begin her flight.

Libyae: Cf. 36, where Anna mentioned both Libya and Iarbas. The name of the locale is prominently positioned: the focus has been on Carthage and the Trojans—they have neighbors.

Fama: The advent of the monstrous Rumor, her name repeated at 174. "There is a tall long-sided Dame" (Samuel Butler). For Hesiod she does not figure in the grand cosmological and genealogical splendor of the *Theogony*, but in the practical advice of the *Works and Days* (753–754): no talk, after all, is entirely gotten rid of, and PHEME is some sort of god too (i.e., by virtue of her immortality). Her coming appearance was given a modest signpost at 170—though *fama* there did not prepare for what Virgil unveils here. Vid. A.-M. Tupet in *EV* II, 461–462; P. Hardie in *VE* II, 471–472; M.B. Ogle, "Dame Gossip's Role in Epic and Drama," in *TAPA* 55 (1924), 90–119; Rudd 1976, 36 ff.; D. Lowe, "Personification Allegory in the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses*," in *Mnem.* 61.3 (2008), 414–435; Hardie 2012; Syson 2013 (28–40 on classifications of rumors); S. Clément-Tarantino, "Wanderings of *Fama* and 'Fame's Narratives' in the *Aeneid*," in Kyriakidis 2016, 55–70; Guastella 2017. The name and simple verb of action are framed by the great cities of Libya through which she goes. *Fama* will make encore appearances in this book at 298 and, too, at 666 ... *concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem*, of a deadlier rumor. Both of the rumors of Book 4 are all too true. We may compare here 7.104–105 *sed circum late volitans iam Fama per urbes | Ausonias tulerat ...* (of the oracle of Faunus, especially given the arrival of the Trojans); 8.554–555 *Fama volat parvam subito vulgata per urbem | ocus ire equites Tyrrheni ad limina regis*; 9.473–475 *Interea pavidam volitans pinnata per urbem | nuntia Fama ruit matrisque adlabitur auris | Euryali*; 10.510 ff., where it is not *fama mali tanti* but a *certior auctor* that brings the news to Aeneas of the loss of Pallas; 11.139–140 *Et iam Fama volans, tanti praenuntia luctus, | Evandrum Evandrique domos et moenia replet*; 12.608 *hinc totam infelix vulgatur fama per urbem* (of the news of Amata's suicide). In none of these passages does Rumor make the dramatic appearance she does here. This is not her first mention—at 3.121 *Fama volat*, etc., the news is brought that Idomeneus had been driven from Crete—but that is a comparatively trivial report compared to the news spread abroad in Book 4 and beyond. This is the only time where *Fama* brings word of a sexual scandal; the monstrous description accorded her fits the tawdry, delicious gossip. Hardie notes that she is particularly associated with "frenzied women."

Homer, *Od.* 24.413 is very much on the poet's mind here; also *Il.* 2.93; cf. Hesiod, *Op.* 760–764 (with D. Sider, “Vergil's *Aeneid* and Hesiod's *Theogony*,” in *Vergilius* 34 (1988), 15–24 on the larger question of Hesiodic influence on the epic). There is also the Homeric description of Eris at *Il.* 4.439–443. There are passages in both Greek and Latin where any personification of Fama is but mildly felt; cf. the English “Rumor flies.” A passage like that of Vida, *Christ.* 3.1 *Fama volans iam finitimas urbes* (of the news of the betrayal and arrest of Jesus) is a commonplace. Pease fashions one of his customary vast repositories of parallels.

magnas ... per urbes: Repeated for maximum effect at 187, of the terror that Rumor brings to great cities. *Magnae urbes* already in Ennius and Calvus; cf. *Aen.* 3.105 (of the hundred cities of Crete). The mention of *urbes* recalls the Gaetolian cities of 40. The rumor seems even more serious if the cities through which it travels are styled “great.” For how Dido will have *kleos* among her neighbors now for bad and not for good, see Newman and Newman 2005, 57.

The *Nachleben* of Fama is a vast vista from Ovid to Shakespeare and beyond, with many commentators choosing to cite their favorite examples. Ovid's celebrated description of the “House of Fame” at *Met.* 12.39–63 is reserved for the report of the advance of the Greek armada to Troy (it is actually among the briefer and less developed of his great personifications, in acknowledgment of the ground trodden by his Virgilian predecessor; cf. *Met.* 9.137 ff. of the rumor that reaches Deianeira about Hercules).

it: Cf. of a very different sort of motion at 130.

“A passage for which modern taste cares little ... to Stanyhurst its grotesqueness was a godsend”—Irvine, following Page's “How far Virgil is successful in proceeding to an elaborate description of this strange figure is dubious.” Butler is more sympathetic, paving the way for modern appraisals that have considered this one of Virgil's finest creations.

How much time should be thought to have elapsed in the Fama passage is indeterminate. As always with rumors, the news started traveling quickly; there is an implication of a marked change in the Dido-Aeneas relationship now, of unspecified duration.

174 **Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum:**

Fama: Epanalepsis (not to say epanadiplosis): the repetition of the name from 173 heralds further the long description that now commences.

malum: The name is juxtaposed with its essence. We might consider this to be the first of the *mala* announced at 169–170. Horace has *verum est cum mimis, est cum meretricibus, unde / fama malum gravius quam res trahit* (*Serm.* 1.2.59–60), of cases where rumor brings a greater evil than the actual reality.

qua: *Quo* (i.e., of *malum*) has some respectable attestation here (it is easy to see how the relative was attracted into the gender of that which precedes it); Conington considers it an “admissible” reading. No modern editor prints what was once the vulgate save Paratore, who defends it in an extended note.

non aliud ... ullum: Underscoring the point introduced by the comparative ablative *qua*.

velocius: Swiftmess is her defining characteristic. *Velox* of Mnestheus’ Pristis at 5.116; of the deer hunted by Ganymede on Cloanthus’ cloak at 253; of the boxer Entellus at 444; of Diana’s nymph Opis at 11.532; of Camilla at 760—an interesting range of uses for an adjective we might have expected to be more common in the poem. Cf. *G.* 2.530; 3.405; 344. Statius has *fama velocior* (*Silv.* 5.2.170); Curtius Rufus *velocitate opus est, qua celeritatem fama antecedes* (7.2.15.3–4).

175 *mobilitate viget viresque acquirit eundo,*

This verse is a reworking of Lucretius, *DRN* 6.340–342 *Denique quod longo venit impete, sumere debet | mobilitatem etiam atque etiam, quae crescit eundo | et validas auget viris et roborat ictum*, of the speed of a thunderbolt. A masterful example of the compression of an extended passage into one line. Here the point is to echo something of the storm from 160–161; Fama now takes the place of the lightning and thunder that interrupted the hunt and that flashed during the union in the cave (167). To whatever extent Virgil’s Fama is to be compared to lightning and the forces of nature, the point is to connect her action to that of the Junonian storm. The verse is framed by words that denote mobility and movement, with the verbs artfully placed in second and penultimate position, and Rumor’s strength prominent at the middle of the verse. Not only does Fama move faster and faster, but the credibility of her report improves the more frequently it is shared.

mobilitate: The noun only here in Virgil, borrowed from Lucretius, who uses it frequently. Again position equals prominence.

viget viresque: Alliterative. For the verb cf. 2.88–89 *dum stabat regno incolumis regumque vigebat | conciliis ...*, of the fortunes of Palamedes. *Vis* of the sense of smell of the hounds at 132 above; cf. 627 *nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires* (in Dido’s curse). The elision of *viresque acquirit* enacts something of the speed with which Rumor gains her strength. Austin does well to note that most people become tired by vigorous activity; Fama is the opposite.

acquirit: With the sense of increase and augmentation. Another Virgilian *hapax* (vid. *TLL* I col. 425), not particularly common in poetry.

eundo: The form is borrowed from the Lucretian model; we may compare the gerund of the same verb at 554 *Aeneas celsa in puppi iam certus eundi*.

176 *parva initu primo, mox sese attollit in auras*

parva: Alliterative with *primo*.

initu: Here we agree with Baehrens' brilliant, paleographically plausible correction of the universally attested and apparently quite old error *metu*. So Conte's Teubner *editio altera* (vid. further Conte 2016, viii–ix); Holzberg's Tusculum; and Kraggerud 2017, 179–180 (“How Baehrens did away with Fama’s timidity”), *contra* Mynors' OCT; Geymonat; Perret's Budé; Goold's Loeb; Heuzé's Pléiade; Rivero García et al.; etc. Neither Fama nor her devotees know the slightest fear here. Baehrens' 1887 conjecture is based on Lucretius, *DRN* 1.383 *unde initum primum capiat res quaeque movendi*, a passage that has the advantage of being relevant to the immediate context (certainly far more relevant than any notion of *metus*). Much critical ink has been spilled on whether Fama or her listeners experience a little fear at first, as the rumor and report is barely nascent. Kraggerud expresses surprise that neither Buscaroli nor Pease so much as cites the suggestion. “Offering a real cure for a[n] ... obvious ailment ... [it] has yet to be adopted wholeheartedly by a courageous editor” (Kraggerud 2017, 180, before Conte's revised Teubner). Respectfully, the present editors think perhaps we are less courageous, because *initu* is vastly simpler than *metu* from an interpretive point of view (Gildenhard brings in Craven's horror cinema as part of his discussion of the fear so many have read in this line; Gould and Whiteley speak of Rumor as being at first “a puny fearful creature”). The new Lucretian allusion follows on the compressed reworking of that poet's verses on the thunderbolt. Some rumors can of course originate in fear; the present situation is rooted not so much in any anxiety, as in salacious and tawdry gossip.

primo: Adverbial (“antecedent to *mox*”—Conte 2016, viii). Taking it adjectivally with *initu* does not do nearly as much violence to the verse as reading *metu primo* of “first fear.” *Primo* does correlate closely with *initu*; the triad *initu primo mox* expresses something of the progress of growth: small at her entrance at first, soon ...

mox: 17× in the epic, only here in Book 4. The emphasis continues to be on speed.

attollit in auras: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4.721–722. The verb also at 49 above. *Aura* is one of Virgil's favorite words; it recurs at 226; 270; 357; 378; 388; 417; 445; 494; 504. Always evocative; *deest* in *EV*. More alliteration. “Sumpta licentia, quae minuebatur timore” (Servius, in an early example of psychological interpretation based on reading *metu*). *Attollit in auras* here is balanced by 177 *caput inter nubila condit*. We may compare the same description of Allecto at 7.561 *illa autem attollit stridentis anguibus alas*.

Macrobius (*Sat.* 5.13.31ff.) cites 176–177 in a comparison of the growth of Fama to that of Eris at *Il.* 4.442–444, reading *metu* (though without comment

on the fear). The citation focuses on how Virgil has applied the Homeric image imprecisely, since Eris is always Eris no matter how large she becomes, while Fama ceases to be Fama once facts are established. The early fifth century A.D. was little different from the early twenty-first in pondering the question of rumor *vs.* reality.

177 *ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.*

The verbs frame the line, as Fama grows from earth to sky. This verse is repeated at 10.767, in the comparison of Mezentius to the giant Orion, as the Etruscan hero advances to face Aeneas. Fama was a sister of storied giants (cf. on 179); the reminiscence of this passage in describing the Etruscan monster is apt. The hyperbole is felt more in the case of the mortal hero than of the supernatural personification, though different editors have responded in diverse ways to Virgil's picture (whether or not the poet was modeling his description on a painting or mosaic he may have seen). "The beginning and end of this line combine to give an idea of monstrous size" (Maclennan). "The canker in the rosebud of Dido's brief honeymoon" (Newman and Newman 2005, 299).

ingrediturque: For the verb cf. 107. The form recurs at 5.543 (during the archery contest); 6.157 (of Aeneas walking with Achates and pondering the news that a comrade remains unburied); 856 (of the shade of Marcus Claudius Marcellus in the *Heldenschau*); 10.763; 767 (of Mezentius and his comparand Orion). Rumor strides over the land, and she buries her head in the clouds as she grows in height.

solo: The noun also at 202.

caput: Alliterative with *condit*. Virgil may have had in mind here Cicero's *Hoc caput hic paulum sese subitoque recondit* (*Arat.* 61 Soubiran); cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.148.

nubila: Also at 245–246 *illa fretus agit ventos et turbida tranat | nubila* (of Mercury's airy journey). The noun occurs some dozen times in the epic; here it comes with another reminiscence of the storm that brought together the lovers. The tempest traversed sky and earth; Fama reverses the pattern, though with no less deadly an effect. *Inter nubila* is borrowed from *G.* 1.445–446 *aut ubi sub lucem densa inter nubila sese | diversi rumpent radii ...*; cf. 6.592; 7.699; Ovid, *Met.* 9.271; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.238; 8.56; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 1.535; 5.37; 12.94; 15.140.

condit: Another favorite verb of the poet (regrettably untreated in *EV*); only here in the book. The line-end also at Statius, *Theb.* 6.681. A literal reading of the hyperbole reminds us that by the time Rumor has her head in the clouds, it is almost as if she cannot see where she is going—she advances where she

will, ever faster by virtue of her moving. Images of touching the heaven or being raised as high as the sky are commonplace; Pease ably catalogues an exhausting array of examples.

178 *illam Terra parens ira inritata deorum*

Virgil here commences an apparently innovative account of the descent of Fama from the angry Earth, as a sister of the Titans and Giants. What is perhaps most important about the poet's depiction of this monster is how she has escaped the fate of her rebellious brothers; also, in comparison to them, an adjective like *parva* (176) is telling: Rumor escapes notice much of the time because her size seems to be variable, utterly dependant on circumstance and her presence on the lips of men. "Surreal Hellenistic bravura" (Newman and Newman 2005, 24). "Rumour's credentials as a chthonic monster and close relative of the Titans are impeccable" (Nelis 2001, 153).

illam: The offspring is juxtaposed with the parent; the demonstrative here is balanced by 179 *extremam*.

Terra parens: The genealogy of Fama provides an echo of *prima Tellus* from the mysterious events in the cave. *Terra parens* not cited before here in verse, and not common anywhere; Cicero has it at *Pro Flacco* 62.6; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.393. *Parens* is principally applied in the epic to Anchises (12×); 7× of Venus; 4× each of Daunus and Evander; 2× of Aeneas. The aggrieved Earth (*Terra ... inritata* is artfully placed in the second and penultimate positions). Tellus witnessed the "marriage" in the cave, but instead of a child for Dido, we are reminded of how Fama is the daughter of Terra. Earth may be the parent of all, but here the evocation of the rebellion of the Giants against the Olympian order speaks to Rumor as an early, quasi-primal force that has long been with us, a force born out of her mother's anger at the gods (cf. Apollonius' passing reference to Earth's wrath at *Arg.* 2.39). With this mention of the children of Earth cf. 6.580–581 *hic genus antiquum Terrae, Titania pubes, | fulmine deiecit fundo vobvuntur in imo*.

ira inritata: Alliterative, especially after *illam*. For the paranomasia see Gil-denhard. The verb *inritare* is used at 10.643–644 *at primas laeta ante acies exsultat imago | inritatque virum telis et voce lacessit* (of the phantom Aeneas). The sound effect of *Terra ... ira inritata* is effective in enactment of her hostility. There is a strong hint here that Fama is a barely controllable force, a vestige of the days of open war against the Jovian order.

deorum: Objective genitive. Some have tried to take this with 179 *extremam*, as if the point were that Fama was the last-born of the gods; the word order of the next line should be sufficient to rule out the possibility (see further Pease).

179 extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem

extremam ... sororem: Framing the verse. *Sororem* recalls the theme of sisterhood from the Anna-Dido interaction. Rumor was born last (rather than as the last of other, unspecified sisters). The implication of Virgil's association of the sister with her giant brethren is that she alone is unrestrained among this monstrous brood. Butler speculates that Fama was brought forth by Earth to spread scandalous rumors about the Olympians. There is an element here too of judgment: Fama was the last birth, and she was in many respects the worst of the lot.

ut perhibent: Parallel is 8.135 *Electra, ut Grai perhibent, Atlantide cretus* (of Dardanus); cf. 8.324–325 *aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere / saecula*. A nice touch in a description of Fama, as Virgil references the report/rumor of the monstrous progeny of Terra; Virgil played even more with this idea at 3.578 *fama est Enceladi*, as he reported on the tale of the giant's imprisonment under Etna. For the poet's artful placement of distance between himself and his sources, see Horsfall 2016, 111 ff., following on Horsfall 1991, 117 ff. There may be a bit of learned humor here, if Virgil was in fact the originator of the story of Fama as part of this particular litter of giants. "Virgil is picking up rumors on rumor" (Gildenhard). We may perhaps imagine that Fama was born as the last child of Terra even after the unsuccessful revolt of her other offspring—speculation is all we have since this would appear to be Virgil's own invention of a story.

Coeo: Vid. G. Garbugino in *EV* I, 739; V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* I, 282; Hesiod, *Th.* 134, 404 (with West). Virgil cites this rebellious giant also at *G.* 1.278–280 ... *tum partu Terra nefando / Coeumque Iapetumque creat saevumque Typhoeum / et coniuratos caelum rescindere fratres*. A Titan, balanced with his brother a Giant. Hyginus (*Fab.* pr. 4.1) has Coeus with Enceladus as (giant) children *ex Terra et Tartaro*; no poet save Virgil places them together. Coeus also at Ovid, *Met.* 6.185–186. Far less famous in verse than his brother, as Ovid's Niobe noted. In the immediate context he is significant because he was the father of Latona and thus the grandfather of Apollo and Diana. How far we are already from the seemingly splendid comparisons of Dido and Aeneas to Diana and Apollo; any disturbing undertones of the inappropriate similes now begin to come into larger relief.

Encelado: The brothers are juxtaposed. For Enceladus note R. Rocca in *EV* II, 217–218; V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* I, 420–421. At 3.578–582 Virgil references this giant as being buried under Etna (following Callimachus; vid. *Aet.* fr. 1.35–36 Harder, with her notes ad loc.), though more usually this was the fate of his brother Typhoeus. For Enceladus in the poetic imagination note also Propertius, c. 2.1.39–40; Horace, c. 3.4.56; Ovid, *Ep.* 2.2.11–12; Lucan, *BC* 6.293–294;

Seneca, *HO* 1139–1140; 1145–1146; 1158–1159; 1734–1735; Statius, *Theb.* 3.594–595; 11.7–8; 12.274–275; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 14.578–579. He is not named in Hesiod; we must wait for the mythographers for citations of his terrestrial parentage (his paternity is disputed; Sky at Ps.-Apoll., *Bib.* 1.34; Tartarus in Hyginus). He was slain by Silenus if one wishes to believe the light-hearted evidence of Euripides, *Cyc.* 7 (where see Seaford, and Hunter and Laemmle). Virgil's point here is to contrast the buried Enceladus (who can rage in a relatively limited geographical zone) with his unrestrained, all too free younger sister.

For the argument that “*Enceladus*” here is introduced to emphasize the notion of a loud noise (appropriate to the growing Rumor), see Paschalis 1997, 175, who considers further the possible etymology of “*Coeus*” from the idea of perceiving or hearing—thus securing a case for making these monsters fitting siblings for their talkative younger sister.

180 *progenuit pedibus celerem et pernicibus alis,*

progenuit: Alliterative with *pedibus* and *pernicibus*. The verb only here in Virgil; it occurs in Plautus; Catullus; Lucretius. “The alliteration and the appropriately swift metre of the line are noteworthy” (Pease). “Hard, clattering consonants” (Austin).

The order of *progenuit pedibus* may hint at Rumor as having been a breech birth.

pedibus ... alis: Balancing the description of how she advanced over the earth and had her head buried in the clouds (177); it is a small step from that detail to how she can both walk and fly.

celerem: Coordinate in meaning with *pernicibus*, and echoing the poet's point at 174 *velocius*; 175 *mobilitate viget*, etc. The adjective recurs at 226; 270; 285; 357; vid. R. Degl'Innocenti Pierini in *EV* I, 725–726. Prominently positioned at the middle of the verse.

pernicibus: Echoed at 11.718 *haec fatur virgo et pernicibus ignea plantis*, in the description of Camilla as she overtakes the Ligurian. Camilla is also noted for her astonishing speed (7.807–811, a point that Virgil emphasizes and describes with hyperbole; Ovid thus modeled his Atalanta at *Met.* 10.654–655 on her). There may be a hint of *pernicies*—the monster's swift feet and wings (the adjective to be taken with both) bring destruction. “What goes with what” here has been a question for the commentators since Servius, who argued that the poet has reversed the normal epithets, since *pernix* is proper of feet and *celeritas* of wings. But Virgil has adjectives and nouns shade together here in a deliberately blurred picture that enacts the speed with which Fama advances. Rumor may be *parva* much of the time, but she was born fleet of foot and swift of wing.

alis: Cf. 9.473, where Fama is *pinnata*. *Alis* here balances *plumae* at the end of the next verse. The idea that words are winged is a commonplace, here elaborated on a grand scale as part of the depiction of the monster; we may compare the affinities of Fama with Virgil's other creations Allecto; the Dirae; to some extent the Volscian banshee Camilla. This little yet significant word at line-end ushers in the fantastic physical description of the full-grown monster.

181 monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui quot sunt corpore plumae,

The verse is modeled on 3.658 *monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum*, of the description of the pastoral Cyclops Polyphemus. While Polyphemus' monstrous description is crowned by the image of his lost eye, Fama will be noted for having as many eyes as feathers—a detail that Virgil reveals at 182 in conscious response to his earlier use of similar language to describe the blind giant. This is the verse where those readers who think that Virgil has indulged in regrettable poetic fancies in his depiction of Fama begin to feel the most critical. "... the elisions and the rhythm make a violent and ungainly picture" (Austin). The commentators think of peacocks, which is exactly right: the bird was sacred to Juno, and peacock/Argus imagery here would not be entirely inappropriate.

monstrum: On "monsters and monstrosity" in the Augustan poets, note especially Lowe 2015. With *horrendum* we may also compare 3.26 *horrendum dictum video mirabile monstrum* (of the omen at Polydorus' grave), which Virgil reworked for his descriptions of both the Cyclops and Rumor. We may think of Horace's *fatale monstrum* for Cleopatra (c. 1.37.21). For the noun see Fratanuono and Smith on 8.698. Singular *monstrum* also of such monsters or horrors as the Wooden Horse (2.245); the Harpy (3.214); Allecto (7.328); the Dira (12.874). For the etymology from "quod monstret futurum et moneat voluntatem deorum," see Sinnius Capito, fr. 7 Funaioli.

horrendum: A rich range of uses in the epic. Cf. 2.222 *clamos simul horrendos ad sidera tollit* (of Laocoön); 3.559 *hos Helenus scopulos, haec saxa horrenda canebat* (of the marine hazard Scylla); 679 *concilium horrendum* (of the eerie sight of the Cyclopes on the shore); 712 *nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret* (with reference to the unpredicted loss of Anchises); also below at 454 *horrendum dictu latices nigrescere sacros* (during Dido's ghastly magical rites); 6.10 (of the Sibyl Deiphobe); 99 *horrendas canit ambages antroque remugit* (of her pronouncements); 287–288 *et centumgeminus Briareus ac belua Lerneae / horrendum stridens* (of the monsters at the threshold of the underworld); 298 (of the ferryman Charon); 327 (of the banks of the Styx); 7.78 *id vero horrendum ac visu mirabile ferri* (of the Lavinia flame portent); 172 *horrendum silvis et religione parentum* (of the locus of Laurentine Picus' palace); 323 (of the Fury

Allecto); 568 *hic specus horrendum et saevi spiracula Ditis*; 8.564–565 *nascenti cui tris animas Feronia mater / horrendum dictum dederat, terna arma movenda* (of the monster Erulus); 9.112 (of the *vox horrenda* at the transformation of the Trojan ships); 521 (of Mezentius); 632 *horrendum stridens* (of Ascanius' shot at Remulus); 731–732 *continuo nova lux oculis effulsit et arma / horrendum sonuere* (of Turnus); 11.507 *horrenda in virgine* (of Camilla); 12.700 *laetitia exsultans horrendumque intonat armis* (of Aeneas). For the verb see further on 209 *horremus*.

ingens: Cf. on 89. The adjective here contrasts with 176 *parva*—Fama has grown to her monstrous full size all too swiftly.

plumae: The wings from the end of 180 are now given feathers, as the bird imagery becomes more pronounced. The Harpies also have feathers (3.242); the transformed Cynus-swan (10.192); cf. also 11.770–771 ... *quem pellis aënis / in plumam squamis auro conserta tegebat* (of Chloereus' armor); the feathers and gore that descend to earth in the simile that describes Camilla's attack on the Ligurian as that of a falcon against a hapless dove (11.721–724).

Avian imagery: we may note Mercury's descent to earth at 253–255 below, which is compared to the flight of a bird; he brings the report of Jupiter's displeasure to Aeneas. Birds are quiet at 522–527, where the silence of the animal kingdom contrasts effectively with Dido's insomniac anxiety and distress.

Here begins, then, a classic problem in Virgilian studies: what exactly does Fama look like? She is certainly avian in appearance, a monster of immense size now, flying through the air with many feathers on her body. For a simple (perhaps too simple) and reasonable explanation of what unfolds in Virgil's picture, see R.R. Dyer, "Vergil's Fama: A New Interpretation of *Aeneid* 4.173 ff.," in *G&R* 35.1 (1989), 29–32 (for the argument of which see below on 182 *subter*).

182 *tot vigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu)*,

tot: Powerfully echoed at 183 *tot ... totidem ... tot*.

vigiles: The adjective also at 200, of the fire that Iarbas keeps lit on Jupiter's altars; at 2.266 and 335 in the context of Troy's last night; at 9.159 and 221 with reference to the night mission of Nisus and Euryalus.

oculi: The eyes must come first: one sees the scandalous sight; then one tells; then one hears the report.

subter: Elsewhere in Virgil only at *G.* 3.298. On this one word rests much of the puzzle regarding Rumor's appearance that has vexed commentators. The usual interpretations offer something like Fama having as many eyes as she has feathers, with the eyes presumably underneath the feathers or on the ends thereof (again, the image is of a peacock, whose eyes were those of Juno's slain watchman Argus). It is difficult to escape, one might think, the idea that Virgil

is indeed saying that Rumor has as many eyes as she has feathers—a seemingly outlandish picture that can be afforded reasonable sense only if we think of Argus and the peacock. Dyer's interpretation is that *subter* refers not to the body of Rumor, but to what goes on beneath the bird-like monster as she flies over the great cities: in other words, for every feather on the monster, there are so many vigilant eyes of her devotees, as it were, on earth.

mirabile dictu: *Dictu* and not *visu*, since the whole force of Fama is on report and the spreading of news. For Dyer this word choice is further evidence of the fundamental correctness of Servius' point here that the poet is engaging in "argumentatio" and not "narratio." In other words, what is "marvelous to tell" is not the appearance of the monster so much as the effect she has on earth-bound mortals. For every feather on her body, there are so many vigilant eyes looking about for scandal. Fama has many helpers below (*subter*) on earth. For *mirabile dictu* in the epic cf. 1.439; 2.174; 680; 3.26; 7.64; 8.252. Of course that which is "marvelous to tell" implies in itself an exercise of Fama.

The *oculi* of this verse = nominative in balance with 183 *linguae* and *ora*; the *auris* of 183 are accusative after the singular *subrigit* (subject certainly Fama). There is a grammatical mess here if we are to assume that the *oculi*, the *linguae*, and the *ora* are all Fama's—let alone the *ures*. Part of the problem is that all of the physical images at play here—seeing and hearing and reporting—could equally well be applied both to the monster and to the mortals who hear her report and in turn spread it to others. Dyer's interpretation of *subter* also fits well with the emphasis on Fama being above and her eager adepts, as it were, below.

Gildenhard does not find Dyer's resolution of the problem convincing, in part because he considers it to be a diminution of Fama's monstrous nature; cf. Hardie 2009, 95–96, also critically. But a lessening of the more outlandish aspects of Fama's appearance may be exactly what the passage needs. What Virgil has done here, then, is to construct artfully a picture of a monster whose work inevitably (and swiftly) becomes indistinguishable from the works of men. Individuals spreading rumors offer a case of Fama in miniature, repeated as the contagion of gossip spreads. We are the monster as much as the avian horror flying above us, head buried in the clouds. At the same time, the presentation of this immortal/mortal hybrid beast evokes the image of Juno's peacock memorial to her watchman Argus—whose last, fatal job, after all, was to guard the transformed Io who was a living reminder of her husband's latest infidelity (and we may consider possible evocations of Fama/Io and Dido's comparand Cleopatra/Isis). Fama—like *Allecto*—is implicitly Juno's creation, and like Juno's peacock, Fama does have eyes for every feather, even if the eyes are not so much a feature of a horrible apparition, so much as they are the eyes

(and tongues, and ears) of everyone who spreads gossip. Virgil thereby ensures that what could well have been ludicrous is in fact horrifying and all too easily perceived by anyone who has experienced or spread rumors. Gildenhard rightly compares Abraham Bosse's eerie frontispiece for Hobbes' *Leviathan*. Relevant here too may be the artwork on Turnus' shield at 7.789–791 *at levem clipeum sublatis cornibus Io | auro insignibat, iam saetis obsita, iam bos, | argumentum ingens, et custos virginis Argus*.

If the eyes are truly “under” the wings, DServ. explains the seeming paradox: “mire ‘subter,’ quasi quae non videatur et omnia videat.”

It is remarkable that Henry declined to comment on the problems posed by the appearance of Fama.

183 *tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris.*

This verse has a neat triple structure (*tot ... totidem ... tot*), following on the *tot* of its predecessor. The shift from the nominatives *oculi/linguae/ora* to the accusative *auris* (governed by its singular verb, with Fama as subject) reflects the action and progress of gossip: people see; they tell of what they see; others hear. In implied sequence, the cycle repeats as those who hear then tell still others the news. If the *linguae* and the *ora* are of people on earth, then this verse effectively blends their action with that of the monster as we switch subjects by the third element of the verse (*subrigit auris*).

linguae ... ora: A hint of the celebrated conceit of Homer, *Il.* 2.489, in Virgil at *G.* 2.43–44 and *Aen.* 6.625; cf. Ennius, *Ann. fr. sed. inc.* 469 Skutsch; Hostius 3 M.; possibly in Lucretius (*Servio teste*). The dark humor here would be that Rumor may just have enough *linguae* and *ora* (either of her own or of her mortal helpers) to tell every tale imaginable.

totidem: 14× in the epic; only here in Book 4.

sonant: The verb also at 149. The report of rumors is often delivered with the same sense of grandeur and bombast as we might associate with epic recitation; there is a marked feeling in this verse that those who spread gossip and idle tales do so with the same seriousness and vigor as a rhapsode delivering his heroic verses. The *ora* that sound here will be echoed at 195 *ora*.

subrigit: Another Virgilian *hapax*; perhaps borrowed from Cicero, *Marius fr.* 3.3 Soubiran. Quite rare in all periods. Alliterative after *sonant*. There is a hint of the sense that nothing could prick up or irritate an ear more than a feather (as of the Fama-bird). This passage is reworked at 9.474–475 *nuntia Fama ruit matrisque adlabitur auris | Euryali*.

One may compare here Statius' *Pavor* at *Theb.* 7.111–112 *innumerae monstro vocesque manusque | et facies ...*, where see Smolenaars on monsters that can be shifters of both voice and shape.

184 nocte volat caeli medio terraeque per umbram

The verse is framed by words that reference darkness.

nocte volat: Like a bat, as the critics have noted. The verb also at 246 and 255–256 (of Mercury and the bird to which he is compared). For night see on 26 ... *noctemque profundam*. *Nocte* here is balanced by 186 *luce*. Servius took the point here to be that the night reflects that which is hidden, which is what everyone always wants to find out: “bene naturalem rem dixit; non quanto celatum est aliquid, tanto magis requiritur. et sine dubio incipiens fama semper obscura est; quae divulgata conquiescit, unde ait *luce sedet* [186].”

Fama volat occurs at 3.121; 7.392; 8.554.

caeli ... terrae: A not uncommon collocation, already in verse in Lucretius (*DRN* 5.98; 245).

medio: Of course at the midpoint of the verse, and framed by its points of reference. The emphasis throughout has been on how Rumor functions (at least at her full size) as an intermediary between sky and earth, able both to walk and to fly. As Austin notes, there is no better place whence to see all that is transpiring.

per umbram: For the noun see on 7 and cf. 25–26; it recurs at 351; 386; 571; 660. Here shadow and night combine to create an ominous scene. The line-end in Virgil also at *G.* 1.366; *Aen.* 2.420; 732; 768; 6.257; 268; 9.314. The nocturnal imagery is purposefully evocative of the underworld; we may recall that the news that Rumor is spreading far and wide is of the events that constituted the *dies primus leti* (169). Servius interprets *per umbram* closely with *terraeque*, such that night is defined as the shadow of the earth. *Umbras* has some Carolingian attestation.

185 stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno;

ABBA alliteration: *stridens* / *dulci* / *declinat* / *somno*. Rumor here is depicted as being as sleepless as Dido was at the beginning of the book. We may note here that 172 *coniugium vocat*—right before the epiphany of Fama—is the last bit of reported speech before the rumors spread. Virgil does not make explicit whether the prime reference of 172 is to Dido convincing herself, or to what Dido tells others. But few young women in love are able to keep their passion secret for long, and it is possible that Dido herself was the genesis of the rumors.

stridens: A sibilant, spondaic participle to open the verse, in prominent, enjambed position to describe Fama’s eerie whirring through the night and its shadows. As Gildenhard observes, the spondees and alliterative effect of the verse are meant to be soporific—to anyone but Rumor. The verb’s occurrences in the epic repay close study. Most importantly, perhaps, it recurs at 689 ... *infixum stridit sub pectore vulnus*, near the end of the book, to describe in vivid

auditory detail the condition of Dido's fatal chest wound. These are the only uses of *stridere* in the book. At 1.102 *Talia iactanti stridens Aquilone procella* it appears first in the epic of a blast from the Junonian storm (cf. 2.418 ... *strident silvae*, of the whistling of storm-whipped trees in a simile); in a happier context, it is applied to the wings of the portentous swans of 1.397 *ut reduces illi ludunt stridentibus alis* that Venus points out to her son. The creaking of the heavy doors of Dido's Junonian temple is described at 1.449 ... *foribus cardo stridebat aënis*. In the underworld it is applied to the Lernaean Hydra, *horrendum stridens* (6.288) and to the creaking gates of Tartarus at 6.573–574 *tum demum horrisono stridentes cardine sacrae / panduntur portae* (an eerie recollection of Dido's temple doors); note also the reference to the doors of the *Belli portae* at 7.613 *insignis reserat stridentia limina consul*—a striking threefold progression of creaking door imagery as we move from Dido's temple to Tartarus to the gates of war. While the arrow shot of 5.502 *primaque per caelum nervo stridente sagitta* occurs in the comparatively happy context of the Sicilian archery contest, a similarly whirring arrow fells the youth Almo at the start of the Latin war (7.531); cf. the same sound effect of Allecto's wings at 7.561 *illa autem attollit stridentis anguibus alas*. At 8.420–421 ... *striduntque cavernis / stricturae Chalypum et fornacibus ignis anhelat*, we hear the sounds in Vulcan's forge; cf. 8.450–451. Fatal arrows again at 9.419 and 632; cf. Mezentius' slingshot at 9.586 and his spear at 10.776; Turnus' *phalarica* at 9.705 and his spear at 10.645. Also in the context of the infant Camilla's miraculous river crossing at 11.563 *infelix fugit in iaculo stridente Camilla*; of the mysterious arrow that seriously wounds Aeneas at 12.319; of the breezes that whir with shafts at 12.691 ... *striduntque hastilibus aurae*; of the Parthian arrow shot to which the descent of the Dira is compared (12.856 ff.); of the spear that wounds Turnus in his thigh at 12.926 *per medium stridens transit femur*.

Fama's whirring through the shadows in the night is thus an eerily charged image that can be associated with the sound of bats and nocturnal birds, as well as of arrow shots; we may parallel both Juno's Allecto and Jupiter's Dira, as well as the wounding by missile weapons of both Aeneas and Turnus, the former so seriously that his mother will need to cure him, the latter soon before his death. DServ. associates the participle with the sound of both voice and wing; the wings are of course the more ominous, frightening sound of this avian horror that will soon be revealed to haunt the day no less effectively than the night.

The exact meaning of *stridens* has been questioned here, usually by force of choice between the screeching sound of her voice or the whirring of the wings (with attendant consideration of whether the participle should be taken closely with *per umbram* or absolutely). Both shades of meaning are present; both

wings and voice are clearly heard in the night as Rumor makes her report. Anyone who has viewed Hitchcock's *The Birds* knows exactly what Fama sounded like.

dulci: The adjective of sleep also at *G.* 1.342 *tum somni dulces densaeque in montibus umbrae*. The poet of the *Ciris* imitated the present image at 206 *iamque adeo dulci devinctus lumina somno* (of Nisus); cf. *non prius in dulcem declinans lumina somnum* of the *De Inst. Viri Boni* (14). For *dulcis* see on 33; here it refers in particular to the sweetness of sleep that is longed for by those who want to rest, but who remain awake to hear news about the latest scandal.

declinat: Another Virgilian *hapax* in the extraordinary vignette, in imitation of Catullus, c. 64.91–93 *non prius ex illo flagrantia declinavit | lumina, quam cuncto concepit corpore flammam | funditus atque imis exarsit tota medullis* (of Ariadne). Valerius Flaccus has ... *at miserae declinant lumina Thebae*.

lumina: Of eyes already in Catullus; the evocative line-end here recalls c. 64.122 ... *aut ut eam devinctam lumina somno*. Cf. *G.* 4.496 ... *conditque nantia lumina somnus* (Eurydice to Orpheus); 5.847 and 856 (of Palinurus with Somnus); 10.745–746 *olli dura quies oculos et ferreus urget | somnus, in aeternam clauduntur lumina noctem* (of Mezentius' victim Orodes; = 12.309–310, of Alsus' slaying of Podalirius); also below at 244 ... *lumina morte resignat* (of the psychopomp Mercury); of Aeneas's immovable eyes at 331–332; Dido's rueful comment at 369. Allecto has *flammea lumina* at 7.448–449.

somno: At line-end, balancing 184 ... *umbram*.

186 luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti,

More ABBA alliteration: *sedet | custos | summi | culmine*. The verse is framed by words that evoke light and concealment. Conington sees more avian imagery, of a bird that settles now on one place, now on another.

luce: Balancing 184 *nocte*. For *luce* to indicate daytime note 9.153 (with Hardie, and Dingel); cf. Nisbet on Cicero, *In Pisonem* 23.14.

sedet custos: This eerie image will be paralleled at 11.836–837 *At Triviae custos iamdudum in montibus Opis | alta sedet summis spectatque interrita pugnas*, of Diana's nymph Opis as she watches the cavalry battle to wait to avenge Camilla's death. The Massylian priestess who assists Dido in her ghastly liturgies is the *Hesperidum templi custos* at 484 below; note also the reference to Argus as the *custos* of Io at 7.791.

Rumor finally sits down, but specifically so that she can terrorize cities; there is no hint that the supernatural horror is fatigued at last. She is a *custos* because she is waiting for gossip. Virgil's Fama travels under cover of night, and sits by day (in reverse of the normal pattern for mortals); her work, however, is never done, and she neither needs nor knows any rest.

For *sedere* cf. 15 above, and especially the parallel case of the theatrical comparison of Dido's nightmare at 473: *cum fugit ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae.*

summi culmine tecti: *Culmine* is elegantly framed, with *summi culmine* in deliberate juxtaposition to emphasize height; the image will be echoed at 7.512–513 *ardua tecta petit stabuli et de culmine summo | pastorale canit signum* ..., of Allecto. We may note *G.* 1.402–403 *solis et occasum servans de culmine summo | nequiquam seros exercet noctua cantus*, as well as below at 462 *solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo*, which may serve as an indicator that Virgil was also thinking of owls in this passage. A similar locus for Aeneas as he beheld the horror show in Priam's inner sanctum: 2.458 *evado ad summi fastigia culminis* ...; cf. the ghost of Hector in Aeneas' dream: 2.290 ... *ruit alto a culmine Troia*; also 2.410; 446; 478; 603; 695. Aeneas will envisage a similar fate for Latinus' city at 12.569 *eruam et aequa solo fumantia culmina ponam*. The *Dira* of Book 12 is also like *Fama*: *quae quondam in bustis aut culminibus desertis | nocte sedens serum canit importuna per umbras* (863–864). In a far more relaxed context at 8.456 *et matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus*, of the morning birds around Evander's hut. Entellus' blows against Dares at the boxing match are like hail on a roof (5.458–460).

culmine tecti: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 12.480. From Servius on there has been a tendency to schematize the *tecti* as referring to private dwellings, with the lofty towers of 187 of public buildings. But Virgil may not have cared for such hyperprecision (see Page on such "fanciful" interpretations). The *tectum* and *turres* of 186–187 are echoed at 11.139–140, of Evander's *domos* and *moenia* where *Fama* travels to relay the report of *Pallas'* death.

187 *turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes,*

turribus: Alliterative with *territat*. "High towers" also in the related passages 9.470–471 and 10.121–122. We may compare the decks of the ships that are like towers in the depiction of Actium on the shield at 8.693.

altis: Continuing the emphasis on height from 186 *summi*, and balanced with *magnas* of the cities. The present verse evokes the idea of the siege of a powerful city by some army or engine of war; *Fama*, however, is an internal besieger, a winged creature that need not breach any wall to capture her target. All the references here to height and grandeur evoke the proud spirit of Carthage more than any settlement or city of Iarbas and Dido's neighbors. But the point is general: Rumor is a deadly, indeed unconquerable foe for even the mightiest of realms.

et magnas ... urbes: Echoing 173, closing a ring as Virgil prepares to end his extended description. The original reading of the Medicean here is *magnas et* for *et magnas*, which Janell (in a departure from Ribbeck) prints in his

Teubner. Pease argues that the inversion of a second connective (*et* delayed after the same for *aut*) “would seem unduly affected in style.” Stylistically the only reason to commend *magnas et* is that then *altis* and *magnas* are juxtaposed.

territat: The verb and context will be echoed at 12.851–852 *si quando letum horrificum morbosque deum rex / molitur, meritas aut bello territat urbes* (of the action of the Dira); cf. the augur Tolumnius’ interpretation of the Juturna bird omen at 12.260–263 ... *me, me duce ferrum / corripite, o miseri, quos improbus advena bello / territat invalidas ut avis, et litora vestra / vi populat* ... (as he urges the breaking of the truce); Drances’ indignant reference to Turnus at 11.350–351 ... *dum Troia temptat / castra fugae fidens et caelum territat armis*.

188 tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri.

The verse moves from a heavy emphasis on that which is sordid and untrue, to that which is worthy of credence. Rumor traffics in both lies and truth, with an often marked preference for the former; lies and tawdry tales are what dominate this verse, since that is what is characteristically most associated with her work. Gildenhard says that there are two pieces of falsehood for every one of truth. Triple patterning of neuter substantive uses of the adjective: *ficti* / *pravi* / *veri*. Newman and Newman 2005, 27 take this verse as exactly emblematic of what the poet is doing in “blowing two trumpets” in his epic.

tam ... tenax: Alliterative.

ficti: The liar Sinon speaks *ficto pectore* (2.107); Remulus speaks of the *fandi factor Ulixes* (9.602). *Ficti* here is echoed by 190 *facta atque infecta*.

pravi: *Hapax* in Virgil. Properly of that which is “crooked,” from which it is not a long or difficult road to that which is depraved (i.e., the march from *OLD* s.v. 1 to 3). Pease takes *ficti* of that which is simply untrue, and *pravi* of that which is “distorted”; the implication here is that every “juicy” detail of the gossip, as it were, is to be reported, and with indulgence in embellishment. With *pravi* here cf. 194 ... *turpique cupidine captos*.

tenax: Not a common adjective in Virgil; note also 6.3–4 ... *tum dente tenaci / ancora fundabat navis* ... on the landing in Italy; 8.453 ... *versantque tenaci forcipe massam* in Vulcan’s forge; the related ... *prensantque tenaci forcipe massam*, of Iapyx’s failed attempts to cure Aeneas’ arrow wound. Servius takes *tenax* with *nuntia*, which the rhythm and order of the line mitigate against. “In omnibus perseverans.”

nuntia veri: Exactly as at 9.474–475 *nuntia Fama ruit matrisque adlabitur auris / Euryali* and 11.139–140 *Et iam Fama volans, tanti praenuntia luctus, / Evandrum Evandrique domos et moenia replet*; cf. the different case of 8.550–551.

189 haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat

Subject and verb frame the verse.

tum: Echoing 188 *tam* in balanced sound effect.

multiplici ... sermone: Framing the people whom she keeps filling with the garrulous tales. *Multiplex* occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at 5.264, of a breast-plate. With *sermo* also at Cicero, *Orator* 12.6 *illa enim sunt curricula multiplicium variorumque sermonum in quibus Platonis primum sunt impressa vestigia*: Virgil's description of Fama presents her as an adept student of the rhetorical arts. *Multiplici* is artfully placed next to plural *populos*, with reference both to Fama's many tales and to her diverse audiences.

populos: In context, we think of the peoples Anna enumerated at 40 ff.

sermone: The noun also at 277 ... *medio sermone replebat*, of the swift vanishing of Jupiter's messenger Mercury after he brings his own report to Aeneas, and at 388 *his medium dictis sermonem abrumpit ...*, of Dido with Aeneas. The word is used twice in Book 1, first at 217 *amissos longo socios sermone requirunt*, of Aeneas and his men discussing their lost companions after the shipwreck; and at 748 *nec non et vario noctem sermone trahebat*, of Dido's avid pursuit of conversation at her first banquet. In Book 12 it is used of the *sermo* and *mores* of the Ausonians that will be preserved; and, most memorably, it recurs at 940–941 *et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo / coeperat ...*, of the effect of Turnus' appeal on the hesitating Aeneas. Cf. also 6.160; 470; 535; 8.309; 464; 468; 9.657; 12.223.

replebat: The imperfect is balanced by 190 *canebat*; the tense is mainly durative and frequentative, also inchoative. What Rumor began to do, she proceeded to do often and unrelentingly. The verb also in Virgil at 2.679 *Talia vociferans gemitu tectum omne replebat* (of Creüsa); 7.502 *atque imploranti similis tectum omne replebat* (of Silvia's fatally wounded stag); 11.140 *Evandrum Evandrique domos et moenia replet* (of Fama as she brings the news of his son's death); cf. the participial use at 5.806 with reference to rivers choked with corpses.

The imperfect heralds the close of the long description, as the general account of Rumor shades into the specific case at hand; verses 189–190 relate what Fama did on this one occasion. See further here Adema 2019, 220: “The start of *replere* and *cane* is not indicated; instead, we enter the story world when Fama's actions are already going on. Rather than providing an indication of the start of the state of affairs, *tum* marks the return to the actual story, thus indicating the time with which the state of affairs in the imperfect tense are contemporaneous.”

190 gaudens, et pariter facta atque infecta canebat:

gaudens: Very different from the picture of Ascanius not so long before (157 *gaudet equo* ...). The key participle in the prominent first place in the verse; *gaudens* here echoes 185 *stridens*.

pariter: Echoing the sense of 188 *tam ... quam*. It is better to pause after *gaudens* (*pace* Page et al.). Nominative participle and verb frame the verse. Fama has no preference for truth or fiction; she relates without discrimination everything she hears. *Pariter* 30× in the epic; cf. 241.

facta atque infecta: Truth and lies again; the rejoicing Rumor keeps singing both of that which happened and of that which did not. The elision enacts the mixing of fact and fiction. The collocation of *facta/infecta* recurs at 10.527–528 ... *sunt auri pondera facti | infectique mihi*, in Mago's appeal for his life to Aeneas; cf. the reference to Acron at 10.720 ... *infectos linquens profugus hymenaeos*; also 12.242–243 ... *nunc arma volunt foedusque precantur | infectum* ... (of the Latins); 285–286 ... *fugit ipse Latinus | pulsatos referens infecto foedere divos* (of the all too successful breaking of the treaty).

Infecta has attracted much notice, particularly with reference to the question of what, if anything, Rumor lies about in her current songs. Fama's report comes in four verses (191–194); no one has ever questioned the veracity of the first two (Aeneas came; Dido wanted to marry him). 193–194 (see below) focus on a winter of decadence and luxury, of *turpis cupido* and forgetfulness of the demands of leadership. Some have argued that the *facta* = 191–192, and the *infecta* 193–194; they note for example that at 260–261, Mercury finds Aeneas supervising construction work on Carthage (i.e., on the wrong city). It would seem that exactly as with the propaganda machine aimed against Cleopatra and Antony, there is always room for distortion and embellishment. The lies are rooted in truth, and that fundamental veracity is part of what makes them so tenacious. Servius is laconic here: "sicut sequentia indicant" is his own truthful statement on how Rumor's practice was exercised in this particular case. Certainly there is a shift in tone as we move from 191–192 to 193–194; the first is a fairly unadorned report, while the second is tinged with editorializing and commentary. Lines 86 ff. do state unequivocally that Dido had neglected the work of her own city; it is possible that the relationship with Aeneas rekindled her interest (though she is not present at 260–261). Certainly Aeneas is forgetful of his own kingdom, and that is the substance of Mercury's Jovian message. Hardie 1986, 274 may be correct that the falsehoods are an embellishment of the truth, yet firmly anchored in it; gossip is not only a matter of content, but of manner and mode of delivery and placement of emphasis. Rumors and gossip are also garrulous by nature; we need not expect that 191–194 relates the whole of the constant chatter that now spreads abroad.

Facta/infecta is a collocation as old as Cato, though not common in epic; cf. Plautus, *Amphit.* 884; *Truc.* 730; Statius, *Theb.* 3.430. The notion of infection as with venom and poison is only hinted at here; it will be at the heart of the authorial comment on Fama at 195. In the case of Dido and Aeneas, there may be a hint too of *infecta* as “unfinished”: the rites in the cave were no marriage—even that which Dido and Aeneas are doing (i.e., living like a married couple) is something that is not possible in light of the demands of destiny (cf. *OLD* s.v. 3 and 3c).

canebat: A verb that has received critical attention here because of perceived connections to 1.1 and the practice of the epic craft (see next lemma). At 14 ... *quae bella exhausta canebat* Dido used it of Aeneas’ epic battle recitation in Book 2; these are the only occurrences of the verb in the book. Vid. further E. Zaffagno in *EV* 1, 648–649. In one sense this is a perversion of epic grandeur, one might think; Rumor’s song is nothing like that of the epic bards. Indeed, her song will commence at 191 in language that in other contexts might lead to a very different story and conclusion. Fama is also a bird-like monster, and *canebat* may also evoke the image of an avian song.

191 *venisse Aenean Troiano sanguine cretum,*

With Rumor’s report here we may compare 8.9 ff., of the news sent by Turnus to Diomedes via the Venulus embassy about the arrival of Aeneas in Latium.

venisse: With an echo of 1.2 *venit*. There is a faint echo in the beginning of Rumor’s report of the opening of the poem, with *venisse Aenean Troiano* recalling *Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris / ... venit*; similarly, the second verse of this new “song” relates to the opening of Book 4, the closing book of the poem’s first third. Book 1 opens with a reference to the ultimate settlement in Italy; Book 4 toys with the idea of a Trojan refuge in Carthage, a doomed enterprise that will end in a disaster of lasting consequence for Carthage and Rome alike.

Aenean: The name of the hero is juxtaposed with his place of origin.

Troiano sanguine: Cf. 1.19–20 *progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci / audierat Tyrias olim quae verteret arces*, of Juno’s reception of the first *fama* of the epic; also 7.318 *sanguine Troiano et Rutulo dotabere, virgo*, of the goddess’ indignant message for Lavinia. For *Troianus* cf. 124; 162; 165; 342; 425. Gildenhard has a long note here on the matter of descent by blood *vs.* by adoption, with reference to the problems of Augustan historical realities in particular. One of Virgil’s concerns in the Dido narrative is the reminder that the Aeneas who lingers in Carthage is a Trojan Aeneas, such that any imputation of moral turpitude can be ascribed to the Trojan line that will, after all, prove to be the junior partner in the future Roman reality.

cretum: Cf. 2.74 ... *hortamur fari quo sanguine cretus* (with reference to Sinon); the same at 3.608 of Achamenides; also 8.135 *Electra, ut Grai perhibent, Atlantide cretus* (of Dardanus); Ovid, *Met.* 5.85; 13.31; Statius, *Silv.* 5.2.17. The participle takes the “simple ablative” in Virgil; the Romanus has *a sanguine* in an effort to “correct” the poet’s grammar.

192 *cui se pulchra viro dignetur iungere Dido*;

cui ... viro: Cf. above at 19 *huic uni forsitan potui succumbere culpa*. *Viro* here with the special force of its meaning of “husband.” *Cui* is juxtaposed with *se*, the first of two such arrangements that underscore the new union. *Cui ... viro* likewise envelops *se pulchra*, the first of two such frames that emphasize how conjoined these two lovers are. *Fama*, for one, casts the union as a marriage—exactly in accord with Dido’s *coniugium vocat* (172). Virgil will play on the meaning of *viro* at 195 below.

pulchra: Cf. 60. The conventional enough epithet for the queen is emblematic of Rumor’s *modus operandi*: “beautiful” is designed to engender jealousy on the part of previously spurned suitors. *Pulchra ... Dido* in framing hyperbaton, with reference to how the host-queen has literally enveloped her favored guest. *Pulchra* is deliberately juxtaposed with *viro*. Austin and others see a contrast between the beautiful, lovely girl and her less than beautiful conduct, which may indeed be on the poet’s mind here: there is a veneer of respectability and royal splendor, but it conceals what is essentially a tawdry tale.

“Nous comprenons bien pourquoi. L’adjectif s’apparente ici à une épithète de nature, évidemment justifiée (qui doit aussi aviver la jalousie du Numide). Mais surtout, dans ce passage, la reine, passablement éloignée, n’est pas décrite” (Heuzé 1985, 254).

dignetur: Alliterative with Dido. The name of the queen here balances that of Aeneas at 191. The verb recalls 1.335 ... *haud equidem tali me dignor honore*, in Venus’ playful masquerade conversation with Aeneas; cf. Helenus’ address to Anchises at Buthrotum 3.475 *coniugio, Anchisa, Veneris dignate superbo*; Mezentius’ remark to his horse Rhaebes at 10.865–866 ... *neque enim, fortissime, credo, / iussa aliena pati et dominos dignabere Teucros*; Evander’s rueful comment at 11.169 *quin ego non alio digner te funere, Palla*; also 10.732; 12.464. Here just perhaps with a hint of haughtiness, of the sort a rejected suitor like Iarbas would ascribe to Dido.

iungere: Cf. 28; 112; 142. The verb reminds us yet again of the problem of the legality of Dido’s union with Aeneas.

193 **nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere**

The beginning of the *infecta*, some might argue—certainly of a stronger emphasis on the salacious. The verse is framed by words that refer to the chill of winter and the warmth of the sexually active lovers (*hiemem* / *fovere*); it is a reference in historical allegory to the relationship of Cleopatra and Antony at Alexandria, not without a look back to the similar situation of Cleopatra and Caesar in the winter of 48–47 (cf. here L. Sannicandro, “Der *dekadente* Feldherr: Caesar in Agypten (Luc. 10),” in *Mnem.* 67.1 (2014), 50–64, 56–57 with reference to the present passage). Appian 5.42–44 describes Antony as spending the winter with his royal lover, having removed all of the insignia of his command and leading the life of a private person—either, as Appian notes, because he was in someone else’s kingdom, or because he was treating the winter like a holiday (the historian’s weighted alternative). He ignored his command responsibilities and his Roman retinue, wearing a Greek cloak and the *phaecasion*—a sandal worn by Athenian and Alexandrian priests; he frequented temples and gymnasium.

hiemem: For winter see on 52 *hiemps*. The accusative is probably of duration of time; Virgil plays in this sentence with the notion that *hiemem* is the direct object of *fovere*, when in fact the cherishing, hugging, and fondling is not of the winter but of the passionate couple (Williams does not think the second possibility likely; Page (followed by Irvine) in contrast sees little chance that they could keep the winter warm between them). As he did in the cave, so here the poet discreetly avoids having even Rumor directly state that this or that tawdry act occurred. But nobody doubts the import of her story, or that the queen and her Trojan *hospes* had a sexual relationship. “The words describe the devotion of the lovers with malignant exaggeration” (Page). Mackail (following Butler) takes *fovere hiemem* literally, “to warm the winter,” and discounts any perplexity from the commentators. Throughout, the poet’s point is on the sarcastic, thinly veiled nature of Rumor’s account. Austin follows Mackail, with a more sympathetic account of the “snug” Dido and Aeneas, who have both conquered their loneliness.

The word order here is deliberate: winter; between themselves; in luxury; how long; they keep warm. The cold that commences the line has become warm by the end, first by the interaction of the lovers, and then by their indulgence in luxury; before the verb of warmth, we hear that this winter is, in fact, a long one—a detail that normally would make one think of particularly brutal winter seasons. The Carthaginians had been compared to bees at 1.430–436; at *G.* 4.43 *sub terra fovere larem* the poet presented a positively Roman picture of the life of the bees. The present scene offers something of a contrast.

inter se: More sly expression: the reference is discreet, and yet clear. “In joint debauchery” (Mackail).

luxu: Alliterative with *longa*. Probably with a play on *lux*: the light in winter is shorter, but this winter is not short on *luxus*. The noun is repeated from 1.637–638 *at domus interior regali splendida luxu | instruitur*, in the description of Dido’s palace. The only other occurrence of the noun is ghastly: 6.604–605 ... *epulaeque ante ora paratae | regifico luxu*, in the underworld. A noun that conflicts with traditional Roman morality, and which evokes the luxury of Cleopatra’s Egypt. The queen has a love for gold and decadent, overindulgent living; now Aeneas shares in the same immorality. The luxury cited in Book 1 has been taken by some as having no negative import; the same cannot be said for this. On negative implications of the term in connection to lovers note C. Saylor, “Some Stock Characteristics of the Roman Lover in Vergil, *Aeneid* IV,” in *Vergilius* 32 (1986), 73–77, 75.

quam longa: A good example of Fama’s manipulation of the truth. Certainly this winter seems longer than most. Again a play on the seasons: the days of winter are short and the nights long, which accords well with the sexual escapades of the decadent Dido and Aeneas. “*Quam longa*” could well be a direct quote from the gossip being spread. Very different is the *quam longa* of 8.86–88, with reference to the Tiber. Several Carolingians read *longe* here, probably in failure to recognize the construction. “A rather pretty variation of speech” (Sidgwick)—though what is described is far from pretty.

fovere: We recall here 1.717–718 ... *haec oculis, haec toto pectore | haeret et interdum gremio fovet inscia Dido*, of the queen with Cupid (cf. 1.692 *fofum*, of the safely stored away Ascanius); also 1.17–18 ... *hoc regnum dea gentibus esse, | si qua fata sinant, iam tum tenditque fovetque*, of Juno’s attitude toward Carthage. Cf. Jupiter’s promise to Venus about how Juno will one day cherish the Romans (1.281–282 ... *mecumque fovebit | Romanos*). Juno speaks sarcastically at 10.93 *aut ego tela dedi foveve Cupidine bella* of how she was not involved in the instigation of the Trojan War. The verb recurs at 686 below, as Anna cradles the body of her dying sister; note also 218, in Iarbas’ indignant prayer to Jupiter. Elsewhere it is applied to the seductive Venus with Vulcan (8.387–388); cf. *castra fovere* at 9.57 (Turnus’ sarcastic remark about the Trojans); Mezentius at rest (10.837–838 ... *ipse aeger anhelans | colla fovet*); Iapyx trying in vain to treat Aeneas’ wound (12.420). Gildenhard focuses here on how the words of Fama are carefully, “slyly” constructed: Dido and Aeneas keep the winter warm, literally—which means that they keep each other warm, with reference to their sexual activity. In *fovere* we may hear just a hint of *vere* of spring, in contrast to the winter season at hand. Certainly the verb has a negative connotation at *G.* 3.419–420, where it is used of the adder—a pest for cattle—that hugs the ground.

194 regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos.

regnorum: The plural with reference both to Carthage and to Aeneas' Italian destiny. We have already seen how Dido had neglected her city; it is true that at 260 Mercury will find Aeneas working on Carthage's building projects, but the point there seems to be that Aeneas works on Carthage and not Rome, while Dido can focus only on Aeneas. *Regnorum immemores* cannot be ascribed to some mendacious rumor then—but as the verse progresses, Fama indulges in gossip of a less objective sort (so Williams). Austin argues that *regnorum immemores* is the substance of the *infecta* attributed to Fama (see Servius for much the same argument); in his estimation Aeneas cannot be said to be forgetful of Rome since it does not yet exist, and he is, after all, focused on Carthage. But a major element of Jupiter's displeasure with the current situation will be rooted in Aeneas forgetting about his Italian destiny, and Dido is certainly no longer interested in urban renewal. *Regnorum* will be echoed at 196 *regem*, as the rumors about these neglectful monarchs reaches the ears of another king.

immemores: Cf. the depiction of Dido at 86–89; also 221 of both lovers. The same adjective is used at 2.244–245 *instamus tamen immemores caecique furore / et monstrum infelix sacrata sistimus arce*, of the admission of the Wooden Horse into Troy; of Achaemenides' *immemores socii* at 3.617; of the purified souls in Elysium at 6.750 *scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant*. In contrast, Acestes is not forgetful at 5.39–40 as he welcomes the Trojans back to Sicily; Turnus boasts to the disguised Allecto that Juno is not forgetful of him (7.439); Aletes assured Nisus and Euryalus that Ascanius will not be unmindful of them (9.256); fatally, Euryalus is forgetful of the glint of the stolen helmet that will betray him (9.374). *Immemores* is balanced by *captos*.

For how Aeneas is depicted as forgetful of his civic responsibilities, but not *immemor* of Dido, see Seider 2013, 120. The plural *immemores* was already questioned by DServ.: “an quia quod una patitur duobus adsignat?” But again, the poet's mind is on the problem of Aeneas' mission, which has been entirely forgotten in the present all too warm winter.

turpique: A keyword in Rumor's version of events. The adjective is not common in the epic; at 2.400 it is applied to the fear that drives some Greeks to seek refuge in the Wooden Horse; at 5.358 it refers to limbs stained in filth; at 6.276 it is an epithet of the specter *Egestas* at the threshold of the underworld—a very dark and indeed shameful set of associations for Rumor to apply to Dido and Aeneas. The adjective is juxtaposed with *immemores*; the royals ignore their kingdoms, because they are captured by a shameful, indeed disgusting desire.

cupidine captos: Alliterative. *Cupidine* reminds us of Venus' machinations with Cupid that helped to set the whole tawdry tale in motion. The noun occurs 12× in the epic, twice in connection to the night raid of Nisus and Euryalus

(9.185; 354); we may compare Turnus' *insana cupido* that costs him a chance at victory when he is fighting inside the Trojan camp (9.760). See further Henry 1989, 202 n. 18 (with particular reference to how the noun is almost always used in Virgil with quite negative associations). The phrase is very much in Virgil's style, recalling to us as it does the role of Venus/Cupid in the whole drama, and compelling the reader to ponder the extent of culpability in something that was initiated by the gods. The poet's point here and elsewhere seems to be that divine intervention is often if not always employed for that which is easy to imagine happening even absent such fantastic aid.

195 *haec passim dea foeda virum diffundit in ora.*

Closing a ring with the similar verse 189.

passim: Cf. on 162.

dea: Alliterative with *diffundit*.

foeda: The keyword at midverse, and with deliberate ambiguity. Grammatically, *foeda* could apply to the *haec* that opens the verse—that is, the story Rumor relates—or (likeliest, following Servius) to the goddess who tells the tales—or to the *ora* of men that in turn spread the gossip (so Tib.). Fama, after all, makes foul everything that she touches. Echoed in sound by her action at *diffundit*. *Foeda* matches 194 *turpi* in both meaning and intensity. It is applied at 3.216–217 ... *foedissima ventris / proluviae* and 244 *vestigia foeda* with reference to the disgusting Harpy (even her tracks are filthy, just as Rumor befouls all that she touches); at 7.619 *foeda ministeria* it references the task of having to open the *Belli portae* that Juno and not Latinus will carry out; cf. of a tempest at G. 1.323. Note also the participle *foedans* at 673, of Anna after she realizes what her sister has done. Rumor is as disgusting as the stories she tells; with respect to both the Harpy and to Fama, the comparison is to the messiness and filth of birds.

virum: Genitive plural with *ora*, of the mouths of men into which Fama pours her gossip. Notwithstanding the difference in quantity and declension, there may also be an echo here (especially before *diffundit*) of *virus*, of venom and poison: the tales that Rumor spreads are like a poisonous contagion. There is also a hint of how from the point of view of someone like Iarbas, what is most offensive here is the presence of a rival *vir*, that is, of Aeneas (cf. 192 *viro*).

diffundit: The prefix has strong force here: the goddess pours forth her tales far and wide, for anyone who will listen. The verb is not common in Virgil; cf. the huntress' hair flowing in the winds at 1.319; 7.708 of the descent of the Claudian *gens*; 10.908 *undantique animum diffundit in arma cruore* (of the death of Mezentius); 11.465 *et cum fratre Coras latis diffundite campis* (of Turnus' instructions)—a diverse set of uses. Here it comes with particular vividness,

with the image of the foul goddess literally pouring her foul stories into the mouths of men. Rooted in truth or not, it is a repulsive image: gossip does not ennoble men, and part of the point of the problem of scandal is that it leads all too easily to such sordid tales that befoul and besmirch those who tell them.

ora: Echoing 183 *totidem ora sonant*. The verse concludes with a reminder that Fama does not work apart from her mortal agents; she has little tattle-*tales* on earth who carry out her loathsome ministry. For a similar expression cf. 12.235 *succedet fama vivusque per ora feretur*.

196 *protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban*

The “single, pivotal day” (Nelis 2001, 178), on which Iarbas makes his prayer; Jupiter sends Mercury to Aeneas; Aeneas and Dido have their celebrated confrontations; Dido resolves to commit suicide; Dido makes preparations for her departure from this mortal coil.

protinus: Rumor wastes no time. 18× in the epic; only here in Book 4. We are reminded of the goddess’ mobility and celerity as emphasized at the start of the description (174–175). Here it follows on 195 *passim*, in effective contrast. Ovid likely had this passage and its opening word in mind at *Fast.* 3.551–556 *protinus invadunt Numidae sine vindice regnum, / et potitur capta Maurus Iarba domo, / seque memor spretum, thalamis tamen, inquit, Elissae / en ego, quem totiens repulit illa, fruor. / diffugiunt Tyrii quo quemque agit error, ut olim / amisso dubiae rege vagantur apes*—of the situation after Dido’s suicide, with brilliant intertextual response both to various of Virgil’s Carthaginian passages, and even to the etymology of “Dido” as *errans* (see further on this Ovidian Iarbas passage Bömer, and Heyworth).

regem: There are, after all, other royals in the region, and Dido has had a difficulty history with them. “King Iarbas” frames the verb and object that describe Rumor’s latest, important mission.

cursus: With the noun cf. the very different reference at 46; also 154; 157; 299; 653; 672. The case and number are confused in some witnesses, probably because of incertitude about the poetic plural.

detorquet: Another not particularly common verb; we may compare 5.164–165 ... *sed caeca Menoetes / saxa timens proram pelagi detorquet ad undas*; 831–832 ... *una ardua torquent / cornua detorquentque*; 9.744–745 ... *vulnus Saturnia Iuno / detorsit veniens* (the goddess protecting Turnus from Pandarus’ shaft); 11.765 *hac iuvenis furtim celeris detorquet habenas* (Arruns while stalking Camilla); 12.372–373 ... *et spumantia frenis / ora citatorum dextra detorsit equorum* (of Phegeus). The verb implies that Rumor went out of her way to visit King Iarbas; this would accord with the normal practice of gossip, which always manages to wind its way to those most likely to be upset by the news.

There is also a semantic effect here of how Rumor's changing of course and news for Iarbas will serve to torment the king (*torquere* in another sense). Note also 208 *torques*.

Iarban: Cf. on 36, where Anna spoke in fear of this *quondam* suitor of her sister. The form of the Greek accusative here neatly corresponds to *Aenean* of his rival at 191. This Gaetolian king in some sense foreshadows Aeneas' Rutulian rival Turnus, though as Pease notes the two men will never meet, and we might add further that Iarbas has the ear of his father Jupiter, in contrast to Turnus. He is a "minor character," as Irvine and others have noted. But his role and most of all of his successful importuning of Jupiter are of incalculable consequence; Anna was right to be afraid of Dido's Gaetolian neighbors, though not for the reasons she thought. Dido's sister had urged union with Aeneas as a way to provide protection against Iarbas and others of his ilk; in reality, it will be the presence of Aeneas in Carthage that makes the Gaetolian monarch even more dangerous.

There is no hint of any allusion here to the historical Iarbas/Hiarbas who was a usurper of the kingdom of eastern Numidia, ultimately defeated and slain by Pompey in 82–1 B.C.; see further Appian 1.80; Sallust, *Hist.* 1.53 (with McGushin); Velleius 2.30.2; Plutarch, *Vita Pomp.* 12.

197 *incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras.*

Another marvelously balanced line, in ABAB pattern; the *dictis* are at mid-verse in prominent position, of the means by which Rumor accomplishes her mission. Here the avian horror fades from the narrative, to be replaced by the thoroughly enraged Iarbas, who will seek Jovian intervention to put an end to the shortlived honeymoon of the captivated lovers. Fama acts exactly in the opposite fashion of Aeolus' maintenance of the winds at 1.57 ... *mollitque animos et temperat iras* (vid. on this Negri 1984, 149–150).

incenditque animum: The language is not altogether unlike that which has been used to describe Dido's infatuation with Aeneas, with fire imagery that both describes Fama's action with Iarbas and evokes the idea of his own burning lust for the queen he cannot have. The elision enacts something of the force of the burning, as Iarbas' *animus*—his rational mind—is consumed by his passion. Very different is the imitation of this verse at 6.889 *incenditque animum famae venientis amore*, of the effect on Aeneas of Anchises' revelation of the *Heldenschau*—we may note that the principal argument raised by Jupiter via Mercury with Aeneas is the question of the Roman future.

Incendere recurs at 300 and 376; cf. above on the textual problem of 54. Aeneas memorably tells Dido *desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis* at 360. For anger in correlation with *animus* (as at 1.11), see Negri 1984, 123. The fire

imagery here will be echoed at once in Iarbas' reference to the sacred fire on the altars of the god at 200. Cf. also 203 *accensus*.

atque: The elision of the connective with the verb enacts the heaping up of the rage.

aggerat: By means of Rumor's *dicta*, we move from the first element of the verse to the second: the heaping up of anger and resentment in Iarbas. Exactly parallel to the present scene is 11.342 *surgit et his onerat dictis atque aggerat iras*, as Drances rises up to speak in criticism of Turnus at the Latin war council. The only other occurrence of the verb in the epic is literal and not metaphorical: 11.78–79 *multaque praeterea Laurentis praemia pugnae / aggerat et longo praedam iubet ordine duci*, of Aeneas at the preparations for the requiem for Pallas. Cf. the ghastly image at *G.* 3.556–557, of the action of the cattle plague at Noricum. The implication of the verb is that Iarbas was already angry even before Rumor visited him (so DServ.). The two actions of the foul goddess reinforce each other, such that the enhancement of the king's anger is enacted by the theme and variation of the expression.

iras: An especially effective poetic plural after the singular *animus*. For Virgil's use of plural *irae* see Austin; on anger in the poet note J. Schafer in *VE* I, 78, with reference to Epicurean and other philosophical concerns about the appropriateness of the emotion; also R. Laurenti in *EV* III, 20–21; D. Armstrong and McOsker 2020, 32 ff. on Epicurean attitudes towards anger. Whatever the moral or philosophical implications, Iarbas' *irae* will find a willing audience in Jupiter. *Iras* at line-end here echoes something of the sound effect of 196 *Iarban*.

"The psychological effect of *Fama*, as frequently of hyperbole, is to rouse strong emotion" (Hardie 1986, 274).

198–218 Iarbas makes his prayer to his father Jupiter, complaining about the new state of affairs in north Africa and the behavior of Aeneas and Dido.

198 *Hic Hammone satus rapta Garamantide nympa*

The verse explains at once why Iarbas might be expected to have Jupiter's ear, and invests him with a divine lineage that might seem even to surpass Aeneas' own.

Hic: Introducing a change of scene; Pease speculates that a new day begins here.

Hammone: Vid. here S. Donadoni in *EV* I, 140; A. Hunt in *VE* II, 586; Bailey 1935, 138. For all intent and purpose in the context of Virgil's epic, this is Jupiter, the Roman god with whom the Libyan (H)ammon (cf. Amun Ra) was syncretized (hence 199 *templa Iovi*). Alliterative with *Hic*. We are plunged at once into something of the background of the Gaetolian monarch. Alexander

the Great famously visited the god's oracle at the Siwa oasis in the far west of modern Egypt, not too distant from the Libyan border (cf. Lucan, *BC* 9.511 ff.). Servius has the story of how Liber while on his way to India via Xerolibya was exhausted and in need of rest; a ram appeared in answer to his Jovian prayer, and a much appreciated spring bubbled forth; a statue with the head of a ram was thus made in honor of Jupiter Ammon: "unde factum est Iovi Ammoni, ab arenis dicto, simulacrum cum capite arietino."

satus rapta: Deliberately juxtaposed. *Satus* occurs 6× in the epic of Aeneas; once each of Allecto and the Dira; otherwise only of Aventinus and Camers. Silius has *Hammon hic genitus* at *Pun.* 2.59; cf. his *atque is fundarat thalamus Tritonide nympha* (65) to explain his parentage of Asbyte.

rapta: Echoed below at 217 *raptu potitur*, as Iarbas brings his appeal to a close. For the verb in Virgil vid. A. Valvo in *EV* IV, 400–402. Virgil plays in this verse with the notion that Iarbas conceives of Dido as being of little more value than Garamantis was to Hammon, though in his estimation Aeneas treats her in much the same way as he would: the question is not who would treat the queen better, but who has the right to claim his chattel. For the same pattern regarding nymphs cf. 7.657 and 10.551, and see Newman and Newman 2005, 134 and 205: "... the normal paradigm, indulged in these cases because the outcome has no importance for the poet."

Garmantide: On the Garamantians and this eponymous Garamantian nymph (if indeed we are to imagine that her name is "Garamantis," a convenient though by no means certain appellation; cf. Servius' "et propium [sc., nomen] potest esse et gentile; nam Garamantes sunt iuxta Libyam") see R. Palmieri in *EV* 11, 531; V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* 11, 52; Fratantuono 2019b, 73–74. The name of the nymph is framed by her status and by that which she endured. There is an echo here of Damon's song at *E.* 8.43–45 *nunc scio quid sit Amor: nudis in cotibus illum / aut Tmarum aut Rhodope aut extrema Garamantes / nec generis nostri puerum nec sanguinis edunt* (a passage also recalled at 365 ff., of Dido's angry rhetoric about Aeneas' own lineage). Iarbas' mother Garamantis has affinities with Turnus' sister Juturna, another ravished Jovian nymph (12.878). Tib. read this passage very differently, and has Iarbas married to Garamantis, a wife "non legibus acceptam, sed raptu interveniente quaesitam." Garamantis is cited nowhere else in extant literature.

The Garamantes are cited in the *Heldenschau* at 6.794–795 ... *super et Garamantas et Indos / proferet imperium*, of the advance of the command of Augustus Caesar; for historical campaigns against them see L. Powell 2018, 59–60 and (post-Virgil) 79–80. The first victory was probably in 20 B.C. and not 21 (*pace* Horsfall), and would have been contemporary news for Virgil near the end of his life at any rate; Horsfall is correct that the date is in any case surprisingly late

for allusion in *Aen.* 6. They were a people of the eastern Sahara, of the modern Fezzan in southern Libya, who by metonymy could be taken for “Africans” in general. First extant in Latin verse in Virgil; cf. Lucan’s *nudi Garamantes* (*BC* 4.334, with Asso); Silius’ genealogy for his Camilla-like heroine Asbyte in *Punica* 2 as the *proles Garamantis Hiarbae* (58, where see Bernstein). Their eponymous founder Garamas/Amphithemis is cited by Apollonius at *Arg.* 4.1494; he also joined with a Tritonian nymph. Cf. Herodotus 4.174 and 183 (with Asheri et al.).

According to Pomponius Mela the Garamantes were promiscuous (1.8.45 *Nulli certa uxor est*).

Paschalis 1997, 155 sees a semantic connection between the Ammon and Garamantis of this verse and the verb *monere* and Greek *μάντις* (of prophecy and prediction), with commentary on how here it is Fama who brings the news to the son of Ammon, who then serves as an intermediary source of information for Jupiter.

nympha: Recalling the howling nymphs of 168.

199 *templa Iovi centum latis immania regnis,*

The verse is replete with indicators of the lavish worship of his sire by Iarbas: a hundred temples of immense size, in what is, after all, a vast kingdom. Genealogy is here joined with religious duty and observance; Iarbas has both pedigree and proper respect for his divine lineage. What Iarbas has done for the god serves also to underscore the supremacy of Jupiter, especially in the wake of the machinations of Venus and Juno, and just before his significant intervention in the action. Every word of this verse relates directly to the glory of the supreme god and the outstanding honor shown him by his pious son. The beginning of another ABBA chiasmatic arrangement: *templa* / *centum* / *centum* / *aras*. Adler 2003, 119 outlines Iarbas’ connection between his extravagant, lavish introduction of Jupiter’s worship and his self-conceived status as a neo-Menelaus, wronged by Aeneas-Paris.

templa: Echoed at 217, as Iarbas concludes his speech; the noun also at 484. For Virgilian temples see L. Fratantuono in *VE* III, 1250; *templum* is the most common word the poet uses for such centers of cult and worship. “One of the most impressive accusative objects in the entire poem” (Gildenhard). Whatever Iarbas’ faults, devotion to his divine father is not among them, and his loyalty reaps its just rewards.

Iovi: An advantageous consequence of syncretism: the poet can easily shift from the exotic reference to Hammon to the familiar Roman god. We are already very far from the time when Venus could suggest that Juno should approach Jupiter about a Carthaginian-Trojan union (110 ff.); Juno had no inten-

tion of pursuing such a matter with her divine husband, and instead here we find Iarbas raising the issue of Dido and Aeneas with Jove. Cf. 205.

centum: Echoed at once of the hundred altars (200). Suitable to express any large number (so Servius); here the poet has in mind the hundred *arae* burning with incense for Venus at Paphos (1.415–417). Pease (following La Cerda) wonders if there is a mystical meaning to the number. Probably a reference too to the hundred cities of Jupiter’s sacred island, Crete.

latis ... regnis: Cf. the *magnas ... urbes* of 187. *Latis regnis* also at Lucan, *BC* 6.57.

immania: Not the normal size of temple. The adjective offers another example of a word that will recur but once later in the book, in a context of significantly dire circumstance: 642 *at trepida et coeptis immanibus effera Dido*, not long before her suicide. Tilly has a fine note here on the often ominous implications of this adjective. In the immediate context, it evokes something of the exotic, foreign domains over which Iarbas holds sway; there is also the important detail that Aeneas is not at present in the best favor with Jupiter by virtue of his neglect of a westward mission to Hesperia and Italy that has already been guided by signal divine favor and numerous prophetic admonitions. All of that has been forgotten in the Trojan hero’s indulgence in this winter holiday that could have evoked nothing so palpably for Virgil’s contemporary audience as the experience of Antony (and Caesar before him) in Alexandria—sojourns that brought no benefit to Rome. Fittingly, the hundred temples of Iarbas are thus “huge and frightening” (Maclennan). Cf. further Mackail on 1.616.

Florus may have had this passage in mind in his *Vergilius: orator an poeta?* in his reference to a Tarraconensian temple of the *corniger praedo* (2.8 Jal).

200 *centum aras posuit vigilemque sacraverat ignem,*

centum: A hundred altars for the hundred temples.

aras: Cf. on 56, and note the reference to Iarbas’ prayer posture at 219 *arasque tenentem*.

posuit: Cf. 212, of what Dido has placed. Perfect tense, followed by pluperfect *sacraverat*. This temporal progression has occasioned question (Adema 2019 *silet*), with some arguing *posuerat* is excluded by metrical intractability (vid. Hahn 1930, 26–27, who concludes that “this explanation seems to me the simplest and most satisfactory”). Others have speculated that the fire actually predated the altars. Certainly the emphasis is on age-old devotion and constant observance—this is no new, opportunistic religious fervor for the son of Hammon.

vigilemque: A votive fire in the temples, like the votive candles that illumine churches. In *vigilem* however, there is an echo of the episode that just ended

(cf. 182 of the *vigiles oculi*): the fire burns always in homage of the god, and it is impossible to conceal significant mortal dealings for long from one such as Jupiter.

sacraverat: The verb is framed by its adjective and noun object. 20× in the epic; only here in Book 4. With Iarbas' dutiful liturgical and religious observance we may compare Dido (especially) and Anna at 56 ff., as they sought to win the favor of the gods in the wake of the queen's unrelenting passion; the poet deliberately recalls the earlier, ineffectual rites in his narrative of a far more successful sacrificial experience, and in a passage of less than half the length of its antecedent. For how Iarbas focuses on one god and not many, see Adler 2003, 119.

ignem: The physical fire of the altar recalls the metaphorical burning of Iarbas referenced at 197 *incenditque animum*. This particular fire is mentioned by Plutarch (*De defectu oracul.* 2). A Roman audience would naturally think of Vestal cult practice, but this is an almost universal religious custom across time and space.

201 *excubias divum aeternas, pecudumque cruore*

From fire to blood, as Virgil moves from Iarbas' edifices in honor of the gods to the rites conducted therein.

excubias: The noun also at 9.159–160 *interea vigilum excubiis obsidere porto / cura datur Messapo et moenia cingere flammis*, of Turnus' siege of the Trojan camp (the situation reversed at *Ilias Latina* 683 *excubituque premunt muros flammisque coronant*, of Phrygian besiegers of the Greek camp). The phrase *excubias ... aeternas* has usually been taken in apposition with the *vigilem ... aeternam* of 200, which it balances in adjective/noun/noun/adjective pattern—thus keeping the emphasis on how Iarbas has both set up fires for the gods, and been set on fire himself by Rumor. An old word, already in Ennius (*Ann. fr.* 6.172 Skutsch); combined with *vigiliae* by Cicero (*Pro Planc.* 101.1; *Pro Milo.* 67.7); Horace has *robustae fores et vigilum canes / tristes excubiae munierant satis / nocturnis ab adulteris* (c. 3.16.2–4). Cf. also Propertius, c. 1.16.14; 2.28.61; 4.1b.145; 4.4.79; once in the *Ciris* (208), and note the memorable line of the *Moretum*: *excubitorque diem cantu praedixerat ales* (2). Rather more popular in silver than golden or earlier verse. There is also a hint here of Iarbas keeping regular nocturnal vigils in honor of his father; the *excubias* may elaborate on the description of the fire, but it evokes the image of military watches and all-night guards. “The phrase may refer to the lamp or its guardians” (Butler, following Conington). Servius was apparently taken with the point about the eternal fires, with notes on Jupiter's ethereal flame and the emergence of Minerva from his head because she is above the ether.

divum: With reference to the many cult images of the god in his various temples. The form is echoed soon after at 204.

aeternas: The adjective also at 99 (with *pax*).

pecudumque: Alliterative with 202 *pingue*. Cf. 63 ... *pecudumque reclusis*, in the description of Dido's inspection of entrails.

cruore: Of the blood and gore of the sacrificial animals. The noun recurs three times in the book: at 455 *fusaque in obscenum se vertere vina cruorem*, it describes one of the ghastlier results of Dido's later magic rituals; at 664–665 ... *ensemque cruore / spumantem sparasque manus ...*, it occurs in the aftermath of the queen's grisly suicide. Lastly, at 687 ... *atque atros siccabat veste cruores* the plural is employed for the description of Anna's desperate attempt to staunch her sister's wound. A strong word, associated both with the portentous scene at Polydorus' grave (3.43) and the Cyclopes' gruesome repasts (3.663). Another old word (Accius; Catullus; 8× in Lucretius); not uncommon in Cicero's speeches, where it adds vividness and poetic air. At 5.333 *concidit immundoque fimo sacroque cruore* and 6.248–249 *supponunt alii cultros tepidumque cruorem / succipiunt pateris* we find other Virgilian uses in connection with sacrifice; cf. 8.106 ... *tepidusque cruor fumabat ad aras*. By the last third of the poem it comes exclusively in violent battle scenes, memorably of the fatal wounding of Camilla at 11.804 *haesit virgineumque alte bibit acta cruorem*, of the action of Arruns' *hasta*. Vid. further M.T. Chersoni in *EV* 1, 945–947.

202 *pingue solum et variis florentia limina sertis.*

pingue solum: Vivid: the ground is wet from the blood and gore of the sacrificial offerings. *Cruore* leads directly to *pingue*, as if to enact the very dripping of the blood from altar to earth. *Pingue solum* is borrowed from Catullus (c. 68B.109–110 *quale ferunt Grai Pheneum proper Cyllenaem / siccare emulsa pingue palude solum*), The Catullan allusion is particularly appropriate here, since it occurs in the poet's Laodamia-Protesilaus sequence (another abandoned woman tale), and—in preparation for what is to come here—it comes from a passage that references Mercury's traditional haunt, his birthplace on Cyllene in northern Arcadia. Thus by poetic borrowing of a simple enough phrase, Virgil recalls two relevant associations of the passage whence he pilfered it. *Pingue solum* also in Virgil at *G.* 1.64; cf. *Aen.* 3.697–698 (*praepingue*). The adjective is common in Virgil; only here in this book. For *solum* note 177 (of the advance of Fama on land). From the ground wet with blood we shall move to the thresholds of the temples with their lovely, variegated flowers (the floral odor perhaps in part for the practical purpose of concealing the stench of the gore). We may recall here the *pinguis aras* of 62 above.

variis ... sertis: The garlands of course frame the *florentia limina*. Eerily, the flower description will recur at 505–506 below, of the queen’s decoration of what will prove to be her funeral pyre: *intenditque locum sertis et fronde coronat / funerea ...* The only other use of the noun in the epic comes at 7.488 *mollibus intexens ornabat cornua sertis*, of Silvia’s decoration of her pet stag’s horns with flowers. For *varius* note 286; 564; 569; Austin has a good note here. The emphasis is on the many colors. Pease compares 6.708, of the *varii flores* in the bee simile for Elysium.

florentia: Elsewhere in metaphorical use (8.488; of Camilla’s contingents at 7.804 and 11.433; cf. 7.644)—only here in the poem in its literal sense.

limina: For the noun see on 133. Pease follows Henry (*ad* 696–697) in taking this to refer to the entirety of a door-case, as opposed to the threshold alone. The architectural specificity may not have occurred to Virgil.

It is probably best to take the *solum* and the *limina* here as nominatives with an understood *erat/erant*, rather than to imagine that we still have objects for *sacraverat* (so Gildenhard; also Wagner; Page; and Williams, who is open however to *zeugma*). The *excubias* come in apposition to the *ignem*, and then *pecudumque cruore* commences a new, enjambed image that follows naturally enough on the first. Pease and Austin noncommittal; MacLennan prefers the accusative, without comment (so also Conington). Page does well to note that taking these as nominatives eliminates any awkwardness occasioned by the switch from perfect to pluperfect in 200.

203 *isque amens animi et rumore accenso amaro*

A strikingly alliterative verse (*amens / animi / accensus / amaro*) that suddenly returns us to the crisis at hand: Rumor has set Iarbas on fire. The flower garlands on the temple *limina* provide but a moment of lovely, soothing imagery before the harshness commences here. The elisions also help to enact the spirit of Iarbas’ bitter discontent.

amens animi: Echoing 2.314 *arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis*, of Aeneas on Troy’s last night; also 3.306–307 *ut me conspexit venientem et Troia circum / arma amens vidit ...*, at Buthrotum in a much calmer setting. Turnus under the influence of Allecto will respond in much the same way as Aeneas at Troy and Iarbas here: *arma amens fremit, arma toro tectisque requirit* (7.460). Despite being *amens*, it is noteworthy that Iarbas does not respond to Rumor’s message by seeking to attack Dido’s settlement, but rather by the rational means of appeal to his divine father. Elsewhere in the poem *amens* is also used of Aeneas just before he tries desperately to find the lost Creüsa (2.745 *quem non incusavi amens hominumque deorumque*); cf. 279–281 below, where Aeneas will be in a similar state after he receives his first visit from Mercury, indeed even

burning (281 *ardet*) to leave. Also of Nisus when he sees that Euryalus is about to be killed (9.424–425); of Euryalus' mother upon receipt of the news of his death (9.478); of Turnus as he contemplates suicide in the wake of his failed pursuit of the phantom Aeneas (10.681); of Turnus as he hears of the uproar in Latinus' city after Amata's suicide (12.622); of Turnus after his sword shatters (12.742); of Turnus as he prays to Faunus (12.776). 3× each, then, of both Aeneas and Turnus. Pease reminds us that there may be a pun on *amens/amans*; we might point out the same semantic humor in *amarus/amor*. For the *animus* as the seat of passion see Negri 1984, 146; also 210 for the collocation with (*a*)*mens*.

Animi: Locative or genitive? Here Löfstedt 1, 172 ff. is likely correct to take it as referential genitive (so Buscaroli; Williams); cf. Antoine 1882, 230–231; also K-S, 486–487; L-H-S, 75; it is almost certainly inspired by the *mens animi* that occurs in Catullus (c. 65.4) and Lucretius (*DRN* 3.615; 4.758; 6.1183), as Wagner argued (Pease has doubts). Iarbas' emotions are no longer ruled by his rational mind. Page prefers the locative; also Tilly; MacLennan. Gildenhard non-committal. Stephenson has a perceptive grammatical note here defending the genitive.

rumore accensus: Echoing 197 *incenditque animum*, of the action of Fama. *Accensus* also at 12.946, of Aeneas in rage just before he slays Turnus (closing a frame with 12.9, where Turnus is described as *haud secus accenso gliscit violentia Turno*—he is as set on fire with anger as a wounded lion in Punic fields). *Rumor* is not a common word in Virgil; only here in the first half of the epic (cf. 7.144; 549; 8.90; 9.464; 12.228); it may contribute to the same sound echo of “amor” that we may perceive in *amaris*.

amaro: The adjective only here in Book 4; Mezentius before his death memorably addresses Aeneas as *hostis amare* (10.900). Elsewhere it is applied of Pallas' words to his fleeing companions as he tries to rouse them (10.366); of the bitter words of Aeneas to Lucagus before his death (10.591); to the bitter goads that Drances uses against Turnus (11.337); of the leaves of Faunus' wild olive (12.766); and also, significantly, at 12.588 of the *fumus amarus* that the shepherd uses to smoke out the bees in the simile that describes Aeneas' intended burning of Laurentum. Pease is right to note that the mixed metaphor of *accensus amaro* was probably not felt here; if it were, then it adds to the expression of Iarbas' disordered, frustrated state of mind.

204 *dicitur ante aras media inter numina divum*

dicitur: Alliterative with *divum*. A key word in prominent position, with significant implications for the narrative. “Curious” (O'Hara). Easily passed over as possibly mere variety of expression: Virgil here once again distances himself from the narrative. As Pease and others have noted, there is a play on the

notion of rumor—Virgil as narrator indicates that he has heard a report about Iarbas—and the king’s prayer to Jupiter is couched in the language of hearsay and *fama*. Maclennan takes the point to be that Iarbas lives far away from Carthage. Mackail compares the same language at 9.541 (of Ascanius’ first use of the bow in battle), arguing that there is no special reason for the variety of expression. “Rather unusual in epic poetry for the poet to give any authority than his own for the narrative” (Sidgwick).

ante aras: Lucretian (*DRN* 1.89, at the sacrifice of Iphigenia); cf. 1.334 *multa tibi ante aras nostra cadet hostia dextra* (Aeneas’ promise to his disguised mother); 349 (the impious locus of Pygmalion’s murder of Sychaeus); also 3.545; 5.237; 8.719; 9.627. We may compare *ante ora deum* of Dido at 62 above. The pronounced “a” alliteration of 203 is repeated here, as Iarbas finds a way to manage his frustration in his appeal before the altar of the god.

media: Appropriately at midverse. Iarbas is about to make a successful appeal to Jupiter; the phrasing suggests that the god is listening to his son and devotee. It is a numinous place, and the supreme god has a vested interest in listening to the appeal.

numina: Textually vexed, though all the capital manuscripts agree here. A good case of where the meaning is not so very different no matter which variant is preferred. The original reading of the eighth-century Parisinus is *nomina*, which has been corrected in the margin to *munera* (a reading attested also in DServ. and supported by Kvičala 1881, 85–87, not without reason; it has alliteration in its favor, and an emphasis on the offerings Iarbas makes to win the god’s favor). The confusion here is probably on account of uncertainty about just what Virgil is describing; *nomina* would reference his prayers, while *munera* would describe his offerings. Iarbas is pictured as praying before the images of the gods in the temples, or perhaps merely in the divine presence of the gods. Note further below on 217 *munera*. *Numina divum* is Lucretian (*DRN* 2.434); we may compare Virgil’s ... *quae sint ea numina divum / flagitat* ... (Ulysses with Calchas) at 2.123–124 (where see Horsfall). The phrase also at *Ilias Latina* 52; 722; 922; Ovid, *Met.* 6.542; 8.739; Ps.-Seneca, *Oct.* 964; cf. the *Precatio Terrae*, 16–17 *Merito vocaris Magna tu Mater deum, / Pietate quia vicisti divum numina*. “The gods’ presence seems to fill the *arae*” (Austin). “Surrounded by the encompassing divinity of the gods” (Williams). Every temple to Jupiter would have its own image of the god (so Maclennan). Servius takes the point to be that the gods act as witnesses (“dis testibus”). We may compare here Latinus at 12.201 *tango aras, medios ignis et numina testor*.

divum: Echoing 201.

205 multa Iovem manibus supplex orasse supinis:

A verse of balanced alliteration: *multa ... manibus; supplex ... supinis*. For Iarbas' posture see F.A. Sullivan, "Tendere Manus: Gestures in the *Aeneid*," in *CJ* 63.8 (1968), 358–362. Newman and Newman 2005, 131 compare Iarbas' prayer with Juno's indignant first speech at 1.37–49.

multa: The prayers and complaints match the lavishness of the temple construction: Iarbas has a lot to say. Pease comments on Stephenson's argument that *multa* refers to the intensity rather than the length of the prayer, arguing that then we should expect *multum*. While true, there is nothing to prevent both ideas from being present.

Iovem: Returning the focus to the god of 199; cf. 206 *Iuppiter*.

manibus ... supinis: Cf. Horace, c. 3.23.1; Ovid, *Met.* 8.681 (of Baucis and Philemon); Statius, *Silv.* 3.4.93; 4.1.15–16; also Livy 26.9.8.1. *Supplices manus* is Caesarian; Ciceronian; Sallustian; Tacitean.

supplex: Also at 414; 424; 535. Vid. Naiden 2006, 364 for acts of supplication in the epic; also his entry in *VE* III, 1230; P. Boitani in *EV* IV, 1085–1087. The scene is exactly like Caliban before the image of his mother Thetis, complaining about Perseus and Andromeda in Harryhausen's *Clash of the Titans*—though one of his *manus* was missing. Ascanius may be compared here: 9.624 ... *ante Iovem supplex per vota precatus*, in response to the provocations of Numanus Remulus.

orasse: On Virgilian prayers note V. Warrior in *VE* III, 1035; also C. Salemme in *EV* III, 890–891.

Servius comments on the juxtaposed *supplex orasse*, noting that Iarbas is in part acting like a supplicant, and in part like an orator who is making a complaint. The upraised hands envelop both words.

supinis: Cf. 3.176–177, of Aeneas' upraised hands in prayer to the Penates after their dream visitation. See Tilly on Roman prayer postures; cf. the specific rubrics of the *Missale Romanum* for the hand positions of the priest.

206 "Iuppiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis

"Die Klage des Iarbas, deren Sarkasmus wieder durch Alliteration und Assoziation betont wird ..." (Binder). On the association of a god with a particular people in prayer language see Lehr 1934, 27. For prayers accompanied by ritual actions see Jeanneret 1973, 24 ff.

Iuppiter omnipotens: Echoed at 220, as the supreme god hears his son's prayer. The epithet is practically technical for the god; 16× in the epic, vs. 2× of Juno (cf. especially 693 below) and once each of Apollo; Mars; and Fortuna; cf. Bailey 1935, 141. Gildenhard has a lengthy comment on the force of the label here; certainly in comparison with what Juno and Venus have done so far in the

book, arguably Jupiter will outperform them: he will see to Aeneas' swift departure from Carthage, and he has a divine minion to carry out his orders, and to create a buffer between Aeneas and himself. There may be a hint of barbed criticism here of the god: one might think that Jupiter has not been paying attention very closely to affairs in Carthage. The son's prayer opens at once with invocation of the father. The third mention of the name of the god in rather short compass (199; 205; 206). For a comparison of Iarbas here to Anchises (with reference to the similar prayer language of 2.689–690), see Moskalew 1982, 143–144. Anchises' absence is keenly felt in Book 4, and one wonders what Aeneas' behavior would have been like in the presence of his father. "... no father to supervise" (Horsfall 1995, 130).

cui: Dative of advantage: the emphasis is on everything that Jupiter's new worshippers in Africa have done for him, with implicit complaint about the dishonor the African king has endured.

nunc: The little adverb emphasizes how it was Iarbas who allegedly introduced the worship of Jupiter to the desert realms; see further Henry, and Irvine here. Servius takes a different view of the passage, arguing that the point is that Iarbas is missing the current banquet because he is busy praying to Jupiter.

Maurusia: Only here in Virgil; vid. A. Russi in *EV* II, 387–389; V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* II, 796; *Barrington* 28 D4; 29 A2. Of Mauretania (cf. the "Moors"); here by metonymy for Africa, perhaps with deliberate evocation of the idea that Iarbas is a powerful, wide-ranging monarch (as also in the mention of the *latis regnis* of 199). *Maurusii, qui iuxta Oceanum colunt* (Antipater, *Ann.* 55.1 = Cornell fr. 15.58, where see his note ad loc.—we owe the fragment to DServ. here); cf. Horace, c. 2.6.3–4 ... *ubi Maura semper / aestuat unda* (with Nisbet and Hubbard); Livy 24.49.5.2; also Lucan, *BC* 9.426; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 4.567; 9.620; 10.401; 11.412; 13.145; 16.553. For the "Mauretanians" as far-western Ethiopians, see J.Y. Nadeau, "Ethiopians," in *CQ* 20.2 (1970), 339–349; we may think of the Homeric conceit of Zeus' rest and relaxation among the Ethiopians.

pictis: Cf. the Agathyrsi of 146. Enjambment: the Maurusians recline on embroidered couches. We may recall 1.708–709 ... *toris iussi discumbere pictis / morantur dona Aeneae*, at the first banquet in Carthage; cf. Martial, *Ep.* 14.136.2 *Hoc opus est, pictus accubuisse toris*, of a life of luxury. The image is of decadence and easy living, though in Iarbas' prayer it is turned into an element of the worship of Jupiter: the Maurusii may recline on embroidered couches for rich dinners, but they pour libations to the god, in clear evocation of Dido's similar gesture at 1.728 ff., where she invoked Jupiter in his capacity as patron of the guest-host relationship, asking that the day be a happy one for Tyrians and Trojans alike, and that their descendants remember the day

(1.733 ... *nostrosque huius meminisse minores*)—a prayer that in some sense was answered in ways that the queen could not then imagine. The enjambed *pictis ... toris* literally envelop the *gens epulata*. Pease notes that the embroidered couches seem more appropriate for Dido's Carthage than for Iarbas' subjects. But a man who can build a hundred temples with eternal fires and altars can probably manage to feast on elaborately decorated coverlets. See Gildenhard here (citing Clemence Schultze) for the argument that *pictis* refers to woven rather than embroidered decorations. The emphasis in either case is on elaboration.

207 gens epulata toris Lenaeum libat honorem,

gens: For the noun cf. 4; 235; 320; 425; 483; 542.

epulata: The verb recurs below at 602 in the ghastly context of Dido's rhetorical imagining if she had served Ascanius for a meal; cf. 3.224, of feasting before the Harpies arrive to spoil the scene; and the comparatively happy repast at 5.762.

toris: Yet another word that will recur later in the book in a markedly darker context: 507–508 ... *super exuvias ensemque relictum | effigiemque toro locat haud ignara futuri*. We may recall the banqueting couches that Dido visited at 81–82 in her obsessive longing for Aeneas.

Lenaeum: Alliterative with *libat*. The title of the god only here in the epic; note *G.* 2.4; 7; 529; 3.510. For Bacchus see above on 58 *Lyaeo*. The sovereign of the wine-press (“Liber ‘Lenaeus’ dicitur quia lacubus praeest”—Servius, who argues that the Greek derivation precludes any semantic hint of *delenimentum*, though these are not mutually exclusive points). The name of the god is juxtaposed here with the act of pouring forth the wine in honor of Jupiter. Lenaeus is a step-brother of Iarbas. Again we recall Dido's banquet, where she prayed that Bacchus and Juno might be present: 1.734 *adsit laetitiae Bacchus dator et bona Iuno*. For *Lenaeus* of Bacchus cf. also Horace, c. 3.25.19 (with Nisbet and Rudd); Ps.-Tibullus, c. 3.6.38 (with Fulkerson); Columella 10.1.1.430; Ovid, *Met.* 4.14; 11.132; *Ibis* 329.

libat honorem: Echoing 1.736 *dixit et in mensam laticum libavit honorem*, of Dido at her banquet. The verb 13× in the epic. Servius argues that the libation was poured in particular honor of Jupiter as god of hospitality (cf. Dido's prayer in Book 1); in context the point would then be that the relationship of Dido and Aeneas constitutes something of a breach of the expectations of hospitality: Iarbas considers Dido to be his by right of hospitable reception in Africa. MacLennan (following Austin) notes that “Lenaean honor” can also connote the quality of wine that is offered (only the best for Jupiter)—the wine is a “concrete” honor, and it is exceptional in quality and richness. Viticulture was

introduced into north Africa by Phoenician colonists (and thence to Spain); see further Thurmond 2017, 19. For wine in Virgil note D.B. Kubiak in *VE* 11, 1389–1390.

With *honorem* cf. 4 *honos*; 458 below, where it recurs of the “wondrous honor” that Dido had shown to Sychaeus in the marble temple she had constructed for his memory—in a very different and far off time indeed.

208 *aspicis haec? an te, genitor, cum fulmina torques,*

The verse is framed by second-person verbs referring to Jupiter’s actions or lack thereof. The action of *fulmina torques* implies both auditory and visual terrors of Jovian displeasure; in *aspicis* balanced with *torques* there is an indignant rhetorical contrast: Jupiter is asked if he sees what is going on in Carthage, just as we on earth are supposed to notice the lightning and thunder in the sky that bespeak the god’s displeasure. Lehr 1934, 23–24 compares Turnus’ address to Jupiter at 10.668–669.

aspicis: Cf. Dido’s angry comment at 371–372 ... *iam iam nec maxima Iuno / nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis*, in direct echo of this passage. The verb recurs of Dido’s companions as they witness her collapse at 664 *conlapsam aspiciunt comites*. Iarbas’ angry question here will receive its answer at 220–221 ... *oculosque ad moenia torsit / regia*, of Jupiter directing his gaze toward Carthage.

haec: The little demonstrative is laden with contempt.

an: “Ironical skepticism” (Austin).

te: Juxtaposed with the vocative. There is a familial immediacy here that comes in the wake of the more formal commencement of the prayer at 206 *Iuppiter omnipotens*. MacLennan comments on how the “stately” opening of the prayer gives way to bitterness and sharp language. The pronoun alliterative with *torques*.

genitor: On the noun see Newman and Newman 2005, 48–49: 11× of Jupiter; twice of Neptune; once of the Tiber. Mostly of Anchises (19×); 6× of Aeneas; 2× of Evander. See further on 84 above. Here it comes with a decisive point: Dido’s spurned suitor is a child of Jupiter, and that makes it all the likelier that the god will intervene. Henry (followed by Conington) notes that *genitor* is stronger than *pater*. Few characters in epic are able to speak to Jupiter in language like this and secure what they want. The appellation is certainly literal; see Pease for the use of *genitor* by those who are not actually sons.

cum fulmina torques: For the argument that Iarbas is implicitly embracing the view of the Epicureans that we tremble at thunderbolts in vain (with reference to Lucretius, *DRN* 6.96–422), see J.T. Dyson, “Dido the Epicurean,” in *Classical Antiquity* 15.2 (1996), 203–221, 215 ff. We recall here Dido’s oath at 25

vel pater omnipotens adegit me fulmine ad umbras, which the language and sentiment of Iarbas' prayer directly echoes. The recollection of Dido's dramatic words carries an implicit challenge to Jupiter: Dido has not been faithful to Sychaeus, and so she should be struck with the thunderbolt that she has brought down upon herself. For the expression *fulmina torques* note Seneca, *Ag.* 802 (with Boyle on the mentioning of conventional attributes of a god in invocations—a topos here converted into Iarbas' implicit challenge to Jupiter's power); Statius, *Theb.* 1.258. *Torques* recalls 196 *detorquet*, of Rumor's visit to Iarbas. The plural is of course more terrifying an image; cf. further Pease. See Hardie 2012, 88–89 for the allusion in Iarbas' prayer to the Lucretian praise of Epicurus at *DRN* 1.68–69 *quem neque fama deum nec fulmina nec minitanti / murmure compressit caelum*. Iarbas may question the Jovian origin of thunderbolts, but certainly he fell prey to *fama*. Tib. associates Iarbas' rhetorical questions with the state of mind of one who is *amens animi* and *rumore accensus amaro* (203)—an interesting interpretation in light of the Epicurean undertones of the passage.

209 *nequiquam horremus, caecique in nubibus ignes*

nequiquam: 38× in the epic, only here in Book 4. The adverb in prominent position; Williams (following Buscaroli; cf. Stephenson; Sidgwick, etc.) and others note that in each of the clauses of 209–210, the important word comes in the first position: *nequiquam* / *caeci* / *inania*. See Austin on the poet's preference for this word rather than *frustra*. Alliterative with *nequiquam*.

horremus: A favorite Virgilian verb (vid. M.L. Angrisani Sanfilippo in *EV* III, 855–858); Dido uses it at 366–367 to describe the Caucasus she angrily identifies as the place of Aeneas' nativity; cf. 454 *horrendum dictu* of a ghastly portent during her black magic rituals; note also Rumor as a *monstrum horrendum* at 181 above.

caeci ... ignes: A neat echo of 2 ... *caeco carpitur igni*, of the “blind fire” that was consuming the lovesick Dido. Iarbas speaks of *caeci ignes* not because we cannot see lightning (a patent absurdity), but with reference to how a “blind fire” is aimless, in this case a bolt of lightning not directed at a particular sinner, but merely the result of neutral meteorological forces that have nothing to do with divine retribution against mortal malefactors. The *caeci ignes* envelop the clouds. Silius imitates the present passage at *Pun.* 12.628–629 ... *caecum e nubibus ignem / murmuraque a ventis misceri vana docebat*. “Fire and darkness being opposed,” Page posits an oxymoron here. In Iarbas' quasi-scientific rhetorical reflection, *caeci ignes* should not frighten us given that they are not aimed at particular individuals (of course lightning still poses a danger); the irony the reader is aware of is how Dido has already been identified by the

poet-narrator as being consumed by a *caecus ignis* of a different, metaphorical sort.

nubibus ignes: Lucretian (*DRN* 2.214–215 *nunc hinc nunc illinc abrupti nubibus ignes / concursant*); cf. *Aen.* 3.199–200 ... *ingeminant abruptis nubibus ignes, / excutimur cursu*; also Ovid, *Met.* 2.729 (a play on the ending); 6.696; 8.339; never in the silver poets. First the lightning bolt that we see, and soon thereafter the thunder that we hear (210 *murmura*). For the clouds Servius notes that Iarbas is rhetorically positing a scientific explanation for thunder (as if he were Lucretius), rather than crediting Jupiter with the frightening phenomenon. Iarbas' language recalls 1.42 *ipsa Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem*, of Pallas' killing of the Lesser Ajax; an indignant Juno complained in that passage that others like Minerva were allowed to slay their enemies (even by appropriation of Jupiter's classic weapon), while she is apparently not allowed to harass the Trojans. Iarbas builds on Juno's argument by transforming it into a proto-Epicurean critique of divine agency in mortal misfortunes.

210 terrificant animos et inania murmura miscent?

The parallel verbs frame the verse, which displays another ABBA chiastic pattern.

terrificant: The verb occurs here only in Virgil, and is not particularly common in the poetry or prose of any period; for the related adjective note 5.524 and 8.431 (with Fratantuono and Smith); 12.104. Lucretian, and in continuation of Iarbas' quasi-Epicurean prayer; cf. *DRN* 1.132–133; 4.33–34. Here it follows close on 209 *horremus* (and note the related verb 465 *horrificant*, of what terrifies Dido). The form at the same *sedes* also at Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.428; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 17.475. In Lucretius the verb is applied to the fear engendered in the superstitious not by the heavens, but by alleged ghosts and underworld apparitions; this anxiety plagues Dido throughout the book (cf. 9 and especially 465 ff.).

animos: For the noun as the locus of fear see Negri 1984, 141; 306 for the plural.

inania: Echoed at 218, near the end of the prayer. We may compare the tears of 449; also the *tempus inane* that Dido pathetically requests at 433. The murmur of thunder is *inane* precisely because it is purposeless; it is a mere scientific reality that is devoid of any supernatural import. *Inania* after *animos* in assonant sound pattern.

murmura miscent: Alliterative once again, in echo of the storm scene at 160 *magno misceri murmure caelum*. Iarbas of course does not know about that Junonian tempest, which led to the very affair of which he now makes his bitter complaint. "By a poetical variety the lightning is made the cause of the thunder" (Conington).

211 femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem

femina: Alliterative with *finibus*. The misogynistic label already recognized by Servius. Iarbas suppresses the name of the queen, just as the Augustan poets never name Cleopatra. See Austin for how Iarbas transforms the normal poetic word into an appellation of contempt. In Virgil elsewhere only as an epithet of Caeneus/Caenis. The verse is framed by two key concepts in the book: the woman and the city.

nostris ... finibus: Framing *errans* of Dido in possessive, jealous embrace, with a sneer at the idea of Dido as an interloper in Iarbas' vast territory. The author of the *Dirae* imitated this phrase (and cf. 212 *arandum*) for the curse at 80 *piscetur nostris in finibus advena arator*. Gildenhard notes perceptively that the ablative refers to aimless wanderings, as opposed e.g. to an accusative of direction. With *nostris* here cf. *nostra* at 213.

errans: Reflecting the ancient (Timaeus, fr. 23 Müller/566 F82 Jacoby) etymology of Dido = "wanderer"; on this see Bartelink 1965, 64; O'Hara 2017, 152–153; the *addenda* to Pease's commentary; Reed 2007, 93–95; and cf. the *errantem lunam* in Iopas' song at 1.742, and especially the shade of Dido in the underworld at 6.450–454, which wanders (*errabat*) in the *Lugentes Campi*, and which is compared to the moon. Strangely ignored by commentators (save O'Hara) after its citation in Pease. We may note 684 below, where *extremus si quis super halitus errat* refers to Anna's idea to catch any last, wandering breath of Dido's; cf. the dying queen's wandering eyes at 691. 3× then in this book, and always with reference to the wanderer. Beyond the etymological associations, the reference to Dido here accords with the predominant image of Aeneas in the first half of the epic.

With this passage we may compare Dido's nightmarish vision at 465–468, where *ferus Aeneas* seems to pursue the queen, who seeks her Tyrians while she wanders lost in the desert.

urbem: The enjambment highlights the significance of Carthage to Iarbas' argument. His principal fury is about his having been rejected, and Aeneas seemingly having been welcomed in his place; he does not seem to be aware of the development of the city he here considers to be inconsequential. One of the most important words in the epic; cf. on 47 above.

212 exiguum pretio posuit, cui litus arandum

exiguum: In pointed contrast to the *latis regnis* (199) credited to Iarbas. The contemptuous adjective comes first in the line (and in enjambment), just as the equally dismissive *femina* did in the preceding. This verse will be echoed at 7.229 *dis sedem exiguum patriis litusque rogamus*, in Ilioneus' appeal before Latinus. For the adjective we may compare 5.754 *exigui numero* (of those who

will stay behind in Sicily); 6.492–493, of the *exiguam vocem* of Greek shades in the underworld; 7.113 of meager bread; 8.473 *exiguae vires* (Evander's self-appraisal of his strength for battle); 10.128 *haud partem exiguam montis* (of a stone in battle); 11.62–63 ... *solacia luctus / exigua ingentis* (at Pallas' requiem).

pretio posuit: Alliterative, in which MacLennan sees a contemptuous reference on the part of Iarbas regarding cities that are bought for a price. Certainly there is a contrast between those who fight for land and those who buy it; some of the commentators see a further reference to the Carthaginians as inveterate, celebrated traders.

The story referenced in this verse is that told by the disguised Venus to Aeneas at 1.365–368 *devenere locos ubi nunc ingentia cernes / moenia surgentemque novae Karthaginis arcem, / mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam, / taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo*, where *mercatique solum* corresponds to Iarbas' *pretio posuit*, and where Venus emphasizes how much Carthage has been developed since whenever Iarbas would have seen it (now *ingentia moenia* rather than *urbem exiguam*). The same story is referenced at (e.g.) Livy 34.62.11 ff. (where see Briscoe); cf. Justin 18.5.9; Lightfoot on Dionysius Periegetes 195–197; also the account of the First Vatican Mythographer (3.12–13 *Ibi ab Iarba rege Maurorum tantum soli emit, quantum corio bovis posset metiri vel occupare, et fraude urbem vindicavit. Nam corium in tenuissimas corrigias sectum tetendit occupavitque stadia viginti duo. Ob factum Byssam, postea Carthaginem, vocavit*). Pease notes that Virgil does not emphasize the deceit of Dido in either reference to the story; Venus of course would have no reason to highlight the queen's fraud, while Iarbas certainly would. It may have been a fact simply taken for granted, and no gilding of the lily, as it were, was felt necessary. Cf. Servius: “‘pretio’ ut ostendat eam nec meruisse per gratiam nec invasisse virtute. et si vendidit, quid conqueritur? scilicet vel defraudatus per corium vel de nuptiarum promissione” (and see below on *loci leges*).

cui: Balanced with 213 *cui*.

litus arandum: The two words neatly encompass both the wish to have access to the sea, and the development of agriculture for sustenance as well as economic expansion—in collocation however, they may constitute another insult, if the point is that the shore does not offer the most fertile soil (so DServ., followed by Buscaroli and many others; cf. Williams' “I gave her a barren bit of soil to plough”). The phrase is imitated at 7.797–798 *qui saltus, Tiberine, tuos sacrumque Numici / litus arant ...*, of contingents of Turnus' men, in a passage where it is more difficult to see any negative, commonplace comment on the notion of the futility of “ploughing the shore” (Horsfall only “possibly” concedes a reference to such a proverb); see further Palmer on Ovid, *Her.* 17.139; cf.

Trist. 5.4.48 and the different expression of *Her.* 5.116. On the similar case of Aeneas at 5.755 see Lehr 1934, 102.

Pease may be right in arguing that the point here is that the inlander Iarbas does not realize the value of the coast, which a seafaring people like the Carthaginians would cherish as key to their economic development; a hint of provincialism then, on the part of the bitter monarch. It is noteworthy that Otto 1890, 159 does not consider the present case to be a reference to wasted effort; neither does Conington here, who argues that *litus* “merely means land by the sea”; Page agrees with the negative interpretation (his note omitted in O’Hara’s reworking of his commentary, though without reference); cf. Binder’s “*litus* sprichwörtlich für Massen von wertlosem Sand, unfruchtbares Land”. We would argue that in context the phrase is not particularly contemptuous; Iarbas proceeds from a clearly insulting reference to the *exiguam urbem* the queen bought, to a mention of how he provided both the *litus arandum* and the *loci leges*. Otherwise *arare* is not common in Virgil (cf. 3.14 of Thracian ploughing); it sometimes has a metaphorical sense (2.780; 3.495; 7.417).

Whatever the exact force of *litus arandum*, it is clear that Dido did not indulge much in the agricultural arts: cf. 1.306–309, where in exploration of Aeneas’ surroundings it is noted parenthetically *nam inculta videt*; see on this Monti 1981, 87–88 (who argues that the territory will still be enough to nourish the nascent city).

Litus is one of the most common words in the epic; elsewhere in this book note 254; 289; 373; 397; 409; 416; 567; 582; 628; 657, and vid. E. Zorzi in *EV* III, 235.

213 *cuique loci leges dedimus, conubia nostra*

More balanced alliteration: *cui ... conubia* framing *loci leges*; *loci* also echoes *cui*. The line is framed by words that refer first to Dido and then to Iarbas.

cuique: The repeated relative is part of the litany of complaint that Iarbas constructs as his rendition speeds to its main point.

loci leges: Another disputed phrase. Servius takes it to mean either that Dido’s city was to be a tributary of his kingdom, or that there was an expectation that the city was the price of marriage (an idea that probably arose from the detail that follows at once about Dido’s rejection of nuptials). Mackail accepts the first of these explanations, though arguing that Servius states the case a bit too strongly. Modern commentators have also offered the idea that Dido was being given legislative authority over the territory. “From a legal point of view, he considers himself her overlord” (Gildenhard); cf. Austin’s “Iarbas is her feudal lord.” Land and a constitution, we might think; there is probably a hint here that while Iarbas was willing to sell land to the Carthaginians, there were

certainly conditions of the sale beyond the price and the business of the bull's hide. Tib. notes here that we need not believe all of Iarbas' complaints, given his overly emotional and agitated state. There is no question that Iarbas views himself as the principal power in the region. Paratore sees a reference to the way Rome customarily dealt with client kingdoms and the like: "nell'espressione s'è vista l'eco del comportamento di Roma coi popoli consociate o soggetti." We recall here too 1.507 *iura dabat legesque viris*, of Dido as legislator in Carthage.

dedimus: Dido bought the city; Iarbas' verb choice is rhetorically chosen to make it seem like he has given her a present. The royal "we" (see below on *nostra*).

conubia nostra: From land to laws to the most sensitive issue for the aggrieved king: the marriage contract. The phrase recurs at 316 *per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos*, as Dido addresses Aeneas; cf. the bitter insult of Numanus Remulus against the Trojans at 9.600 *en qui nostra sibi bello conubia poscunt?* (a verse that might just as easily be uttered by Iarbas in the present prayer); 12.40–42 (Latinus to Turnus). For the noun see on 126. Austin sees an air of arrogance in *nostra*. "Est autem nobilium hic sermo" (Servius); see further W.S. Maguinness, "The Singular Use of *Nos* in Virgil," in *CQ* 35.3/4 (1941), 127–135. More enjambment, here to express the monarch's extreme, almost breathless frustration. Ironically, Iarbas envisaged a legal marriage, we might note—in contrast to how Aeneas will view his relationship with Dido. *Nostra* echoes 211 *nostris*.

The scansion of *conubia* (second syllable long, perhaps if not probably lengthened in arsis) is the subject of a long note of Munro *ad* Lucretius, *DRN* 3.776; cf. Kenney on the same passage.

214 *reppulit ac dominum Aenean in regna recepit*.

The strongest, harshest alliteration (*reppulit* / *regna* / *recepit*) is saved for the primary reason for Iarbas' wrath, with enjambment and the name and new title of his rival at midverse. The opposing verbs frame the line; the enjambment verb (which enacts the thrusting aside) describing the queen's treatment of Iarbas highlights that action, while at the same time dispensing of it quickly as the rest of the verse focuses on *dominus Aeneas*.

reppulit: Cf. 7.450 *reppulit et geminos erexit crinibus angues*, of the Fury Allecto with Turnus; otherwise the verb occurs in the epic only twice, both in participial uses (2.13 of the Danaans before Troy; 5.45 of the weapon of Pyrrhus that strikes Priam's shield).

dominum: While *domina* is applied to Juno; Cybele; Proserpina; and twice to Camilla, *dominus* is reserved in the epic for Aeneas. Iarbas may be thought here to view Aeneas in much the same way as he would consider himself in

relation to Dido, were she not to have rejected his marriage proposal (not to say demand); this is a master-slave relationship, and the verse is also laden with the image of monarchy and kingship, perhaps with shades of commentary on political fears and propaganda about Antony's behavior in the East with Cleopatra. There is an echo here of Juno's sentiment at 103 *liceat Phrygio servire marito* (as noted already in Servius).

Aenean: The only time Iarbas mentions the Trojan hero; he never names Dido.

regna recipit: The line-end is Ennian (*Ann. fr. sed. inc.* 452 Skutsch); only here otherwise in extant classical verse (even Pease is forced to hunt quite late for imitations). *Regna* is especially biting; the queen is viewed as taking on a *dominus*, and yet she also has a *regnum*. Conington does well to observe that there are concerns here about politics as well as passion; Dido's reception of Aeneas has changed the balance of power in north Africa and diminished Iarbas' authority.

regna: Echoing especially the *latis ... regnis* of 199. There is a disconnect between the notion of reception into Dido's kingdom, and the *urbem exiguam* (211–212) that Iarbas had sold her; here there may be a hint of the king having received some word of the dramatic progress on the building of Carthage, though more probably the point is simply that in context *regna* works better to express the frustrated, rejected monarch's complaint.

215 **et nunc ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu,**

nunc: Echoing 206, and highlighting the contrast between Iarbas and his Maurusians *contra* Aeneas and his half-man entourage.

ille: With a sneer of contempt.

Paris: Vid. L. Lehnus in *EV* 111, 975–976; A. Rossi and R.F. Thomas in *VE* 11, 970. “As we might say “a Lothario”” (Tilly). News of the Trojan War and its genesis has apparently reached Iarbas, as it had Dido. The first of several comparisons of Aeneas to the notorious Trojan prince and abductor of Helen; cf. 7.321 *quin idem Veneris partus suus et Paris alter* (Juno's complaint); 363 *an non sic Phrygius penetrat Lacedaemonius pastor* (Amata's); cf. Amata's *perfidus alta petens abducta virgine praeda* (7.362); Turnus' ... *sunt et mea contra | fata mihi, ferro sceleratam exscindere gentem | coniuge praerepta; nec solos tangit Atridas | iste dolor, solisque licet capere arma Mycenis* (9.136–139); Juno's ... *et gremiis abducere pactis* (10.79), these last three passages with clear reference to Paris' prior activities (on this theme of Paris the *Phrygius praedo*—now succeeded by Aeneas—see Monti 1981, 16–19). There is also a reference to Paris during the preliminaries for the boxing match, where Dares boasts that he alone was accustomed to box against Paris, including at the funeral games

for Hector (5.370–371 *solus qui Paridem solitus contendere contra, | idemque ad tumulum, quo maximus occubat Hector*); at 6.57–58 *Dardana qui Paridis derexti tela manusque | corpus in Aeacidae ...*, Aeneas recalls the tradition of Paris' having been responsible (with the aid of Apollo) for Achilles' fatal wounding; this reference comes not long before the Sibyl Deiphobe announces that another Achilles has been born in Latium (6.89–90 ... *alius Latio iam partus Achilles, | natus et ipse dea*). In *fine*, Aeneas will be like Paris not only in the view of those who would criticize his alleged seizure of Dido and Lavinia, but also in that like Priam's son, he will fatally wound his own Achilles, the Rutulian Turnus.

Mezentius slays one of Paris' companions, the Trojan Mimas: ... *Paridisque Mimanta | aequalem comitemque, una quem nocte Theano | in lucem genitore Amyco dedit et face praegnas | Cisseis regina Parin; Paris urbe paterna | occubat, ignarum Laurens habet ora Mimanta* (10.702–706, where the reference to *Paris occubat* echoes the reference to *quo maximus Hector occubat* from the boxing bout). Venus mentions Paris to Aeneas in her commentary on how the gods and not Helen or her lover are to blame for Troy's downfall (2.601–602 *non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisita Lacaenae | culpatusve Paris, divum inclementia, divum | has evertit opes sternitque a culmine Troiam*). The judgment of Paris was one of the main reasons for Juno's hatred of Troy (1.27); it is no surprise that Iarbas should invoke the name of someone who was so detested by the angry goddess. Lastly, at *E.* 2.60–61, Corydon notes to Alexis that even the gods live in the forests, as did Dardanian Paris. For the connection between Aeneas-Dido and Aeneas-Lavinia, see Newman and Newman 2005, 182.

semiviro: The beginning of a briefly extended attack on the effeminacy of the Trojans. The only other use of the adjective in Virgil comes in a parallel passage in which Turnus virtually quotes the sentiments of Iarbas: *semiviri Phrygis et foedare in pulvere crinis | vibratos calido ferro murraque madentis* (12.98–99); cf. the insults of Numanus Remulus lodged against the Trojans at 9.614 ff., especially *o vere Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges* (617). In terms of recent Roman history for Virgil's contemporary audience, one might at once think of the eunuch Pothinus at the Ptolemaic court; cf. Horace's *contaminato cum grege turpium, | morbo virorum* (c. 1.37.9–10); also the same sentiments in *ep.* 9. This may be the first use of the adjective in Latin verse; it occurs in Varro's *Menippeans* and in Livy, but is fairly rare (4× in Ovid; twice each in Lucan; Statius; Valerius; Martial; Silius; once in Juvenal). A strong hint here of the emasculated, ecstatic worshippers of the Trojan Cybele, as in Catullus' galliambic horror c. 63; the taunts leveled against Aeneas and his men here combine religious prejudice with contempt for various eastern courts, notably that of Alexandria. *comitatu*: The noun elsewhere in Virgil only at 12.336 *Iraeque Insidiaeque, dei comitatus*

..., in the comparison of Turnus in his *aristeia* to Mavors—a striking contrast to the image in Iarbas' taunt. See Austin here for how the quadrisyllabic ending adds to the exotic foreignness of the picture; Dainotti 2015, 195 on the particular force of a polysyllabic line-end in direct speech. Thomas 1982, 99–100 comments on how the present passage occurs some 200 lines into the book, while the Numanus Remulus speech comes some 200 lines from the end of Book 9.

216 *Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem*

More striking alliteration, as Iarbas indulges in his contemptuous denunciation of the Trojans (vid. Highet 1972, 118 for the suggestion of effeminacy in the seven “m” sounds in one line). An important verse for those interested in the costume of Aeneas and his men. For the poet's emphasis on how Rome is not to be a *nova Troia* (with reference to this passage), see Newman and Newman 2005, 16–17.

Maeonia: I.e., of eastern Lydia in Asia Minor, well within the sphere of influence of Troy (see here G. Senis in *EV* 111, 306–307; L. Fratantuono in *VE* 11, 778–779; *Barrington* 56 G4). Here a byword for luxury; the Etruscans were according to legend Maeonian in origin, and so 8.499 *o Maeoniae* denotes those Etruscans who have turned against Mezentius; cf. 11.759 *Maeonidae*, of the Etruscans who make a charge in the cavalry battle before Laurentum after their leader Tarchon's assault on Venulus. Helenor's father was a Maeonian king (9.546); Ismarus was the scion of a Maeonian house (10.141). The entertainment of Aristaeus at G. 4.380 includes Maeonian wine.

mentum: The noun also at 250–251, of Atlas' chin; cf. Charon's at 6.299; 809 of Numa in the *Heldenschau*; 10.347 of Dryops' fatal wounding; 12.307 of Alsus'. Aeneas' chin is literally framed by the Maeonian bonnet.

mitra: Only here and at 9.616 *et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae*, in Remulus' savage insults against the Trojans. Catullus' Ariadne wears a *mitra* at c. 63.64, but Iarbas would note that she was a girl. The famous “Phrygian cap” that became a symbol of revolutionary France at Troyes in the spring of 1790; Marianne to this day appears with her *bonnet rouge* as the personification of the French Republic. A good example of one of the Trojan *mores* that would not be practiced in Rome (cf. 12.835–836); on the contrary, Dacian prisoners on Trajan's column, e.g., wear this headdress, which in Rome became associated with the *pilleus* or felt cap worn by manumitted slaves (hence its later associations with liberty). Having Dido's *dominus* Aeneas wear such an emblem poses several levels of inappropriateness from both Iarbas' point of view and the contemporary, traditional Roman outlook. “Hoc est incurvo pilleo, de quo pendeat etiam buccarum tegimen” (Servius).

crinemque: Cf. the emphasis placed on Apollo's fashioning of his flowing locks in the simile at 148 (following on the description of Dido's golden hair ornament at 138). Homer's Hector was not impressed with his younger brother's hair (*Il.* 3.55).

madentem: The image is exactly paralleled at 12.100 *vibratos calido ferro murraque madentis*, in Turnus' similar sneer about Aeneas' salon practices. For the verb note also 5.854 *ecce deus ramum Lethaeum rore madentem* (of Somnus' wand); 9.333–334 ... *atro tepefacta cruore / terra torique madent* (during the night raid); 12.690–691 ... *ubi plurima fuso / sanguine terra madet*. The hair is wet with unguents ("unguentatum"—Servius) and perfume. See Wardle on Suetonius, *Aug.* 86.3 for the teasing of Maecenas about his own hair care practices, which may be gently mocked in this description. For attacks on physical appearance, personal hygiene, and beautification practices as the stock-in-trade of Roman invective see Nisbet's "Appendix VI" of his *In Pisonem*. Lovers indulge in such niceties as perfumed hair (hence Horace, c. 1.5.1–3, where see Nisbet and Hubbard, and Mayer). We may compare here too Juvenal, s. 3.60 ff., where the satirist bemoans the Grecizing influences in Rome, and mentions the use of the *mitra* by prostitutes (66 *ite, quibus grata est picta lupa barbara mitra*), where there is an elegant play on the double meaning of *lupa* as she-wolf and prostitute, with implicit complaint that the children of the wolf have given themselves over to such practices as those that Iarbas, Numanus Remulus, and Turnus complain about in Virgil's epic.

217 **subnexus, raptu potitur; nos munera templis**

subnexus: The enjambed participle offers another textual puzzle, one where paleographical confusion would be all too easy. *Subnexus* is the reading preferred by Conte's Teubner; Binder and Binder's Reclam; Heuzé's Pléiade; Holzberg's Tusculum; Rivero García et al.; also Henry; Conington; Ribbeck; Buscaroli; Tilly; Williams; Hirtzel's OCT; Mynors' OCT; Goold's Loeb. It is found in but two of Ribbeck's *recentiores*: the Basel and the Leiden. The overwhelming manuscript support here is for *subnixus*, which is favored by Geymonat; Butler (without annotation); Pease; Austin; Götte's Tusculum; Dolç; also Page; Mackail; Cussen 2018. Gildenhard prints *subnexus* with little comment; so also O'Hara; cf. Fratantuono 2007, 108; 127 n. 9 (one can have second thoughts). The usually cited Virgilian parallels in support of *subnexus* are 10.138 ... *et molli subnectens circulus auro* and *G.* 3.166–167 *ac primum laxos tenui de vimine circlos / cervici subnecte*; note also 1.492 *aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae* (of the picture of Penthesilea); 5.312–313 ... *lato quam circum amplectitur auro / balteus et tereti subnectit fibula gemma* (of an Amazonian quiver); and especially above at 139 *aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem*, of Dido at the hunt.

Subnixus occurs at 1.506–507 *saepta armis solioque alte subnixus resedit. | iura dabat legesque viris ...*, of Dido in a very different context; cf. 3.402, of Petelia. The other Virgilian uses of both words would seem to favor *subnexus* here, not least because it would associate Aeneas' wardrobe and dress style with Dido's. Cf. also Statius, *Silv.* 5.3.115 (with Gibson); Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.103 (with Spaltenstein). Passages cited as possible parallels for the use of *subnixus* here involve the feet (Catullus, c. 68B.72 *innixa arguta constituit solea*; Ovid, *Am.* 3.1.31 ... *innixa cothurnis*; also Turpilius, fr. 31 Ribbeck *Sandalio innixa digitulis primoribus*); on the other hand, there is Ovid's *barbaque dum rutilis aberat subnixus capillis* (*Met.* 6.715, where see Bömer); also Silius' *galeamque coruscis / subnixam cristis* (*Pun.* 2.397–398), where Bauer conjectured *subnexam* (see Bernstein here); as well as 8.243 *subnixus rapto plebei muneris ostro*, perhaps in reminiscence of this verse. Irvine concludes that *subnexus* is "more natural and more obvious," *subnixus* "much the more effective."

As usual then in such puzzles, there are parallels that can be adduced on either side, and the resultant change of meaning is not so very great. Reading *subnixus* does have the attractiveness of making Iarbas' insults even more biting; it would mean that Aeneas is literally "propping up" his chin and oiled locks with his Maeonian *mitra*. This is the defense of *subnixus* offered by Mackail, who at the same time calls the participle "unexceptionable." One could argue that the image of the chin propped up by the *mitra* is not very likely (so Stephenson, who notes "The idea of a man having his chin propped up with a ribbon is very far-fetched, and *mitra* suggests far more readily the cap or bonnet than the lappet with which it was fastened"); the simple binding of the chin with the ends of the *mitra* is all too easy (perhaps too easy) to imagine. Reading *subnixus* might imply that Virgil has taken the normal verb and indulged in something of an experiment ("the variation does not seem beyond what Vergil allows himself"—Sidgwick). Conington is persuasive here, following on Henry's vigorous note with his memorable verdict "Perhaps in the whole annals of criticism there is no instance of an equal number of scholars agreeing, not merely to accept a solecism from the MSS., but to defend it by argument, while there was at hand a reading not only wholly unobjectionable with respect to grammar, but offering a better, clearer, and stronger sense, and at the same time abundantly confirmed by the use of the author in other places." We have settled here on *subnexus*, ultimately on the neat parallel it affords between Aeneas and Dido; our reservation and hesitation here, however, is greater than for any other of the book's textual cruces save the problems posed by 54 above.

rapto potitur: Something of a startle here after the strong emphasis on Trojan effeminacy: Aeneas has taken Dido by seizure and conquest; cf. 198 *rapta Garamantide nympa* of Iarbas' own mother. *Potiri* a dozen times in the epic. A

good example, we might think, of the untruths of Rumor; this is Iarbas' highly charged characterization of what has happened in Carthage ("stupro fruitur; nam proprie raptus est illicitus coitus. nec enim hic rapuerat"—Servius). Iarbas highlights the contrast between what Aeneas has allegedly done to Dido, and what Dido rejected of her African suitor (213 *conubia nostra*). *Rapto* encompasses both Dido and her treasure, even if it is the queen herself who is most on Iarbas' mind.

nos: Returning the focus to the aggrieved king, and in pointed contrast to 215 of *ille Paris*. *Nos* echoes the "royal we's" of 213.

munera templis: Echoing the temples cited at 199; we may also note the textual variant *munera* at 204. Alliterative with 218 *tuis*. For *munera* see on 263 below.

218 **quippe tuis ferimus famamque fovemus inanem.**"

The prayer concludes with more marked alliteration (*ferimus famamque fovemus*); the *fama inanis* frames its verb. It is hard here not to recall Quintilian's remark (12.10.29) *Nam et illa quae est sexta nostrarum paene non humana voce, vel omnino non voce potius, inter discrimina dentium efflanda est: quae etiam cum vocalem proxima accepit quassa quodam modo, utique quotiens aliquam consonantium frangit, ut in hoc ipso 'frangit,' multo fit horridior*. Iarbas' prayer is more complaint than intercession; he asks for nothing (though what he wants is obvious). His speech draws to a close with a ring that recalls the signal honor he has paid to his divine sire.

quippe: Sarcastic and ironic. We remember here Juno's similar state of indignation at 1.39 *quippe vetor fatis*; cf. 1.661 *quippe domum timet ambiguum Tyriosque bilinguis* (the rationale for Venus' machinations with Cupid in Carthage); 12.421–422 ... *subitoque omnis de corpore fugit | quippe dolor ...*, of Iapyx' successful ministrations of Aeneas' arrow wound after Venus had intervened invisibly with the dittany. An interesting balance of occurrences then: twice of the aggrieved Juno and Iarbas; twice with reference to Venus' interventions in Books 1 and 12 and two very different wounds. See further Austin's extended note here on this explanatory particle. Its force has been much disputed by some commentators (cf. Conington in particular), some of whom prefer to read it closely with *tuis* (i.e., we bring offerings to what we have taken to be *your* temples, when in fact we cherish an empty report about you). But it is hard to escape the influence on the meaning of its use in Juno's bitter remark.

ferimus: Pointedly contrasted with 217 *potitur*, of Aeneas: Iarbas brings offerings to Jove's temples, while the neo-Paris seizes Dido by rapine.

famaque ... inanem: Newman and Newman 2005, 118 cf. the shade of Anchises and his comment about the *inane munus* (6.885–886) performed in

honor of the dead Marcellus. An effective close to the whole episode of Rumor and her wicked machinations. The meaning in context is that all the things told of Jupiter are vain and false; the god clearly does not punish wrongdoing or favor the pious and righteous. There is also an implication that the one *fama* that is not *inanis* is the one the avian horror has delivered to Iarbas.

fovemus: For the verb cf. 193; there it described the report of Dido and Aeneas in their warm, passionate winter; here it recalls the eternal fires that burn on Jupiter's African altars, apparently in vain. For the adjective cf. 210 *inania murmura*. The keyword at the end of the speech; its force extends both to the *munera* that are brought to Jupiter's temples, and to the report about the god's much vaunted power: all are pointless and vain if the god is willing to excuse what is happening in Carthage. Another possible force for *famam inanem* here is that it refers to Iarbas' parentage from Hammon: perhaps that is also a vain fancy, if the divine father will ignore the wrongs the son is enduring (the interpretation already cited in Servius). "Iarbas has done all he can to 'coddle' Jupiter's reputation, and it has turned out to be a sham" (Austin). "It is an accusative which strikes home" (Maclennan). "... incassum tuis templis ferimus dona et numen putamus esse quod non est" (Tib.).

219–237 Jupiter hears the words of his son, and at once he sends Mercury as his messenger to Aeneas, with the clear message and admonition that he should depart from Carthage. The formal Homeric model here is *Od.* 5.1–262, of Zeus' mission for Hermes to order Odysseus' release by Calypso; perhaps the most famous imitation is the sending of the Archangel Raphael to Adam at Milton, *Paradise Lost* 5.224–297. The poet of the *Roman d'Énéas* speaks vaguely of a *par les dieux ... mesage* (1699 Petit).

219 Talibus orantem dictis arasque tenentem

The present verse is nearly repeated at 6.124 *Talibus orabat dictis arasque tenebat*, of Aeneas as he prays for the chance to make a successful visit to the underworld. We may compare Latinus at 12.201 *tango aras, medios ignis et numina testor*.

Talibus ... dictis: Framing *orantem*. *Talibus* and *tenentem* frame the verse in dental alliteration.

orantem ... arasque tenentem: The two participles underscore Iarbas' prayerful language and posture; he has spoken to Jupiter with an insolence that is quite rare in addressing the supreme god, and he has not actually made any demands of his famous father—and yet his prayer will be among the most effective in the epic. For the altars cf. 200. *Orantem dictis* in juxtaposition, with

reference to the prayer and its language. DServ. notes that *orantem* stands for “perorantem” and not “precantem.”

arasque tenentem: Cf. Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 90.5 *Ergo is cui, si aram tenens iuraret*; Nisbet and Rudd on Horace, c. 3.17.23. Touching the altar is a ritual gesture of supplication; here the plural is perhaps “merely poetic,” though likely it carries with it a reference to Iarbas’ having erected a hundred altars—even if we must not imagine that he visited multiple shrines, indeed even more than one. Pease assembles his customary catalogue of parallels. The touching of the altar is one thing; the one who has a right to touch it another. Iarbas has more than earned the privilege.

The present verse constitutes the last glimpse of Iarbas in the epic; at 534–536, in the wake of Aeneas’ abandonment of her Dido rhetorically asks if she should return as a suppliant to those would-be suitors she once scorned. Pease notes that in view of Dido’s curse at 625–626, it seems unlikely that Virgil intended us to imagine the tradition by which Iarbas seized Dido’s kingdom after her suicide; he argues that Iarbas has served his narrative purpose and now disappears from the scene. Few “minor characters” in the epic are invested with so important a role: Iarbas wins something of a victory here, since his thirteen lines of address to Jupiter will prove to have quite the lasting and portentous consequence.

220 **audiit Omnipotens, oculosque ad moenia torsit**

The verbs frame the verse. This verse and what follows is the subject of a lengthy study by V.A. Estevez, “*Oculos ad moenia torsit*: On *Aeneid* 4.220,” in *CPh* 77.1 (1982), 22–34. Estevez argues that Jupiter overreacts in this passage, and that his response to Iarbas’ prayer serves to worsen the situation in Carthage and to set up another divine hindrance to Aeneas’ future in a manner not much different from the machinations of Venus and Juno. On perfect tense verbs with divine subjects “in scenes in which the perspective has changed with respect to the previous scene,” see Adema 2019, 129–130.

audiit: First we hear of the god’s hearing of the prayer, in the significant first position; then we hear of his powers of vision (*oculos*). Gildenhard untangles the possible implications of the verb, specifically with reference to the question of just how much Jupiter has listened to the specific import of his son’s prayer. Iarbas had not asked for anything directly; at this point, one could fairly argue that he wants to see Dido and Aeneas come to ruin perhaps more than he wants Aeneas to be removed from the picture so that he can have the queen for himself. The verb conveys the key element of what has happened here: Jupiter heard what Iarbas said, and he acted as he saw necessary in terms of the decrees of fate and the destiny of the future Rome.

Omnipotens: Echoing the opening of Iarbas' prayer at 206. Alliterative with *oculos*. The conventional enough epithet for the god has special force here: Jupiter will handle the situation that has unfolded in Carthage.

torsit: The verb echoes 196 ... *detorquet Iarban*, of Rumor's visit to the African king; also 208 ... *cum fulmina torques*, of Iarbas' note about the apparently random nature of thunderbolts. It looks forward to Mercury's reference to Jupiter in his remarks to Aeneas at 269 ... *caelum et terras qui numine torquet*. This is Jupiter's direct response to Iarbas' indignant, rhetorical question at 208 *aspicis haec?*

Jupiter here is reminiscent of Proteus at *G.* 4.451 *ardentis oculos intorsit lumine glauco*; we may compare Amata at *Aen.* 7.399 *sanguineam torquens aciem*, and Allecto at 448–449 ... *tum flamma torquens / lumina*, and especially Turnus at 12.670–671 *ardentis oculorum orbis ad moenia torsit / turbidus eque rotis magnam respexit ad urbem*. Here there is a question of the suddenness of Jupiter's reaction; the god has, after all, been rather asleep to developments in Carthage, and that is a significant point beyond what unfolds here. He did send Mercury to Carthage after his consoling address to Venus, for the express purpose of making sure that Dido and the Carthaginians would not receive Aeneas with violence (1.297–304); this was a legitimate fear (cf. 1.539–543). Venus was not aware, we might think, of Jupiter's actions here; she of course pursued her own plans notwithstanding her father's prior assurances (1.657 ff.). But since Jupiter's assignment for Mercury in Book 1, the god has remained silent and uninvolved in Carthaginian affairs. Paschalis 1997, 155–156 semantically connects the suddenness of Jupiter's gaze with the action of thunder and lightning: sudden and swift. According to this reading, Jupiter's response to his son's quasi-Epicurean commentary on the nature of thunder is to respond with an all too effective bolt aimed right at Dido's palace. Any violence connoted by the verb would correspond to the god's anger after he sees for himself what Iarbas has reported. The African king has become one of the tongues of Rumor; Iarbas heard of the story from Fama, and he did not see it for himself because of his considerable distance from Dido's city—but in one short verse Jupiter both hears the rumors reported by Iarbas, and twists his eyes over to Carthage: seeing is indeed believing. Henry argues with uncharacteristic brevity that the meaning here is simply “turned.” Lucan offers a parallel at *BC* 5.211–213 ... *illa feroces / torquet adhuc oculos totaque vagantia caelo / lumina* ... (of Phemonoe).

Servius notes here “*nec videatur esse contrarium quod turbantur omnia Iove Africam respiciente; nam utrumque a turpi liberat fama*,” for the ancient commentator at least, Jupiter did what he needed to do to preserve the dignity of both parties.

221 regia et oblitos fama melioris amantis.

The verse is framed by the twin concepts of royalty and passion; the enjambed *regia* highlights the theme that what happens between monarchs is of greater import than the affairs of commoners. A verse that is laden with important authorial information, we might think; Aeneas and Dido alike are characterized as *amantis*, and both have been forgetful of *fama melior*. Whatever viciousness and foulness may be ascribed to Rumor and her acolytes, the essential fault of the two lovers is plainly stated. This is the first time in the tragic drama in which Aeneas is blamed for his affair with Dido. Tib. has an exceptionally perceptive note here, a gem of his commentary on this book: “nusquam sic vitia amoris expressa sunt ut in hoc libro; ubi enim amor intervenerit, nihil praeter libidinem cogitur, non utile aliquid quaeritur, commoditas nulla, honestas nulla tractatur, subit negligentia omnium rerum, negotia differuntur, sic in oblivionem veniunt omnia, quasi universorum commoditas actuum in solo amore consistat.”

regia: For the adjective cf. 114.

oblitos: The verb recurs at 267 *heu, regni rerumque oblite tuarum!*, as Mercury upbraids Aeneas; cf. below also on the textually suspect verse 528. Otherwise the verb is not particularly common in the epic; it occurs at 2.148 *quisquis es, amissos hinc iam obliviscere Graios* (Priam to Sinon); 3.628–629 ... *nec talia passus Ulixes / oblitusve sui est Ithacus discrimine tanto* (in Achaemenides' story of Ulysses regarding the Cyclops); 5.174 *oblitus decorisque sui sociumque salutis* (of Gyas with Menoetes); 334 *non tamen Euryali, non ille oblitus amorum* (of Nisus at the foot race); 703 *oblitus fatorum* (of Aeneas' pondering whether he should remain in Sicily); 9.225 *laxabant curas et corda oblita laborum* (of those who sleep while Nisus and Euryalus plan their mission); 11.866 *obliti ignoto camporum in pulvere linqunt* (of Arruns' companions after Opis slew him in secret).

famae melioris: Another reference to *fama*, but this time to a report of a quite different sort. The *melior fama* connects again to ideas of dignity and restraint, to Roman ideals of avoidance of scandal; it also refers inevitably to Aeneas' destiny to further the Roman future in Hesperia, and to Dido's *univira* ideal with respect to the dead Sychaeus. The *melior fama* is framed by the forgetful lovers, who are described essentially as having been lost in erotic oblivion. The present reference comes in direct recollection of the description of Dido at 170 ... *neque enim specie famave movetur*. On the shield of Aeneas, the presence of the *Aegyptia coniunx* with Antony will be decried as *nefas* (8.688).

We may compare here Horace, c. 3.1.12–13 *moribus hic meliorque fama / contendat*; also Ovid, *Ep.* 1.2.141; Tacitus' comment on Piso at *Hist.* 1.48.2 *fama meliore quam fortuna*. See Newman and Newman 2005, 24 n. 58 for the Renais-

sance depictions of “Fama Melior” with trumpets, in striking contrast to the horrifying creature who brought the news of Dido and Aeneas to Iarbas. Noteworthy too is the textual variation at 6.889 *incenditque animum famae venientis amore* (of Anchises’ shade with Aeneas in Elysium), where the Medicean reads *incenditque animum famae melioris amore*, in clear imitation of the present verse. In Elysium, the action of Anchises’ shade—regardless of the reading we prefer—combines the metaphorical burning of Iarbas by Fama at 4.197, and Jupiter’s concern for the lovers who are forgetful of *fama melior*. For the inherent ironies at play in Jupiter’s judgment of the morals of Dido and Aeneas, see Lyne 1987, 84 ff. It is possible that one of the factors in Iarbas’ speech that particularly troubled Jupiter was the emphasis on Trojan effeminacy that came so close to the end of the speech (215–217); this subject would be at the heart of the reconciliation of Juno (see 12.807–842, especially 835 ff.; cf. Reed 2007, 85–86).

222 *tum sic Mercurium adloquitur ac talia mandat:*

After listening and the sudden visual confirmation of the rumor, action follows. Gildenhard comments on how Mercury “just happens to be around,” but this is the nature of the swift messenger god and indeed psychopomp: his instantaneous presence is required when the post, as it were, must be delivered.

tum sic: Also at the start of an address at 2.775 (= 3.153; 8.35); 9.234 *tum sic Hyrtacides*; the hemistich 9.295 *tum sic effatur*; 10.182 *tum sic ignarum adloquitur*; 11.820 *tum sic exspirans* (of Camilla); 12.10 *tum sic adfatur regem atque ita turbidus infit* (Turnus to Latinus); cf. 6.562 *tum vates sic orsa loqui*; 8.154 *tum sic pauca refert*; 12.175 *Tum pius Aeneas stricto sic ense precatur*. *Tum* alliterative with *talia*, in ABAB arrangement with *Mercurium ... mandat*. The present scene’s one-sided conversation is very different from 8 *cum sic unanimam adloquitur male sana sororem*.

Mercurium: Alliterative with *mandat*. For the god in Virgil and his place in Book 4 see D. Nardo in *EV* III, 488–490; P. Knox in *VE* II, 814–815; Bailey 1935, 117–118; Fratantuono 2015b; E. Harrison, “Vergil’s Mercury,” in McKay 1982, 1–47; D. Feeney, “Leaving Dido: The Appearance(s) of Mercury and Motivations of Aeneas,” in Burden 1998, 105–127; Smith 2005, 40–44. Mercury is again summoned on a Carthaginian mission, as at 1.297–304; that quest was in pursuit of the softening of Carthaginian hearts toward Aeneas, while this trip will be to sever ties between Trojan and Tyrian (see Dekel 2012, 80–81 for the argument that Virgil’s audience was likely all too well aware that this sort of pacification would not be possible at least in the long run absent certain historical realities). This is the second appearance of the god in the epic, following on his related mission in Book 1. At *G.* 1.335–337 *hoc metuens caeli menses et sidera serva, / frigida Saturni sese quo stella receptet, / quos ignis caelo Cyllenius erret in orbis,*

mortals are admonished to watch Mercury and Saturn as celestial warning signs of Jovian tempests; certainly what follows causes a metaphorical storm. For the etymology of the god's name from *medium currens* see Paschalis 1997, 158.

The role of Mercury in the hastening of Aeneas' departure from Carthage paves the way too for the god's importance in the Arcadian interlude of Book 8, where the Mercury-Atlas imagery of the present book is recalled as part of the prelude to the revelation to Aeneas of the future site of Rome; see further below on 245 ff.

adloquitur: The diastole here helps to emphasize the first of the two verbs that describe the god's task for Mercury. "A certain solemnity in Jupiter's utterance" (Austin). MacLennan raises the interesting suggestion that Jupiter pauses almost so as to control or suppress his anger before he speaks to this other of his many sons. Repeated almost at once at 226 *adloquere*. For the verb cf. 8 above. "Aen. 4. 219–278 present the highest concentration of occurrences of 'loquor' in Aeneid 4 (222, 226, 276), which was etymologized from 'locus' (Var. LL 6. 56). The narrative suggests an association between Speech and Settlement" (Paschalis 1997, 158–159).

mandat: Cf. Mercury's reference to his divine father's *mandata* at 270; Aeneas' mention of the same *mandata* at 357. The verb also at 3.50 (of Priam); 444 (with reference to the Sibyl; cf. 6.74); 8.506 (of Tarchon); note also 9.214 and 11.23 in funereal contexts. *Talia mandat* also a line-end at Statius, *Silv.* 2.3.42.

223 "vade age, nate, voca Zephyros et labere pinnis

Four imperatives, as Jupiter orders rapid action. For the presence of this verse in Pompeian graffiti see Ferraro 1982, 30–31.

vade: Alliterative with its sister imperative *voca*. *Vade* occurs at 3.462 *vade age et ingentem factis fer ad aethera Troiam*, where Helenus bids Aeneas farewell at Buthrotum; soon after he uses the same imperative with Anchises (470 *vade ait o felix nati pietate ...*). At 5.548 *vade age et Ascanio ...* it occurs of Aeneas as he instructs Epytides to go to Ascanius to prepare for the *lusus Troiae*; Evander uses the plural imperative at 11.176 *vadite et haec memores regi mandata referte*, toward the end of his lament for Pallas. The verb is used also of Discordia at the depiction of Actium on the shield (8.702 *et scissa gaudens vadit Discordia palla*); in battle scenes compare also Aeneas' recollections at 2.359 and 396, during the fall of Troy. At 6.263 *ille ducem haud timidis vadentem passibus aequat* it describes Deiphobe as Aeneas follows her into the underworld. In the immediate context then, we see the two uses in Book 2 transformed into the two imperatives of Book 3 that look forward to the westward journey to Hesperia; here another son (*nate*) is encouraged to tell the son who was notable for his *pietas* (cf. 3.470) to heed the admonitions

of his grandfather Jupiter. *Age* of special haste; it has a colloquial air that is appropriate with *nate*—Jupiter had been addressed by one of his innumerable sons, and now he speaks to another son, one who has a constant job as his father's errand boy. This passage will be echoed in the parallel case of 693 ff., of Juno's employment of the rainbow goddess Iris as her own special herald.

nate: An important imperative in context. Aeneas is the premier *natus* of the epic (35×); Pallas is next (8×); then Lausus (3×); Ascanius and Cupid (2× each); Euryalus; Turnus; Jupiter himself (son of Cybele). Four of the six "sons" of the epic die (one Trojan; one Rutulian; one Arcadian; one Etruscan); only Jupiter and Aeneas do not. Aeneas can be called *nate* because he is Venus' son and Jupiter's grandson (and indeed, Jupiter's injunction will begin with an admonition about Venus as *genetrix*); on an emotional level, we think of the loss of Anchises and the fact that his absence has been keenly felt during the Carthaginian interlude.

Zephyros: Vid. M. Labate in *EV* v, 490–498 on Virgilian winds (with lavish illustrations); D.M. Possanza in *VE* III, 1408–1409. Referenced in the plural here and below at 562; also at 3.120 and 10.203; the singular at 1.131; 2.416–419 and 12.331–340 (in battle similes). Much ink has been spilled over the alleged difficulties of Mercury's route; he is assumed by commentators to have started his journey at Olympus, and somehow he manages to transit past Atlas in the far west of north Africa, and then on to Carthage. *Zephyri* cannot be taken too literally of the west wind, though of course in the context of Aeneas' quest, the westward aspect of the journey is often reinforced. "Favorable" winds, then, even if there is a mild personification of the Zephyrs—though not a personification, we might think, to the extent of 1.131, where both west and east wind are chided by Neptune for their participation in the storm. Servius noted the ambiguity of whether the winds are to be imagined as aiding Mercury (does a messenger god really need the winds to cooperate with his airy journey?), or as a means to help Aeneas sail away during what is, after all, the stormy winter season. We may compare 562 ... *nec Zephyros audis spirare secundos*, where Mercury chides Aeneas for his tardy departure and notes that the winds are cooperative; under this interpretation, Mercury is first to see to the practicalities of making the Trojan departure possible, and then to his own words of admonition and warning to Aeneas.

labere: The favorite Virgilian verb again (see on 77). The present use is echoed at 11.588 *labere, nympa, polo finisque invise Latinos*, of Diana's instructions to Opis about looking out for the vengeance to be sought for Camilla; in powerful anaphora, the verb will recur of Camilla at her fatal wounding (11.818–819 *labitur exsanguis, labuntur frigida leto | lumina*). Cf. 318 ... *miserere domus*

labentis et istam (Dido to Aeneas). Here of the easy, gliding journey of the god, which is perversely imitated in the soft glide of those who collapse in death. Page thinks that the flight is easier because of the zephyrs; of course even if the god summoned the winds primarily to aid Aeneas, that does not mean that he cannot avail himself of their boon for travel as well. Cf. also the mention of the winds at 257.

pinnis: Of the *talaria* trademark of the god (239–240). Repeated at 700 in the description of the descent of another divine herald, the Junonian avatar Iris. Cf. 11.867 (of Opis); 12.892–893 ... *opta ardua pinnis / astra sequi* (Aeneas' taunt to Turnus); of bird wings at 3.258 (i.e., Celaeno's); 361; 5.215; 505; 6.240; 11.272; 722; 12.253; 474; Daedalus' oarage of wings (6.15); note also the hunting *pinnae* of 12.750 (in a simile); cf. the description of camp fortifications at 7.159; Acron's crimson plumes at 10.722.

224 Dardaniumque ducem, Tyrias Karthagine qui nunc

Dardaniumque ducem: Dental alliteration. For Dardanian see on 163; with *dux* cf. 124/165. The present verse neatly counterbalances Dardania and Tyrian Carthage, as it were: Troy and the realm of Dido where the Trojan leader now tarries. This is Aeneas in his capacity as Roman progenitor, not as hero harking back to a lost past: Dardanus was an Italian (cf. 8.134ff., of Aeneas with Evander at Pallanteum). The line is framed by words that evoke the strange contrast between the dream of the revival of the dead city of Priam in Italy and the current reality, which is in some ways a masquerade of *Troia rediviva*, of the renaissance of the eastern pomp and splendor associated with the decadent Troy, now combined with the nascent power of Rome's great Mediterranean rival and inveterate foe. The verse thus carefully balances both Aeneas' and Dido's ethnic and civic associations. Pease notes that Jupiter focuses only on Aeneas, while it will be Juno who deals with the Carthaginian Dido (though only in an act of quasi-euthanasia in the wake of her fatal wounding), notwithstanding the supreme god's reference to the culpability of both parties at 221. Aeneas, of course, is the only figure necessary in terms of the furthering of the Roman destiny; Dido is irrelevant to Jupiter's present concern with that Italian future. *Dardanium dux* is a vivid genealogical reminder of where Aeneas belongs.

The reference to Dardanus has particular color in an address to Mercury. As the son of Electra, he was a cousin of Maia's son Mercury; Electra and Maia were both Pleiades. The appellation looks ahead to Aeneas' remarks to Evander about his Dardanian lineage at 134ff., with reference to the shared lineage of Trojans and Arcadians. It is a good example of how an easily passed over epithet takes on great significance in light of later passages and in view of the

poet's overarching concerns: Mercury is a god who has a place in the family tree by which Troy and Arcadia are bound together.

Irvine has a characteristic note on the question of Aeneas *vs.* Dido in the matter of guilt or lack thereof. He parses the point to be that they are both blameworthy, "Not because, as we say, they are 'living in sin,' but because Aeneas has forgotten his mission and Dido her oath." He further notes that Virgil "is sufficiently Roman to put the blame upon the female characters—on the scheming goddesses and the too passionate Dido. The modern is too ready to damn Aeneas and have done with it." But both parties are castigated, as in the parallel historical case of Antony and Cleopatra; the greater the distance from that contemporary Augustan reality, and the lovelier the *Nachleben* of the romantic tragedy, the easier it is to indulge in revisionism and sentimentality.

Tyrias: For the appellation cf. on 104, etc. Here juxtaposed with *Karthagine*. For *Tyrias* instead of *Tyria* see on 225 *res spectat*.

Karthagine: For the name of the city see on 97.

qui nunc: The little monosyllables set up a momentary, enjambed suspense. *Nunc* recalls the reference to *nunc ille Paris* toward the close of Iarbas' prayer.

225 *res spectat fatisque datas non respicit urbes,*

res spectat: A paleographical and interpretive mess, on which many critics have exerted considerable textual labors. This verse offers one of the few occasions where a vexed text does not result in competing views in critical editions; everyone here prints *expectat*, with 224 *Tyria* before it: the exploration of alternate readings has been conducted exclusively in journals and in some apparatus citations. Indeed, Austin has an uncharacteristically harsh comment here for those who would think to tinker with the text: "I prefer to accept the MSS. reading, which is not incompatible with common sense unless one is perverse." Pease also dismisses any concern over the absolute use of the verb; neither Gildenhart, nor O'Hara in his revision of Page considers the problem. Tilly and MacLennan also both unconcerned; Williams labels the use of *expectat* "very unusual" (cf. Stephenson's "peculiar"), but concludes that "the innovated shade of meaning is perfectly acceptable." Sidgwick sees mere poetic variety in the choice of *expectat* (a verb that certainly occurs elsewhere in this book at 134 and 430). Mackail simply states that this is a normal enough use of *expectare* for Virgil, with little comment; cf. Papillon and Haigh, who consider the present instance to be but a "slight extension" of customary usage.

At the risk of being guilty of perversion (and if so, it is a sin we share with several previous critics), we have printed the suggestion of Kraggerud 2017, 83–85 (following on the different ideas explored in his *PVS* 25 (2004), 161–163, and his *SO* 83 (2008), 59 ff.). The capital manuscripts here have *expectat*; *perspicit*

is found in a number of Carolingians. Servius glossed *expectat* as “moratur, dedit tempus,” i.e., in an absolute sense relating to Aeneas’ wasting of time at Tyrian Carthage. Critics have objected to this interpretation because of the utter lack of parallels for the absolute use of the verb; Housman conjectured *Hesperiam* (“Virgil Aen. IV 225,” in *CR* 19 (1905), 260–261 = *Collected Papers* 628), which has not been widely accepted. “Few eyes are so dim as to see little difference between *expectat* and *Hesperiam*; but many brains are cloudy enough to think *expecto* much the same as *moror*, because, I suspect, it is possible to connect both the one verb and the other with the notion of doing nothing.”

Other attempts at surgery include Winbolt’s earlier effort to give *expectat* a direct object by reading 224 *Tyrias* (*CR* 2 (1888), 236); Campbell built on this idea by also emending *expectat* to *exceptat* (*CR* 52 (1938), 161). Courtney suggested *res captat* (*BICS* 28 (1981), 21–22). Kraggerud 2004 conjectured *optatas* for *expectat*; Kraggerud 2017 suggested combining a bit of Winbolt and a bit of Courtney with his own, newer medicine, and proposes ... *Tyrias Karthagine qui nunc / res spectat fatisque non datas respicit urbes*, noting in his proposed apparatus *Tyrias* to the credit of Winbolt 1888; *res* from Courtney 1981; *spectat* from Kraggerud 2008. “Restoration of the god’s words by lenient surgery”: we agree with Kraggerud’s assessment for how to repair a real problem, and happily print his suggested text. *Ex Norvegia, medela*.

With this reading, *res* balances *urbes* as a frame for the verse, and *res spectat* anticipates the echoing *respicit*, as we move from what Aeneas is looking at to that which he is ignoring.

fatisque datas: Echoing the concerns of Venus to Juno at 110–112, where she expressed anxiety (feigned though it was) about what Jupiter would or would not permit in light of the dictates of destiny. Certainly there is reason here to accept the argument of those who note that fate is greater than Jupiter; the point is that Jupiter is supreme god in part because unlike his divine colleagues he does not try to circumvent the pronouncements of fate.

respicit: Cf. 208 *aspicis haec*, of Iarbas’ frustrated rhetorical question for Jupiter. The king had asked if Jupiter beheld what was happening; Jupiter references how Aeneas is not looking at the cities that have been given to him by fate and destiny. Instead, he is actively gazing (*spectat*) on Carthaginian affairs, just as Mercury will see him (*conspicit*) doing at 260–261 when he arrives in north Africa. All the emphasis is on vision and the proof of the eyes; from the essentially auditory report of Fama we have moved to Jupiter’s visual confirmation (220) of what is going on in Dido’s realm, to a focus here on just where Aeneas is casting his gaze. The language is aimed at civic and political destinies; there may be a hint in the background of the lover gazing at his beloved, who in this case happens to be a Carthaginian queen. *Respicit* is repeated at 236, near

the end of Jupiter's instructions to Mercury; cf. also 275 *respice*, near the end of Mercury's speech in conveyance of Jove's message. The verb appears twice in interesting contexts of Aeneas' recollection of Troy's last night: 2.564 *respicio et quae sit me circum copia lustrō* (Aeneas after thinking of his own family in the wake of Priam's death, just before the Helen episode); 741 *nec prius amissam respexi animumque reflexi*, of Aeneas' initial failure to notice Creūsa's disappearance. Venus uses it at 2.615 *respice* to refer to her revelation of the divine forces at work in the ruin of Troy; cf. Allecto's terrifying epiphany to Turnus at 7.454; Latinus' appeal to Turnus at 12.43. Eerily, it is also employed of Cleopatra's failure to notice the twin serpents that lie in wait at her back (8.697).

The reading *perspicit* has not received much attention or critical favor; it would be intolerably weak before *respicit*, whereas *res spectat* offers a neat contrast to *respicit*, a play on words that describes exactly what Aeneas is and is not doing in Carthage.

Austin argues here "Note that this is the first time that Aeneas is directly made responsible for wrong"; at 221 *oblitos famae melioris amantis* the poet-narrator offered his comment about Dido and Aeneas together in their erotic oblivion; Jupiter here focuses on a subject that Iarbas did not know about: Aeneas' Hesperian destiny.

urbes: Plural for singular, with not only a poetic flavor, but also a hint at the future glory of Rome. Even Carthage, after all, will someday be rebuilt as a Roman city. Buscaroli (followed by Pease) sees a specific reference here to Rome alongside Lavinium, Alba Longa, etc.

226 *adloquere et celeris defer mea dicta per auras.*

adloquere: Echoing 222 *adloquitur*. The first of another two imperatives, following on the four of 223. Mercury is to do with Aeneas as Jupiter has with Mercury; there is an emphasis here on hierarchy and Jupiter's studied, solemn distancing of himself from direct communication with Aeneas.

celeris: The breezes that carry the god are speedy; the epithet has a hint of transference too, since it is the *dicta* that are also to be swift. "Swift breezes" in Virgil only at the parallel passages 4.226; 270; 357. "A vivid epithet" (Austin); the one adjective conveys the crucial detail about the need for the message to be delivered quickly, and the hallmark quality of Mercury's rapid advance. The swift breezes literally envelop the god's dictates and his order for them to be conveyed to Aeneas; Gildenhard comments on the "iconic enactment" of the words passing through the air.

defer: Alliterative with *dicta*. "Bring down," with literal force. The imperative occurs also at 5.730 *defer in Italiam*, of the advice of the dream apparition of Anchises to Aeneas—a significant parallel given the import of Jupiter's instruc-

tions here. For the verb note also 298–299 below, of the news that *Fama impia* brings to Dido of Aeneas' preparations to depart; and cf. the virtual repetition of this verse at 270 *ipse ferre iubet celeris mandata per auras* (Mercury to Aeneas), and at Aeneas' rendition of the present passage and its successor in his remarks to the queen (357–358 ... *celeris mandata per auras* | *detulit*).

mea dicta: A good example of where Jupiter's mandates are the voice of fate and destiny.

227 non illum nobis genetrix pulcherrima talem

non: Alliterative with *nobis*. *Non illum* balances *talem*, in framing emphasis on the wayward Aeneas. "Emphatic use of the pronoun" (Austin); *illum* here directly echoes Iarbas' bitter remark about *ille Paris* at 215. "[It] carries the weight of Jupiter's indignation" (Maclennan). Jupiter is indulging here in a bit of hypocrisy: he rightfully indicts Aeneas for not looking to his future, and Aeneas' mother for not having promised that he would be such a one as this—but the supreme god himself has been rather asleep of late prior to Iarbas' alert.

nobis: The royal we, juxtaposed with *genetrix* of the divine father and his daughter, in a verse that brings together the generations by the father's emphasis on what the daughter promised about her son.

genetrix: Recalling the first line of Lucretius. For the appellation see Newman and Newman 2005, 49: 6× times of Venus; 5× of the Trojan mother goddess Cybele; twice in connection with Euryalus' mother and Ascanius' promise to treat her like his own lost mother Creüsa. "There is nothing that could be called normal human intercourse."

Ribbeck prefers the original order of the Palatine here: *genetrix nobis*; emphasis and flow of the verse do not work as well thus.

pulcherrima: Echoing 4.60 (and 1.496), of most beautiful Dido; cf. 141 *pulcherrimus* of Aeneas. The epithet is loaded with implicit comment on how Venus was culpable both in her machinations with Cupid, and in her acquiescence to Juno's gambit by which *pulcherrima Dido* and *pulcherrimus Aeneas* found themselves in love. Servius thinks that the epithet here is merely ornamental, but the recollection of the same attribution of exceptional loveliness both to Dido and Aeneas makes it a deliberate choice; cf. 12.554, where it is *genetrix pulcherrima* Venus who gives Aeneas the idea to attack Latinus' city—the epithet in deliberate contrast to the wretched action the angry goddess is recommending.

Pease explores ad loc. the idea raised by some critics regarding implicit commentary on how Venus did not prevent matters in Carthage from reaching the present state of crisis (indeed, she bears a large share of the blame for the tragedy). She disappeared from the action of the book at 128, and the reference

to her in Jupiter's remarks to Mercury (comments that are diplomatically left out of the messenger's rendition of his employer's message at 265 ff.) may carry with it more than a note of judgment.

talem: Not without biting force: is this the sort of hero Aeneas has become? The enjambment of the verb both heightens the suspense for a moment, and puts the emphasis on how Venus has allegedly disappointed Jupiter.

228 *promisit Graiumque ideo bis vindicat armis*;

promisit: An interesting shift from the actual presentation of the colloquy of Venus and Jupiter in Book 1. There, Venus referenced past promises of her divine father (cf. 235–237, with 237 *pollicitus* in prominent first place, like the verb here); Jupiter assured his daughter that all would be well, with a mention of the *promissa Lavini / moenia* (258–259). Here, the focus is on what Venus has apparently promised to her father about his grandson, promises that are not referenced elsewhere in the poem. *Promittere* recurs at 487, of Dido's remarks to Anna about the promises of the Massylian priestess regarding the breaking of spells of love; more pointedly, Dido speaks at 552 of her *non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaëo*. Some epic promises, at least, are easily broken. We may compare too 12.1–2 *Turnus ut infractos adverso Marte Latinos / defecisse videt, sua nunc promissa reposci*, soon before the Rutulian is compared to a wounded lion in Punic fields; note also Venus' presentation of the divine arms to Aeneas at 8.612–613 *en perfecta mei promissa coniugis arte / munera*. Augustus Caesar is spoken of in the *Heldenschau* as being “often promised” (6.791).

Graiumque: The adjective only here in Book 4. “The commoner genitive” in Virgil (Pease). For its use in verse see Skutsch on Ennius, *Ann.* 11.357: “... epic poetry never uses *Graecus*, except where a special point is made ... in prose ... *Graius* is rare and used mainly in reference to heroic Greece, and to contrast Greeks with barbarians.” For Virgilian references to the Greeks note R. Uccellini in *VE* 11, 577–578.

ideo: The key explanatory particle. *Hapax* in the *Aeneid*; 2× in the *Georgics*.

bis: Another little word that has occasioned much comment from antiquity forward. Certainly there is an allusion here to *Il.* 5.311 ff., of the rescue of Aeneas from Diomedes (a figure who will be referenced as a potential threat to the Trojans in Book 8); there is also Virgil's own reference to Venus saving Aeneas on Troy's last night (2.620; 665). *Graiumque ... armis* framing the goddess' act of rescuing her son. Servius notes that some saw an echo here of Poseidon's rescue of Aeneas from Achilles at *Il.* 20.259–352, in the sense that what was done by the sea god could be interpreted as having been done at the behest of Aeneas' mother. In terms of Jovian reports to Mercury, there is an attractiveness

in taking *bis* to refer to the two divine rescues of Aeneas reported in Homer; Venus' rescue of Aeneas in Book 2 is not as dramatic as the Iliadic episodes with Aphrodite and Poseidon. Whatever the antecedents, the force of Jupiter's numerical reference is that Aeneas has been saved for greater things more than once, and the supreme god is increasingly impatient with the disappointing behavior (*talem*) of the hero in Carthage.

vindicat: The verb only here in Virgil; we may note the same form in the *Car-men de Bello Actiaco*, col. ii.19 Courtney. The verb in balanced coordination with *promisit*, as if Venus made promises about her son so as to justify saving him from Greek arms. The present tense is deliberate (and especially forceful after the perfect *promisit*): Venus has continued to protect her son, even beyond the travails of Troy's last night.

A rather harsh characterization, we might think: Jupiter casts the point of the survival of Aeneas into question, if this is the way he intends to behave.

229 *sed fore qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem*

The beginning of a solemn and significant reference by Jupiter to the future Italy (the name of which is thrown into prominence by its enjambment). From the salvation of Aeneas from Greek arms, we proceed to a verse redolent with the military and expansionist history of Rome.

fore: Alliterative with *frementem*. The form directly echoes 1.235 *hinc fore ductores revocato a sanguine Teucris*, in Venus' recollection of Jupiter's promises about the future Romans; cf. 444–445 of the future sign for the military valor and rich opulence of Carthage; 6.345 of Aeneas' reminiscence of Apollonian promises in his meeting with Palinurus' shade; 526 *scilicet id magnum sperans fore munus amanti* (Deiphobus' characterization of Helen); 7.79–80 *namque fore inlustrem fama fatisque canebant | ipsam* (of the interpretation of the Lavinia fire portent); 9.232 *rem magnam pretiumque morae fore* (Nisus and Euryalus eager to unveil their plans); 10.457 *hunc ubi contiguum missae fore cre-didit hastae* (of Pallas' calculation before his attack on Turnus).

Mackail reads 229–231 with close reference to the future Rome, and takes *fore qui* to correspond to “there should be one who,” rather than “it should be he who.” In other words, Aeneas is supposed to behave like a proto-Roman (cf. the force of 6.851), or, if one wishes to say it plainly, like an Augustus and not an Antony.

gravidam: The adjective occurs only three times in the epic; cf. 7.507 *stipitis hic gravidi nodis*, of the makeshift weapons first used in the nascent Italian war; 10.87 *quid gravidam bellis urbem et corda aspera temptas?*, in Juno's speech at the divine council. Both other uses of the word, then, come with reference to the forthcoming war in Italy (see below on *frementem*).

imperii: In powerful juxtaposition with *bello*: empire obtained by war. Here we recall most of all Jupiter's immortal declaration at 1.279 *imperium sine fine dedi*; cf. 287 *imperium Oceano* of the western border of the foreshadowed empire; also 270 *imperio explebit* (of the thirty year rule of Ascanius at Alba Longa); Venus' reference to Jupiter's *imperia* in her address to him at 1.229–230; the reference to future Roman glory made by the shade of Anchises in Elysium at 6.781–782 *en huius, nate, auspiciis illa incluta Roma / imperium terris*, etc.; to Augustus' future expansion of the empire at 794–795 ... *super et Garamantas et Indos / proferet imperium*; to Numa at 811–812 ... *Curibus parvis et paupere terra / missus in imperium magnum*; to the consular *imperium* of Brutus at 819; also the famous admonition of the same shade *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento* (851).

Austin and others take *imperii* to refer to the occasions for military command that Aeneas would be offered by the war in Italy (the war predicted by Jupiter to Venus at 1.263 *bellum ingens geret Italia*); this shade of meaning is certainly true and present, but it is difficult to speak to an Augustan audience of an Italy that is *gravidam imperii* without immediately evoking the image of Rome's imperial sway. As often in prophetic language and references, Jupiter's words are pregnant with diverse meanings (see Gildenhard for Jupiter's "condensing of several centuries"—the god is, after all, in a hurry). "Italy is a land that it 'big with empire,' the empire that shall be" (Butler). The plural in this sense can be dismissed as mere poetic license, but it probably comes with a reminder of just how vast and great said empire will be. "It is a land where leaders, not lovers are needed" (Page). Any hint of the suggestion of pregnancy is especially poignant in context; Dido will not be pregnant with any child of Aeneas, and the only pregnancy referenced in Book 4 is that of Italy. See Henry for dismissal of any such associations of the adjective with pregnancy (of empires or anything/anyone else).

belloque: Servius was troubled here, given the reference at 7.46 *iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat*, of Latinus' rule. But that passage does not rule out the strong martial tradition of Italy that is in evidence in Book 7 and beyond, and in any case the poet's main concern here is the glance forward to the Italian war. There is also a strong sense in the present passage of the violent future of Rome and Carthage; as long as Aeneas and Dido are *oblitos amanti*, there can be no war in the Mediterranean and no expansion of Rome into the former Carthaginian empire. For Italy and Rome as eminently unpeaceful places, see Newman and Newman 2005, 294–295.

frementem: For the verb see on 146. A term of exceptionally diverse range and meaning. Here it is used in an interesting reference both backwards and forward. At the close of Jupiter's speech to Venus (an address to which the god-

dess made no reply; indeed, she vanishes from the narrative without a trace), Jupiter referred to the horrifying image of Madness chained: ... *Furor impius intus / saeva sedens super arma at centum vinctus aënis / post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento*, where the monstrous allegory was literally seething in its shackles, ready to be unchained to spread its fury again. The reference in the present passage to Italy seething in war looks forward to the rebirth of the *Iliad* in Latium, a war that has not yet been set into motion, even if it had been predicted as early as 1.263: cf., e.g., 7.460 *arma amens fremit*, of Turnus literally seething for arms in the wake of Allecto's instigation of rage; 9.60 in the simile in which Turnus is compared to a snarling, seething wolf outside a sheepfold; Turnus' chimaera emblem at 7.787; the mad Amata at 7.389 *fremens*. Aeneas had been promised by Venus as the one who would rule an Italy that seethed in war; in reality Aeneas will first need to engage in war with a seething Italy, only then to advance further in his part in the unfolding of the Roman destiny.

“Pregnant with empire and clamorous with war”, a splendid phrase for the future martial destiny of Rome” (Sidgwick).

230 *Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucri*

The verse is framed by references to Italy and the Teucrians. The same apposition is seen at 1.38 *nec posse Italia Teucrorum avertere regem*, which the present line strongly echoes; there Juno was indignant that other divinities were able to work their will as they saw fit, while she alone (despite her high status) was unable to avert the Teucrian king from Italy (and cf. Venus' suspicions at 4.105–106); *in fine* what will matter is the settlement reached by Juno and Jupiter in Book 12.

Italiam: The key name in prominent, enjambed relief. Mercury will reference this passage at 275–276 *respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus / debetur*, of Ascanius. We may note too Aeneas' powerful repetition of “Italy” at 345–346, and especially the celebrated hemistich at 361 below, *Italiam non sponte sequor*, which will need to be read in close association with Jupiter's words here to Mercury; cf. Dido's angry retort at 381 *i, sequere Italiam*. The present reference recalls Venus' analysis of Juno's intentions above at 106 *quo regnum Italiae Libycas averteret oras*.

regeret: The first of three subjunctives in an ascending tricolon of what Jupiter expects (cf. 231 *proderet ... mitteret*). The verb 23× in the epic; cf. 336.

genus alto a sanguine: Directly recalling the reference to Juno's anxiety at 1.19–20 *progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci / audierat olim quae verteret arces*. These “blood” passages point ultimately to Jupiter's reconciliation scene with Juno, where of the Teucrians he declares ... *commixti corpore tantum / subsident Teucri*, followed by 838 *hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget*.

The Trojans will be mixed with the Latins/Italians in body only. Gildenhard notes the echo in *genus* of the poet-narrator's mention of *progenies* at 1.19, with an argument that Virgil and Jupiter more or less shade into one.

Genus here recalls Anna's comment at 40 ... *genus insuperabile bello*, of the Gaetulians; cf. Dido's savage insult at 365 *nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor*—in direct contradiction of her lovesick comment to Anna at 12 *credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum*. In Dido's curse at 622–623 *tum vos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum | exercete odiis* she will doom the future race envisaged here to war with Carthage (and cf. her sentiments et 605–606).

Alto is mostly here with reference to the great age of the Trojan lineage; DServ. took it to mean that the race is “*inlustris*” and “*nobilis*,” a sense certainly also at play.

Teucrici: For Teucer and the Teucricians see on 48.

231 *proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem.*

proderet: Emphasis yet again by position and enjambment. Of giving birth to a race or country (*OLD s.v. 2*); cf. Accius, *Phil.* fr. 195 Dangel *Inclute, parva prodite patria*. The verb will recur in the indicative in the very different context of 431 *non iam coniugium antiquum, quod prodidit, oro*, with a rather different meaning too—i.e., betrayal (*OLD s.v. 7*): its usual sense in the epic. Cf. also 1.251–252 ... *ob iram | prodimur atque Italis longe disiungimur oris* (Venus in complaint to Jupiter); 1.470 of the betrayed tents of Rhesus; 2.127 of Calchas' refusal to betray Sinon; 9.374 of the betrayal of Euryalus to the Latins by the glint on his stolen helmet; 10.592 of Aeneas' remarks to Lucagus on how it was not the lazy flight of his horses that handed over his chariot; 12.42 of Latinus' comments to Turnus about the appearance of betraying him. “*Et est in infinitum haec glossula polysemos*” (Servius).

totum ... orbem: In powerful frame, in deliberate sequence after 229 *imperiiis*. If we recall 1.266 and the prediction that Aeneas has all of three years to live after he arrives in Italy, we can see more easily the reference here to Augustus. Put another way, the longer Aeneas tarries in Carthage, the more distant will be the glorious advent of Augustus and his *Pax Romana*. *Totum* is emphasized both by position and by hyperbaton. The collocation is Catullan (c. 64.30 *Oceanusque, mari totum qui amplectitur orbem?*); also Ciceronian; Lucretian (of the eye at *DRN* 3.410 *dum modo ne totum corrumpas luminis orbem*); cf. *E.* 3.41; 8.9; *Aen.* 1.457; 7.257–258; of a shield at 10.546; frequent in Ovid and the silver poets.

leges: Of the great tradition and corpus of Roman law; the reference harks back to Iarbas' comment at 213 *cuique loci leges dedimus*, and renders it rather forgettable and a moot point.

There is a distinct echo of this passage in the vision of the shade of Anchises in Elysium with his announcement at 6.851–853, especially the sentiments of 852 ... *pacique imponere morem*; cf. also the prediction of the oracle of Faunus at 7.98–101 ... *qui sanguine nostrum / nomen in astra ferant, quorumque ab stirpe nepotes / omnia sub pedibus, qua sol utrumque recurrens / aspicit Oceanum, vertique regique videbunt* (regarding the marriage of Lavinia to an *externus hospes*); also the king's remarks to Ilioneus at 257–258 ... *huic progeniem virtute futuram / egregiam et totum quae viribus occupet orbem*. The concluding verses of the *Georgics* offer a similar sentiment about Augustan legislation and triumphs: ... *victorque volentis / per populos dat iura viamque adfectat Olympo* (*G.* 4.561–562). Jupiter here loses himself in something of a miniature rant in which Aeneas shades into Augustus and the Trojan arrival in Italy is telescoped with the ultimate Roman victory of the *princeps* over the forces of disorder (as at Actium); it will repay examination below at 265 ff. to compare what Mercury reports to Aeneas from the *mandata* his father gives him here.

232 si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum

Just as Aeneas began to shade into Augustus, Jupiter returns to the present problem by invoking the case of Ascanius. With this verse compare its virtual clone at 272 *si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum*. The Sibyl Deiphobe echoes this verse in her address to Charon at 6.405 *si te nulla movet tantae pietatis imago*, just before she brandishes the Golden Bough. In a darker context, the same image is used of Ascanius at 7.496–497 *ipse etiam eximiae laudis succensus amore / Ascanius curvo derexit spicula cornu*, at the young hero's fatal wounding of Silvia's stag that serves to set in motion the war in Italy.

nulla: Emphasis again by position and hyperbaton. *Nulla* (whether taken more with adverbial force or not) with *gloria* exemplifies the life of *otium* and *desidia* for which Aeneas at Carthage is being impugned. The negative here is balanced by 233 *nec*.

accendit: The verb also of Iarbas above at 203 *isque amens animi et rumore accensus amaro*; in the frequent fire imagery of the book, the point now is on how the Augustan future should be something that sets Aeneas aflame with a burning passion for glory (which begs the question of how much Aeneas knows as yet about this destiny, a destiny in which he will not take a direct part). Again, the same sentiment here as at 6.889 *incenditque animum famae venientis amore*, of the shade of Anchises with Aeneas.

tantarum rerum: The collocation is Ciceronian; Livian; note also Ps.-V., *Aetna* 187; 341; Ovid, *Trist.* 2.1.237; Lucan, *BC* 1.67 *fert animus causas tantarum expromere causas*; 10.107–108 *pax ubi parta ducis donisque ingentibus empta est, / excepere epulae tantarum gaudia rerum* (of Caesar and Cleopatra at Alexan-

dria). The grandeur of the glory that Jupiter is referencing is enacted metrically by the molossus before the fifth foot, which recurs at 233 *molitur* and 234 *Romanas*, to drive home the point. The same metrical phenomenon occurs at 3.384–386, of the steps Helenus announces before the safe settlement of the destined new city in Italy; also in the grim context of Pallas' requiem and the opening of the cut flower simile at 11.66–68. "Virgil is generally very sparing of this type of verse, so fatally easy to write. In this book it occurs on an average once in sixteen lines, and *Georgics* 1. and *Aeneid* x. give approximately the same figure." (Irvine).

gloria: On the noun see Fratantuono and Smith on 5.394, and cf. 49 above. Anna's sentiment there about how Punic glory would rise up to rich and tremendous heights with the accompaniment of Teucric arms is directly echoed here. This verse is laden with the implicit accusation that in his affair with Dido, Aeneas has given himself over to the future expressed by Anna's words, rather than the glorious Roman/Augustan destiny. See Gildenhard here for the Jovian accusation that Aeneas has undergone a metamorphosis in Carthage from a proto-Roman to an anti-Roman figure; the obvious *comparandus* is Antony with Cleopatra. *Gloria* here is balanced by 233 *laude*.

233 *nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem*,

More alliteration: *super/sua*; *laude/laborem*. A second negatively framed sentiment regarding Aeneas, which prepares for the focus on the heir Ascanius and his distinct future. The sentiment here continues to be that Aeneas may be a lost cause, in which case there is still Ascanius to be considered.

nec: Following on 232 *nulla*.

super: Only here in the book; cf. 7.358 *multa super natae lacrimans Phrygisque hymenaeis* (Amata lamenting the proposed union of Lavinia and Aeneas); Venus' remark at the divine council *nil super imperio moveor* (10.42); Mezentius' *multa super Lauso rogitat* (10.839); also 1.750 *multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa* (of Dido's questions at the first banquet).

ipse: Juxtaposed with *sua*, with strong emphasis on Aeneas' concern or lack thereof for himself. "et Graecum est schema ..." (Servius on *super ipse sua*). Dido uses something of the same figure at 314 ... *per ego has*, again with purposeful attention on the pronoun.

molitur: For the verb note also below on the problematic verse 273; also Dido's angry remarks at 309–311 once she has learned of Aeneas' planned exit from Carthage. "*Molitur* is a loaded term" (Newman and Newman 2005, 150 n. 29). We may compare here 3.132 *ergo avidus muros optatae molior urbis*, of the doomed enterprise of Aeneas' eager work on a new Troy in Crete; also 1.423–424 ... *pars ducere muros / molirique arcem et manibus subducere saxa* (the building

of Carthage); 563–564 *res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt / moliri et late finis custode tueri* (Dido's explanation for why her people behave with hostility toward visitors); 3.5–6 ... *classemque sub ipsa / Antandro et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae* (soon after the departure from Troy); 6.177 *Inde datum molitur iter* (of journeying in the underworld); 7.126–127 ... *ibique memento / prima locare manu molirique aggere tecto* (Anchises' reminiscence of what to do after the fulfillment of the portent of the eating of the tables); 157–158 ... *ipse humili designat moenia fossa / moliturque locum* (Aeneas' setting up of his camp in Latium); 12.851–852 *si quando letum horrificum morbosque deum rex / molitur* (Jupiter's work with the Dira); 10.477 and 12.327 in battle scenes; 1.414 of trying to cause a delay. A word used elsewhere then with clear emphasis on the building of a city; Aeneas in his amatory forgetfulness has lost all concern for both the building of a new city in Italy, and for his own praiseworthy reputation and glory. *Sua laude* frames the verb. *Molitur* here is echoed in the very different *moratur* of 235. In *molitur* there is also an echo of 1.33 *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem*.

laude laborem: For the “specious *figura etymologica*” see Gildenhard. Labor engenders laud. For *laus* cf. on 93; for *labor*, 115.

laborem: Another textual crux; the genitive plural has some respectable attestation (Medicean; corrected Palatine). There is an echo here of 1.9–10 ... *tot adire labores / impulerit*, of the numerous difficult struggles that Aeneas had to undergo so that he might achieve his destiny; the reminiscence of that passage from the poem's proem may have occasioned the genitive plural textual variant.

234 *Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces?*

The name of the son is powerfully juxtaposed with the reference to his father. *Ascanio* with *arces* in framing alliteration. Gildenhard finds Jupiter's characterization of Aeneas' behavior toward his son to be “spiteful” in light of how elsewhere in the epic he is depicted as a loving, devoted father; in *invidet* (“begrudge”) there is a strong hint of its etymology from lack of vision: Aeneas is so focused on his affair (not to say blinded by it) that he does not see or have regard either for his own glory or for that of his son. As Gildenhard observes, the word order is deliberate: *Ascanius*; *Roman*; *citadels* form a unity that is broken by the begrudging father. Aeneas will refer back to the sentiments of this line in his remarks to Dido at 354–355. Once again we may note that all of this is now rather far from the complaints raised by Iarbas; one might say that the Numidian king had little idea of just how angry he should be.

Ascanione: A harking back to 1.267–277, where Jupiter foretold to Venus the place of Aeneas' son in the Roman future. See Newman and Newman 2005,

178 for the “paramount importance” of Ascanius; 50 on how in the context of Book 4 the point is that Dido will lose Ascanius to Rome, just as the Andromache whose story she heard in Book 3 lost Astyanax at Troy. Servius notes that there is a praise of Caesar here given the Caesarian descent from Iulus; more interestingly, Jupiter references “Ascanius” (cf. 156, of the boy rejoicing at the hunt) and not “Iulus” (cf. 140–141, as he proceeded happily to the same day’s spectacle). Jupiter uses the name that Aeneas would recognize.

pater: A biting, loaded term, since a heroic father should care about his son’s glory and destiny. Aeneas is *pater* 32× in the epic; cf. 26× of Anchises; 25× of Jupiter; 10× of Latinus; 6× of Evander; 3× of Vulcan; 2× each of Acestes; Daunus; Mars; Neptune; Priam; Thybris. In the present context there may be a hint of the relationship of Jupiter to Iarbas; as a father he responds to his son’s prayer at once, even if the response offers a curious answer to the specific complaints that had been raised.

Romanas ... arces: Cf. Petronius, *Sat.* 124.1.292–293 ... *nescis tu, Magne, tueri / Romanas arces?*. The key adjective *Romanus* will be repeated in Mercury’s reference to the *Romana tellus* below at 275; cf. Jupiter’s references to the Romans at 1.234; 277; 282. With *arces* cf. the same noun at 347 and 410. Pease has a good note here on just who uses the term “Roman” in the epic; of course the word would mean nothing to Aeneas, and that is part of the point. *Arces* probably does evoke the image of Rome’s seven hills; it follows on the strong emphasis on Aeneas’ potential *gloria* and *laus*, and carries a shade of the military might of the future city and empire.

invidet: Cf. 541, of the verb in a different sense.

235 *quid struit? aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur*

quid struit: Cf. Mercury’s direct question of Aeneas at 271 *quid struis?*; also 267 *exstruis*. The verb will recur in the very different context of the construction of Dido’s pyre in Anna’s remark at 680–681 *his etiam struxi manibus patriosque vocavi / voce deos ...*; cf. 2.60 *hoc ipsum ut strueret Troiamque aperiret Achivis* of the mendacious Sinon; 5.54 *exsequeretur strueremque suis altaria donis* (Aeneas with reference to memorial rites for his father); 6.215 (of the construction of Misenu’s funeral pyre; cf. 11.204 of the Latin requiems); 8.15 *quid struat his coeptis* (of Aeneas’ plans as related by Turnus to Diomedes via the Venulan embassy); 9.41–42 ... *si qua interea fortuna fuisset, / neu struere auderent acies neu credere campo* (Turnus’ musings on Trojan intentions); participial uses at 3.84 and 5.811. Alliterative with *spe*.

At 260–261, Mercury will find Aeneas at work on the city of Carthage. Even the oblivious lovers Aeneas and Dido do not remain in erotic embrace forever; there is work to be done, and significantly it will be Aeneas who is depicted as

doing it—rather in replacement of the Dido who had stopped worrying about such practical matters (cf. 86–89). Iarbas' argument had focused on the prime complaint of the jealous rejected suitor, and indeed Aeneas and Dido have been indulging in passionate wasting of time. But Jupiter is able to see far more than Iarbas, and he realizes that Aeneas is busy on the wrong sort of urban renewal.

qua spe: Literally of expectation: Jupiter wonders what exactly Aeneas expects to see happen in Carthage. For the noun cf. on 55, Mercury practically repeats this sentiment too at 271 ... *aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris?* By 477 the word will have taken on a quite different sense.

spe inimica: A deliberate hiatus, with which we may compare 667 *femineo ululatu*, in the wake of Dido's suicide. There is more exasperation here, as Jupiter wonders aloud about just what Aeneas could possibly be thinking. The hiatus also places stronger emphasis on the keyword *inimica*. Austin has a long note here on the metrical phenomenon and the question of why Virgil employs it here; he raises the interesting idea that part of the point is to show Jupiter hesitating over exactly how to describe the Carthaginians. If so, he settles for one of the strongest words in the Latin lexicon of hate. Butler argues that the Carthaginians are "not actually hostile"; this is true enough in light of the earlier work of both Jupiter with Mercury, and especially the machinations of Venus and Cupid—but the prior state of Dido's people that led to the attack on Aeneas' shipwrecked men is enough to warrant the appellation, even apart from the foreshadowing of the Punic Wars.

inimica in gente: We recall here the reason why Jupiter sent Mercury on his first mission to Carthage (297–304): the Carthaginians are hostile, whatever the rationale Dido offers for the violent reception of shipwrecked strangers. This violence reflects the Roman reality that Aeneas and his proto-Roman exiles have landed in a state of supreme vulnerability on the shores of Rome's inveterate historical enemy. *Inimicus* recurs at 656 *ulta virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi*, where Dido references how Pygmalion is personally hateful to her; the Carthaginian *gens* here is identified not merely as a hostile race, but as one that execrates Rome with an intensity that cannot be adequately expressed (thus *inimicus* and not *hostis*). "Praeoccupat quasi praescius" (Servius). Pease notes that Jupiter reveals that he is well aware of how Dido will react to the news that Aeneas will leave.

Jupiter's language echoes Juno's remark to Aeolus at 1.67–68 *gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat aequor | Ilium in Italiam portans victosque penates*, where the goddess complains about exactly what will ultimately prove subject to a subtle yet important revision: the Trojans will not, in the end, carry Ilium to Italy.

moratur: Really the opposite of 233 *molitur*. Where labor and work are required to achieve the glories of the Roman future, Aeneas tarries and dallies in Carthage with Rome's greatest enemy. Cf. Dido's rhetorical question *quid moror?* at 325; Mercury's remark about the hazards of Aeneas' waiting any longer in Carthage at 568; the powerful, poignant *mente morata* at 649 of Dido's last hesitation before her suicide. Anna's advice at 51 about contriving excuses for Aeneas to delay seems very far distant now. *Moratur* at the end of the verse coordinates with *quid struit* from the start: the first rhetorical question references Aeneas' activity, with musing on what exactly he is doing; the second relates to his non-activity of remaining in Carthage in a state of implicit laziness and self-indulgence.

235 *moratur* has been cited in defense of reading *expectat* at 225 (see Austin's note here in particular), especially in light of the clear parallelism of 236 *nec ... respicit arva* and 225 *... non respicit urbes* and the attractiveness of a near framing of Jupiter's address with references to Aeneas' tarrying. The principal problem is that *moratur* is completely unobjectionable here, *contra* the very real grammatical difficulties posed by 225 *expectat*. See further below on 267 and 274–276, and cf. Kraggerud 2017, 182 on how Mercury's report to Aeneas actually provides circumstantial evidence for not reading *expectat* at 225.

The seventeenth-century Dido tragedy of Petrus Cunaeus of the “Netherlandish Neolatin tradition” offers the following as its version of Jupiter's instructions to Mercury: *Quin vade, vocaque Zephyros, celerrimis / instructe pennis labere, et Phrygium ducem / Carthagine qui nunc moratur, nec datas / fatis sibi urbes respicit aut curat ...* (320–322). On this work see further C.L. Heesakkers, “Tragoedia Dido P. Cunaei (Leiden University Library, MS. Cun. 7),” in *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 33 (1984), 145–197.

Mackail raised the suggestion that verses 235 and 236 should be inverted. As Pease notes, there is no manuscript authority for doing this, but it is an undeniably attractive suggestion. On the other hand, we may remember that Jupiter is angry, and that the poet may reflect in his speech a less than perfectly polished rhetorical style. *Quid struit* is the rhetorical question of exasperation; the rest of the present line emphasizes the absurdity (indeed the ludicrous nature) of what Aeneas has been doing in Carthage. See Crump 1920, 61–62 on the idea that Book 4 was written early and did not undergo much revision; it does seem to have more than its share of slight problems here and there that would have been polished by the poet's *ultima manus*.

236 *nec prolem Ausoniam et Lavinia respicit arva?*

Ribbeck deleted this verse, arguing “post v. 225sq. et 230sq. abunde videtur.” But Jupiter is quite upset, and loquacity is a common symptom of that condi-

tion. The line is not reproduced in Mercury's rendition of Jupiter's speech, but then again as we shall see, the messenger takes certain deliberate liberties with his father's remarks. ABBA chiastic arrangement of key names with reference to the Roman future. Verse 236 echoes 234; the *Romanae arces* there are balanced by the *Lavinia arva* here, and the mention of Ascanius is followed by the *Ausonia proles* (perhaps with a hint of Aeneas' child with Lavinia, the *postuma proles* Silvius cited at 6.763 in the *Heldenschau*; for the problem of whether Alba Longa and Rome will be ruled by the children of Ascanius or by those of Silvius see O'Hara 2007, 88–90. There are undeniable advantages to closing the epic with Aeneas' killing of Turnus; the complicated problems of what happened in Italy after this death are thus avoided).

nec: Another indignant negative, following on 232 *nulla* and 233 *nec* in something of an ascending tricolon of divine frustration that proceeds from Aeneas' lack of concern for his own glory to the Lavinian future.

prolem: Cf. 258, where the noun refers to Mercury himself. Here it recalls 1.273–274 ... *donec regina sacerdos / Marte gravis geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem*, from Jupiter's prediction to Venus of the birth of Romulus and Remus. *Prolis* here is suitably vague and even generic; it neatly speaks of an Ausonian family tree of descendants of Aeneas, without bothering about particularities that are irrelevant and unimportant in the present crisis—even if the knowledgeable reader would immediately wonder about Aeneas Silvius. On the noun in Virgil see further Newman and Newman 2005, 36–37.

Ausoniam: Balancing *Lavinia*, as we move from a focus on people to one on lands (*prolem* and *arva* nearly frame the verse). For the central/southern Italian Ausonia and the Ausonians see M. Cancellieri in *EV* 1, 420–422; D.M. Cassella in *VE* 1, 158–159. The Ausonians are placed in distinct and deliberate relief against the reference to Carthage in 235. We may compare here the key passage of 12.838–840 *hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget, / supra homines, supra ire deos pietate videbis, / nec gens ulla tuos aequae celebrabit honores*, of Jupiter's revelation to Juno about the future Rome at her reconciliation. "Ausonia" is not mentioned in Book 1; it is first referenced at 3.170–171 *haud dubitanda refer: Corythum terrasque requirat / Ausonias; Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arva*, in the dream apparition of the Penates to Aeneas. Helenus at Buthrotum also knows about Ausonia: 3.377–378 ... *quo tutior hospita lustres / aequora et Ausonio possis considerare portu*; 385 *et salis Ausonii lustrandum navibus aequor*. Cf. also Aeneas' remarks to Dido below at 349–350.

Lavinia: This adjective occurs only twice in the epic (leaving aside the textual question of *Lavinia/Lavina* from the poem's opening). Here there is a strong reminiscence of 1.2–3 ... *Laviniaque venit / litora*. An interesting juxtaposition with Ausonia: Aeneas had been told of the place twice in prophetic revelations

cited in Book 3, but he will not learn of the name “Lavinia” until 6.84, when the Sibyl predicts that the sons of Dardanus will come to the kingdom of Lavinium, and of course when he hears of Latinus’ daughter in Book 7. Lavinium—the name of Aeneas’ first settlement in Italy (the modern Pratica di Mare) and not of Latinus’ city (whether founded or refounded)—was however predicted by Jupiter to Venus (1.258; 270). Lavinium is where Aeneas would traditionally enjoy his three years of reign before his mysterious death at the Numicus. Mercury does not refer to Lavinia/n in his report to Aeneas at 265 ff., but this is perfectly in line with the reality that Aeneas has not yet heard of such a place or person (so Tib. in his note on why Jupiter mentions realities as yet unknown to the Trojan hero)—indeed, in many regards the whole problem of Lavinium will be one that lies outside the scope of Virgil’s poem. The reference here to “Lavinian” subtly juxtaposes Aeneas’ future royal wife Lavinia with his current royal paramour Dido; again there is a strong undertone of Antony with Cleopatra (and not with Octavia). On both Lavinia and Lavinium see L. Fratanuono in *VE* 11, 735–736; the same author’s “*Laviniaque venit litora*: Blushes, Bees, and Virgil’s Lavinia,” in *Maia* 60.1 (2008), 40–50; Castagnoli 1972; Poucet 1985.

We may recall here too that Jupiter’s remarks were presented with reference to Venus’ promises to him about what sort of person Aeneas would be (227–228). Jupiter’s rhetoric has advanced considerably in some ten verses.

respicit: Echoing 225 ... *fatisque datas non respicit urbes*. Again a neat reworking of Iarbas’ indignant *aspicis haec* (208).

arva: Cf. Dido’s angry remark at 311–312 ... *si non arva aliena domosque / ignotas peteres*, and cf. on 39.

237 *naviget*: haec summa est, hic nostri nuntius esto.

The verse is powerfully framed by the subjunctive and the future imperative; *naviget* / *nostri* / *nuntius* offers more strong alliteration as the god closes his address. The dental pattern in *nostri nuntius esto* is a final sound expression of the thinly veiled anger and impatience of the supreme god. The present verse may constitute the low point in the epic of Jupiter’s estimation of the son of Venus.

naviget: It has been an impassioned and complicated speech, marked by expressions of exasperation and frustration: the hortatory subjunctive provides a rousing summation of all that matters. Interestingly, the verb occurs only twice in the epic; cf. 1.67 *gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat aequor*, where Juno complains to Aeolus about the Trojan journey to Italy. That passage is echoed also above at 235 *inimica in gente*; Jupiter here countenances (indeed orders) a sailing that is at variance with what his wife tried to prevent in Book 1

and, in a different, modified sense, here in 4. The metrical pause after *naviget* lends the verb even greater prominence.

It is noteworthy that this *summa* of Jupiter's speech is not actually reported by Mercury in his address to Aeneas at 266 ff. The messenger god does not tell Aeneas to sail from Carthage, though that is the obvious import of his admonition. At 287 ff., Aeneas does commence secret preparations for the departure (much to the delight of his men; cf. 294–295). At 560 ff., Mercury is more explicit in his urging that Aeneas depart from the city; between the two Mercurian passages there is a distinct element of hesitation on Aeneas' part (see especially on 285–287 below). It is possible to indulge here in hyper-parsing and to say that Mercury in some sense failed in his task by omitting the key concluding command of Jupiter's edict and admonition—but again, the salient points were conveyed, and Aeneas clearly realized that he was supposed to leave, and in haste.

haec: Balanced by *hic*.

summa: At the divine council Juno refers to Ascanius as the *summam belli* (10.70); at 12.572 *hoc caput, o cives, haec belli summa nefandi*, Aeneas refers to Laurentum as the sum of the unspeakable war, as he announces his intention (inspired by Venus) to burn down the city. These are the only occurrences of the noun in Virgil.

nostris: A final “royal we.”

nuntius: The noun occurs 13× in the *Aeneid*, usually of bad news: cf. 2.547 ... *referes ergo haec et nuntius ibis*, of Pyrrhus' savage comment to Priam before his death about the message he may bring to Achilles in the underworld; 5.664 of the burning of the Trojan ships; 6.456–457 *infelix Dido, verus mihi nuntius ergo / venerat extinctam ferroque extrema secutam?*; 7.437 of the information that Turnus assures the disguised Allecto he has already received; 8.582–583 ... *gravior neu nuntius auris / vulneret* (at the poignant scene of Evander's parting from Pallas); 11.447 of the news announced to the Latin war council that the Trojans have resumed military operations (whether or not any truce-breaking is to be imagined); 897 of the report of the death of Camilla that spells such tremendous consequence for the maintenance of Turnus' planned ambush for Aeneas' infantry force; 12.75 of the announcement Turnus sends to Aeneas about his desire for single combat.

Nuntius here is perhaps “messenger” here and not “message,” though the resultant difference in meaning is not very great (this is an old debate; cf. DServ's taking of *hic nuntius* as = *talis nuntius*). Virgil certainly uses *nuntius* in the sense of a message, but here there seems to be a balance between the order to Aeneas (*naviget*) and the command to Mercury (*esto*). In defence of *nuntius* of the message, it has been argued that *hic* works better (in balance with *haec*

summa est) if it refers not to Mercury's office but to his mail (Williams considers this to be the more natural interpretation). In the end messenger and message might be thought to shade into one.

esto: Cf. Anna's peremptory dismissal of concerns about Sychaeus at 35 above; Juno's indignant remark at the divine council about Aeneas: *Italiam petiit fatis auctoribus (esto)*. Whether the form is second or third person depends on how one interprets *nuntius*; if third person it balances *naviget* in the same number (which is Virgil's usual practice).

Jupiter now departs from the action of the book, like Venus before him (128). Juno will still have work to do before the third and final act of the tragedy concludes.

238–278 Mercury travels to Aeneas by way of Atlas, and finds the Trojan hero at work on the city of Carthage. He delivers Jupiter's message before vanishing from sight. Gransden 1984, 44 ff. offers a detailed appraisal of this scene.

238 *Dixerat. ille patris magni parere parabat*

Plosive alliteration (*patris / parere / parabat*), which some have perhaps fancifully connected with puffs of air as the messenger prepares for his journey, just as there was in the description of Fama's swiftness at 180. The verse is framed by verbs of the divine action of first the father and then the son. The repeated "r" sounds of the verse convey something of the sharpness of the god's swift response to the command of his great father. All of these sound effects continue in 239. Pease notes that in Virgil Jupiter and Juno always have immortal buffers, so as not to lower themselves to appear in person to inferior mortals.

Dixerat: We may note the repetition of this transitional verb at 663, just after Dido's last words.

ille: The demonstrative of the son is juxtaposed with the reference to his sire. Echoed at 242 *ille*.

patris magni: So at 9.495–496 *aut tu, magne pater divum, miserere, tuoque / invisum hoc detrude caput sub Tartara telo* (Ascanius' prayer to Jupiter in the face of Remulus' taunts). Again Virgil plays on the many levels and layers of paternity in his epic: Jupiter/Mercury; Aeneas/Ascanius; Jupiter as grandfather of Aeneas on his mother's side; Jupiter as father of Iarbas.

parere: For the verb cf. 295 *imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt*, as Aeneas' men happily follow his instructions to commence secret preparations for the departure.

parabat: The imperfect is inceptive. For the word-play with the infinitive see Austin; cf. O'Hara 2017, 153.

Verses 238–246a are cited at Macrobius, *Sat.* 5.6.10 with reference to the Homeric model of *Il.* 24.339–345a, of Zeus’ mission for Hermes to conduct Priam to the ships of the Achaeans, with which we may compare the parallel *Od.* 5.43–54, of Zeus’ sending down of Hermes to notify Calypso that she must release Odysseus. The second reminiscence has obvious relevance to the present context, with the characteristic Virgilian reworking to fit his scene and purpose. Any echo of *Od.* 24.1–10 and the image of Hermes as psychopomp connects to the important point that in some sense the god functions in this role for Dido: his mission to Aeneas does contribute to her death (cf. below on 242–244). Still, there is a real wisdom in Glover’s assessment (quoted by Irvine): “Critics have emphasized again and again Virgil’s dependence on Greek models, but here as everywhere else the sympathetic reader will scarcely feel this. There may be imitation, but the general effect is not that of imitative poetry.” An old-fashioned, perhaps even naïve view—but nonetheless one that deserves consideration.

Nelis 2001, 156–157 considers the influence here of Apollonius’ depiction of Eros traveling to Colchian Aea at Venus’ behest (*Arg.* 3.156 ff.); unlike Homer and Virgil, Apollonius’ divine intervention is to secure the love of Jason and Medea.

239 imperio; et primum pedibus talaria nectit

imperio: In enjambed, prominent relief. There is the question of future military leadership in Italy and ultimate Roman glory (cf. 229–230), but here the noun refers to the immediate command and order of Jove (so also at 5.726 *imperio Iovis huc venio*, of Anchises’ dream apparition). The sound effect of *imperio* after 238 *parere* works as part of the general auditory ambience of these verses.

pedibus: Henry offers a brief excursus on ancient footwear habits in and outside the home. We may recall Fama’s description as *celerem pedibus* at 180.

talaria: This term for Mercury’s winged sandals (“more precisely anklets”—Williams) occurs only here in Virgil, and is not common in the poetry or prose of any period; cf. Propertius, c. 2.30a.5–6 *vel si te sectae rapiant talaribus aerae, / nil tibi Mercurii proderit alta via*; *Eleg. in Maec.* 1.65–66 *argentata tuos etiam talaria talos / vinxerunt certe nec puto, Bacche, negas*; Ovid, *Met.* 2.736 ... *ut tersis niteant talaria plantis* (of Mercury); 10.591 *aura refert ablata citis talaria plantis* (of Atalanta); Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 16.500–501 ... *credas Cyllenida plantam / aetherio nexis cursu talaribus ire*. Perseus was given them by Mercury (Ovid, *Met.* 4.667 *et liquidum motis talaribus aera findit*; 730 *nec bibulis ultra Perseus talaribus ausus*). Not, then, a technical term for Mercury’s footwear (“quasi-technical term” perhaps), even if he is the most famous customer. Statius, *Theb.* 1.303–304 imitates this passage. Athenaeus 12.537d–f records the extravagant

luxury of Alexander, including his fetish for dressing like the gods (not omitting Hermes with his winged sandals).

nectit: For the verb cf. the very different case of 51 *causasque innecte morandi*, where Anna urged Dido to find reasons for Aeneas to delay; the present scene constitutes a reversal of that sentiment.

There is a splendor to the time that Virgil takes to rework Homer here and to dwell on the preparations and journey of the god; the purpose in context would seem to be to provide a counterbalance for the description of Fama at 173 ff. Ultimately Rumor brought the news to Iarbas that prompted his angry address to Jupiter; the supreme god was more than a little irritated at the report of what Aeneas was doing in Carthage, and now Mercury will be sent on a quintessentially Olympian mission to rectify the situation. Fama was associated with the giants who rebelled against the Olympian, Jovian order (178–180); in a certain irony, the loathsome Rumor—withstanding her lineage and nature—is on essentially the same side of history as Iarbas, Jupiter, and the handsome, splendid *nuntius* Mercury.

240 aurea, quae sublimem alis sive aequora supra

aurea: For the color see on 139. Here there is a borrowing from Homer's detail about Hermes' gold at *Il.* 24.340 ff. and *Od.* 5.44 f.; the enjambment emphasizes the richness of the sandals, even if the description can be dismissed as merely ornamental or slavish devotion to poetic antecedents. There is certainly an emphasis on the wealth of the immortals and their generally magnificent accoutrements; there may also be an implicit contrast with the luxury of the gold-loving Dido: gold and silver are after all potential vices for mortals and never for the gods.

sublimem: Echoed by *supra* both alliteratively and semantically. Here there is a reminiscence of 1.259–260 ... *sublimemque ferēs ad sidera caeli | magnanimum Aenean*, where Jupiter predicted Aeneas' apotheosis to Venus: the successful execution of Mercury's mission here will hasten the day of that deification. Cf., e.g., *sublimis* of Venus at 1.415; at 6.357 *prospexi Italiam summa sublimis ab unda* (the recollection by Palinurus' shade); the *sublimis animas* of 6.720; Latinus' lofty palace at 7.170; *olli sublimes* of Aeneas and Turnus at 12.788. A key adjective in prominent position first in its relative clause. Hardie 2009, 78–79 draws a connection between the god's sublimity and the Lucretian, Epicurean ideal as expressed at *DRN* 1.62 ff. (Gildenhard agrees, noting that Virgil's addition of *sublimis*—which has no parallel in his Homeric models—helps to strengthen the case).

alis: We may compare Fama's swift wings at 180 *pernicibus alis*. The commentators note that it should be taken closely with *sublimem*; the force of this key

detail about the *talaria*, however, extends also to what follows. *Alis* here harks back to the *pinnis* of 223; cf. 252 below.

sive: The elision with *aequora* enacts something of the smooth motion over the water.

aequora: For advancing over water cf. 7.810–811 *vel mare per medium fluctu suspensa tumentis / ferret iter, celeris nec tingeret aequore plantas* of the exceedingly swift Camilla; the same of Ovid's veritable Camilla *rediviva* Atalanta and her opponent Hippomenes at *Met.* 10.654 *posse putes illos sicco freta radere passu*.

supra: More enjambment, this time in enactment of the god's impressive flight. Prepositional *supra* also at 3.194 *tum mihi caeruleus supra caput adstitit imber* (cf. the parallel 5.10 *olli caeruleus supra caput adstitit imber*); 5.255 of Ganymede being snatched away by Jupiter's eagle on the cloak of Cloanthus; 9.553 *inicit et saltu supra venabula fertur* (in a simile); 11.509–510 ... *sed nunc, est omnis quando / iste animus supra, mecum partire laborem* (Turnus to Camilla); 722 of the dove to which the Ligurian casualty of Camilla is compared; 12.839 *supra homines, supra ire / deos pietate videbis* (of the future Romans).

But most importantly, the present scene and use of the preposition will be echoed in the parallel passage of Juno's mission for Iris at 702 *devolat et supra caput adstitit*, as the goddess prepares to release Dido from her lingering death.

"Note the steady rhythm which carries the reader on to the fourth-foot caesura" (Austin).

241 *seu terram rapido pariter cum flamine portant.*

seu terram: In effective, enjambéd balance with *sive aequora*, with the *supra* between governing both regions of the god's flight. A significant difference between Mercury and Fama: she advanced on earth (177 *ingrediturque solo*), head in the clouds or not; Jupiter's messenger, in contrast, is carried by his winged sandals over both sea and land.

rapido ... flamine: Cf. Albinovanus Pedo 8–9 Courtney *iam sidere limo / navigia et rapido desertam flamine classem*. *Flamen* occurs only here and at 5.832 ... *ferunt sua flamina classem* (just before the Palinurus episode); 10.97–98 ... *ceu flamina prima / cum deprensa fremunt silvis ...*, in the simile describing the reaction of the gods at the divine council. Mercury is carried in flight together with the rapid blasts of the wind (cf. the zephyrs of 223). *Rapido* here in balanced position with 240 *sublimem*, as the emphasis is placed on height and speed. The winds assist the already swift god; *pariter* emphasizes that the deity is equal to their swift course. Camilla could outrun the winds (7.807 ... *cursuque pedum praevertere ventos*); cf. Ovid's Daphne who is swifter than the breeze (*Met.* 1.502 *ocior aura*); Statius, *Theb.* 6.602—both passages a reworking of Horace, c. 1.2.48.

With *rapidus* here we may compare 11.852–853 *hic dea se primum rapido pulcherrima nisu / sistit*, of Camilla's avenger Opis as she takes up position on an elevated position to slay Arruns; also 5.291 *hic, qui forte velint rapido contendere cursu* (at the foot race). The adjective of blasts of wind also at 1.59 *quippe rapidi secum verrantque per auras*.

pariter: Alliterative with *portant*. Cf. on 190. For a detailed study of the possible implications of this adverb see Stahl 2016, 193–194.

portant: Cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.429 ... *iam flamina portant*. “Questo presente, come quelli che cominciano con *evocat*, indica le abituali mansioni di Mercurio, mentre *nectit* e *capit* indicano due particolari dell'azione più distesamente espressa dal l'imperfetto” (Paratore).

242 *tum virgam capit: hac animas ille evocat Orco*

The commencement of a three-verse description of Mercury as psychopomp (vid. here Raabe 1974, 145). The conventional detail of the god's responsibility for the conveyance of souls to the underworld (cf. the opening of *Od.* 24) has special force in the *libro di Didone*: the first notes of the introit to Dido's requiem can already be heard; its commendatory chant will be presided over by the “other” divine messenger, Iris (693–705). On parallels between Mercury here and certain aspects of the Virgilian underworld, note J. Pearson, “Virgil's ‘Divine Vision’ (*Aeneid* 4.238–244 and 6.724–751),” in *CPh* 56.1 (1961), 33–38.

tum: Following on 239 *primum*: first the sandals, now the wand; note also 246 *iamque* and 250 *tum*.

virgam: The noun also at 6.144 ... *et simili frondescit virga metallo* (in the description of the Golden Bough); 7.190 *aurea ... virga* (of Circe's magic wand); 11.65 *arbuteis texunt virgis et vimine querno* (in the description of Pallas' bier); note also *G.* 1.266; 2.117; 358. On the god's trademark wand cf. *Hom. Hym. Herm.* 528 ff., where see O. Thomas. For the connection of Mercury's caduceus with the Bough and Circe, see Dyson 2001, 173 ff.; fundamental remains de Waele 1927.

hac: The demonstrative will be resumed at 245 *illa*.

animas: Cf. 6.264; 318–320; 411; 426; 486–488; 884; and see further Negri 1984, 45–46 (“Per indicare l'anima nel mondo degli Inferi la parola *anima* è usata anche in versi, in cui non appaiano idee di carattere speculativo ... Virgilio unisce elementi della tradizione popolare e omerici ad altri di origine filosofica. In modo simile l'orfismo, che influenzò Pitagora e Platone, non escluse particolari e idee della mitologia popolare”).

ille: Echoing 238 *ille*, and in close coordination with *hac*: instrument and user.

evocat: The verb elsewhere in Virgil only at 6.749 *Lethaeum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno*, with allusive reference to Mercury. Of dream apparitions and other *post mortem* visitations, of which the epic has more than a few; per-

haps with a hint of the idea of Orphic/Pythagorean rebirth of souls into new bodies. Mercury handles the journeys of souls both to and from the underworld. We may think here of the *Hom. Hym.* to Demeter 334 ff., where Hermes with his golden wand is sent to the underworld regarding Persephone (see further Richardson ad loc.); cf. *Herm.* 572, with O. Thomas' note. We may recall the nightmares of which Dido complained (cf. 9 above); also Venus' report of the ghostly vision of Sychaeus that had appeared to Dido in Tyre (1.353 ff.). The underscored detail that the souls Mercury calls out from Orcus are "pale" (243 *pallentis*) hints more at ghostly apparitions than to reborn souls, and part of the poet's point here may be to allude to Orphic/Pythagorean eschatology before dampening the hopeful expectation by the prominent revelation that the souls are, after all, pale and thus likely to be ghosts.

Orco: The Roman death god, or rather Death personified, on whom note C. Casertano in *EV* III, 878–879; L. Fratantuono in *VE* III, 941; Bailey 1935, 251–252; Panayotakis on Decimus Laberius, fr. 59; Fratantuono and Smith on 8.296. A common enough metonymical reference to the realm of the dead. Opening a ring of death that will close near the end of the book at 699 *damnaverat Orco*, with reference to Proserpina and Dido's fateful lock of hair. "With much of the indefiniteness which Roman ideas of the underworld show": it is uncertain in all cases whether we are dealing with a personification (vague or not), or a place; grammatically *Orco* could be a separative ablative (better) or a dative.

243 *pallentis, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit,*

pallentis: More emphasis by enjambment. The echo here is of 26 *pallentis umbras Erebo noctemque profundam*, in Dido's self-imprecation if she should break faith with Sychaeus. *Umbrae* there and *animae* here; Servius notes "animas pro 'umbras' secundum poeticum morem, animae enim in caelo sunt, ut *visa dehinc caelo facies delapsa parentis* [5.722]. huius autem rei alterius est scientiae" (the last part constitutes a good example of Servian understatement). There is no clear distinction between the *pallentis umbras* of 26 and the *pallentis animas* here; likewise no appreciable difference between Dido's mention of Erebus and the Tartarus referenced here. Some souls are summoned from Orcus as virtual puppets of prophecy, or as nightmare visions to haunt the guilty; other souls are sent down to Tartarus, in particular those culpable of especially grave crimes.

Tartara tristia: Alliterative. On Virgil's Tartarus see A. Setaioli in *EV* v, 46–47; L. Fratantuono in *VE* III, 1245–1246. The darkest and bleakest zone of the underworld (hence *tristia*), the destined home for criminals (6.542–543; 548 ff.; cf. 8.666–667) and the victims of heroes (8.563; 11.397; 12.14–15), though like

Orcus a convenient enough poetic name for the depths of the underworld, even without any particular reference to notorious sinners (though here *alias* points to the fate of some especially unfortunate *animas*). Certainly the souls in Elysium are spared Tartarean gloom (6.734–735; cf. the distinction of the souls of 2.42 who are called out from Orcus). Almost always plural in Virgil (note 6.577), which is usually explained by mere metrical convenience. We may compare 387 below, of Dido's threatening promise about what news and rumor will reach even *Manis ... sub imos*.

Tristis (perhaps surprisingly) occurs only here in Book 4; vid. further R.J. Newman in *EV* v, 271–273 on this characteristic Virgilian adjective.

mittit: The Palatine originally had *ducit* here, an understandable enough error especially in a section of the book with several lines ending in third-person verb forms, and perhaps out of a sense that *ducit* fit better to describe the god's psychopompic role. Cf. 6.542–543 *hac iter Elysium nobis; at laeva malorum / exercet poenas et ad impia Tartara mittit*; 12.14 *aut hac Dardanium dextra sub Tartara mittam*. *Mittit* has been questioned even by modern scholars; cf. Sparrow's review of the 1930 reissue of Janell's Teubner in *JRS* 21.1 (1931), 165–168 (a paper that rails against the unwillingness of editors to admit conjectures in the text of Virgil). For how *mittit animas* may be a "translation" of Greek *ψυχοπομπός*, see O'Hara 2017, 153–154; also Bartelink 1965, 89.

Gildenhard comments on the dactylic rhythm of *Tartara tristia mittit*: what Mercury does, he does swiftly.

244 **dat somnos adimitque, et lumina morte resignat.**

One of the more difficult passages in the book (at least the second half of the line), as Virgil concludes his three-verse description of the divine psychopomp's duties.

dat somnos: As he did to Io's watchman Argus; the giving (and taking) of sleep is cited in Virgil's Homeric formulaic models (cf. *Il.* 24.344–345; *Od.* 5.47–48; 24.1–5).

adimitque: Cf. 3.658 ... *cui lumen ademptum* (of the Cyclops' lost eye); 8.320 ... *regnis ... ademptis* (of Saturn); 9.131 ... *rerum pars altera adempta est* (Turnus noting that the Trojans are cut off both by sea and land); 12.879–880 ... *cur mortis adempta est / condicio* (Juturna lamenting her immortality).

lumina: The mention of the eyes recalls 185 ... *nec dulci declinat lumina somno*, of how Rumor never sleeps. The present description echoes that noteworthy passage on Fama's nocturnal journeys and lack of slumber. Here, Mercury "unseals the eyes in death," as some would say (cf. the Pléiade "et rouvre les yeux dans le mort")—an image both parallel and paradoxical in light of what we learned about Rumor.

resignat: The only occurrence of the verb in Virgil, a fact that contributes to the challenges of interpreting the verse. Not common in the prose or poetry of any period; cf. Horace, c. 3.29.53–54 *laudo manentem: si celeris quatit | pinnas, resigno quae dedit* (of Fortuna); *Ep.* 1.7.9; Ovid, *Fast.* 6.535 *nunc, ait o vates, venientia fata resigna*; Persius, s. 5.28–29 ... *totumque hoc verba resigna | quod latet arcana non enarrabile fibra*; Statius, *Theb.* 7.366 *donec te thalamis habilem integramque resignem*.

“Virgil, as usual, adds a difficult refinement to the simplicity of Homer” (Irvine). We may begin with Servius’ interpretation. He glosses the verb as “claudit, perturbat,” noting that according to the “physici” or natural philosophers, three days before death the pupils are missing from the eyes in an obvious sign of imminent mortality: “hoc ergo dicit ‘resignat,’ hoc est ‘aufert signa luminibus.’” Buscaroli, Stephenson, and others have preferred the ancient view, attracted as they are by the beautiful and sad image of Mercury consigning souls to death. The fact that *resignare* cannot really be paralleled in this sense is considered an example of Virgilian lexical experimentation.

It was the French Renaissance scholar Turnebus who argued that there was a reference here to the Roman custom of opening the eyes of the dead on the pyre so that they might see their way safely to the underworld (under Mercury’s guidance, of course); for the custom see Pliny, *NH* 11.150. This is essentially the interpretation of Pease (and Butler and many others), who acknowledges that there is thus something of a tautology with 243 ... *alias sub Tartara tristia mittit*, which he excuses on account of the unrevised state of the poem. Opposite views then, of either closing the eyes or of reopening them (*post mortem*). Also cited often here is Statius, *Theb.* 3.129 *hae lumina signant*, where *signare* is used of the closing of the eyes in death, which does not seem to offer much help in the present problem.

O’Hara (following Page et al.) prefers to interpret *morte resignat* as = “unseals from death” (separative ablative), which Gildenhard finds attractive; the idea would then be much the same as at 6.748–751, about the souls that experience reincarnation. This requires us to imagine a virtual repetition of the sentiments of 242–243 ... *hac animas evocat Orco | pallentis*. Austin neatly divides the tasks of the Virgilian Mercury into the custody of the waking dead (i.e., 242–243); then of the waking and sleeping living; and lastly of the sleeping dead (244). Austin in general finds the controversies over this passage to be unduly protracted; he is unfailingly attracted to the loveliness of the “beautiful and mysterious” (to quote him), and there is a real wisdom in his caution about pressing the poet too far for precise explication. R.J.M. Lindsay in *CPh* 3 (1952), 165–166 speculates that the point is that Mercury can restore life to someone who is on the very brink of death—a learned, recondite idea in a note that tries to avoid equally recondite explanations.

Henry (in a very long and discursive note) offers the creative solution that *morte* here refers not to literal death (there has been enough of that already in the description to suit him), but rather to the metaphorical sleep of death. “A lock is not so easily picked which has baffled not Heyne alone, but every locksmith of the guild, myself included.” *Lumina morte resignat* is thus taken as a characteristic Virgilian variation on what has just been said; Mercury gives sleep and he takes it away, and he unseals the eyes from death (sc., from slumber)—sleep as a type and foreshadowing of the eternal sleep of the grave.

We find Henry’s old explanation more appealing than any anachronistic reference to Roman pyre practices; he has not been much accepted on this passage, certainly not in comparison to Montaigne’s older contemporary Turnebus.

One significant ancient imitation of Virgil is Prudentius, *Adv. Symm.* 89–94 *necnon Thessaliae doctissimus ille magiae | traditur extinctas sumptae moderamine virgae | in lucem revocasse animas, Cocytia leti | iura resignasse sursum revolantibus umbris, | aut alias damnasse neci penitusque latent | immersisse chao ...* Prudentius’ Mercury calls back some dead souls by the power of his wand; for these he “unseals the Cocytian laws of death.”

To sum up then, it seems impossible for *lumina morte resignat* to mean anything like “seals the eyes in death”; either there is a reference here to the practice of opening the eyes of the dead on their bier, or to waking from the nightly death of sleep. Sleep is a boon and bane, depending on its duration; in Mercury’s *dat somnos* there is the tension between the peaceful sleep of the night and the eternal sleep of death that leads one to the underworld; in *adimit* there is a somewhat strange notion that has not been much considered—when exactly is Mercury responsible for waking people from sleep? In the famous case of Argus, the soporific god brought sleep as well as death so as to free Io. As Henry mused, *Lumina morte resignat* may well refer to waking from sleep, which in the case of the dead may mean the sort of rebirth of which Anchises will speak in Elysium (i.e., the ardent wish of the hopeful who wish for new life), or the release of souls from the sleep of death to haunt the dreams of the living (i.e., what we find oftentimes in the epic, not least in this book). And, perhaps, we should consider that below at 691–692 ... *oculisque errantibus alto | quaesivit caelo lucem ingemuitque reperta*, the dying Dido—just before Juno’s intervention with Iris—will seek the light in the heaven with her wandering eyes, and will groan once she finds it. Sometimes, dead is better: in Dido’s case certainly, where death will mean reunion with Sychaeus (6.472–476).

Wisest may be Binder: “Die Frage ist weiterhin ungelöst.”

245 illa fretus agit ventos et turbida tranat

illa: Resuming 242 *hac*. From the use of the caduceus to herd souls, we return to the practicalities of the god's flight. It is almost as if after the three-verse digression on his duties there must now be an even more rapid action. Mackail saw here a sign of unrevised, indeed crudely drafted work (indeed, he thinks 245–258 offers multiple indications of unpolished composition), noting that it is as if the *illa* of 245 is different from the *hac* of 242. But the poet does need to return us to the narrative thread he briefly abandoned.

fretus: Also at 5.430 ... *fretusque iuventa* (of Dares); 790–791 ... *maria omnia caelo | miscuit Aeoliis nequiquam freta procellis* (Venus' recollection of Juno's tempest); 6.120 (Orpheus relying on his lyre); 8.143 (Aeneas' reference to his reliance on genealogical connections with the Arcadians); 9.676 *freti armis*; 11.787 *freti pietate* (Arruns' comment on the Apollonian firewalkers on Soracte).

agit ventos: Cf. 241 ... *rapido pariter cum flamine*. The image is of some chariot or horse driving. It is a testament to how much a lover of Virgil can write about two words that Henry devotes almost half a dozen impassioned pages all to say that the god “urges [sc., the winds] to greater speed and at the same time directs [sc., them].” Yet the Dublin doctor is right in his sad estimation, “These are less poetic times.”

turbida tranat: Alliterative, and with more enjambment to enact the god's airy journey. *Tranare* also occurs at 6.671 ... *et magnos Erebi tranavimus amnis*; also 10.265–266 *Strymoniae dant signa grues atque aethera tranant | cum sonitu*: images of underworld navigation and of the flight of birds, both appropriate echoes for the description of the psychopompic god here. Lucretian (*DRN* 4.1077). The god is like a swimmer, the air his water.

With *turbida* here cf. 353 *admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago*, as Aeneas describes to Dido a dream apparition of Anchises. Turnus is *turbidus* at 12.10, as is Arruns at 11.814 after his fatal wounding of Camilla; cf. also 6.296–297 *turbidus hic caeno vastaque voragine gurges | aestuat atque omnem Cocyto eructat harenam* and (in another weather-related context) 5.695–696 ... *ruit aethere toto | turbidus imber aqua densisque nigerrimus Austris* (of the sudden downpour that extinguishes the flames that threatened the Trojan ships).

246 nubila iamque volans apicem et latera ardua cernit

nubila: Recalling 177 ... *et caput inter nubila condit*, of Rumor. Austin finds the strong pause after the enjambed noun to be a sign of work that lacks the poet's finishing touch.

iamque: In temporal progression after 242 *tum*. The variant reading *namque* has some weak attestation and is probably explicable as a result of forgetfulness of the train of thought.

apicem: Cf. the noun in a different sense at 2.682–683 *ecce levis summo de vertice visus Iuli | fundere lumen apex* and the related 10.270–271 *ardet apex capiti tristisque a vertice flamma | funditur*; also 7.65–66 *stridore ingenti liquidum trans aethera vectae, | obsedere apicem* (of the bees in the Lavinia portent); the *lanigerosque apices* of 8.664; 12.492–493 ... *apicem tamen incita summum | hasta tulit* (of Aeneas' helmet). The noun alliterative with *ardua*. Here it introduces an effective bit of suspense, as the mountain—Atlas—comes into view for the audience in rather the same way as it comes into view for the god as he approaches it in flight, especially a flight that has traversed *turbida nubila*. Defying reader expectation too: we might have expected that Mercury would find Aeneas at once. The commencement of the personification of a mountain: Servius argues that Virgil was right to give Atlas human attributes, since he was, after all, a king. Not everyone has been as generous to the poet in criticism of this passage (Cartault 1926, 315 a notable exception).

et: The third use of this connective in three verses, taken by some to be further evidence of unedited writing in a much maligned passage.

latera: For the noun cf. 73.

ardua: The adjective only here in Book 4; after *apicem* it continues the emphasis on immense height.

cernit: The verb also at 561 below, as Mercury chides Aeneas about the dangers he apparently does not see in Carthage (with which cf. Anna's similar admonition to Dido at 47, and note at 408 *cernenti*).

Anticipating Mackail's criticisms, Irvine notes here "In much of this paragraph [sc., 246–258] most readers will admit that we have our poet at his worst."

247 *Atlantis duri caelum qui vertice fulcit,*

Atlantis: The name repeated in the same *sedes* at 248, in remarkable epanalepsis. The same pattern is repeated at 8.140–141 *at Maiam, auditis qui quicquam credimus, Atlas | idem Atlas generat caeli qui sidera tollit*. For Atlas vid. V. La Bua in *EV* 1, 390–391; S. Casali in *VE* 1, 145–146; J.H.W. Morwood, "Aeneas and Mount Atlas," in *JRS* 75 (1985), 51–59; Hardie 1986, 369–375; Paschalis 1997, 158 on his "non-uniform function" in the epic. Atlas here corresponds on one level to the reference at 178–180 to Fama's descent from the angry Earth, a sister of the giants and Titans who rebelled against the Jovian order. The Titan Atlas was the son of Iapetus and Clymene (so Hesiod, *Theog.* 507–511); he was condemned to the sentence of holding up the vault of the heavens, a famous penalty known already to Homer (*Od.* 1.52–54) and Hesiod; Gantz 1993, 46 notes that there is no explicit connection in the archaic evidence of the punishment to the rebellion, speculating that the story of his grim assignment may be older even than that of the revolt. Aeneas at the end of Book 8 (729–731) in some sense becomes

Atlas as he shoulders the burden of the future Roman history as depicted on his divine shield (and cf. 2.708, where he assumes the weight of Anchises as they flee from Troy).

Here the reference to Mercury's "stopover" at Mount Atlas relates to passages both previous and forthcoming in the epic. Dido's court bard Iopas was trained by Atlas (1.740–741); the easiest interpretation of the connection is that the one who holds up the sky must know everything about the workings of what he shoulders. In Book 8, Atlas is invoked by Aeneas with respect to the common descent of the Trojans and the Arcadians: Dardanus was the son of Electra, the daughter of Atlas (8.134–142); the god Mercury on the other hand was the son of Maia, another of the Pleiades and daughter of the giant (8.137; 140–141). Iopas' song at Dido's banquet includes a mention of the Hyades—sisters of the Pleiades (1.744). Atlas—localized in the distant west, in modern Morocco—offered an obvious geographical landmark for the African locale of the Dido story. At 481–482 below, Dido notes the Atlantean, Hesperidean connections of the Massylian priestess on whose magic she plans to rely: Atlas played a pivotal role in the celebrated labor of Hercules in quest of the golden apples of the Hesperides (see Gantz 1993, 410–413, with visual evidence dating as early as the mid-sixth century, and cf. Hercules as prototype of Aeneas). Dido's reference to Atlas is recalled in repeated verse at 6.796–797, in the solemn revelation in the *Heldenschau* about the future extent of Augustan glory.

The Trojan Aeneas was an Atlantid, and he will find Atlantid allies in the Arcadians. Like Atlas, he will shoulder the burden of the world, though unknowingly (cf. 8.730). And Atlas will mark the western limit of the world and the Augustan Peace. Aeneas cannot proceed to his Atlantid destiny until he leaves the continent of Atlas and the snares of Dido.

Further, Calypso was a daughter of Atlas (Homer, *Od.* 1.52–54); on the idea that Dido is a type of Calypso (and with the speculation that the god in this scene is shown as essentially crying for his daughter at 250–251), see J.F. Davidson, "Tragic Daughter of Atlas?" in *Mnem.* 45.3 (1992), 367–371.

Newman and Newman 2005, 226 offer a dark assessment of the references to the giant as common ancestor of Aeneas and Evander: "Does all this talk of common ancestry portend well? ... Are Anchises and Dido shadowy rivals behind and beyond the actors on stage, impatient for another conflict between men and monsters? Is old Evander their unwitting mouthpiece and medium?" For how the emphasis on Atlantid descent in Book 8 relates to the problem of rebellion against the Jovian order and the role of Saturn in the epic, see Fratanuono and Smith on 8.136. The messenger god who here carries out the orders of an angry Jupiter is himself the descendant of cosmic rebellion against the Olympian order; Mercury thus embodies orderly obedience to Jupiter's reign,

and he travels now to Africa to ensure that another Atlantid will not follow in the path of Atlas' rebellion, but rather will dutifully observe the dictates of Jove.

duri: Echoing 246 *ardua*. Both adjectives serve to underscore the fact that we are, after all, gazing at a mountain. According to Strabo in his description of the geography of Libya (17.3.2, where see Roller), the highest point in the Atlas mountain range was known as "Duris" by the local inhabitants (cf. also Pliny, *NH* 5.13); *pace* Pease, there may well be a pun here on that name (see further Bartelink 1965, 73; O'Hara 2017, 154, following R.W. Cruttwell, "Virgil, *Aeneid*, iv. 247: 'Atlantis Duri,'" in *CR* 59.1 (1945), 11). Servius had a different interpretation, glossing *duri* as "laboriosi," a semantic image that is not mutually incompatible with the other shades of meaning. On *durus* see further F. Sbordone in *EV* 111, 153–154; and note P. McGushin, "Virgil and the Spirit of Endurance," in *AJPh* 85.3 (1964), 225–253 (a useful, insightful resource for the Virgilian vocabulary of patience and labor). For the etymological wordplay of *Atlantis* (cf. *τλάω/*duri*), see Paschalis 1997, 158; he posits that Atlas in some sense represents a "distorted notion of labor," with reference to Aeneas' futile labor of working on Carthage, which is a type of rebellion against the Jovian order (Aeneas not pursuing his Roman destiny).

vertice: Following on 246 *apicem*.

fulcit: Elsewhere in Virgil only in participial forms; cf. 8.227 and 11.39; also *E.* 6.53. The balance of the world. It is perhaps not too fanciful to interpret the Atlas image here as one of equilibrium, iconically represented both by the god and by Mercury's balanced, poised stopover here on "equal wings" (252–253): Aeneas has been in a state of *de facto* rebellion against his destiny in the very land where the rebellious Atlas stands in stony sentinel; the one Atlantid Mercury will help to resolve the quasi-rebellion of another Atlantid, and will thereby hasten the metamorphosis of Aeneas from dallying lover into a shoulderer of the burden of the future Rome: an "Atlas transformed," as it were, from cosmic troublemaker to cosmic stabilizer. Cartault (despite his general praise of Virgil's baroque picture) finds it problematic that Atlas is here a mountain, while at 1.741 he was cited as Iopas' teacher; he posits evidence of variant sources that were not coordinated in a polished final version of the poem.

Silius imitates the present description at *Pun.* 1.202–204 *Atlas subducto tracturus vertice caelum. | sidera nubiferum fulcit caput, aetheriasque | erigit aeternum compages ardua cervix*; cf. also Ovid, *Met.* 4.657–660.

248 *Atlantis, cinctum adsidue cui nubibus atris*

Atlantis: The repetition of the name ushers in a verse marked by alliteration (*Atlantis* / *adsidue* / *atris*; note also the a-c-a-c pattern) and by the introduction of more storm imagery. Austin (following Mackail) is sympathetic to the

view that the repetition of the name (which he argues gives it an inappropriate emphasis) is part of the circumstantial case for taking 248–251 as an early draft (which he concedes has “power”) that was meant later to be excised in favor of 247 alone. But the poet has quite good reasons for emphasizing this Titan, and the details of his appearance (whether inspired by a painting or not) are, as we shall see, purposeful.

cinctum: For the verb cf. on 41. The beginning of the description of the storm-battered head of Atlas, with which we may compare the detail about the head of Fama, buried in the clouds (177 ... *et caput inter nubila condit*); Fama was highly mobile, and in marked contrast Atlas is fixed and unmoving. *Cinctum* alliterative with both *cui* and 249 *caput*. Prudentius, *Hamart.* 130–131 copies this description. Virgil’s picture of Atlas fits with the climate and topography of the mountain range; snow falls regularly between November and April, with even longer lasting coverage on the peaks: we do well to recall the season of Aeneas’ sojourn in Carthage. Torrential downpours punctuate the summer dry season. Pine forests (cf. 249 *piniferum*) abound (*contra* the speculations of some commentators—this is most certainly not merely some Italian height transported into north Africa). The “patient” Titan endures both the burden of the vault of the sky, and the constant storms.

adsidue: Cf. 8.55 *hi bellum adsidue ducunt cum gente Latina*, of the Atlantid Arcadians—the only other occurrence of the adverb in the epic.

nubibus: Cf. the *nubila* of 246.

atris: For the color see Edgeworth 1992, 74–86, and cf. below at 384 (of the black fires with which Dido threatens Aeneas); 472 (of the black snakes of the Furies that pursue Dido-Orestes); 570 (of the black night into which Mercury vanishes after his final warning to Aeneas); 633 (of the black ash that holds Dido’s nurse at Tyre); 687 (of the black gore of the queen that her sister tries to dry). *Nubibus atris* is Ciceronian; cf. *Aen.* 10.264; also in Germanicus; Ovid; Lucan; Seneca; Statius; Silius.

For how Atlas is the opposite of the Homeric Olympus (*Od.* 6.43–45), see D.O. Voss, “Atlas and Olympus,” in *CJ* 29.1 (1933), 41–42.

The first of four verses that in Mackail’s estimation merely “retard and blur the description.”

249 *piniferum caput et vento pulsatur et imbri.*

piniferum: Alliterative with *pulsatur*. The adjective also at 10.708–709 ... *multos Vesulus quem pinifer annos / defendit* ... (in another mountain context, of the home of the boar to whom the very tall Mezentius is compared); cf. *E.* 10.14 (of Maenalus) and note 11.320 *haec omnis regio et celsi plaga pinea montis*. Probably a Virgilian coinage, rather in the Lucretian manner. Silius has *piniferum caelo*

miscens caput Apenninus (*Pun.* 4.742), in imitation of this passage. Pine trees are already tall, and the giant Atlas has them on his head; the arboreal detail in prominent position. Cf. Ovid's *anguiferum caput* of Medusa (*Met.* 4.741); *harundiferum caput* of Thybris (*Fast.* 5.637).

For Virgilian pines see Sargeaunt 1920, 101–102; Armstrong 2019, 234–241. “A definitive mountain-tree.” The pine was noted for its use in shipbuilding; cf. Mercury as “swimmer” at 245 *tranat*; also the comparison of the god to a shore-bird at 254 ff.

caput: Cf. the head of Rumor at 176–177. The “pine-bearing head” of Atlas is the start of what Page considers an “overdone” and “childish” description of the god-mountain. Austin notes that like 247 *vertice*, *caput* can be used of both a person or a mountain; soon the description will become fully anthropomorphic. See further here E.A. Hahn, “Vergil’s Linguistic Treatment of Divine Beings,” in *TAPA* 88 (1957), 56–67, 64–65; she compares *E.* 8.43–45 of the paternity of Amor. “... *Atlas* is the name of both the giant and the mountain into which he was changed; Vergil’s lines seem to describe his state during the transition period posited by myth.” There is also a possibility that in the present scene Mercury is supposed to evoke the image of Perseus and the petrifying of Atlas; in this case the “transitional” state of Virgil’s description enacts such a petrification.

vento ... imbri: The collocation is Lucretian (*DRN* 1.762; cf. 5.216–217; 957). The present image of the wind and rain buffeting Atlas is echoed at 9.60 *cum fremit ad caulas ventos perpessus et imbris*, in the comparison of Turnus outside the Trojan camp to a wolf outside the sheepfold.

pulsatur: The verb 13× in the epic. In rather a reverse of the present image, at 3.619–620 ... *altaque pulsat / sidera ...*, the lofty home of the Cyclopes batters the stars. Apuleius imitates the present passage at *De Mundo* 33.9 *nec pulsatur ventis nec imbribus caeditur* (of the Greek *ὀρπανός*).

imbri: For the ablative ending cf. 42 *siti*. *Imbri* also at *G.* 1.393.

250 *nix umeros infusa tegit, tum flumina mento*

nix ... infusa: The snow is literally poured around the shoulders. Snow is not mentioned often in the epic; cf. 12.84 in a description, and also 11.611 of weapons that fly in the manner of snow, given how many of them fill the sky. We may note too the snow-white horses of the portent at 3.538; snowy Othrys that is a haunt of Centaurs at 7.675; and especially the snowy peaks of Appenninus referenced in the simile of 12.701–703 *quantus Athos aut quantus Eryx aut ipse coruscis / cum fremit ilicibus quantus gaudetque nivali | vertice se attolens pater Appenninus ad auras* (where see Tarrant), of Aeneas ready for battle after he hears the mere name of Turnus. That passage comes soon after Tur-

nus is compared to a stone that has been dislodged from a height because of wind and rain (12.684–689 *ac veluti montis saxum de vertice praeceps / cum ruit avulsum vento, seu turbidus imber / proluit aut annis solvit sublapsa vetustas; / fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu / exsultatque solo, silvas armenta virosque / involvens secum ...*; the Homeric model is *Il.* 13.136–146, of Hector). Atlas is buffeted by wind and rain (249), and yet stands fast; Aeneas as he prepares to face Turnus is like a mobile mountain, while Turnus is decidedly inferior as a heading, rushing *saxum* that was dislodged from its mount. Aeneas is compared to mountains that mark the map from east to west; by the time he is “Appenninus,” he is firmly associated with Italy. This important mountain association is also in evidence to some degree at 441 ff., in the comparison of Aeneas to an oak tree on the heights as he is buffeted by Dido’s entreaties.

Servius is not as interested in the noun *nix* here as in the verb *ninguit* (cf. *G.* 3.367).

Infusa of the snow on Atlas echoes 122 *desuper infundam*, of Juno’s prediction of her fateful storm; it is almost as if the storm has struck across north Africa, and this is the result.

umeros: Cf. 482, also of Atlas’ shoulder, and note 149 above, of the weapons sounding on Apollo’s shoulders; 262–263 of what Mercury finds Aeneas wearing on *his* shoulders; 406 of the shoulders of the busy Trojan ants; 599 of Dido’s recollection of Aeneas shouldering Anchises: an interesting progression of uses that connects the dots from the Aeneas of the end of Book 2 to the picture of Apollo at the hunt (i.e., before the Trojan hero’s interlude in the cave) to Atlas to Aeneas in his Carthaginian dress when the messenger god finds him. The shoulders and the chin of this line are now of a fully anthropomorphized Atlas—though Pease notes that Mount Mansfield in Vermont has a “nose” and a “chin,” and that anatomical terms are sometimes used of various geological features of mountains. Shoulder imagery is important for the picture of Aeneas as Atlas: compare the last line of Book 8 as the hero takes up the shield; 2.721–722 of the reception of the burden of Anchises as Troy burns.

tegit: For this common Virgilian verb see on 123 above. Alliterative here with *tum*.

tum: Cf. 242; 246 for other temporal markers—every fourth verse.

flumina: Rivers rush down from the chin of the god/mountain. The verb, as we might have expected, is enjambed to enact the flowing of the water; in *flumina* there is an allusion either to ice-cold water, or to a glacier. “Giving the effect of a white beard” (Pease, who compares the white beard of Charon at 6.299–300). *Flumina* follows on *infusa* of the snow, as we move from snow to the “rivers” to the ice of 251 that congeals on Atlas’ beard.

mento: An interesting repetition of a not common noun from 216, where it described Aeneas' chin with its Phrygian bonnet in the derisive description of Iarbas. Mercury here stops above exactly what Aeneas is called to be—a snow-covered mountain as he faces Turnus in decisive battle.

251 praecipitant senis, et glacie riget horrida barba.

praecipitant: The enjambed verb in prominent position, as the last verse of the description of the god-mountain commences. Intransitive (*OLD s.v.* 2). Interlocking word order *flumina / mento / praecipitant / senis*. In this case the enactment is especially effective, since the verb means either that the rivers rush down the chin, or that glaciers hang down (less likely)—the precise picture is difficult if not impossible to define, and Virgil may have had competing images in mind. We may compare 565 *non fugis hinc praeceps, dum praecipitare potestas* in Mercury's last appearance to Aeneas; note also 2.8–9 ... *et iam nox umida caelo / praecipitat ...*, with the verb in a far calmer reference to natural phenomena; 9.669–670 ... *quam multa grandine nimbi / in vada praecipitant* and 10.803–804 *ac velut effusa si quando grandine nimbi / praecipitant* (the closest Virgilian parallels to the present use). The verb is echoed almost at once at 253 *praeceps*, as Mercury makes his descent.

senis: For references to old age in Virgil see J. Burbridge in *VE* 111, 929; Saturn and the Sabine king Tatius are *senes*, while Acestes; Anchises; Evander; Latinus; and Priam are the preeminent *seniores* of the poem. Among the immortals Thybris is *senior*. Snow and a full beard help to make Atlas look even older than he already is; cf. Servius' perceptive note that the reference to an "old man" is a reminder that the Titan was superannuated, or a poeticism to describe the snow and ice.

glacie riget: Neatly juxtaposed words that reference ice and congealing. The only other occurrence of *glacies* in the epic is at 12.740–741 *mortalis mucro glacies ceu futilis ictu / dissiluit*, of Turnus' mortal sword breaking against Aeneas' divine shield.

Rigere is not common in Virgil. At 1.648 ... *pallam signis auroque rigentem* it refers to the ominous present of Helen's robe; at 5.405 it describes Eryx's boxing gloves that Entellus now wields. Cf. 8.621 ... *loricam ex aere rigentem* (in the description of Aeneas' divine arms); 11.72 ... *geminas vestes auroque ostroque rigentis*, in the description of the twin robes that Dido had woven, one of which is used for the Pallas requiem. Twice, then, of arms; twice with reference to ominous presents either to or from Dido.

horrida: With a range of both physical and metaphorical uses. The adjective also at 378, in Dido's reference to Mercury's *horrida iussa*. The chained Furor is *horridus* at 1.296; cf. the *horrida myrtus* at Polydorus' *tumulus*; Acestes with

his bear pelt at 5.37; Aventinus with his Herculean lion skin at 7.669; the rustic, *horrida gens* of Ufens at 7.746; the sylvan state of the proto-Capitol at 8.348; the *silva horrida* during the night raid at 9.381–382; the stormy *Iuppiter horridus* of 9.670; the extraordinary image of the *horrida acies Volcania* of fire at 10.408; the *horrida fata belli* of 11.96–97 (and cf. 6.86 and 7.41).

barba: Achaemenides has an unkempt beard at 3.593; cf. the reference to Hector's *squalentem barbam* at 2.277; also Mezentius' beard at 10.838; Ebysus' burning beard at 12.298–301. Beards were not common in the late Republic or early Principate, apart from times of mourning or disaster; they were associated with the opposite extremes of slovenly squalor and heroic times, as well as certain of the gods.

252 *hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius alis*

primum paribus: Alliterative. *Primum* continues the careful temporal markers of Mercury's flight; Mount Atlas is the first time the god actually pauses on his swift course. Cf. 259 *ut primum*, as Mercury finally arrives in Carthage.

paribus ... alis: Neatly embracing *nitens Cyllenius*. So also of Iris at 5.657 *cum dea se paribus per caelum sustulit alis*; 9.14 ... *et in caelum paribus se sustulit alis*; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2.708 *Hinc se sustulerat paribus caducifer alis*. Henry has a long note on the "locomotion of birds." "Mercurius glides down poisoning his wings as a bird does when coming to rest" (Tilly).

nitens: Notwithstanding the difference in quantity, there is a hint here of contrast between the brilliant appearance of the youthful messenger as he hovers, poised over the mountain that has the appearance of a wizened, even unkempt old man (i.e., *nitens* from *nitere* in a play on words with *nitens* from *niti*).

Nitens also at 2.380 *pressit humi nitens trepidusque repente refugit* (in the simile of the man stepping on a serpent); 8.237 *dexter in adversum nitens* (Hercules in his assault on Cacus); 12.303 *impressoque genu nitens terrae implicat ipsum* (Corynaeus in his attack on Ebysus); cf. also Silvius leaning on his spear in the *Heldenschau* (6.760); 10.736 *tum super abiectum posito pede nixus et hasta* (Mezentius over Orodes); the wounded Aeneas at 12.386 *alternos longa nitentem cuspide gressus*; the same at 398 *stabat acerba fremens ingentem nixus in hastam*; 783 ... *dum nititur acer et instat* (of Turnus); 2.443 and 12.552 in battle scenes. Mercury is poised, as it were, on his balanced wings; once again there is effective enjambment of the verb (253 *constitit*). The effort implied by *nitens* is explained by Mackail: "Putting on pressure with equal wings' ... the action by which he checks his flight and brings himself up standing." Austin notes that the present participle describes vividly how the flying and the coming to rest are essentially simultaneous actions; whatever the god does, he does in the blink of an eye, as it were.

Cyllenius: Cf. 258 below, of Mercury as the *Cyllenia proles*; 276 *Cyllenius* as Mercury closes his brief address to Aeneas; 8.138–139 *vobis Mercurius pater est, quem candida Maia / Cyllenae gelido conceptum vertice fudit* (Aeneas to Evander as he references the shared lineage of Arcadians and Trojans); *G.* 1.337 of the planet Mercury, one of the harbingers of storms: Mercury's arrival in Carthage will engender a new, metaphorical winter storm for both Aeneas and Dido. Mount Cyllene in Arcadia, the birthplace of the god (*Barrington* 58 C2; cf. Strabo 8.3.4 (with Roller); Pomponius Mela 2.43; M. Scarsi in *EV* 1, 783; V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* 1, 328; Van Wees 1970, 54, 60 for the geographical descriptor). Not far from the town of Pheneus, where Hermes had an important cult site. For the semantic association of the appellation with *caelum* see Paschalis 1997, 157; he sees a connection with the notion of hollowness and the role of the god as psychopomp in opening the underworld for souls. Cyllene was associated regularly with the god in poetry from the *Homeric Hymns* forward. This is Mercury pausing above his grandfather Atlas; the god-mountain is reminiscent of chill Cyllene, where Mercury was born in southern Greece; Tib. notes that it is eminently appropriate for the god to make a *de facto* courtesy call.

alis: Cf. 240.

253 *constitit; hinc toto praeceps se corpore ad undas*

The beginning of the comparison of Mercury to a bird, modeled on Homer, *Od.* 5.50–53; Ovid imitates the image at *Met.* 2.714–721.

constitit: Reminiscent of Jupiter at 1.225–226 ... *sic vertice caeli / constitit et Libyae defixit lumina regnis*, of Jupiter as he gazes down on Carthage before the colloquy with Venus; cf. 1.187 *constitit hic ...* (of Achates); 459 *constitit et lacrimans ...* (of Aeneas in Juno's temple); 2.68 (of Sinon); 5.426 *constitit in digitos ...* (of Entellus); 507 *post acer Mnestheus adducto constitit arcu* (at the archery match); 6.301 *constitit Anchisa satus ...* (Aeneas reflecting on the lot of those unfortunates who cannot cross the Styx); 559 *constitit Aeneas strepitumque exterritus hausit* (of Aeneas); 8.381 *nunc Iovis imperiis Rutulorum constitit oris* (Venus of Aeneas); 9.623–624 (of Ascanius). The verb alliterative with *praeceps* and *corpore*; it contrasts effectively with 254 *misit*.

hinc: Almost certainly coordinate with 252 *hic*, i.e. of direction and motion (so Pease); less likely it is temporal after 252 *primum* (so Buscaroli).

toto ... corpore: Catullan (c. 64.66); Ciceronian; Lucretian (very common); Propertian. Note also *Aen.* 3.175; 5.683; 6.494; 7.459; 9.410; 812; 10.127; 11.87; 313; 828–829; 12.728; 920. Continuing the emphasis on physical exertion after *nitens*, even if for the swift god the exertion is effortless. “Note the interlacing of adjective, pronoun, and noun in *toto praeceps*)(*se corpore*” (Austin).

praeceps: Echoed at 565 *non fugis hinc praeceps* (Mercury to Aeneas); cf. 572–573 of Aeneas’ *socios praecipites*. Here the adjective of Mercury works a change on 251 *praecipitant*, of the rivers rushing down from Atlas’ chin. *Praeceptis* is especially dramatic after the static *constitit*; the god may be imagined as being especially speedy after his brief pause.

ad undas: With the line-end cf. 381 *per undas*; 628. Mercury had paused for just a moment over the mountain, and now he dives down toward the water. *Undas* followed by 254 *litora*; 255 *aequora* and 257 *litus harenosum*.

254 *misit avi similis, quae circum litora, circum*

avi similis: “Similar to a bird”; on the initial ambiguity over whether *avi* is dative of a bird or genitive with reference to Mercury’s grandfather Atlas (with reference to the “inverse play on words” at 7.411–412 on Turnus’ *Ardea*), see J.T. Dyson, “Birds, Grandfathers, and Neoteric Sorcery in *Aeneid* 4.254 and 7.412,” in *CQ* 47.1 (1997), 314–315; cf. 258 *materno veniens ab avo*. The third simile in the book (vid. Hornsby 1970, 56, who compares the image of Mnesteus’ vessel to a dove at 5.213–219; Fratantuono 2012/2013, 75). The bird in Virgil is not identified (cf. Homer’s cormorant); it is perhaps the *mergus* or diver, whose aetiology is discussed by Ovid in the story of the infatuation of Priam’s son Aesacus for the nymph Hesperia at *Met.* 11.749–795 (cf. DServ.’s note here; he identifies Aesacus’ mother, the nymph Alexirhoe, with no mention of Hesperia or Priam). Hesperia flees Aesacus, and she dies in a manner identical to that of Orpheus’ Eurydice (11.773–776). The Ovidian story provides obvious enough implicit commentary on the Virgilian question of the union of Troy and Italy (and cf. Fratantuono and Smith on 5.128, on the significance of the gull-frequented *meta* of the regatta); in the present scene, Mercury may be like a *mergus* or diver as he descends to north Africa to end the union of Troy and Carthage. Birds have associations with death (cf. Mynott 2018, 255 ff.); for the significance of avian imagery in the *Hom. Hym. Herm.* see Pollard 1977, 122–123. Servius speculated on why Virgil did not identify the bird: “incongruum heroö credidit carmini, si mergum dicere; ut alibi ciconiam per periphrasin posuit, *candida venit avis longis invisâ colubris* [G. 2.320] ...” Irvine memorably comments: “Anyone who seeks amusement might turn to Servius. *Bird* he says, because it would be beneath the dignity of epic to write *gull*; and his interpolator adds that *some prefer coot!* [“vel, ut quidam volunt, fulicam”] It would have been more useful if he had remarked on the rhythm, which suggests the flight of the bird sweeping in and out among the rocks, a point which everyone seems to have missed.” Pease considers attempts at ornithological precision here to be “unprofitable.”

More generally on Virgilian birds see R. Katz in *VE* 1, 187–190 (an important essay); also Royds 1918, 37–39 on Virgilian divers (“In stormy weather they may

be seen in the Midlands of England feeding among rocks in the fields”); we may compare the active avian image of Mercury here with the sleeping birds of 522–527 that provide a contrast to Dido’s anxiety.

circum ... circum: “The repeated *circum* clearly shows the bird’s wheeling flight as it gets nearer and nearer shore ...” (Austin); cf. Pease’s “[the repetition] finely reproduces the swoopings of the bird,” with comparison of *G.* 1.406–409. Cunningham reads *circum quae*; Conte compares 10.143 and 12.229.

In his generally severe criticism of this passage, Mackail argues that the “doubled simile of the sea-bird in ll. 254–255 and 256–258 can hardly have been intended to stand,” a view that Pease does not countenance, and to which we would add that the present comparison does not present a true double simile (notwithstanding the repetition of *volat/volabat*, etc.; cf. Conte: “At similitudo bis enuntiata (avi similis ... haud aliter) in suspicionem vocanda non est: Vergilius enim exemplo Homérico studiosissime est obsecutus: sicut Mercurius ad Aeneam admonendum nunc volat, ita Hermes ad Odysseum Calypsonis hospitem volaverat ...”). Goldenhard explores at length here the subjective question of whether Virgil’s or Homer’s simile is more successful. Page argues that Mercury assumes the likeness of a bird only after he swoops down, not in his descent.

255 *piscosos scopulos humilis volat aequora iuxta*:

piscosos: The reason for the bird’s diving. The adjective occurs twice more in the epic: at 11.456–458 *haud secus atque alto in luco cum forte catervae | consedere avium piscosove amne Padusae | dant sonitum rauci per stagna loquacia cycni*, of the comparison of the Latins at the war council to noisy swans; also 12.517–519 *et iuvenum exosum nequiquam bella Menoeten, | Arcada, piscosae cui circum flumina Lernae | ars fuerat ...*, of one of Turnus’ victims. Fishes are among the creatures in nature that are susceptible to Amor (*G.* 3.242–244). There may be a hint in the reference to fish to the meteorological and astronomical imagery of *G.* 4.232–235, where Virgil discusses the Pleiad Taygete and her flight before the *sidus Piscis aquosi* before she sinks into the wintry waves; the Pleiades set in November (cf. the season when Aeneas is with Dido), and Pisces is a February constellation, and so there may be a general reference to winter rather than to a specific zodiacal sign (so Mynors). On Virgilian fish note S.J. Harden in *VE* 11, 487–488.

scopulos: The noun also at 445, in the comparison of Aeneas to an oak tree on the heights that is buffeted by blasts of wind just as the Trojan hero is hit repeatedly by the appeals of Dido and Anna. There is effective sound echo in the noun after *piscosos*. Mercury’s prey will be Aeneas and Dido.

humilis volat: Deliberately juxtaposed to highlight the apparent paradox. *Humilis* is not common in the epic; the principal echo here is of 3.522–524 *cum*

procul obscuros collis humilemque videmus / Italiam. Italiam primus conclamat Achates, / Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant; the only other occurrences are at 7.157–159 ... *ipse humili designat moenia fossa / moliturque locum, primasque in litore sedes / castorum in morem pinnos atque aggere cingit*, of the first camp that Aeneas sets up in Italy; 8.455 of Evander's *humile tectum* that prefigures the hut of Romulus; 12.930 *ille humilis supplex* ..., of Turnus as he makes his appeal to Aeneas. Three times, then, with reference to Italy and the new foundation there; once in the description of the bird-like god as he wings his way down to hasten Aeneas on to his proto-Roman destiny; once of Turnus in exactly the image that the shade of Anchises evoked in part of his *Romane, memento* comment about *parcere subiectis* (6.851–853).

For the verb see on 184 above, and cf. 256 *volabat*.

aequora iuxta: The god is, after all, skimming the coast of north Africa, next to the Mediterranean. Maclennan draws attention to how there are four expressions in quick sequence that emphasize the low flight of the god-bird: *circum litora*; *circum piscosos scopulos*; *humilis*; *aequora iuxta*; there is an ominous quality to the enhanced description, as Mercury draws inexorably closer to his mortal prey. Atlas was a mountain; his grandson Mercury is a bird; both exhibit height, while the young god is as mobile and agile as a bird, with his rebellious sire relegated to his status as a fixed, stony sentinel. *Aequora* here echoes 240 ... *sive aequora supra*, at the beginning of the description of Mercury's flight; the noun elsewhere in this book at 313; 411; 524; 582.

256 *haud aliter terras inter caelumque volabat*

Ribbeck bracketed 256–258, following Heyne and Wagner; Mackail italicized the verses, condemning “the clumsy phrasing, and the needlessness ... bits of crude and probably early work.” Conington and Nettleship agree with the deletion; also Forbiger and Gütling; Stephenson is sympathetic. Page (acknowledging both manuscript authority and the Homeric parallel cited by Conte) recognizes the lines as genuine, but cannot avoid further condemnation of the passage: “They are dull and frigid ...” (cf. Irvine’s “not only frigid, but bad in technique”). Pease speculates that there may be signs here of two drafts, or of an attempted expansion. Austin does not consider 256–258 unworthy of Virgil, though he agrees that there is evidence of unpolished work in the whole Mercury-Atlas scene. Buscaroli has a fine note here summarizing the problem. No modern editor has followed the drastic actions popular from the nineteenth century through Mackail’s bimillenary edition.

haud aliter: The collocation also at 1.399; 9.65; 554; 697; 10.360; 714; 11.757. Plautine; common in the argentine; never in Catullus or Lucretius. *Aliter* echoes the repetition of *litora / litus* at 254 and 257.

terras inter caelumque: Evoking the etymology of “Mercurius” as *medium currens* (cf. Varro, fr. 138 Funaioli). A direct echo of Rumor at 184–185 *nocte volat caeli medio terraeque per umbram / stridens*. Some have argued that this detail contradicts 255 *humilis*, as if one cannot be both between earth and sky and also low-flying. A common juxtaposition, frequent in Lucretius; cf. *Aen.* 1.58; 280; 4.269; 6.724; 7.571. In the echo at 269 below it refers to the tremendous power of Jupiter.

volabat: Echoing 255 *volat*, to the consternation of many critics, especially with 257 *secabat* following: “The jingle ... is unthinkable in the *Georgics*” (Irvine). The imperfect is durative. Bentley *ad* Horace, c. 1.34.5 reads *legebat* here (and omits 257 *ad*), with no manuscript authority, but with one less target for critical carping (Conington regards the conjecture as being on the level with what a “tutor might do with a pupil’s exercise”). But the reminiscence of Rumor secures the reading. On the “transition from pseudo-simultaneous narrative to retrospective narrative” see Adema 2019, 253 (with comparison of 1.723–731; 6.450–455; 8.608–611).

257 *litus harenosum ad Libyae, ventosque secabat*

Another source of criticism of the present passage. Several manuscripts place this verse after 258, which some will find an improvement if not the correct order. More problematic is the shortest word in the line, *ad*: this may be the reading of a corrector of the Palatine, which has the unintelligible *ao*; it is also read by the eighth-century Parisinus lat. 7906, and by Parisinus lat. 13043 and the Wolfenbüttel; the Medicean has the conjunction *at*, which the fifth-century corrector Asterius has changed to *ac* in accord with some respectable manuscript attestation as well as Tib. (who does not comment on the word) and the *schol. Veron. ad G.* 2.105 (a passage where DServ. omits the word, as do Cunningham, Wagner, and Sabbadini).

Sabbadini construes 256–257 as: *haut aliter, terras inter caelumque, volabat, / litus harenosum Libyae (ventosque secabat)*, a punctuation surgery not followed by any later editor, all of whom accept *ad*. Gildenhard comments on the “striking” postposition, speculating that it may enact the “helter-skelter speed” with which the god approaches Carthage.

Whatever the correct reading or punctuation, the *litus harenosum* corresponds to the *terras* of 256; the *ventos* refers back to the *caelum*. Mercury was flying between land and sky, cutting through the sandy coast of Libya and the winds. The shore of Libya and the winds are coordinate objects of *secabat* and should not be separated by parentheses such as Sabbadini’s. *Litus ... Libyae* provides an alliterative balance to *ventos* with 258 *veniens*. In this case we have here a vivid picture of Mercury as he approaches Carthage, with *litus harenosum*

sum Libyae possibly evoking the treacherous sandbars that pose such a hazard to navigation; for winged Mercury there is no such problem.

This much is certain: no little word other than *ad* will render any sense; the only question then is whether there should be a little word at all—and whether *litus* should be construed as an object of *volabat*, or with the winds as dependent on *secabat*. If Virgil experimented with the idea of cutting through sandy shore and winds (or if Conington is right that the point is that Mercury severs the shore and the winds by being their intermediary)—a striking zeugma—then certainly one might easily have tried to “correct” the poet by inserting something, and in that case the preposition is all that works. Sabbadini may be right to think that *ad* should go, in which case we would prefer to read *litus harenosum Libyae ventosque secabat*, with simpler punctuation. Especially with recourse to the schoolbooks, a case can be made to condemn any such zeugma (see Sidgwick on the lack of an *et*, and the general verdict of “fanciful”). But *ad* is also susceptible to criticism, and it seems likely that the poet was in some way being daring in his description of this momentous journey.

litus: For the noun cf. on 212.

harenosum: The adjective only here in Virgil; it is archaic (Cato) but not common in the prose or poetry of any period apart from Pliny the Elder and Silius Italicus (both of whom have ample opportunity to discuss sand); cf. Propertius, c. 4.1b.103; 4.4.19; Manilius, *Ast.* 4.728; Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 596; *Met.* 1.702; 14.82; *Fast.* 1.242; 3.737; Silius, *Pun.* 3.465; 6.677; 8.190; 9.502; 14.78; 16.325; also Sallustian.

Libyae: Cf. 36 and especially 173 *Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes*, of the advance of Rumor.

ventosque: Cf. 241 *rapido cum flamine*; for the noun see on 46.

secabat: Repeated near the very end, of Iris' cutting of Dido's lock; once the hair is shorn, the girl's life departs into the winds (705 *ventos*). Often used of a vessel or marine animal cutting a path through the waters; so at 5.218–219 of Mnesteus' *Pristis* at the regatta; 594–595 of dolphins; 8.96 of Aeneas' ships as they proceed on the Tiber to Pallanteum; 674 of the dolphins on the shield; 9.103 with reference to the Nereid Doto and Galatea; 10.166 of Massicus' contingent of Etruscan allies.

258 *materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia proles.*

Yet another verse that has brought down opprobrium on the poet. *Materno* and *proles* frame the verse: images of maternity and offspring. “This whole line is rather Alexandrian in quality, by reason of its indirect and frigid allusiveness” (Pease). Some have objected to a perceived impression that Atlas is now being made responsible for Mercury's journey (see Austin here; the god did stop briefly at Atlas, so Virgil is not wrong); the point rather is to underscore

the connection between Atlas and Aeneas: *quondam* rebel, now shoulderer of the world. See Page here for yet more of the Victorian's venom about this passage: "absurd; tedious." Williams copies Pease's assessment of frigidity. How few defenders of the Atlantid voyage of Mercury are to be found among Virgilians.

materno ... ab avo: Of Atlas as the father of Maia. For the adjective see above on 144 (of Apollo's Delos). Virgil had not made explicit the connection between Mercury and Atlas before, and some would have wished that he did not do so here; again, at 8.134 ff. we learn the significance of the Atlas genealogy for the unfolding of events in central Italy. *Avus* 17× in the epic; *bis* in the *Georgics*. Again, a god of blended nature, with descent from Atlas as well as Jupiter; he is also a messenger of rather different orders, first to pacify the hearts of the Carthaginians so that they would welcome the Trojans, and now to hasten Aeneas' already overdue departure.

Cyllenia: Echoing 252, again to the displeasure of some. *Cyllenia proles* also at Ovid, *Ars* 3.725; Petronius, *Sat.* 124.1.269; Statius, *Theb.* 1.293; 7.74; *Silv.* 2.1.189; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.436; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 13.630. For the semantic association of "Cyllene" with *κόλλος* see Paschalis 1997, 157, with reference to Aristophanes, *Eq.* 1081–1083.

proles: For the noun cf. on 236. Quintilian 8.3.26 cites *proles* as an example of a poetic archaism (*prolem dicere versus est*); here it contributes to the solemn, stately character of the genealogical summation and close of the passage.

259 ut primum alatis tetigit magalia plantis,

ut primum: Echoing 252 *hic primum*. *Primum* is alliterative with *plantis*. For the line-opening cf. 1.306 *ut primum iactati undis et turbine Poeni*, of the arrival of the Carthaginians in north Africa—an interesting parallel. Also in the epic at 6.101 *ut primum cessit furor et rabida ora quierunt* (of the Sibyl); 451–452 ... *quam Troius heros / ut primum iuxta stetit agnovit per umbras* (Aeneas with the shade of Dido in the underworld—another interesting echo); 11.300 *ut primum placati animi et trepida ora quierunt* (at the Latin war council, and reminiscent of the description of Deiphobe); 12.47 *ut primum fari potuit, sic institit ore* (of Turnus with Latinus); 669 *ut primum discussae umbrae et lux reddita menti* (again of Turnus).

alatis: Cf. 240; 252. The adjective occurs only here in Virgil; cf. Ovid, *Fast* 3.416 ... *et alatis aethera carpit equis* (of Phoebus); 5.666 ... *alato qui pede carpis iter*. The *alatis ... plantis* frame the *magalia* they touch.

tetigit: The verb also at 550–551 *non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam / degere more ferae, talis nec tangere curas*; 596 *infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt?*; 612–613 ... *si tangere portus / infandum caput ac terris*

adnare necesse est; 657–658 *felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum | numquam Dardanidae tetigissent nostra carinae!*: five of the sixteen occurrences in the poem.

magalia: Also at 1.421 *miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam*, as the Trojan hero marveled at the development of the city of Carthage. For the noun note Hemina fr. 6 F39 Cornell; Briscoe on Livy 41.27.12. Perhaps rounded encampments/enclosures, with many separate hut-like dwellings inside (so Conway on 1.421). In historical times *Magalia* was the name of a Carthaginian suburb; cf. the modern La Marsa near Tunis. The noun underscores that we are in Carthage and nowhere else. Servius focuses here on the distinction between *magalia* and the related *mapalia* (cf. *G.* 3.340), which refers probably to scattered huts rather than to a more centralized, organized settlement; see further Cato, fr. 3 Funaioli. There is likely a deliberate contrast between *magalia* and the description in the following verse of what Aeneas is constructing.

plantis: The noun also at 7.811 ... *celeris nec tingeret aequore plantas* (of the exceedingly swift Camilla); 8.458 *et Tyrrhena pedum circumdat vincula plantis* (of Evander); 11.573–574 *utque pedum primis infans vestigia plantis | institerat* (again of Camilla); 718–719 *haec fatur virgo et pernicious ignea plantis | transit equum* (of Camilla with the Ligurian). A striking three times of the Volscian heroine, who has affinities with Mercury. An effective order of words, as we move from a reference to the wings on the god's sandals (*alatis*) to the touching of the settlement (*tetigit*) to the soles of the feet that ground the god for the duration of his address (*plantis*).

260 Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem

This verse is the first direct reference to Aeneas in almost a hundred verses; at 165–166 Dido and the Trojan leader came to the fateful cave. Iarbas' speech referenced the Phrygian interloper who had usurped what he considered to be his prerogatives (214–217). Now the protagonist returns to center stage, in a verse that powerfully describes in twofold balance what Mercury finds him doing: he is founding citadels/towers and restoring/refurbishing dwellings (or, perhaps, making new ones). The brief but pointed description recalls what the lovesick Dido was not doing at 86–89, and recalls Aeneas' viewing of work on the city of Carthage at 1.418ff. Dido is nowhere here; she will not return to the narrative until 296. The present verse could easily have been used to describe what Aeneas should be doing in fulfillment of his mission; it is made patently obvious by the poet that the epic protagonist is engaged in work on the wrong city, indeed the worst of cities from the viewpoint of Rome's Punic Wars. Gildenhard is correct to highlight that it is almost as if Aeneas is the servant of Dido and not the reverse. Austin is right here (*contra* Pease) that there is no incon-

sistency with 86–89; Dido is not here because Dido is focused totally on her love for Aeneas, with no time or inclination for anything else (it is only curious why she is not with him constantly, though the poet did after all need a window in which Mercury could appear). Austin considers the present verse to constitute confirmation that 194 *regnum immemores* is a lie—but Virgil’s point is that Aeneas is forgetful of *his* kingdom, while Dido is oblivious of hers. ABBA chiastic word order.

Aenean: The name in prominent relief; alliterative with the *arces* he is founding.

fundantem: This verb occurs but half a dozen times in the epic, and first here. At 5.759–760 *tum vicina astris Erycina in vertice sedes / fundatur Veneri Idaliae*, it refers to the establishment of the temple and cult of Venus Erycina in Sicily; cf. 6.3–4 ... *tum dente tenaci / ancora fundabat navis* ... (on arrival in Italy); 6.810–811 ... *primam qui legibus urbem / fundabit* ... (of Numa the lawgiver); 8.478–479 *haud procul hinc saxo incolitur fundata vetusto / urbis Agyllinae sedes*. Never, then, of the foundation of Rome, apart from the mention in the *Heldenschau* of Numa providing laws for the city. *Fundantem* echoed at 266 *fundamenta*.

arces et tecta: Nestled between the two participles that describe Aeneas’ work. With *tecta* we may compare Rumor’s diurnal perch at 186–187. But the more biting echo here is for the *arces* that Aeneas is founding; the noun recalls 234 *Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces?*, in Jupiter’s frustrated, indeed exasperated address to Mercury. Aeneas is indeed looking after citadels—the wrong ones. For the collocation of nouns note also Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 2.300; 12.607–608.

novantem: Also six occurrences in the epic, and also for the first time here (perhaps not a coincidence); cf. 290 ... *et quae rebus sit causa novandis*, of the preparations for departure that the Trojans will dissimulate—a striking reuse and echo of the key verb in relatively short compass; also 5.602 *Hinc primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit* (before the burning of the ships); 752–753 *ipsi transtra novant flammisque ambesa reponunt / robora navigiis* ... (of the refitting and refurbishing of the ships in preparation for leaving Sicily, in balanced pair as with the Book 4 occurrences); 7.629–630 *quinque adeo magnae positis incudibus urbes / tela novant* ... (at the commencement of the war in Latium); 8.188–189 ... *periculis / servati facimus meritosque novamus honores* (of the rites at Pallanteum in honor of Hercules). *Novare* has been taken here to refer to the enhancement of the *magalia* of 259, as if Aeneas were supervising the conversion of crude huts into a splendid city.

“No wonder Jupiter thought it was time to get him away” (Warde Fowler to Irvine *per litt.*). The romantic Austin thought that the description of Aeneas

that commences here shows him for a rare moment as a happy man; Mackail was less impressed with the passage, as he was with its predecessor.

The present verse echoes 1.298–299 *ut terrae utque novae pateant Karthaginis arces / hospitio Teucris ...*, of Mercury's first north African mission (cf. *novae / novantem; arces*). On the ancient etymology of "Karthago" as "nova civitas" see Austin *ad* 1.298; Bartelink 1965, 45; O'Hara 2017, 123–124; 154: "Here there may not be enough indication of wordplay". The divine herald accomplished his task all too successfully. For the larger problem of just what constitutes a "home" for Aeneas, note Wiltshire 1989, 66 ff. See Henry 1989, 56 for exploration of the idea that Aeneas is not being a very good civic administrator, focused as he is on building projects, with no mention of his being a legislator or judge: "It may seem that he is not fulfilling the role of founder very adequately in this substitute Troy."

261 *conspicit; atque illi stellatus iaspide fulva*

conspicit: The verb in emphatic enjambment, as Mercury takes in a shocking sight that is at once revealed as even more appalling. *Conspicit* here of Mercury echoes the similar moment when Jupiter gazed on Carthage at 220–221 ... *oculosque ad moenia torsit / regia et oblitos famae melioris amantis*; that sudden turn of the eyes came in response to the speech of Iarbas, while here Mercury in turn sees for himself what Jupiter had described—and indeed it is worse than what the supreme god had reported. The verb recurs in a similar scene at 648–649 *hic, postquam Iliacas vestes notumque cubile / conspexit ...*, of Dido just before her suicide, as she sees Aeneas' garments and the shared bed. The strong pause after the verb enacts the registering of Mercury's shock.

atque: The conjunction hints at how things are worse than the preceding verse had revealed; not only is Aeneas building the wrong city, but now the man who was mocked by Iarbas for his stereotypically Trojan dress (215–217) is masquerading as a Carthaginian (cf. his disguised mother at 1.336–337 *virginibus Tyriis mos est gestare pharetram / purpureoque alte suras vincire cothurno*).

illi: Of Aeneas, as a description commences of just what the hero is wearing as he supervises the work on Dido's city.

stellatus: *Hapax* in Virgil (cf. Ps.-V., *Ciris* 534). Aeneas has a sword studded with yellow jasper; it is significant that the first detail about his rich appearance is a military one, which follows on the mention of his foundation of Carthaginian *arces*. See below at 646–647 for the *ensis Dardanius* that Dido uses for her suicide: that sword is either a gift that Aeneas had given to her, or this same sword that presumably Dido had given to Aeneas (the former explana-

tion seems better, especially since other Didonian presents to Aeneas were not returned). What exactly is “studded” is also uncertain: Servius says the scabbard (“‘ensis’ pro ‘vagina’ posuit”).

iaspide: Another Virgilian *hapax*, which serves to highlight the extraordinary sight; further, this is the first occurrence of the word in extant Latin (vid. *TLL* VII 1 coll. 138–139). The *locus classicus* for the description of jasper is Pliny, *NH* 37.115–118 (on which see Saint-Denis’ Budé notes); Lucan imitates this passage at *BC* 10.122–122a ... *et iaspide fulva supellex / stat mensas onerans* ..., of Cleopatra’s opulence (122a was added e.g. by Housman); also Statius, *Theb.* 4.270 ... *et iaspide clarus Eoa* (where see Parkes), of Atalanta’s son Parthenopaeus; 7.658–659 ... *et fibula rasilis auro / Taenariam fulva mordebat iaspide pallam*, of the Bacchic Eunaeus. The treatment of *iaspide* as a quadrisyllable only prolongs the image.

fulva: For the color adjective see on 159, of the tawny lion Ascanius prayed for during the hunt. On the sword’s yellow jasper see Edgeworth 1992, 50–51 (“... on the simplest and most naturalistic level, the bright colors provide an explanation of why Aeneas was so readily visible at a distance to the searching messenger”).

The picture of Aeneas’ studded sword is alluded to by Juvenal at s. 5.42–45 *da veniam: praeclara illi laudatur iaspis. / nam Virro, ut multi, gemmas ad pocula transfert / a digitis, quas in vaginae fronte solebat / ponere zelotypo iuvenis praelatus Iarbae*, of a rich patron (Juvenal, like Servius, assumed that the scabbard was studded). The sword and its sheath thus an object of mockery.

262 *ensis erat, Tyrioque ardebat murice laena*

ensis: Alliterative with *erat*; the sword in prominent, enjambed relief. The noun also below at 507; 579; 646; 664—all in connection with the queen’s suicide. Mostly poetic, and here perhaps by metonymy for the scabbard. The first detail about what Mercury sees Aeneas wearing—the first object that catches the god’s eye—will be the instrument of the lovesick girl’s demise. See further here R. Basto, “The Swords of *Aeneid* 4,” in *AJPh* 105.3 (1984), 333–338.

Tyrioque: With *murice* in frame around the verb that describes the brilliant “burning” of the bright purple. For the adjective see on 104. Irvine has a good note about superstitions relating to the unlucky nature of a sword as a gift. Another key word in the description: beyond any question about the exact range of echoes of the type of garment/colors Aeneas is wearing, the proto-Roman is dressed like a Carthaginian. “Tyrian” here echoes Jupiter’s reference to Tyrian affairs at 224–225.

ardebat: A vivid verb, the imperfect probably durative; see further on 101, where it is Dido who is burning.

murice: For the purple see here Edgeworth 1992, 137–138 (with consideration of the exact shade of color referenced: perhaps one of the reds more than what we usually think of as ‘purple’; like “clotted blood” as Austin notes, referencing Pliny, *NH* 9.135). *Murex* also at 9.614, where Numanus Remulus taunts the Trojans for wearing yellow and bright purple garments. Cf. also 5.205 *acuto in murice*, of how Sergestus’ boat is caught on rocks, with its oars straining against the sharp *murex*: the stone named after the shellfish whence the dye; for the image of being “moored in the Trojan past” see Fratantuono and Smith ad loc. Carthage was a center of the purple dye industry (Austin speculates that Virgil may have met a “Moorish merchant” in Rome; cf. Lady Fanshawe’s recollections of a seventeenth-century visit to the Granada Alhambra, cited at length by Irvine here). The combination of purple and gold (here the *murex* and the yellow jasper) recalls Dido’s horse at 134–135. At *E.* 4.42 ff. it is a sign of the Golden Age when colors like the *murex*-purple simply appear on the wool of sheep.

laena: Yet another *hapax* in the description of Aeneas’ appearance (vid. *TLL* VII 2 col. 870, with glosses). The noun also at Persius, s. 1.32 *hic aliquis, cui circum umeros hyacinthina laena est*; Juvenal, s. 3.283–284 *atque mero fervens cavet hunc quem coccina laena | vitari iubet et comitum longissimus ordo*; 5.130–131 ... *plurima sunt quae | non audent homines pertusa dicere laena*; 7.73 *cuius et alveolus et laenam pignerat Atreus*; Martial, *Ep.* 12.36.2 *algentemque togam brevemque laenam*; 14.126.2 *hanc tibi pro laena mittimus endromida*; cf. 14.138.1; also Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 15.421–422 ... *fratrum laena nitebat | demissa ex umeris donum* (of Hannibal). Servius defines this garment as “est autem proprie toga duplex, amictus auguralis”; DServ. has a very long note that expands on the detail about augury and thinks that there is a connection to pontifical vesture; cf. Cicero, *Brutus* 56 (with Douglas) on its use by the *flamen* in sacrificial rites. The *laena* was apparently a thick garment, here appropriate for a winter day; Nonius Marcellus (p. 868 Lindsay) says that it was a military garment that was worn over other layers of clothing (this would follow on the mention of the sword). The enjambment in the description of how the cloak hangs down over the hero’s shoulders neatly enacts what the garment does.

Tilly follows on DServ., arguing that the purple *laena* points to the future dignity of Rome, and is therefore not a negative image. Commentators note that at *Il.* 10.133 Nestor wears a similar purple cloak, and Page argues that only the context makes this an inappropriate article of clothing for Aeneas. Many figures in both epic and history wear purple cloaks; Apollonius’ Jason is certainly present here (*Arg.* 1.721–768, where the hero meets Hypsipyle). Mark Antony too lurks in this description; cf. Florus 2.21.3 *Aurum in manu baculum, in latere acinaces, purpurea vestis ingentibus obstricta gemmis*; note also Ramsey on Cicero, *Phil.* 2.76.21 and 2.85.9; he wonders if there is a connection with the

Antonian cloak mentioned in Plutarch's life (4.3, where see Pelling) that was allegedly worn in emulation of Hercules (from whom Antony claimed descent via the hero's son Anton). Thomas 2001, 166 notes "Aeneas has "gone native." A jewelled sword was one thing, but a purple cloak, which is so clearly repellent to austere Roman ideals and mires Aeneas in a stereotypically Eastern context, may have been too much for Dryden (384–385) "... There can be little doubt how Virgil's reader would have responded to the original Latin" (part of his illustration of how translators sometimes transform characters when the character is not depicted in a manner they find appealing or satisfactory). Newman and Newman 2005, 233 discuss the "feminization" of Aeneas by Dido. J.A. Reed, "*Ardebat Laena* (*Aeneid* 4.262)," in *Vergilius* 52 (2006), 55–75, offers an important study that *inter al.* connects Aeneas here with Hercules (and, implicitly, Dido with Deianeira). On Aeneas' dress and Mercury's reaction note also Lyne 1987, 185–192; Putnam 1995, 39. For how Virgil devotes very little time to the matter of how quickly Aeneas fell under Dido's spell (indeed, it is a problem that is barely addressed), see Williams 1983, 43–46.

263 *demissa ex umeris, dives quae munera Dido*

A line of pronounced dental alliteration, with the relevant words in perfect balance (*demissa ... dives ... Dido*).

demissa ex umeris: The verb is repeated in a different sense almost at once (268); Aeneas has his purple cloak let down over his shoulders, and Jupiter has sent down Mercury precisely to put an end to such Carthaginian pretensions. Very different is the image of Aeneas' *comparandus* Apollo at 149, with his weapons sounding on his shoulder. Henry may have worried more about the exact placement of the cloak relative to Aeneas' shoulders than Virgil did.

The description of Aeneas' dress here is echoed at 8.459–460 *tum lateri atque umeris Tegaeum subligat ense* / *demissa ab laeva pantherae terga retorquens*, of Evander's very different style of dress.

dives ... Dido: The recurring theme of Dido as wealthy, not to say as quite interested in gold. Dido shares this appellation with the sorceress Circe; cf. 7.11–12 *dives inaccessos ubi Solis filia lucos* / *adsiduo resonat cantu ...*; cf. the reference to Latinus as *praedives* at 11.233. DServ. (followed by Mackail) claims that there is a problem here in that the poet usually explains why someone is rich; in this case the point has been made since 1.357 ff. Here the epithet emphasizes the luxury of the Cleopatra-like Dido.

quae munera: The subject of criticism, given that it is clear enough to the commentators how Dido may have fashioned a *laena*, while the *ensis* seems less likely to have been the product of her handiwork (some interpret *munera* simply as poetic plural; so Williams, who argues that the plural makes every-

thing sound even more impressive). There are other ominous gifts from Dido referenced later in the epic; most relevant here are the twin robes mentioned at 11.72–77, one of which is used for Pallas' burial shroud; note also 5.570–572, of the horse that Dido presented to Ascanius that he rides at the *lusus Troiae*; the *crater* that Ascanius presents to Nisus at 9.266 (a sure harbinger of doom). On Virgilian gifts see further L. Fratantuono in *VE* 11, 557–558; S. Harrison at 931–932 on “ominous objects.” The cloak noted here is almost certainly one of those that recurs in Book 11; the other *vestis* mentioned there would presumably be a duplicate *laena* that was meant for Ascanius (see further Fratantuono 2004).

For *munus* note also 217; 429; 624; 647; and vid. M. Citroni in *VE* 111, 619–621. *Munera* juxtaposed with Dido underscores the semantic association of the queen's name with notions of gift-giving.

Dido: The first mention of what the queen has been doing since 171–172, when she was described as concealing her *culpa* with the name of *coniugium*.

264 fecerat, et tenui telas discreverat auro.

This verse is repeated at 11.75, as part of the passage where the twin garments Dido is said to have made for Aeneas are described: *tum geminas vestes auroque ostroque rigentis / extulit Aeneas, quas illi laeta laborum / ipsa suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido / fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro* (11.72–75). Difficult to imagine that the cloak at the Pallas requiem is not the garment cited here (see Fratantuono, and McGill *ad* 11.72–75; Horsfall more skeptical; cf. Sparrow 1931, 67; also Newman and Newman 2005, 163: “Is this her return assault?”). O'Hara corrects the rather odd omission of note of the repetition by Page (and Williams). Lausus' mother also is credited with what proves to be ominous weaving (10.818 *et tunicam molli mater quam neverat auro*, in imitation of this verse). See Newman and Newman 2005, 215–216 for a perceptive argument connecting Lausus' presumably dead mother with Dido: “Is Dido then her double? She even peeps through the grim features of the wounded father as he asks after his slain rescuer: *multa super Lauso rogitat* (X. 839). This is Dido at her banquet: *multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa* (1. 750). The ghostly series continues.”

Poor women certainly must spin for their livelihood (*G.* 1.293–294); epic and tragic heroines can exercise the craft as a happy labor on behalf of their beloved.

fecerat: More prominence via enjambment. All the emphasis is on how Dido is the one who made this robe.

tenui: Alliterative with *telas*. Of fine-spun gold thread. *Tenui ... auro*: hyperbaton, and in frame around *telas discreverat*. With *tenui ... auro* here cf. 278 *tenuem ... auram*: a neat echo with sound effect, in a very different context.

telas: The noun also at 7.14 *arguto tenuis percurrens pectine telas* (of Circe); 9.489 ... *et tela curas solabar anilis* (of Euryalus' mother; cf. 476). On Virgilian weaving note G.C. Trimble in *VE* III, 1379.

discreverat: Other than in this line and its repetition, the verb occurs in Virgil only at 3.201 *ipse diem noctemque negat discernere caelo* (of Palinurus in a storm); and at 12.898 *limes agro positus litem ut discerneret arvis*, of the boundary stone that Turnus will wield against Aeneas. The verb is Lucretian (*DRN* 4.384; 555; 5.1441; 6.790). Cf. Lucan's ghastly ... *petimus non singula busta / discretosque rogos* (*BC* 7.803–804). "Dido apparently interwove with the wool fine threads of gold" (Pease); the action described here is epexegetical and specifying after *fecerat*.

auro: The description of Aeneas' rich and luxurious appearance ends (fittingly) on a golden note. See further on 134, of the caparisoning of Dido's steed; 138 on the queen's golden quiver and golden hair ornament; 148 on Apollo's similar golden hair accoutrement. *Auro* here at line-end comes after the queen's name in the same position at 263; we may note the balanced order as we move from 261 ... *fulva* to 262 ... *laena* to the mention of Dido and gold.

265 *continuo invadit*: "tu nunc Karthaginis altae

continuo: Mercury wastes no time in commencing his address (not to say reproach). *Continuo* only here in Book 4; cf. 3.196 (of a tempest); 548 (of the prayers offered before the hasty departure from Greek-held lands); 5.368 (Dares stepping forth to challenge Entellus); 6.426 (the sounds of grief emitting from Limbo); 570 (of Tisiphone); 7.68 (of the *vates* who interprets the omen of the bees); 7.120 (Aeneas after the eating of the tables); 9.118 (at the transformation of the Trojan ships into sea creatures); 684 (the rush into the Trojan camp); 731 (of Turnus during his *aristeia*); 757 (of the destruction that would have befallen the Trojans if Turnus had thought to let his men into the camp); 11.612 (during the cavalry engagement); 810 (Arruns hiding himself after the attack on Camilla); 912 (of how battle would have been joined between Aeneas' and Turnus' forces had night not intervened); 12.560 *continuo pugnae accendit maioris imago* (the idea Venus sends to Aeneas about burning down Laurentum). Inexplicably unpopular in post-Augustan poetry.

invadit: The verb 17× in Virgil; here of an almost violent interruption by the god of Aeneas' city-building activities. The language conveys as strongly as possible the wrongness and blameworthiness of what Aeneas is doing. For the use of the verb here (*OLD* s.v. 3) see Woodman on Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.4.2; Ash on *Hist.* 2.53.1. Irvine compares how Aeneas will subsequently be treated in address by Dido (305): certainly not a good period of time for the Trojan hero. The commentators cf. Juno to Venus above at 92 *talibus adgreditur*; this is far

stronger, brusquer, and indeed angrier. Pease has a note here on the question of Mercury's theophany and whether or not the divine herald is merely a poeticism to describe Aeneas' own conscience (with reference to Epicureanism and the question of Virgil's belief in gods who would take an active role in mortal affairs). Equating Mercury with Aeneas' conscience has the advantage of absolving Aeneas from some of his culpability. For a less speculative analysis of the scene cf. Kühn 1971, 69–70; note also G. Miles, "Glorious Peace: The Values and Motivation of Virgil's Aeneas," in *Cal. Stud. ClAnt.* 9 (1976), 133–164, 147 ff. Against any effort to allegorize or rationalize the god as Aeneas' conscience, note J.W. Jones, Jr., "Aeneid 4.238–278 and the Persistence of an Allegorical Interpretation," in *Vergilius* 33 (1987), 29–38.

tu: Peremptory; there is no time for any niceties of diplomatic courtesies, even if the god were inclined to use them. The first words the god speaks address the key elements of the problem: you (Aeneas); now; Carthage; lofty (because of the ongoing work of fortification and urban renewal).

nunc: Echoing Jupiter's remark to Mercury at 224; cf. Iarbas at 215; the report of Rumor at 193. *Nunc* coordinates closely with *continuo*: all the emphasis is on haste.

Karthaginis altae: Echoing 97 *suspectas habuisse domos Karthaginis altae*, in Juno's address to Venus; cf. Aeneas' reference to the citadels of Carthage in his speech to Dido at 347. Here with a clear echo of 1.7 ... *atque altae moenia Romae*, with the point being that Aeneas is working now (*nunc* is emphatic) on the wrong city. Gildenhard comments on the "iconic verse design": "lofty Carthage" will literally have its *fundamenta* (266) placed under it. The reference to Carthage will be expanded (with contempt) in the mention of the *pulchra urbs* at 266. Again, Mercury is virtually quoting Jupiter's angry words at 224 ... *Karthagine qui nunc*, from the start of the supreme god's address to his herald. "Lofty" here underscores how work on the city has been proceeding along quite well. Mercury is less impressed than Aeneas was when first he saw the city at 1.419 ff.

"Aeneas seems at this moment to be emerging from the passive, anxious, lonely man who landed at Carthage, evolving, apparently under Dido's influence, into someone more active and assertive. Mercury crushes this chrysalis with brutal dispatch" (Van Nortwick 1996, 115).

266 *fundamenta locas pulchramque uxori urbem*

A line that drips with the divine herald's contempt for what he has seen Aeneas engaged in at Carthage.

fundamenta: Echoing 260 *fundantem*. The noun with *locas* directly echoes 1.427–428 ... *hic alta theatri | fundamenta locant alii ...*, of the work on Dido's

Carthage that Aeneas and Achates saw on arrival; the only other use of the noun in Virgil is at 2.610–612 *Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti / fundamenta quatit totamque a sedibus urbem / eruit ...*, as Venus reveals to her son the divine machinery at work in the ruin of Troy.

locas: The verb will be echoed at 507–508 ... *super exuvias ensemque relictum / effigiemque toro locat haud ignara futuri*, of Dido; note also the queen's angry remark to Aeneas at 374 *excepi et regni demens in parte locavi*.

pulchramque ... urbem: A “pretty city,” with scathing judgment. *Pulchram* is deliberately juxtaposed with *uxorius* with reference to Aeneas' (also pretty) girlfriend. *Pulchram urbem* works a harsh change on 265 *Karthaginis altae*; from the image of Carthage as a threatening, imposing edifice we move to the condemnation of decadence and what to a Roman would constitute stereotypical oriental luxury. Context matters: at *G.* 2.534 *pulcherrima Roma* conveys a sense of lovely grandeur and not a hint of sarcasm; the same is true for the reference to “lovely Calydon” at 11.270, though there the description follows on Diomedes' mention of *coniugium optatum* and thus has reference back to the notion of a lovely wife. *Pulchram* here is inspired by Jupiter's reference in his remarks to Mercury to Venus as Aeneas' *pulcherrima genetrix*; the messenger has transformed that conventional enough description into a hostile comment about Dido (*pulcherrima* at 4.60; cf. 192). For the connection of the reference to the *pulchra urbs* of Carthage to Dido's later comment to Anna that she is not asking Aeneas *pulchro ut Latio careat regnumque relinquat* (432), see Fletcher 2014, 159 (“In her own words, Dido has lost a bizarre sort of beauty contest”).

uxorius: Only here in Virgil, and with biting reference to the shameful *simulacrum* of a marriage that Aeneas and Dido are living. Not “almost a sneer” (Tilly): this is Mercury at his most insulting. Horace memorably has ... *vagus et sinistra / labitur ripa Iove non probante u- / xorius amnis* of the Tiber overflowing its banks; cf. Statius, *Silv.* 5.1.31 in a dramatic description of Orpheus' tears—i.e., his *uxorius imber* (see further Gibson ad loc.). “This is Mercury's own sneer” (Austin); the poet's emphasis is on what the herald himself has seen on arrival. *Uxorius* is alliterative with *urbem*: the image of would-be wife and would-be city shade into one. MacLennan notes that the purpose of the insult is to convey to Aeneas a clear sense of how people are interpreting his actions. For the parallel of Antony with Cleopatra see Syed 2005, 184–193, with extensive commentary. Note also Jenkyns 1998, 635–636 (with reference to 4.198 in an attempt to argue that uxoriousness is a “virtuous fault” for Aeneas since Jupiter had ravished a Garamantian nymph); also Monti 1981, 47 ff.; Clausen 2002, 120. Cairns 1989, 50–51 offers a characteristically positive assessment of Aeneas in at least one regard (i.e., he is presented in a better light than the Carthaginians,

who in the person of Dido have abandoned “royal industriousness and social commitment”—rather a low bar of assessment in a Roman epic). *Uxorius* is essentially Mercury’s version of what Iarbas had complained about to Jupiter regarding Aeneas’ Phrygian effeminacy.

267 *exstruis? heu, regni rerumque oblite tuarum!*

A verse that encapsulates the image of Aeneas at the nadir of his reputation, with Mercury thoroughly convinced of the justification of Jupiter’s exasperation.

exstruis: Echoing the frustrated Jupiter’s rhetorical question at 235 *quid struit?*, and anticipating the further echo at 271 *quid struis*, as Mercury directly quotes his father. For the verb cf. 3.224, of the preparations for a meal before the invasion of the Harpies; 5.290 of a mounded seating area; 9.326 of Rhamnes laid out in drunken slumber for what will be the last time; 11.66 of Pallas’ funeral bier: not the most positive set of associations. The punctuation after the verb has been disputed; Conington rightly notes that there is no particular difference in meaning whether one imagines a rhetorical question or an exclamation.

heu: Echoed soon after at 283, in the description of Aeneas’ reaction to Mercury’s words; cf. on 13 and 65 above.

regni rerumque: Bitingly alliterative. For *regnum* cf. on 47; 106; 194; 199; 214 above. *Regni* is echoed at 269 *regnator*.

oblite: The sentiment echoes the narrator’s comment at 220–221 ... *oculosque ad moenia torsit | regia et oblitos famae melioris amantis*, of Jupiter turning his eyes toward Carthage and the oblivious lovers. The Palatine originally read *ignare* here (later corrected); Ribbeck thinks that the error arose from a reminiscence of 3.382 *ignare*. “The vocative is used by attraction to the tone of the whole sentence” (Tilly); see Williams for Virgil’s fondness for this stylistic trick. Here it is particularly effective: Aeneas is addressed as one who is eminently oblivious. *Oblite* is neatly framed by *rerumque ... tuarum*. A clever touch of the poet here, as Mercury recalls language that was used not by Jupiter in direct speech, but by Virgil in describing the god’s taking notice of what has been happening in Carthage. On the many levels of problems of memory in the relationship of Dido and Aeneas note Seider 2013, 119–121. For how Aeneas is “guilty of some telling lapses,” see Newman and Newman 2005, 268.

tuarum: A key possessive adjective: Aeneas has not been forgetful of civic affairs (perhaps in contrast to Dido’s state of mind): his problem is that he is focused on the wrong *regnum* and the wrong *res*. The sentiments introduced here are developed at 272, in echo of Jupiter’s words at 230.

268 ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo

A staccato expression of Mercury's credentials, as he pauses from his shocked reaction to what he has seen (he will resume his indignant line of rhetorical questioning at 271).

ipse: The intensive repeated at 270 in the same *sedes*, to underscore the point, with 269 *regnator* between as part of a three-verse marked emphasis on Jupiter's power. The verse is framed by references to Jupiter and his home on Olympus. O'Hara compares the claim of the disguised Allecto to Turnus at 7.428 *ipsa palam fari omnipotens Saturnia iussit*.

deum: Genitive plural dependent on *regnator*, as soon enough becomes clear; for a moment though we might think it was accusative singular, with *me* framing *tibi*. "Massive hyperbaton" (Gildenhard), which serves to highlight the exceptional power of the supreme god.

tibi: Juxtaposed with *me*; the pronoun recalls the peremptory *tu* of 265.

claro: For the adjective vid. E.M. Jovane in *EV* I, 810–811. Only here in Book 4. Aeneas' Carthaginian raiment was highly visible; Olympus (i.e., the heaven) has a brightness all its own; the adjective secures the sense that we are dealing with the sky and not the Macedonian mount *per se*. Cf. 7.141–142 *hic pater omnipotens ter caelo clarus ab alto / intonuit*; also Turnus' address to Iris at 9.18–20 *Iri, decus caeli, quis te mihi nubibus actam / detulit in terras? unde haec tam clara repente / tempestas?* For the etymological and Homeric wordplay possibly lurking here, see O'Hara 2017, 154–155, following on Servius ("Olympus quasi *hololampes* dictus est sive mons sit Macedoniae, qui dicitur esse diversorium deorum, sive caelum; unde addidit *claro* ...").

demittit: How different from the *demissa* of 263. Adjective and noun frame the verb. The Palatine reads *dimittit* alongside other witnesses.

Olympo: Cf. 694 ... *Irim demisit Olympo*, of the rainbow goddess' descent at Juno's behest. For the mountain home of the pantheon (a common metonymical reference for the sky) see G. Panessa in *EV* III, 834–836; P.L. Jones in *VE* II, 931. For how *Olympo* here of the heaven contrasts with 271 *terris* of Aeneas' activity on land, see Hardie 1986, 279: "... the two extremes are connected by the particular medium of Mercury, the air, *auras*, at the end of the third line; the second line encapsulates the cohesion of heaven and earth in the one divine ruler, the cohesion which it is Mercury's duty to restore."

The line-end here also at Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.691; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 9.551.

269 regnator, caelum et terras qui numine torquet;

The verse is given over entirely to the solemn praise of Jupiter. For how Jupiter puts an end (at least for the moment) to the scheming of other immortals, see Van Nortwick 1996, 114–115.

regnator: For the noun see Fratantuono and Smith on 8.77. Of venerable antiquity (Naevius; Accius; Plautus); also in the epic of Jupiter at 2.779, 7.558 and 10.437; elsewhere of Priam (2.557); Tiberinus (8.77). The immediate echo is back to Mercury's reference to the *regnum* that Aeneas has forgotten (267).

caelum et terras: The collocation echoes 256 *terras inter caelum*, in the description of Mercury's flight. Varro notes ... *omnis natura in caelum et terram divisa est* (DLL 5.31.1).

For the conjunction *et* the Palatine and other witnesses offer *ac*; cf. 6.724 *Principio caelum ac terras camposque liquentis*; also 1.58 *ni faciat, maria ac terras caelumque profundum*. The Palatine also has singular *terram*.

numine: For the noun see on 204. "Since Jupiter was thought to rule all things with a nod the word as used in this line carries both the original and the extended meaning; *torquet* then becomes relevant to the nod ..." (Tilly). 12.180 *cuncta tuo qui bella, pater, sub numine torques* (of Mars) offers a close parallel (already noted by Servius). All the language here is designed to underscore the importance and irrevocability of the message Mercury conveys (cf. Tib.: "suffecerat indicasse a quo esset missus; sed, cum notum esset quantum Iuppiter posset, adiecit iniciendi maioris metus causa potestates eius et quod illa omnia celerius perferri iussisset, ostendens ex eo quod dicebantur maturius oportere compleri").

torquet: The verb here echoes 208 ... *cum fulmina torques*, in Iarbas' speech to Jupiter; cf. also 220 *torsit*, of the god turning his eyes toward Carthage. Some critics have noted that the description of Jupiter here almost accords better with Atlas (cf. 481–482 below; 6.796–797); to the degree that this is true, it reflects how Jupiter has achieved complete domination over the heavens and the earth; a vital component of that supremacy is the god's yielding to the dictates of fate, such that Jupiter and *fata* often shade into one concept. Others have questioned whether *torquet* implies more a sense of physical governance or of moral; both ideas are present and not mutually exclusive. We may compare here 9.670–671 ... *cum Iuppiter horridus Austris / torquet aquosam hiemem et caelo cava nubila rumpit*.

270 ipse haec ferre iubet celeris mandata per auras:

A reworking of 226, as Mercury fairly closely follows what he was told by Jupiter.

ipse: Echoing 270. The pronoun referencing the divine source of the message is juxtaposed with the demonstrative that refers to it.

haec: Servius does well to note that the point is to distinguish between what Mercury said on his own, and what he is relating from Jupiter ("quae dicturus est; nam supra dicta ex se dixerat"). But the tone he has set is not at variance with the substance of the message he now delivers.

ferre: The *defer* of 226. Gildenhard comments on how the compound imperative has now become simple, and the *mea dicta* of Jupiter have been transformed into the *mandata* Mercury mentions here; these are subtle changes that probably reflect the poet's wish not to engage in wholesale duplication in what has already been a somewhat repetitious passage; cf. Austin's note on Virgil's skillful translation of Jupiter's edicts into direct speech. "The message, in epic style, is based on the words of Jupiter, yet with considerable changes, perhaps for variety" (Pease). *Defer* was more fitting for an order given before Mercury had commenced his descent to earth; *ferre* is more appropriate here. *Mea dicta*, likewise, accorded with an address of Jupiter to Mercury; what Jove wanted related to Aeneas translates into *mandata* in a neat metamorphosis of language.

celeris ... auras: Cf. 226 *adloquere et celeris defer mea dicta per auras*. Once again the notion of transference is important: the breezes are swift, and they have served to convey a swift message from the already speedy messenger. The *celeres auras* literally enfold the *mandata* that they carried.

mandata: The noun will recur in Aeneas' rendition of this divine visit to Dido at 356–358 below (note especially the repetition at 357 ... *celeris mandata per auras*). For *mandata* note also 9.312; 10.840; 11.176; 825.

auras: Cf. 278.

271 'quid struis? aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris?

The verse of direct speech is modeled directly on 235 *quid struit? aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur ...* Austin observes: "Note that Virgil does not repeat the bold hiatus of 235—he knew when to leave well enough alone."

quid struis: Echoing Jupiter's *quid struit?* (235); cf. also 267 *exstruis?* of Mercury to Aeneas. Alliterative with *spe*.

spe: The reference is to Jupiter's remark at 235. All the emphasis is on what possible expectation Aeneas could be harboring.

Libycis: For the adjective see on 106, and note below at 320 *Libycae gentes* and 348 *Libycae urbis*. A significant change on Jupiter's original; Mercury has diplomatically suppressed the reference to the *inimica gens* and replaced it with "Libyan lands"; for the moment the point is to hasten Aeneas' departure, and there will be time (cf. 560 ff.) to focus on the perils of Carthage. It is certainly true that direct quoting of Jupiter here would have introduced problems of which Aeneas was not aware, and for which there was neither time nor reason to explicate now. *Libycis ... teris* frames the action of which Aeneas is accused; Libya is the locus for his wasting of time.

teris: The verb occurs only three times in the poem (once in the *Eclogues*; 7× in the *Georgics*). At 5.324–325 *ecce volat calcemque terit iam calce Diores* /

incumbens umero ..., it is used of a scene in the footrace; at 12.273–274 ... *teritur qua sutilis alvo | balteus* ..., it describes where the belly is chafed by the belt. Alliterative with *terris* (also *otia*), with which it offers an effective wordplay (“... alliterative paronomasia as well as a *figura etymologica*”—Gildenhard; cf. Conington’s concession “the jingle can hardly have been unintentional,” notwithstanding his dismissal of the etymological play. See further O’Hara 2017, 155; also K. Muse, “‘Don’t Dally in this Valley’: Wordplay in *Odyssey* 15.10 and *Aeneid* 4.271,” in *CQ* 55.2 (2005), 646–649. Pease notes that the “jingle” would not have been so noticeable to a Roman, for whom double consonants actually meant something in pronunciation. 4.238 *parere parabat* does provide something of a parallel, as Conington notes—though there with no doubling.

otia: The noun recurs only once more in the epic; cf. 6.812–815 ... *cui deinde subibit | otia qui rumpet patriae residesque movebit | Tullus in arma viros et iam desueta triumphis | agmina* (of Servius Tullius in the Parade of Heroes). The plural has usually been defended *metri causa*. Here the noun echoes something of the point of 221 ... *et oblitos famae melioris amantis*; it also reflects the import of Jupiter’s *moratur* (235). The verse moves from a reference to activity to one of wasting time in leisurely, luxurious living; it comes interestingly in the wake of Aeneas as supervisor of building projects at 260 and 265–267, and Austin is not alone in seeing an unjust criticism of Aeneas from Mercury here. But as others have observed, Aeneas’ very dress belies the notion that he has been working particularly hard; certainly more so than Dido—a rather low bar of expectation given her present state. Supervising work on Carthage while dressed in jasper and purple is worse than expending labor on the wrong city: it is an exercise of *otia* and the wasting of time properly spent on furthering the Roman future.

272 *si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,*

This verse virtually duplicates 232 *si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum*.

te: Following on 265 *tu* and 268 *tibi*.

movet: The one significant change from Jupiter’s original; the strong verb *accendit* has been rather diluted in force by the substitution of the colorless *movet*. If anything, perhaps there is a conscious lessening of the force of the rhetoric after the god’s own expressions of shock and contempt at 265–267.

tantarum ... rerum: In the context of Jupiter’s address to Mercury, this reference came after the prediction of future Roman glory at 227–231. In the present scene, it refers back to Mercury’s frustrated exclamation ... *heu, regni rerumque oblite tuarum* (267)—hence Pease’s not unreasonable note “what these are [sc., the *tantarum rerum*] is rather inadequately explained by the *rerum ... tuarum* of line 267.” Here some would prefer to see another example of unpolished composition, of a passage that lacked the poet’s final touches; of course it is

possible to interpret it as an implicit declaration that Aeneas' *res* from 267 are indeed *tantae*, with or without further explanation—after all, Aeneas has had numerous prophecies to this end both in Books 2 and (especially) 3. It is also conceivable that just as Jupiter's speech was marked by evidence of his state of displeasure on seeing for himself what was happening in Carthage, so here Mercury experiences more than a hint of the same reaction on seeing an even worse scene than what Jupiter had announced.

Miles 1976, 148 deserves to be quoted at length here: "The choice which faces him [sc., Aeneas] in Carthage is summed up in Mercury's opposition of *otium* and *gloria*. By Virgil's age *otium* had acquired a range of meanings extending from "leisure" to "retirement from civic affairs" to "peace." *Gloria*, by contrast, referred to personal reputation—especially military—won by distinguished service to the state. In the course of the civil wars of the Late Republic the term *gloria* was debased because the personal reputation of public figures was too often gained by exploitation of their military resources at the expense of the state. By referring to Aeneas' occupations at Carthage as *otia* ... Mercury discredits them as self-indulgent ... Conversely, appeal to *gloria* inescapably reemphasizes the martial aspects of Aeneas' responsibilities, and it warns of the potentiality for the distortion of values which is inherent in martial enterprise." As at 232, so here we remember Anna's words to Dido at 48–49 ... *Teucrum comitantibus armis | Punica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!*

273 [nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem,]

A replica of 233, with *tua* for *sua* and *moliris* for *molitur*. The Medicean and the Palatinus omit it, and neither Servius nor Tib. know it; Pease brackets it (so also Conington; Hirtzel's OCT; Sabbadini; Götte's Tusculum; Tilly; Mynors' OCT; Geymonat; Perret's Budé; Paratore; Heuzé's Pléiade; it is italicized by Mackail; Goold's Loeb and Rivero García et al.), while Conte's Teubner relegates mention of it to the apparatus (it is omitted in Ribbeck, and Holzberg's Tusculum). "Interpolation" (Binder). It is not found in the citation of verses 272–276 in the life of Macrinus' son Diadumenianus in the *Augustan History*, which comes in a letter purported to have been written by the son to his father.

Page prints the verse with no comment; O'Hara considers it to be an interpolation (following Williams). Butler accepts it as genuine, commenting only "He quotes the words of Jupiter (233)"—perhaps the last voice in its defense, essentially *sans commentaire*. Henry does not wade into the controversy; nor do Maclennan and Gildenhard. Papillon and Haigh find it suspect, but judge it retainable for "convenience of notation." The line has had its defenders; the most damning evidence against it is its lack of capital manuscript attestation,

or citation in scholia and the one classical text that cites the passage. Part of the problem is that 232–236 and 271–276 display a noteworthy amount of repetition (cf. here Moskalew 1982, 110). It is easy to imagine that verse 273 could have been interpolated by someone working virtually from memory of Jupiter's speech (Sparrow 1931, 111–154 remains an indispensable, foundational guide for manuscript interpolations from parallel passages and related textual phenomena; note also R. Tarrant in *VE* 11, 658–659). In terms of the overall effect and purport of Mercury's address to Aeneas, little is gained by retaining the line, and a degree of repetition is removed. "On the one hand it may easily have slipped out, especially if the transcriber was writing from his recollection of Jupiter's speech; on the other hand it may as easily have crept in from that speech" (Conington). *Tua* might be a bit much after the heavy concentration of second-person personal pronouns in the immediately preceding verses. If we were not providing a comment on the verse we would follow Conte's decision and not print it.

This verse was the one line from Jupiter's speech that emphasized the question of labor in pursuit of the realization of the Roman future; for how Mercury glosses over the more difficult aspects of Aeneas' destiny, see Mack 1978, 63.

274 *Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli*

A reworking of verse 234. Mercury frames the line with the two names of Ascanius, in striking balance; Jupiter had mentioned only Ascanius. Sidgwick was not pleased ("An instance of Vergil's artificiality of style; the two names for the same person sound frigid")—"frigid" is used a remarkable number of times among English critics of the Mercury episode. Pease compares 634 *Annam ... sororem*, though there we find name and title and not two names. We may note that Mercury makes no mention whatsoever of Venus in his announcement to Aeneas, *pace* Jupiter's remarks at 227 ff.

Here the purpose of the two names seems to be to draw a connection between the significance of what they represent: "Ascanius rising" leads to the "hope of Iulus the heir," as we move from Troy to Rome. That long and arduous process is neatly summarized in this one line, in which Mercury takes what he knows from Jupiter and presents a timeline in miniature. Lurking behind this verse may be the various early traditions about Ascanius/Iulus, in particular his role in settling the Italian war; cf. Servius and DServ. *ad* 1.267, on the tradition where Ascanius was the one who killed Mezentius; the Servian information is Catonian (F6 Cornell = 1, F9 Chassignet). See further on this Rogerson 2017, 51 ff. Among Latin sources nothing on Ascanius is extant prior to Cato and Cassius Hemina; note here Moseley 1926, 56 ff. Cato's version relates that both Aeneas and Turnus were killed in battle; the war was then prosecuted by Ascanius and

Mezentius; Servius notes that when Ascanius won, he was called “Iulus” on account of the first down of his beard, which grew at the time of his victory; Danielis also offers an etymology from skill in archery (ιοβόλος), citing Lucius Caesar. For Cassius Hemina’s citation of Ascanius see F6 Cornell (= F6 Chassignet).

The shade of Palinurus will echo this verse in the underworld at 6.364 *per genitorem oro, per spes surgentis Iuli*, where he pleads for Aeneas to seek out his corpse for burial.

surgentem: Ascanius is rising, rather like the citadels and buildings on which Dido earlier and now Aeneas have been working (cf. 1.366 *surgentemque novae Karthaginis arcem*). For the verb see above on 43 and 47; note also 352. In the prior uses Anna had warned Dido about the *bella Tyro surgentia* as a means to encourage her to convince Aeneas to stay in Carthage; she also predicted that such a union would cause kingdoms to rise (*surgere regna*). The participle is alliterative with *spes*. Pease notes that the meaning can be either physical and/or political growth; we may recall that Book 4 is the one in which Ascanius begins to develop an adolescent personality.

With “Ascanius rising” we note also Aeneas’ comment at 1.437 *o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt* (of the rising of Carthage).

spes: In direct contrast to the *spes* of 271 that Aeneas has been wasting his time pursuing. Certainly the “hopes” referenced here could refer to Iulus’ own dreams and expectations, but the primary meaning is the dynasty that has already been predicted for Alba Longa, etc.: the genitive could be both subjective and objective, since the resultant meanings are not mutually exclusive. There is a strong echo here of 1.556 ... *nec spes iam restat Iuli*, of Ilioneus’ reference to the missing Aeneas and Iulus in his address at Dido’s temple.

heredis: The noun occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at 7.424 ... *externusque in regnum quaeritur heres*, in the disguised Allecto’s address to Turnus. “For a Roman there would be a world of meaning in these words” (Tilly).

“The hopes of the Julian heir” looks forward to another Julian heir, the poet’s own patron.

275 respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus

The first of two verses with key verbs in prominent, enjambed relief. There is powerful alliteration here across the line with *respice* / *regnum* / *Romana*. This verse is Mercury’s version of 236 *nec prolem Ausoniam et Lavinia respicit arva*? The present line looks forward to the fact that Aeneas is not destined to live very long after arrival in Italy, and that Ascanius will be the key figure in the next stage of historical development after the loss of his father. MacLennan has a good note here on “typical Virgilian unpredictability in small things,” noting

that there was no “kingdom of Italy” until the late fifth century, and that *tellus* works better with the notion of Italy than of Rome (see further Mackail’s extended note here). The poet’s point is to emphasize the unity of peninsula and empire. The first and last two letters of the verse spell out *reus*: Aeneas is guilty of ignoring his son’s grand destiny; the next verse will exhibit the same word painting with *deus*, as Mercury begins his speech to an abrupt close.

respice: Echoing 236 as well as 225 ... *datas non respicit urbes*. The imperative is figurative, but it continues the emphasis on the visual; the gods are able to see more than mortals, and Aeneas is being asked to look towards a future that has been revealed to him by many prophetic announcements. This is the only imperative in Mercury’s address to Aeneas.

cui: Another little pronoun in which much is invested.

regnum: With direct reference back to 267 ... *heu, regni rerumque oblitteruarum!*

regnum Italiae: Jupiter had mentioned “Ausonian offspring”; Mercury’s version focuses on the kingdom that will be established by Ascanius at Alba Longa. *Regnum Italiae* also above at 106, in Venus’ analysis of Juno’s intentions; cf. 11.219. The switch from *prolem Ausoniam* to *regnum Italiae* is significant, as Wagner recognized; Jupiter’s speech looked forward to Aeneas Silvius, while Mercury’s is focused on Ascanius. Such are the problems when frustrated and impatient gods are seeking to encapsulate many complicated historical developments in short compass.

Romanaque tellus: A response to Jupiter’s *Romanas arces* at 234. We may recall that *prima Tellus* was among the deities who were in attendance at the perverse parody of a Roman wedding at 166–167.

The line-end here is used by Lucan at *BC* 2.735–736 ... *Romanaque tellus / immaculata sui servertur sanguine Magni*, as a powerful close to the book. Note too the *tellus Romana* strewn with Sabine bodies at Ovid, *Met* 14.800.

276 debetur.’” tali Cyllenius ore locutus

debetur: The last word of the brief divine address; in powerful enjambment. Mercury closes his speech on a note of emphasis about what is owed to Aeneas’ son (more specifically, what Aeneas owes to his scion; again we may note the acrostic trick of *reus—deus*); Mercury has modified significantly the end of Jupiter’s speech, with its firm closing command *naviget* (237). Aeneas was asked to look back at—that is, to consider—what his son was owed (275 *respice*); the implication is that any father who followed that command would realize that he must leave Carthage at once. Mercury will become more insistent about the need to leave now at 560 ff., when he makes his second visit to the tarrying Trojan (cf. especially 569 *rumpe moras*).

Debentur is the original reading here of the Medicean and the Palatine, and was deemed “honestius” by Servius; the singular has been defended because Italy and Rome are more powerfully cast as a singular entity, and certainly a case can be made (however subjective) that the speech closes more effectively on a singular note. Tib. and the aforementioned *Augustan History* citation give *debetur*. The plural has the air of a schoolmaster’s correction about it.

tali ... ore: Framing *Cyllenius*. Cf. e.g. 5.409 (*talis effundit pectore voces*); 780 (*talisque effundit pectore questus*). Austin does well to emphasize that the phrase refers not just to what Mercury said, but to how he said it: matter and mode.

Cyllenius: Cf. on 252; 258. Mercury’s departure is cast in language that references once again his Atlantid origins.

locutus: Similarly of Dido at 1.614 ... *et sic ore locuta est*; of Iris to Turnus at 9.5 *ad quem sic roseo Thaumantias ore locuta est*; Nisus to Euryalus at 9.314 ... *prior Hyrtacides sic ore locutus*. In all of these passages the two words connoting speech are juxtaposed.

277 *mortalis visus medio sermone reliquit*

The present verse is nearly copied at 9.657 *mortalis medio aspectus sermone reliquit*, of Apollo’s intervention with Ascanius in the Remulus episode.

mortalis: Alliterative with *medio*. The adjective recurs below at 412 *improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!*; here it comes deliberately of Aeneas, the future *Indiges* who will be honored with deification: he is at something of his lowest ebb in terms of divine reputation, sunk in the all too mortal abyss of erotic passion.

visus: The visual element once again. Gods appear to people without disguise only when no one else can see them. The present passage recalls 2.605, where Venus noted that Aeneas’ *mortalis visus* was dulled, and thus he could not see how the gods were involved in the demolishing of Troy; if indeed there is a deliberate acrostic of *deus* at 276, then it is appropriate that the next verse should begin with *mortalis*. For *visus* note also 2.212; 382; 3.36; 308; 5.90; 6.710; 8.109; 10.447; 11.271. Most often of sights that bring fear, terror, or shock. *Mortalis visus* makes clear that Mercury actually appeared to Aeneas; the emphasis on the apparition is balanced with the references to what the god said, and the effect of the visitation is both auditory and visual. Servius comments on the ambiguity of the phrase, which he prefers to take of Mercury abandoning the mortal form in which he appeared to visit Aeneas. But there is no disguise here of the sort that Venus employed with her son in Book 1; the epiphany of Mercury has been a true manifestation of the god in his divine form, and that is

what causes such consternation in Aeneas (cf. 279, where it is the god's *aspectus* that engenders so strong a reaction in the Trojan).

medio: Once again in the middle of the verse. For the idea of “finishing” a speech in mid-word, cf. 76; here as the commentators have noted, the address is indeed finished, though it ended even more abruptly and brusquely than it began. Mercury has no interest in dallying in Carthage; his swift departure is in itself a model for Aeneas to follow. The speech is also left off in the middle if we consider that it does not explicitly include the “summa” (237) of Jupiter's address—the order to set sail at once. See further here Conington's extended note. Servius has a more technical argument: “sed sermo est consertio orationis et confabulatio duorum vel plurium, medius ergo sermo est cum persona cum qua quis loquitur non respondet, ut nunc fecit Aeneas.”

sermone: For the noun see on 189, and cf. the parallel 388 *his medium dictis sermonem abrumpit et auras*, of Dido. For *medio sermone* note also Ovid, *Ars* 2.507; Statius, *Ach.* 1.737; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6.679; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 6.295; 13.661.

reliquit: For the verb note 155. It recurs almost at once (281), in a rather different sense.

Mercury had found Aeneas engaged in the supervision of building projects. Was the god visible to Aeneas alone? Did the god leave abruptly before he could be seen by anyone else? On these and related problems see Fratantuono 2015b, 302.

278 **et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.**

This verse is copied verbatim at 9.658 for the appearance of Apollo with Ascanius. MacLennan comments on how there are four expressions in one line that all convey the swiftness of the god's exit.

procul: The god is already very far away from the chaos his message (however necessary) has now set in motion. For *procul* cf. 70; there it described the *pastor nescius* in the Dido-deer simile; that figure of Aeneas managed to wound the deer from afar, while here the god now departs far away, leaving the *quondam* hunter Aeneas to explain why he is leaving his love.

tenuem: The marked hyperbaton expresses something of the wispy nature of the breeze into which the god vanishes. *Tenuis* with *aura* is Lucretian (*DRN* 1.1087); cf. *G.* 4.499–500 ... *dixit et ex oculis subito, ceu fumus in auras / commixtus tenuis, fugit diversa* ..., of Eurydice's departure from Orpheus at her second death: Virgil here recalls this key intertext as Mercury leaves Aeneas, precisely because the message of the god will lead directly to the separation of the lovers. Note also 2.791 ... *tenuisque recessit in auras*, of the apparition of Creüsa: another lost love for Aeneas; 5.740 *dixerat et tenuis fugit ceu fumus*

in auras (of Anchises' visit to Aeneas, again modeled on the loss of Eurydice); 861 *ipse volans tenuis se sustulit ales ad auras*, of the departure of Somnus from the scene of his attack on Palinurus. Cf. also Manilius, *Ast.* 1.152; 157; Ovid, *Met.* 15.426 ... *tenuatus in auras*; Martial, *Ep.* 9.38.3; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 6.39.

"The elision after *tenuem* is subtle: the syllable vanishes, just as the god does" (Austin).

ex oculis: Following on 277 *mortalis visus*, and again underscoring the emphasis on the visual.

evanuit: The verb only here and in the repetition of the line later. Lucretian (*DRN* 3.221); with its use here cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 2.509 *iussit et in tennes oculis evanuit auras*; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 8.184 *sic fata in tenuem Phoenissa evanuit auram* (of the apparition of Dido to Anna). The verb of vanishing is deliberately juxtaposed with the noun of sight.

auram: For the singular see Austin here, with reference to Wagner. There is something in the singularity of the expression that manages to express the rapidity of the vanishing, with enhancement of the shock.

The appearance of Mercury so ends; he will return at 554–570. The visitations have proven to be a great inspiration on the visual arts; see here L. Houghtalin in *VE* II, 815–816.

279–295 Aeneas reacts with shock to the visit of Mercury. He gives orders to his men to prepare for the departure from Carthage; they are all too happy to obey his command. In the meantime the Trojan hero is himself all too aware of the problem he now faces of how to apprise Dido of what has transpired.

279 At vero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens,

More marked sound effects: *At / Aeneas / aspectu / amens*; the pattern will continue at 280 and beyond. For Aeneas' reaction here see Mackie 1988, 79–80. Irvine comments that this is the first time Aeneas has seen a god since the appearance of his disguised mother, not to mention the revelation of the immortals at work destroying Troy that his mother afforded him at 2.601–623.

At vero: Cf. *Tum vero Aeneas* at 571, after the second Mercury apparition; we recall 4.1 of Dido, and note 296 below as the second act of the tragedy commences; also 393 *At pius Aeneas*, where the hero has apparently improved his mental state from this line.

aspectu: For the noun note below at 347–348 ... *si te Karthaginis arces / Phoenissam Libycaequae aspectus detinet urbis* (Aeneas to Dido). The present verse recalls 1.613 *Obstipuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido*, of Dido's reaction to her first glimpse of Aeneas; the parallel is both deliberate and striking. We may note too 6.465 *siste gradum teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro*, of Aeneas with

the shade of Dido in the underworld, again with direct reference back both to the first time the queen saw him, and indeed to the present passage. At 3.597 ... *paulum aspectu conterritus haesit* it refers to Achaemenides' terror when first he sees the Trojans; otherwise the noun appears in Virgil only at 9.657, where *mortalis aspectus* replaces *mortalis visus* in the reworking of the present scene to describe Apollo's departure from Ascanius; 11.699 *incidit huic subitoque aspectu territus haesit*, of the reaction of the son of Aunus to Camilla on the battlefield.

obmutuit: The verb recurs at 6.154–155 *sic demum lucos Stygis et regna invia vivis / aspicias. dixit pressoque obmutuit ore*, of the Sibyl's comments to Aeneas about what must be done prior to the descent to Avernus. The verb of speech is juxtaposed with the reference to the visual impression; the *aspectus* renders the voice powerless. Cf. 2.774 *Obstipui*, of Aeneas after the apparition of Creüsa; 3.48 *Obstipui*, as he witnesses the grim portents at the grave of Polydorus. An old verb (Terence, *And.* 257; 421); cf. Ovid, *Met.* 13.538; Statius, *Theb.* 2.628; 6.185.

amens: See on 203 *isque amens animi et rumore accensus amaro*, of Iarbas' reaction to Fama's report about Dido and Aeneas. He cannot speak, and he is out of his mind. The force of this adjective should not be muted in commentary; it is as strong a word as the poet could muster to convey his protagonist's state of mind (*pace* Conington's oft-repeated "bewildered rather than frenzied"). One need only compare Panthus (2.321); Nisus (9.424); and Turnus (7.460; 12.776); not to mention the jealous Iarbas and Aeneas himself at 2.314: the Trojan reacts the same way here as he did during the fall of Troy.

280 *arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit.*

This verse is repeated at 12.868, where it describes the reaction of Turnus to Jupiter's Dira. The repetition is effective, though it caused Ribbeck to bracket this verse; no modern editor follows him. Irvine wonders if there is a hint of conscience at play in Aeneas' fearful reaction to the apparition: the persistence of allegory, the fruit of a palpable desire to try to mitigate Aeneas' behavior in this book. From mindlessness and loss of rational function to abject terror: Mercury has left more than a passing impression.

arrectaeque: Continuing the pronounced sound effect from 279. Cf. 1.152 ... *silent arrectisque auribus adstant*; 579–580 *His animum arrecti dictis et fortis Achates / et pater Aeneas*; 2.303 *ascensu supero atque arrectis auribus adsto*; 5.138 ... *laudumque arrecta cupido* (before the games); 643–644 ... *arrectae mentes stupefacta corda / Iliadum* (of the reaction of the Trojan women to the disguised Iris); 11.452 ... *et arrectae stimulis haud mollibus irae* (of the Latins at the war council after the news that the Trojans have resumed military operations, either with or without any hint of truce breaking); 12.618 ... *arrectasque impulit*

auras; 731 *arrectaeque amborum acies* (of the Trojans and Latins on the battle-field). In a more literal sense at 2.206 *pectora quorum inter fluctus arrecta* (of the twin snakes that proceed over the water to Laocoön's doom); 5.426 of the boxers standing erect; 9.317 (of chariots); 465 (of spears); 10.892 (of Mezentius' horse Rhaebes); 11.496 *arrectis cervicibus* (of the horse to which Turnus is compared); 639 (of Remulus' horse); 754 (of the scales of a serpent); note also the vivid 2.173 *luminibus flammae arrectis* (of the portentous Palladium).

horrore: Alliterative with *haesit*. The noun also with reference to the sound of arms during the fall of Troy (2.301); of the *saevus horror* of that night (559); cf. 755. Aeneas describes his *frigidus horror* at the Polydorus omens; there is also a reference to the *horror* that spreads at the news that Aeneas has been seriously wounded (12.406–407). Lastly there is the repetition of this verse of Turnus at 12.868. The reaction of Aeneas here is thus comparable to what he experienced on the night Troy fell (nearly half the occurrences of the noun); the significance of the present scene is thus heightened, as later will be the case for the severity of Aeneas' wound that Venus will intervene to cure. Page identifies the present use as a good example of the blending of literal and metaphorical meanings of the noun. Powerful alliteration of the double consonant here after *arrectae*.

comae: The noun also below at 590, as Dido tears her blond hair. On Virgilian references to hair see J.M. Seo in *VE* 11, 584. In context we recall Iarbas' mockery of Aeneas' oiled hair at 216; Apollo's characteristically flowing locks at 147–148. The present passage follows in baleful progression on those images, just as the tearing of Dido's hair later comes after the reference to the golden decoration of her (golden) tresses at 138.

vox: The detail about Aeneas' voice clinging in his throat follows on 279 *obmutuit* (theme and variation). The silencing of the voice that had spoken for two books, the voice that Dido could never tire of hearing.

faucibus: Cf. the dry throats of the wolves in the simile at 2.358. For the etymological link to *fari* see Paschalis 1997, 159.

haesit: For the verb see on 4; cf. 73; 445; 614.

F.J. Lelièvre, "Aeneas Amens": Sound, Metre, Thought in *Aeneid* 4," in *Vergilius* 43 (1997), 19–21, considers the enactment of Aeneas' physical state in the diction of the passage, "which contains an unusually high proportion of words beginning with an open vowel, diphthong, aspirate or semi-vowel, sometimes in immediate succession, with initial *a* dominating ... the sequence of initial vowels or their equivalents seems to suggest the fruitless struggle of Aeneas to achieve words at a time when, because of shock, he could think, but not articulate. The effect of stammering is heightened by the presence of elision ... but it is primarily the product of the open vowel sequence." (20)

Ribbeck bracketed this verse as an interpolation; see below on 285–286 for the same sort of question.

281 ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras,

Another powerful line, which briefly defines Aeneas' profound state of internal conflict: he burns with desire to flee away, but the lands he now yearns to abandon are sweet. A playground for speculative scholarship on the psychology of the protagonist. Certainly the line balances the conflicting wishes of the hero; the pull of the second half of the line may serve to explain why it will be so long before Aeneas actually leaves. For the expression of the character's thoughts and words in indirect speech, note especially A. Perutelli, "Registri narrativi e stile indiretto libero in Virgilio (a proposito di *Aen.* 4, 279 sgg.)," in *MD* 3 (1979), 69–82; note also R.J. Starr, "Aeneas the Rhetorician: *Aeneid* IV, 279–295," in *Latomus* 62.1 (2003), 36–46.

ardet abire: Continuing the sound effects of the preceding lines. The present image contrasts effectively with 101 *ardet amans Dido*. Fire imagery, echoing both the queen and Iarbas, who both are also consumed with fire, though for very different reasons. *Abire* in second position, in elegant balance with *relinquere* in penultimate. For the infinitive after *ardere* see Pease; this is the fifth of seven occurrences in the epic (1.515; 581; 2.105; 315–316; 8.163; 11.895).

fuga: Echoing the flight of the deer in the simile at 72 (and cf. 155); now it is the *nescius pastor* who burns with the desire to flee. Five more occurrences in the book (328; 338; 430; 543; 575). Gildenhard here explores the question of flight in terms of obeying a divine mandate; flight is usually considered shameful, while here (paradoxically) it is exactly what history demands—just as it did on Troy's last night (balance between a key theme then of Books 2 and 4). Austin interprets *fuga* with reference to Aeneas' own reflection and self-knowledge; he knows that he must flee if he is to escape the allure and charms of the young queen.

dulcis: For the adjective see on 185, where it described the sweet sleep that Fama did not enjoy. It will recur powerfully at 651, in Dido's reference to the *dulces exuviae* that represent all that she has left of Aeneas. Silius imitates the present description at *Pun.* 3.535–536 ... *medio sic navita ponto, / cum dulcis liquit terras*. The one adjective sums up the pleasure Aeneas has taken in his Carthaginian sojourn. The implicit contrast between the description of the lands and the hero's desire to leave was noted already in the ancient commentators; cf. Servius' "minus est 'quamquam.' et, ne videatur ingratus, deorum excusatur imperio; sic ipse in sexto *sed me iussa deum* [6.461]." The poet after his usual fashion does not make explicit exactly where authorial comment and character emotion begin or end; there is no question that Aeneas has enjoyed

himself in Carthage, and it will still be some three hundred verses before he satisfies the burning desire to leave that is expressed in the present verse.

relinquere: Aeneas wants to do exactly what Mercury just did (277 *reliquit*).

terras: Leaving behind the lands will also mean abandoning the one whose name lurks allusively in the noun; cf. the etymology of Dido as *errans*, which is faintly echoed in *terras*.

The sentiments of this verse will recur at 317–318, as Dido references whatever benefits Aeneas has received from her.

282 *attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum.*

attonitus: A further echo of the sound effects of 279 ff. We may compare here 3.172 *talibus attonitus visis et voce deorum*, of Aeneas' reaction to the dream apparition of the Penates that warded him off from any hope of Cretan settlement; cf. at 72–73 for how the Dido-deer was localized in Dictaeon glades. At 5.529 *attonitis haesere animis* the same word is used of the reaction to the Acestes arrow portent; cf. 6.59 *tum vero attonitae monstris actaeque furore*, of the reaction of the Trojan women to Iris' interventions. At 6.53 *attonitae magna ora domus* it comes in a description of the entrance to the underworld; at 7.580 of the women with Amata, maddened with Bacchic frenzy. Lastly, it is used of Latinus at 12.610, where the king is struck by the suicide of his wife. *Attonitus* echoes Iarbas' rhetorical question about Jupiter's thunderbolts at 208; Mercury's Jovian mission has struck Aeneas like a bolt from the heavens, and the gods have provided an answer to Iarbas' quasi-Epicurean musings. Further on the adjective see Keufen's important note *ad Seneca, Troad.* 443 *mentis attonitae stupor*. On the thunder metaphor note Paschalis 1997, 159. The bolt from on high has struck suddenly and without warning; in a perfect world Aeneas would exit the Carthaginian stage just as quickly, and indeed this is his desire (*ardet abire fuga*).

tanto: Echoing *attonitus*.

monitu: The noun also at 465; cf. also 6.533; 7.102; 9.501; 10.397.

imperioque: Cf. 239, where Mercury was described as obeying his father's *imperium*. Once again theme and variation: so great an admonition (*tanto monitu*) was a command of the gods. The enclitic is not without force: there was the *monitus* that was already *tantus*, besides being the very edict of the gods. "Aeneas wants to think of it at first as a word of advice and warning—but he cannot conceal from himself that it is an outright command" (Maclennan).

deorum: The plural with reference both to Mercury and to the superior god who sent him. Some have tried to interpret the number as an allusion to all the gods, but two have been engaged in the long sequence of divine intervention.

283 *heu quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furentem*

heu: Cf. Mercury at 267, who sighed in exasperation as he saw what Aeneas was doing and what he was wearing. Here the interjection comes prominently in the first position: as the one who was *amens* and speechless slowly begins to regain control of his mental faculties and power of speech, he ponders the mess in which he suddenly finds himself (one his critics would argue could and should have been avoided).

quid agat?: Following close on 281 *ardet ambire fuga*, and deliberately so; the allure of the *dulcis terras* and the girl who makes the land so sweet is at variance with the burning desire to flee in obedience to the god's command. On the indirect questions here see Pinkster 2021, 51. In a sense Aeneas here has his moment that is not dissimilar to Dido's state in the opening movement of the epic; Catullus' Ariadne says *quid agam?* (c. 64.177). See further O'Hara's note here, with reference to Reed 2007 "for the motif of the distressed heroine." This feminization of Aeneas relates to the repetition of verses 285–286 below at 8.20–21, just before a simile in which Aeneas is put in the role of Apollonius' Medea. On Aeneas' emasculation see J. Connolly, "Border Wars: Literature, Politics, and the Public," in *TAPA* 135.1 (2005), 103–134, 123.

Henry's note on *quid agat* is one of the gems of his exegesis, as he strives to clarify that Aeneas is not in doubt 'as to the question of obedience to Mercury, but rather as to how to approach Dido (if at all): "... I, who have always a sort of Quixotic fellow-feeling for the distress of the outraged, will endeavor to come, as I have so often come before, and hope so often to come again, to the rescue ..."

quo: With 284 *adfatu*, in one of the most striking examples of hyperbaton in the book: the question of just what to say is exceedingly difficult.

nunc: Cf. at 265.

reginam: Anticipating 296, as the second act of the tragedy commences; cf. on 1. The reference to Dido as a queen has occasioned the idea for some that here there is a momentary flash of political feeling (see Pease); there may be a hint too of the aforementioned observation that the tragedies of royal potentates are more serious in their consequences.

ambire: The infinitive is framed by the reference to the burning queen. We may cf. 7.333–334 ... *neu conubiis ambire Latinum | Aeneadae possint Italosve obsidere finis*, in Juno's address to Allecto; this is the only other occurrence of the infinitive in the epic (elsewhere in Virgil the verb is used of Phlegethon at 6.550–551 and at 10.243 ... *atque oras ambiit auro*, of Vulcan's work on the shield). *Ambire* here echoes 281 *abire*; this is a very different and far more perilous action, and it is Aeneas' idea and not the gods'. *Ambire* is not *adire* (see especially Conington on this point); Aeneas grasps here for any means to reduce the likelihood of the coming storm he sees all too clearly. Pease argues

that the friendship of Aeneas and Dido was “lacking in mutual confidence.” Rand 1931, 355 n. 1 offers the insightful observation that the verb is used of worshippers who seek to importune a deity. See Tilly for the evocation of the image of a political candidate canvassing for votes.

Page argues that *ambire* here connotes trickery and deceit (following Servius’ gloss “blanditiis circumvenire” and DServ’s “blanditiis vel subdole circumvenire”); certainly this is how the queen will soon enough interpret her lover’s actions (296 *dolos*; *fallere*). His view has not been popular, largely because it presents Aeneas in a negative light. We do well to note that the agonizing options Aeneas reviews in this passage are his own choice; Mercury had not told him to have anything more to do with the queen, and no doubt Jupiter and his herald alike would have preferred to see a hasty departure. What actually takes place is more realistic in the usual progression of amatory affairs and their ending; especially given that the only other metaphorical use of *ambire* in the poem is with reference to the Allecto passage and the question of Trojan insinuation into what the Fury presents as Turnus’ prerogative, we may at least seriously consider Page’s negative reading. O’Hara follows his predecessor here, comparing Thomas 2001, 168–173 on the efforts of translators to absolve Aeneas of guilt; note too Clausen 2002, 84–85.

furentem: In echo of 281 *ardet*; there is the burning to leave as quickly as possible, and the madness of the queen. The participle here echoes 65 and 69 above; it refers both to the queen’s already impassioned, enamored state, and to the reaction she will no doubt have to the news that Aeneas is leaving. Cf. 298, where it recurs of Rumor’s report to the raging queen. The descriptor here is telling: Aeneas knows all too well what Dido has felt for him, and he can predict with relative certainty what her response will be to anything he manages to articulate. The contrast of *furentem* of the queen so soon after *dulcis* of her lands is striking; as one student analyzed it using the lyrics of a popular song, “Oh, she’s sweet but a psycho ...” Verse 281 commenced with the image of Aeneas burning; 283 closes with a similar reference to Dido. *Furentem* both proleptic and revelatory not only of the queen’s lovesick state, but also of the *ferocia corda* of the Phoenicians that needed Mercury’s soothing in the first place (1.302–303).

284 *audeat adfatu? quae prima exordia sumat?*

The sound effects continue (*audeat adfatu*). The verse is framed by the deliberative subjunctives.

audeat: The verb only here in the book; with the form cf. 9.399, of Nisus’ anxiety over how he might try to rescue his lover Euryalus. The enjambed verb comes at once after the reference to Dido as *furens*.

adfatu: The first appearance in extant Latin of this Virgilian *hapax*.

quae: The addition of a connective before the relative in many manuscripts is an obvious error/correction of the copyists.

prima exordia sumat: The noun elsewhere in the epic only at 7.40 *expediam et primae revocabo exordia pugnae*, in the poet's proem to his narration of the Italian war. The echo here is of Lucretius, *DRN* 1.149 *Principium cuius hinc nobis exordia sumet*, of the declaration *nullam rem e nihilo gigni divinitus umquam*; the *prima exordia* echo *DRN* 3.379–380 ... *tanta | intervalla tenere exordia prima animai*. Here the pleonastic expression is well suited to the hesitant Aeneas: he has no idea how even to begin his communication with Dido, much less what to say. The metaphor in *exordia* is from weaving, which some have seen as another indication of deception (Austin strongly critical of such interpretations); Servius offers a note on the technical use of *exordia* in rhetoric, noting that the *exordium* is divided into the *principium* and the *oratio* (Page quotes the *Rhet. ad Herren.* 1.3.4 *exordium est principium orationis, per quod animus auditoris constituitur*). Here the poet is mostly concerned with Lucretius, and possibly with the image of the weaving of a web of deceit. For the weaving metaphor see Jocelyn on Ennius, *Med.* fr. 210; he wonders whether it was still felt in Ennius' time, and it may be wondered what sense of it if anything there was for Virgil.

The plural may be a mere poeticism, or it may underscore the plethora of options Aeneas feels he needs to weigh in choosing his words. Conington argues that there may be a reference to action rather than speech; certainly it is possible to refer the first part of Aeneas' deliberation to the question of how to approach the queen, and the second part to what beginning (as in, action) to take at all—including the option of what Henry quaintly refers to as a “French leave.”

sumat: The verb a dozen times in the epic, only here in Book 4.

285 *atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc*

This verse and the following are repeated without change at 8.20–21. Servius does not know them, while Tib. comments on them despite omitting them in his lemma. Heyne rejected them as spurious here; Conte in his Teubner apparatus notes *cui adsentiri velim*, though he prints them without brackets or italicization. Sparrow 1931, 143 deems them worthy of exclusion; Butler notes the “free imitation” of Homer and quotes Tennyson with no mention of the textual controversy. While line 285 has good manuscript attestation, 286 is omitted by the Palatine and other witnesses (Ribbeck, for example, brackets 286 alone). Modern editors tend to comment on the question, but not to reflect any judgment in the text; Mackail italicizes the lines and notes that while they

fit perfectly well at 8.20–21, here they pose problems notwithstanding good manuscript authority: his ultimate verdict is that here they are “otiose.” Some recent critics (Maclennan, Goldenhard) do not even comment on the issue. For those who think Virgil is being verbose and tedious here (*contra* the Homer of *Il.* 1.189; 8.167; 13.455; 14.20–21; *Od.* 22.33), Henry’s note may provide a corrective. For the possible influence here of Lucretius, *DRN* 2.131, see Gorey 2021, 75 ff. on “atomic indecision.”

We may note that at 8.20–21, the literary atmosphere is redolent with the memory of Aeneas’ Carthaginian sojourn; immediately after the pair of lines comes the celebrated simile of light reflected in a vessel (8.22–25) in which Aeneas is restless about the war in Latium in the same way that Apollonius’ Medea was consumed with insomniac worry about Jason as he prepared to face the fire-breathing bulls (*Arg.* 3.755–760).

atque: Heinsius tried to improve the syntax by conjecturing *utque*, which does make 285–286 cohere better in context; Austin dismisses the idea that there is any problem with the conjunction, just as he dismisses Mackail’s objections (and Austin is usually quite in sympathy with his bimillennary predecessor). For him, verses 285–286 exactly express the state of Aeneas’ uncertainty about what to do. Books 4 and 8 are the respective closes of the first and second thirds of the poem; there is power in having Aeneas be uncertain here about what to do regarding Dido, and later to have the same language describe his reaction to the far more serious problem of the *bellum ingens* in Italy (though the problems of Aeneas’ affair in Book 4 will result in nothing less for the future Rome than the outbreak of the Punic Wars). On this theme see especially Newman and Newman 2005, 177 (who consider the present lines genuine).

huc ... illuc: Of Dido below at 363 *huc illuc volvens oculos*.

celerem: The swift mind echoes the swift breezes through which Mercury brought the message that has caused such consternation (270). “Proverbial of the mind and its processes” (Pease). The adjective is effectively placed amid the very words that describe its different directions. See Eden on 8.20 for what he considers a “purely ornamental” epithet; Fratantuono and Smith for how decisive action seems to come slowly to Aeneas—again, we do well to note just how long it will take him to leave: time enough for yet another Mercurian manifestation.

dividit: The verb is conventional enough in context (8×) in the epic; it helps that the repeated di-/di recalls Dido’s name; *divido* provides Di-do in both spelling and quantities; *dividit* offers spelling and, for the first di-, quantity. The verb only here and at 8.20 in the sense of the division of one’s mind, here torn on one level between destiny and Dido; on another concerning the problem of

what to do to broach the subject of departure with Dido—which is, after all, a serious problem precisely because of the affection felt for the girl. The first of three verbs that describe Aeneas' anxious, uncertain action; see Goldenhard for how the “word order in the tricolon mimics the frantic thoughts.” The three present indicatives follow on the two deliberative subjunctives of 285.

In fine, we would agree here with Austin (and Pease before him) that there is no compelling reason to omit these verses, and quite good reason to retain them: most especially the fact that in Book 8 the repetition comes right before Aeneas is compared to Medea, the previous *comparanda* for Dido. Omission of the lines would lead to an abrupt awkwardness. One wonders if eagerness to delete 285–286 is founded on a desire to reduce emphasis on Aeneas' angst and emotional distress.

“Bizarrely concrete metaphors for thought ... [Aeneas] is like a virtuosic animal trainer” (Reed 2007, 187).

286 in *partisque rapit varias perque omnia versat*.

PV alliteration, in interlocking order: *partisque* / *varias* / *perque* / *versat*. This verse has been criticized because it seems to indicate that there are more than two courses of action open to Aeneas, while 285 and 287 seem to point to two choices; indeed, the problem is that while there are two fundamental options—either leave without telling Dido, or tell her first—the second of these involves all of the permutations of method and language that are expressed vividly at 283–284. Verse 285 presented the general problem; its successor reflects just how much anxiety and overthinking can complicate already emotionally charged, indeed torturous dilemmas.

This verse is bracketed by Ribbeck because it has less secure manuscript attestation than its predecessor; F and P among the capital witnesses omits it, though a Carolingian era corrector of F adds it.

partis ... *varias*: Ciceronian (*De Div.* 2.147.9).

rapit: Following on the force of 285 *celerem*, with doubling of the connotation of swiftness. For the verb see on 198; it recurs at 581 below, of the quick action of Aeneas' men in sailing away from Carthage.

perque omnia versat: *Omnia versat* is a Lucretian line-end (*DRN* 2.881–882); also in the poet at *E.* 9.5. Interestingly, *versat* was the verb used at 1.656–657 as Cytherean Venus planned her masquerade machinations with Cupid. The verb will recur below at 563–564, of Dido as she is resolved on suicide; also at 630, again of the queen. The elision of *perque omnia* enacts Aeneas' rapid thought through so many permutations of possible action. *Perque omnia* occurs also at 6.565 *ipsa deum poenas docuit perque omnia duxit*, of the punishments in Tartarus.

“In a complex, psychologically subtle way, the poet reveals Aeneas’ agitated mind” (Rosenberg 1981, 50).

287 haec alternanti potior sententia visa est:

A Homeric sentiment (cf. *Il.* 2.5 = 10.17 = 14.161; also 13.458 = 14.23 = 16.652). Virgil later has ... *omnia secum / versanti subito vix haec sententia sedit*, of Metabus at the Amasenus as he ponders what to do with the infant Camilla.

haec: Probably with *sententia*, with the demonstrative in prominent position; hyperbaton to build a measure of suspense; the two key words between modifier and noun describing the important details: Aeneas was considering alternatives; this idea seemed to be the better option.

alternanti: The only occurrence of the verb in the epic; elsewhere in Virgil at *G.* 3.220, of bulls in battle.

potior: Also at *G.* 4.100–101 *haec potior suboles, hinc caeli tempore certo / dulcia mella premes ...*, of the better class of bees that is marked by a splendid gleam and equal drops of gold on their bodies. At 1.430–436, the Carthaginians working on their new city had been compared to bees in summer; now in the winter, the “better” plan recalls the Virgilian reference to the better class of bees—and we may note that at 7.64 ff., a portent of bees settling on Latinus’ laurel tree will be interpreted as presaging the arrival of a foreign son-in-law.

sententia: The noun 19× in the epic; here we recall 1.237 ... *quae te, genitor, sententia vertit?* (Venus to Jupiter); 260 ... *neque me sententia vertit* (Jupiter in response). *Potior sententia* also at Horace, *ep.* 16.17; *Ep.* 1.17.17; Statius, *Theb.* 2.368.

Which *sententia* seemed *potior* to the hero who was torn between his options? Verses 288–295 outline a plan to have his companions prepare for departure, but in secret and with dissimulation (the trickery motif); he meanwhile will try to determine the best time and manner of approach to deal with the queen. Presumably an alternative would have been to talk to Dido before making any preparations to leave, or simply to try to depart hastily without conversing with her at all.

MacLennan does well to emphasize that *potior* is not *melior*. Aeneas is not straightforward with Dido; whether or not he should be can and has been debated at length. For anyone afraid of the Carthaginians and the hazards posed by Dido’s people—a not unreasonable anxiety—the decision taken here is strategically better than the alternatives (certainly better than making no preparations).

288 Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum,

A triad of Trojan worthies. The present verse is repeated verbatim at 12.561, where it comes in the context of another plan of Aeneas: this time, the idea his mother gave him of setting fire to Latinus' city. It is reminiscent of 1.510 *Anthea Sergestumque videt fortemque Cloanthum*, of Aeneas' shipwrecked men, whom he sees alive and well in Dido's temple. A line of mere names to modern audiences, while for Virgil's contemporaries the evocation of the progenitors of Roman *gentes* would have been foremost on the mind.

Mnesthea: Vid. L. Polverini in *EV* III, 554–555; R. Katz in *VE* II, 835. For the semantic associations of his name with memory, note Paschalis 1997, 159–160; 186. Cited at 5.116 ff. as the first contestant in the regatta; Virgil connects his name with the *gens Memmia* famous in the world of literature for Lucretius' patron. Descended from Assaracus (12.127); this senior lieutenant of Aeneas' forces also participates in the archery contest in Sicily, where his arrow shot frees the dove (5.507–512). Together with Serestus he is one of the leaders in the Trojan camp in Aeneas' absence (9.171–175; cf. his speech to rouse his men at 778–787). Pease notes that we hear mention of Mnestheus more often than of any other officer of Aeneas, even Achates (23× against 21), but that he has “the rather shadowy personality of all such satellites.” Achates (admittedly an allegorized Agrippa in the estimation of many) has been thought worthy of a monograph; one struggles to find even an article devoted to this captain. The connection of Mnestheus to memory makes it easy to explain why his name is mentioned here, and in prominent position: finally we hear about Aeneas' concern for his men, after a long absence even of mention of them.

Sergestum: On this other oft-referenced Trojan officer see L. Polverini in *EV* IV, 792–793; J.D. Morgan in *VE* III, 1151. A paper for him: K. Muse, “Sergestus and Tarchon in the *Aeneid*,” in *CQ* 57.2 (2007), 586–605. Sergestus appears 10× in the epic, with seven of those occurrences coming in Book 5 due to his participation in the boat race; other than his first citation at 1.510 and his first mention alongside his fellow regatta captain Mnestheus here, he appears only at the recycled 12.561. For etymological connections of the name with *gerere* and the idea of gathering a crew see Paschalis 1997, 159–160; cf. Bartelink 1965, 69. For Virgil he = the progenitor of the Sergian *gens* that would be infamous for Lucius Sergius Catilina, who appears on the shield as a Tartarean celebrity of dubious fame (8.666–669).

fortemque: As conventional an epithet as one finds in the epic. Cloanthus is 3× *fortis*; Serestus, Achates, Gyas and Asilas 2×; Achilles, Cethegus, Numa and Numanus Remulus once each. For the adjective cf. on 11.

Serestum: “This Trojan has a quiet history in the *A.*, but he appears in moments of significance and in a clearly key position in the hierarchy of Aeneas’

men" (Fratantuono and Smith on 5.487, where his ship's mast is where the dove of the archery contest will be set up as a target). Vid. G. Garbugino in *EV* IV, 792; S.J. Harrison in *VE* 111, 1151. While he does not participate in the boat race, his vessel figures as a sort of "fifth ship" for the day's contests in its prominent role as the locus for the last event. Besides the first mention of him at 1.611, we may note his leadership role at 9.171–173; 779; his appearance in battle at 10.541–543; 12.549; and the aforementioned 12.561. Paschalis 1997, 193 connects the name with *resto*, drawing an association with the destiny of those who are left behind in Sicily. As with Mnestheus and Sergestus, we do not learn of the fate of this hero (cf. Newman and Newman 2005, 211 on the fates of members of the "supporting cast"). Some manuscripts read *Cloanthum* here, in reminiscence of 1.510; Kvičala and others have argued in defense of reading it here; see further Conington ad loc. All of these men return at once to their shadowy existence after this verse, not to be heard of again until the games in Sicily.

See Austin here on leonine rhyming lines.

289 *classem aptent taciti, socios ad litora cogant,*

classem: In framing alliteration with *cogant*.

aptent: For the verb in another nautical context note 8.80 *remigioque aptat, socios simul instruit armis*; also 1.552 *et silvis aptare trabes et stringere remos*; 5.753 ... *aptent remos rudentesque*; 6. The first of four commands in *oratio obliqua*. The passage from Book 1 concerns Ilioneus' request to Dido that the Trojans might be allowed to outfit and refurbish their ships with local lumber; Pease speculates that that labor had languished once it became all too clear that there would be no swift departure (the season also a possible consideration). Gildenhard comments on the disyllabic commands until the key, quadrisyllabic *dissimulent* of 291 (where it comes in prominent first position). The specific reference here (as Henry notes) is to rigging the ships with masts and outfitting them with sails.

taciti: On this adjective see Nurtantio 2014, 157–158. A key detail here: everything must be done in secrecy and silence (not that this is a particularly easy process to conceal). "Sine strepitu celantes consilia" (Servius). The adjective will be echoed in Dido's angry remark at 306 below.

socios ... cogant: It is not in Virgil's manner to give precise, practical details about such things as where Aeneas' men have been lodged in the intervening time; presumably they are supposed to manage a quiet exodus to temporary shelter/camps on the shore. Again, how any of this was supposed to remain secret is difficult to fathom, and there may well be an element of wishful thinking on the part of Aeneas that he could execute this plan successfully.

socios: Cf. the noun at 142 of Aeneas.

cogant: For the verb note below at 406; 412; 414—a remarkable cluster of occurrences. The first of those uses (*pars agmina cogunt*), of the ants to which Aeneas' men are compared as they prepare for their departure, echoes the present description. Here the sense may be more “gather together” than “compel”; as becomes clear soon enough, none of Aeneas' men need any compulsion to prepare to leave.

Sociosque has good manuscript support. Pease notes that Virgil never tells us anything about the actual size of Aeneas' force.

290 *arma parent et, quae rebus sit causa novandis,*

arma parent: *Arma* in prominent position here cannot mean anything so much as arms in case of hostility from the Carthaginians; this was the Servian view (“contra impetum iratae forte reginae”). While it is true that *arma* can refer neutrally to oars and other “utensils” of sailing, there is also the fact that the Carthaginians have already proven to be all too capable of violence, and that Dido's reaction is unpredictable and anxiety-inducing. The commentators differ here, with most accepting at least a hint of a reference to weapons. Cf. 299 ... *armari classem*, of the report of Rumor.

quae rebus ...: An echo of Sallust, *Hist.* 2.50.1 Maurenbrecher (= Ramsey sed. inc. 52/McGushin 15) *Quae causa fuerit novandis rebus*, the fragment preserved by DServ. as an another example of the dative rather than the more usual genitive.

The similarly worded 2.350 ... *quae sit rebus fortuna videtis* (Aeneas to his men during the fall of Troy) has occasioned manuscript confusion here as to the order of words.

causa: For the noun cf. on 51; 170. The first of those uses was of Anna's recommendation that Dido weave *causas morandi* (rather the opposite of the *rebus novandis* ordered here); the second was of the dread reference to the encounter in the cave that was the *causa malorum*.

novandis: The gerundive comes in direct echo of the use of the same verb at 260 *Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem*, of what Mercury found Aeneas doing at Carthage; in the span of thirty lines we find a very different sort of refurbishing, as the Trojans are ordered to commence preparations for ensuring that the fleet is seaworthy.

Res ... novare: with a hint of revolution, since certainly what Aeneas is ordering here is a revolt against the state of affairs that has obtained in Carthage. Horsfall 1995, 131 argues that the point of the secret preparations is to deflect “town gossip,” the same gossip that will apparently inform Dido of what is happening at 296 ff. What constitutes “new” in Book 4 has changed rapidly.

291 *dissimulent; sese interea, quando optima Dido*

Dental alliteration frames the verse; the queen's name is at line-end, but her name is also spelled in frame around the line, as it was at 73.

dissimulent: The crucial verb, in prominent first position. It recurs soon after, in Dido's powerful attack on Aeneas at 305 below; cf. also 368 in her further verbal assault on her *quondam* lover. The only other use of the verb in the epic is at 1.516 *dissimulant et nube cava speculantur amicti*, of Aeneas and Achates disguised in mist, as they keep hidden at Dido's temple. Some irony perhaps here: if the Carthaginians were proverbially treacherous, then it is appropriate that the verse be framed by references to deceit and to Dido—but it is Aeneas and his Trojans who are the deceptive ones. Again, one wonders exactly how Aeneas' men were supposed to manage to execute this order, and in reality their efforts to maintain secrecy will fail.

sese: I.e., Aeneas himself, whose identity is almost submerged in the verse.

interea: See on 67; this is the last of the four uses in the book.

quando: Causal, as soon enough becomes clear—though for a moment we might wonder where Aeneas' thoughts are leading. As it turns out, Aeneas' analysis of the situation with Dido could not be more wrong.

optima Dido: Aeneas is *optimus* 3× in the epic; Latinus twice. Anchises, Evander, Musaeus, Terra and Teuthras all share the appellation. This is another adjective that has occasioned much critical commentary as to the state of Aeneas' feelings toward Dido; certainly it is more complimentary than the reference to the *regina furens* of 283. Pease sees a hint of a "slightly disparaging" tone ("that excellent woman, Dido")—a good indication of the no doubt deliberate ambiguity of Virgil's language, which defies ready explication and convenient definition. The ever romantic Austin comments here: "... heart-breaking in its context ... It means what it says, that Dido was all the world to him; it is one of the tiny revelations of Aeneas' true feelings, like *dulcis terras*, 281." Here it seems likely that Austin comes closer to the truth than other critics; Aeneas is indeed smitten with Dido, and he does not want to leave her (360–361 make that clearer than anything else in the book). Dido had heard Ilioneus refer to Aeneas as *optime pater Teucrum* at 1.555. An unlucky superlative coming from the thoughts of Aeneas: at 3.710, Anchises was *pater optime* as his son recalled his death in poignant apostrophe; by the time Ilioneus addressed Dido's court, Aeneas was the "best father." "Gracious" or "benignant," suggests Mackail, with reference to the queen's treatment of her guest; cf. MacLennan's "He is in no doubt how good Dido has been to him." Clausen 2002, 84 argues "Virgil is too humane a poet, too scrupulous, to exculpate his hero. But his modern commentators and translators are embarrassed by his behavior, and especially by two words he uses, 'ambire' and 'optima', which they wish to

modify or explain away.” Clausen argues (85 n. 27) correctly for a more disturbing unease here for Virgil’s readers: again, this is Antony with Cleopatra, and even if this Antony will leave Alexandria and survive to achieve a measure of glory, this Cleopatra will follow the path of her Egyptian *comparanda*.

Aeneas is also *pater optimus*, we might note, at 5.358 as he smiles/laughs and rather countenances the bad sportsmanship of Nisus during the footrace; cf. 9.40–41, with reference to his departure from the Trojan camp and his instructions for what should and should not be done in his absence—a departure that would have fatal consequences for Nisus and his *eromenos*. Not a positive set of associations of the superlative.

292 *nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores,*

nesciat: The same verb and form at 1.565 *quis genus Aeneadum, quis Troiae nesciat urbem*, of Dido to Ilioneus; cf. 541–542 ... *nescis heu, perdita, necdum / Laomedontae sentis periuria gentis?* (Dido in extreme anxiety). The response to the present wishful thinking of Aeneas comes all too soon at 297 *praesensit*. Aeneas’ reference to the unknowing Dido recalls the *pastor nescius* of 71–72: now it is Aeneas who knows all—except, for the moment, the fact that the queen will become aware of his departure preparations despite his dissimulation.

tantos: The qualifier about the greatness of the love is enacted by the prominent hyperbaton. Gildenhard notes the additional enactment of the “shattering” of the love via the word order; cf. below on the echo of 4.28, where something of the same word painting is in evidence.

rumpi: Cf. 553; 569. “The love-relation may be regarded as a contract ... and as we have the phrase *foedera rumpere* ... so here the verb is used with *amores*” (Pease).

speret: The verb also below at 305 *dissimulare etiam sperasti*, in Dido’s powerful address to Aeneas that recycles language from this passage in markedly different ways; 382 *spero* of Dido’s baleful wishes for Aeneas as he departs; note also Aeneas’ ... *neque ego hanc abscondere furto / speravi (ne finge) fugam* (337–338), a passage that will merit close consideration with the present scene. The verb occurs also, e.g., at 1.451–452 ... *hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem / ausus* ... (Aeneas in Dido’s temple); 543 *at sperate deos memores fandi atque nefandi*, of Ilioneus to Dido; the famous 2.354 *una salus victis nullam sperare salutem*; 657–658 ... *te posse relicto / sperasti tantumque nefas patrio excidit ore?* (Aeneas to Anchises, about another departure, this time where the loved one will not be abandoned). Pease is right to underscore that the point is anticipation or expectation, not “hope.”

amores: Echoing 28 *ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores*, in Dido's reflection on Sychaeus' love—another case of hyperbaton. The plural has occasioned significant commentary because of the question of Dido + Aeneas, or of Dido alone (and thus the plural a mere poeticism). The overall import of the scene and its sequels is that Aeneas is in love with this girl; any poetic plural can still offer a reminder that this has been a consenting couple, not an unrequited love.

293 *temptaturum aditus et quae mollissima fandi*

"The sense is clear, though the phrases are fresh and unusual in Vergil's manner ..." (Sidgwick).

temptaturum: For the verb cf. 113, where Venus spoke of the appropriateness of having Juno approach Jupiter. Probably best understood as a zeugma with *aditus* and 294 *tempora*.

aditus: The noun also at 423, in a passage that echoes the present *oratio obliqua* of Aeneas; there, Dido will argue with Anna *sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noris*, in clear reminiscence of 293–294. For the plural see Austin; the relationship between Aeneas and Dido that had been so easy just before is now in such a crisis that Aeneas must determine when best he should approach her. *Temptaturum aditus* is a phrase that one could imagine in a description of a hero seeking to storm a well-fortified city (cf. of Turnus at the Trojan camp at 9.67–68 *qua temptet ratione aditus, et quae via clausos / excutiat Teucros vallo atque effundat in aequum?*); here it is applied to a rather unheroic task.

mollissima: For the adjective see on 66. The superlative here with a clear indication of blandishing words and cajoling flattery designed to pacify. In the end it will be Dido who speaks first, and she will seek no *mollissima tempora fandi*—thus ensuring that Aeneas will not have to worry about finding such an opportunity. For the language cf. Ps.-Quintilian, *Dec. Maior*. 9.3.24 *molliores temptavit aditus*; also Statius, *Theb.* 2.368–370 ... *fratris / pertemptare fidem tutosque in regna precando*.

fandi: An archaism (Quintilian 8.3.27) of the sort not uncommon in verse. For the significance of Aeneas not intending to leave in silence, see Newman and Newman 2005, 125. How different this gerund is from Anna's at 51 *indulge hospitio causasque innecte morandi*.

Aeneas displays either exceptional naïvete in this passage, or willful self-delusion (see Gildenhard); he is aware that the queen is *furens* (283), and thus he has made plans in secret for the departure—but he seriously thinks that he can find a way to keep such dramatic measures concealed, and that he can manage to find the *tempora mollissima* in which to speak to the love-maddened girl.

294 tempora, quis rebus dexter modus. ocius omnes

tempora: In sound echo after 293 *temptaturum* in the same position. Aeneas settles on the idea that the key element in his plan needs to be the choice of time; he will be allowed to enjoy this wishful thought for all of two more verses.

quis rebus dexter modus: The language echoes 98 *sed quis erit modus*, in Juno's address to Venus about affairs in Carthage. *Rebus* is characteristically a little word that often expresses the ineffable. Austin comments on the pause after *modus* at the bucolic diresis, arguing that the meter enacts the idea of Aeneas' optimistic hopes for the best possible outcome already fading into the distance, almost as soon as the words have been spoken.

Dexter of that which is favorable or of good omen: DServ. compares 8.302 *et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo*. *Modus* is an interesting choice of word and emphasis after what could be judged a lack of *modus* on Aeneas' part heretofore; DServ. glosses it as "terminus," but Conington is right in saying "ratio." For *rebus* Tilly suggests "in his dilemma." *Modus* is the last word on Aeneas before the narrative shifts for a brief moment to focus on his men, and then on the queen; for an argument that Aeneas has undergone a radical change here that has not been fully appreciated by critics, see Van Nortwick 1996, 116. The "right" (side, etc.) of lucky omens and fortuitous circumstances.

With *dexter* here cf. below at 578–579 *adsis o placidusque iuves et sidera caelo / dextraferas*, of Aeneas' prayer on departure. Soon enough Dido will invoke the image of the joining of right hands (307 *data dextera*) that in her estimation was an enactment of a legitimate marriage bond.

ocius omnes: Alliterative, as Virgil proceeds to the very different description of the state of Aeneas' men. The adverb occurs first here in the epic; cf. 5.828 and 8.278 (also at line-end with *omnes*); 101; 444 (*ocius incubuere omnes*); 555; 9.402; 10.786; 12.556; 681. There is no hesitation on the part of the Trojan officers; they are all too happy (295 *laeti*) to obey these orders. *Ocius* in contrast with the *mollissima tempora*: Aeneas wants to find the best time in which to approach Dido, while his men are ready to commence work immediately. Kvíčala 1881, 99–100 argues that the phrase means swifter than would normally be the case.

omnes: Of totality: no one is in disagreement.

295 imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt.

imperio: Echoing 281 ... *imperioque deorum*, in the description of Aeneas' reaction to Mercury's visitation. Prominent by placement, but this command is all too happily followed. Enjambment to enact the eager obedience.

laeti: A key adjective (cf. on 140), describing succinctly and effectively all that needs to be said: the Trojans are all too happy to leave Carthage. Tib. argues

that Aeneas' men were held in Carthage "contra voluntatem." The image of the "happy men" recalls Odysseus' followers who admitted openly that they had stayed too long in Circe's realm (*Od.* 10.467–474), cf. the "exceeding joy" on departure in Apollonius at *Arg.* 4.888.

parent: Cf. 238 ... *parere parabat*, of Mercury's obedience to Jupiter's instructions. There is an emphasis throughout these related passages on swift execution of orders (Mercury with Jupiter, Aeneas' men with their leader) vs. the more complicated situation of Aeneas, who on the one hand responds immediately to Mercury's message, while on the other he settles on a course of action that further complicates the already dire situation. "For Aeneas' companions, ... belief in ... larger fate may perhaps be seen as easier than it is for their leader. Büchner would mark the appearance of the *Hauptmotiv* of joy even earlier than Book v [1959, 348]; he refers to iv. 295 ..." (Henry 1989, 155).

et: There is some respectable attestation for *ac*; the difference in connective seems inexplicable and the change in shade of meaning inconsequential.

iussa: Cf. 378; 396; 503; 538; the orders become increasingly dire in terms of context and import as the action of the book progresses.

facessunt: The verb describes eager action that needs no goad; frequentative, as already noted in Servius. Cf. 9.45 *armatique cavis exspectant turribus hostem*, of the Trojans in their camp in Aeneas' absence, as they face Turnus' threats; also *G.* 4.548, of Aristaeus ready to carry out his mother Cyrene's injunctions. Servius notes further: "alias 'discedit' significat, ut Terentius *haec hinc facessat, tu molestes ne sies* [*Phorm.* 635]"—a useful additional shade of meaning, given that the whole purpose of Aeneas' commands to his men is to prepare for the departure.

"The verses here at any rate portray reaching a decision as vastly more difficult than carrying out an order" (Gildenhard, who notes that Aeneas exhibits the qualities of a good leader by not sharing every worry or emotional concern with his men. One imagines even from the simple yet richly connotative adjective *laeti* that they were all too well aware of their leader's thoughts and feelings).

There is something of an echo here of 1.360 *his commota fugam Dido socios-que parabat*, as Dido prepared for her own departure (from Tyre to north Africa at the urging of Sychaeus).

296–330 Despite Aeneas' plan, Dido quickly learns via Rumor of the planned Trojan departure. She begins to rave as if she were a maenad in bacchic frenzy. At once she confronts her now former lover in an impassioned speech.

296 At regina dolos (quis fallere possit amantem?)

The verse is nearly framed by references to the queen and her status as a lover. The tragedy worsens; *Aeneid* 4 will have no easy separation after a long stay in the manner of *Odyssey* 10 with Odysseus and Circe.

At regina: So commences the second movement of the three-act tragedy (cf. 4.1 and 504). “The fire and wound of love; the treachery; the wound and fire of death” (Newman and Newman 2005, 121). There is also an echo of 279 *At vero Aeneas*, of the hero in the wake of Mercury’s visit. Pease notes that the conjunction contrasts the decisive action of Dido with the indecision and hesitation of Aeneas. Again, the roles have been somewhat reversed from the depiction of the queen at the start of the book. *Regina* here echoing Aeneas’ mention of Dido’s royal title at 283.

dolos: Effectively juxtaposed with the reference to the queen, and in prominent relief. We recall 95 *una dolo divum si femina victa duorum est!*, in Juno’s sarcastic remark to Venus; cf. 128 and also 563 below. The noun here has occasioned critical commentary: for Austin, the point is that what Aeneas has set in motion is a *dolus* from Dido’s point of view, though not in objective fact; it seems best however to take this for what it plainly states in sequence after 283 *reginam ambire* etc.: Aeneas has not pursued a direct strategy with Dido, but has resorted to trickery and subterfuge. A strong word, used by Aeneas in his story of Troy’s fall with reference to Ulysses and Sinon (2.44; 62; 152; 196). We may recall 2.389–390 *mutemus clipeos Danaumque insignia nobis / aptemus. dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?*, of Coroebus’ suggestion to his fellow Trojans. For Lucretius foxes display *dolus*; deer, *fuga* (*DRN* 5.863). *Dolos* in close coordination here with *fallere*. Trickery and deceit are also natural concomitants of love; cf. Phaedra’s exclamation *O spes amantum credula, o fallax Amor!* (Seneca, *Phaed.* 634).

quis: In a general authorial comment on how a lover cannot be deceived. But the particular referent of the interrogative is Aeneas. For the parenthetical rhetorical question see Pinkster 2021, 914–915.

fallere: For the verb see on 96. Ovid imitates the present verse at *Met.* 4.128 ... *ne fallat amantem*, of Thisbe; cf. *Met.* 4.68 *quid non sentit amor?* for the same sentiment; also Martial, *Ep.* 8.50.25. Ovid, *Ars* 2.573 has *Indicio Solis quis Solem fallere possit?*

297 praesensit motusque exceptit prima futuros

The line is framed by the past, as it were (*-prae*), and the future (*futuros*); Dido senses in advance what is going to happen.

praesensit: Alliterative with *prima*, and in prominent enjambment. The verb only here in Virgil; it coordinates closely with *prima*—Dido is attuned to every-

thing having anything to do with her love, and she is aware at the earliest possible moment of any change in the state of amatory relations. “ac si diceret ‘antequam ille moliretur.’ et nimia in hoc vis amantis exprimitur” (Servius). “Perhaps she has always feared that he might decide to leave her” (Tilly); cf. Gildenhard on whether she ever fully trusted him.

motusque ... futuros: In frame around *exceptit prima*. Again, the emphasis is on how Dido essentially saw everything almost in advance, as it were. *Motus* also in the epic at 5.430 (during the boxing match); 11.225 *Hos inter motus, medio in flagrante tumultu* (before the return of Venulus’ embassy to Diomedes); 12.216–217 *At Rutulis impar ea pugna videri | iam dudum et vario misceri pectora motu*; 503–504 ... *tantone placuit concurrere motu, | Iuppiter, aeterna gentis in pace futuras?*. *Motus* here connotes the idea of literal movement, of Aeneas and his Trojans departing from Carthage.

exceptit: A metaphor from hunting, as Virgil continues his subtle, deliberate play on reversal of roles—now Aeneas is in some sense the one who is being hunted. For the verb see on 114; it will recur in Dido’s angry remark at 373–374 about how she rescued Aeneas. As Page notes, the verb implies that one has caught something for which one was on the watch.

prima: In close correlation with an understood “Dido”: the queen was the first to know of anything; this accords too with the connection of *prae-* of the queen’s action and of her state. The adjective may also be interpreted adverbially, so that it emphasizes the instantaneous nature of her knowledge. The different shades of meaning are not mutually exclusive (*pace* Conington), and both senses are present. “Before even Anna” (Austin).

futuros: Underscoring how Dido sensed the preparations even before they commenced (and we recall 294 *ocius omnes*—Aeneas’ men were swift in obeying his instructions). *Futuros* at line-end coordinates with *prae-* at the opening. Verses 297 and 298 close with fricative alliteration that expresses the queen’s frustration and rising anger.

298 omnia tuta timens. eadem impia Fama furenti

A powerfully alliterative line: first *tuta timens*, then *Fama furenti* at the end. A line that opens with an evocation of safety closes with rage.

tuta: For the adjective cf. 88. Another ambiguity: grammatically this could be taken as nominative singular (Dido, even when “safe,” feared everything); or as accusative plural (Dido feared everything, even when it was secure and safe). Irvine and Mackail consider the nominative here (the latter with caution), which Pease argues is contrary to the ancient understanding of the line (though this is not decisive evidence), and to the context. Mackail notes “it is curious that both here and in the soliloquy of Medea in Ovid, *Met.* vii.47 ‘quid

tuta times?"; it might be the nominative singular"; Irvine comments "... her conscience is ill at ease ... She knows that she is false to herself: she knows what the destiny of Aeneas is, for no book is so full of prophecy as the third; she even knows, from a lovely passage at the end of the second book ... about the destined royal bride ..." (Austin follows on this, noting that Dido was in his estimation "never free from self-blame). A marked change from the sentiment of Achates to Aeneas at 1.583 *omnia tuta vides, classem sociosque receptos*. There is probably an echo here of Catullus, c. 30.8 *inducens in amorem, quasi tuta omnia mi forent*. Sidgwick comments on the brief, "epigrammatic" mode of expression.

The strongest objection to the feminine singular here is that Dido is not in actuality *tuta*; the point rather is that she was able to detect the *dolos* in advance (*praesensit*) because she was afraid even when there was no need—though of course in one sense there always was a need, given the inappropriateness of the relationship, and the guilt and self-recrimination implied by, for example, verse 172. "Sensitively alive to the possibility of danger and therefore certain to know by instinct when it began to be" (Stephenson).

A perceptive psychological portrait of the anxiety of the lover, then, in the characteristically Virgilian understated style. Cf. 373 below: *nusquam tuta fides*. Henry in a long note thinks that the point is that Dido was afraid because all seemed too quiet, too secure and tranquil; most of his successors think that the meaning is more akin to "fearing even when everything was safe," i.e., in the days before the apparition of Mercury and Aeneas' commencement of plans for departure. What unites both of these interpretations is the fact that Dido is so anxious and even paranoid in her lovesick state that nothing really consoles her or brings her lasting comfort, let alone security; she is fearful even absent a crisis, such that now she is indeed *furens* when she has learned that there is a nightmare at hand.

eadem impia Fama: Iarbas needed the report of Rumor, and Jupiter apparently required the indignant prayer of his son—Dido knew everything in advance, and soon enough Rumor also brought a detailed report to the queen about Aeneas' not so secret preparations (on this occasion she had no great distance to travel).

With *impia* here we may cf. below at 596 *infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt?*; *impia Tartara* at 5.732–733 and 6.543; the class of sinners who followed *impia arma* at 6.612–613 (and cf. Latinus' comment *arma impia sumpsit* at 12.31). The chained *Furor* of 1.294 is *impius*; also Dido's murderous brother Sychaeus (1.349); Diomedes in the estimation of Aeneas (2.163—he had, after all, attacked Venus); note also *impius* below at 496, of Aeneas. Here the adjective is interesting in part because the report that Fama brings is without any

hint of mendacity. Its implications here and elsewhere in the epic are perceptively considered by G. Ameye, “*Impius Aeneas*,” in *Listy filologické / Folia philologica* 106.1 (*Symposium Vergilianum ...*) (1983), 38–42; cf. also J.P. Brisson, “*Le pieux Enée*,” in *Latomus* 31.2 (1972), 379–412 and K. McLeish, “Dido, Aeneas, and the Concept of *Pietas*,” in *G&R* 19.2 (1972), 127–135. Fama enjoys bringing bad news, and takes delight in all manner of gossip—especially in the salacious and tawdry.

Eadem is usually taken as feminine nominative singular with *impia Fama*; it could conceivably be accusative plural as the object of 299 *detulit* (so Kvičala 1881, 102–103; Pease not convinced). The attraction of Kvičala’s view is that there is a strong emphasis then on how Dido knew everything in advance, so that Fama’s report was otiose. This would give clearer meaning to *impia*: Fama may not be lying in this instance, but she is certainly worsening the situation by the importation of gossip and innuendo, of rumor and report that serves to add salt to the wound, as it were.

“Virgil is careful not to make it plain whether her knowledge came from *Fama* alone” (Austin). Note also the semantic musings of Paschalis 1997, 160–161: “The return of ‘Fama’ occurs after the thunderstruck (‘attonitus’) Aeneas has been forced to prepare a hasty departure; ‘Fama’, Thunderbolt, and Ship-sailing share the component of Flight.”

furenti: Cf. 283 *furentem*. Pease considers the possibility that this is a proleptic reference, such that it is Fama that makes the girl *furens*. But she has been in this state for some time, as Aeneas was all too well aware (283). Fama adds fuel to a fire that is already raging out of control—though again, there is no real indication that this sort preparation could have been maintained in secret.

299 *detulit armari classem cursumque parari*.

ABBA chiasmic arrangement; the homoioteleuton of the passive infinitives helps to secure the neat balance of the verse together with the rhyming effect.

detulit: Emphasis again by enjambment. There may be an implication in this verse that what Dido sensed in advance was the fact that Aeneas was leaving her, and that Rumor simply brought the details of the practical preparations—which again would have been exceedingly difficult for anyone to keep secret.

The verb occurs in the same form and *sedes* at 357–358 ... *celeris mandata per auras / detulit*, in Aeneas’ note to Dido about Mercury’s mission; cf. *defer* at 226 above, of Jupiter’s command. If 298 *eadem* is the object of the verb, then Rumor merely confirms her fears; this might be marginally better than assuming that *eadem* reminds us of the role of Fama from 195, etc.—a hundred and more verses is perhaps a bit much to have *eadem* of the “same” Rumor who has not been mentioned in so long. With either interpretation, the point is that the

queen's anxieties are soon confirmed. "She [sc., Fama] conveys her news with exquisite rhetorical ornamentation as if to mock the queen" (Gildenhard).

armari: Recalling 290 *arma parent*. The verb elsewhere in the book in the very different context of 472 below. We may note that Fama's report is ordered deliberately: first that the fleet is being outfitted—with a hint as in the previous passage of arms/weapons—then that flight is being prepared. The mention of anything having to do with *arma* is especially enraging for Dido. An echo here of *G.* 1.255 ... *quando armatas deducere classis*. Again, the "arms" may indeed refer merely to the outfitting and rigging of the vessels, but especially given the proven hostility of the Carthaginians and the awareness of Dido's fury, there is no reason to exclude the idea that weapons are implied—especially if such an implication would serve only to increase the queen's distress.

classem: Echoing 289, and alliterative with *cursum*.

cursumque: "Navigationem, ut *ni teneant cursus* [3.686]" (Servius). The noun here recalls the very different occurrence above at 46 *hunc cursum Iliacas vento tenuisse carinas*, of Anna's optimistic assessment of affairs.

There is no indication in the crucial passage from 288–299 of just how much time has passed. Likely not very much—but in whatever amount of time (days?) has transpired, certainly Aeneas did not succeed in finding the *mollissima tempora fandi* for which he had hoped. That failure leads to the inevitable conclusion of Dido that he intended to depart without even telling her.

300 *saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem*

The commencement of the fourth of nine similes in the book (vid. Hornsby 1970, 94; Bocciolini Palagi 2007, 167–194), in which Dido is compared to a raving Bacchant. This is the expansion of what Aeneas knew of the queen's fury; it follows on the description of her lovesick state from the beginning of the book. "It should not be necessary to call attention to Dido's lack of self-control" (Irvine).

The Bacchic imagery applied here to Dido is echoed at 7.385 ff., of the Latin queen Amata under the influence of the Fury Allecto. In that passage Amata is credited with a *simulato numine Bacchi*—a "feigned" Bacchic inspiration; see Horsfall ad loc. for the difficulties of untangling the point of Virgil's description there. There is no such "simulation" in the case of the Carthaginian queen—she is all too clearly under the influence of a frenzy that is quasi-Bacchic. Amata's influence was Allecto; Dido's is rather more complicated, and includes Venus; Cupid; and Juno (not to mention Aeneas). The connection of the passages is so close that Mackail 1930, 130 considers lines 300–303 to be a possible "first sketch" for the later image; he judges 181–183 on the appearance of Fama and the

present Bacchic passage to display evidence of early composition with “overloaded amplifications.” Amata and Dido are both doomed, suicidal queens; on how Aeneas seems to “broadcast death” see Newman and Newman 2005, 161.

Bacchic imagery connects this simile with 665–671 below, where it will be Fama who raves like a Bacchant with the news of Dido’s suicide, and where a simile compares the shock of the reception of the news to the case of Carthage or ancient Tyre being invaded and put to the flame. For a connection between these paired images and the earlier simile of Dido as deer, see V.A. Estevez, “‘Queen and City’: Three Similes in *Aeneid* IV,” in *Vergilius* 20 (1974), 25–28.

The Sibyl Deiphobe is also like a Bacchant (6.77–79 *At Phoebi nondum patiens immanis in antro | bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit | excussisse deum*).

saevit: Following closely on 283 *furentem* and 298 *furenti*. The same verb is used of Orpheus in his rage over the loss of Eurydice at *G.* 4.456 ... *et rapta graviter pro coniuge saevit*. The present passage is echoed below at 531–532 ... *rursusque resurgens | saevit amor*. Cf. also the descriptions of the youth of Latium at 8.5, and of Mars on the shield of Aeneas as he rages at Actium (8.700, almost in frame around that book). “A favorite word with Virgil” (Pease). A moment of suspense too: we might think at first that the subject is Fama.

inops animi: Cf. 279 *amens* of Aeneas; also 203 *amens animi* of Iarbas (the latter passage with the same question as here of locative or genitive). *Inops* also at 6.325 (of the unburied dead); 8.100 (of the *res inopes* of Evander); 9.290 (of Euryalus’ mother). The adjective is especially pointed in relation to Dido, who was noteworthy for her lavish wealth. For *animus* here vid. Negri 1984, 145–146. “Sine animo, sine consilio” (Servius). Maclellan argues that Aeneas is not *inops animi*, and that Dido does not understand this (with the added analysis that the poet’s readers are not sympathetic to Aeneas’ possession of the quality). *Inops* of Dido as of Catullus’ Ariadne (c. 64.197 *cogor inops, ardens, amenti caeca furore*).

totamque: The elision enacts the image of burning. The *tota urbs* contains the burning queen; the picture is that of the destruction of the city. Again, the romantic disasters of royals have serious consequences. Dido here is exactly like the Dido of 68–69 who wandered *tota urbe*.

incensa: Closely coordinate with *saevit*. For the verb see above on 54; note also 197; 360; and especially 376 *heu furiis incensa feror!*.

urbem: The urban theme is never far away in this book; it will grow in strength and prominence as the queen approaches her suicide. The ultimate foreshadowing is of the events of 146 B.C.

301 *bacchatur, qualis commotis excita sacris*

bacchatur: "... et bene uno sermone praeoccupavit futuram comparationem" (Servius). The verb elsewhere at 666 below; also 3.125 *bacchatamque iugis Naxon* (of one of Dionysus' haunts); 10.40–41 ... *et superis immissa repente / Allecto, medias Italum bacchata per urbes* (in Venus' speech at the divine council); cf. *G.* 2.487–488 ... *et virginibus bacchata Lacaenis / Taygeta!*; also *Ps.-V., Ciris* 167 and 480. The verb in prominent, enjambed position, and balancing *Baccho* at the close of 302 (on this wordplay see O'Hara 2017, 155, alongside analysis of the connection of this word with 302 *Thyias*). Gildenhard considers the metrical pattern of 297 *praesensit* and 301 *bacchatur*: "three long syllables, placed in enjambment, followed by a trithemimeral caesura ..."; see further his long footnote on the verb. Pease reminds us that there is no question of the historical anachronism of imagining Bacchic worship in Carthage at this early date; he provides an exhaustive list of other literary references to bacchic frenzy.

commotis: So of the *graviter commotus* Neptune of 1.126; note also Dido at 1.360 *his commota fugam Dido sociosque parabat*, of Dido's reaction to the ghostly apparition of Sychaeus and the admonition to leave Tyre. The participle also at 5.213 (of a dove). There is also an echo of *G.* 4.471–472 *at cantu commotae Erebi de sedibus imis / umbrae ibant*, of the shades that are moved by the sound of Orpheus' music as he arrives in search of Eurydice. A powerful set of connections, then, back to another lost love and to the image of Dido in flight, encouraged by the man to whom she owed faith as an *univira*.

excita: Echoed at 7.376–377 *tum vero infelix ingentibus excita monstribus / immensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem* (of Amata). The verb elsewhere in the epic at 3.676; 5.107; 7.642; 10.38.

sacris: It is impossible (and perhaps unnecessary) to determine whether the reference is to rites or to sacred symbols (Austin prefers the latter). On how the madness of the maenad is inspired by religious rites, in contrast to Dido's situation (and with commentary on such deliberate features of the Dido similes more generally), see R.A. Hornsby, "The Vergilian Simile as Means of Judgment," in *CJ* 60.8 (1965), 337–344.

There may be an echo here of Pacuvius' Hesione (frs. 442–443 Ribbeck, from his *Teucer*) in the fragment cited by Cicero at *De Div.* 1.80.4–5: *flexanima tamquam lymphata aut Bacchi sacris / commota in tumulis Teucrum commemorans suum* (cf. the same citation at Varro, *DLL* 7.87.2, with De Melo).

302 *Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho*

The verse is framed by references to the Maenad (i.e., Dido in her frenzy) and to the god.

Thyias: In prominent enjambment, balancing 301 *bacchatur*. First in extant Latin at Catullus, c. 64.390–391 *saepe vagus Liber Parnasi vertice summo / Thyiadas effusis euhantes crinibus egit*; cf. Horace, c. 2.19.9 and 3.15.10 *pulso Thyias uti concita tympano*; Ovid, *Fast.* 6.513–514 ... *complent ululatus auras / Thyiades, effusis per sua colla comis*; Seneca, *HO* 700–702 *Sed quid pavido territa vultu, / qualis Baccho saucia Thyias, / fertur rapido regina gradu?* (of Deianeira). For the etymology from the Greek *Θύειν* (so DServ.) see O’Hara 2017, 155; he observes that there may be a connection between the name appearing immediately after 301 *sacris*. “Insane currere,” as the scholiast translates his Greek. We may compare here Euripides, *Bacch.* 576–584 (an exchange between Dionysus and the chorus of Bacchantes); 1078–1089 (where Dionysus presents Pentheus as one who has mocked the rites of the god, where see Dodds); there is further a dark recollection of Virgil’s Orpheus, torn apart by Thracian matrons (*G.* 4.521). Andromache is like a maenad in the wake of the ominous indications that something baneful has befallen Hector (*Il.* 22.460–461). Fundamental on maenads remains A. Rapp, “Die Mänade im griechischen Cultus, in der Kunst und Poesie,” in *Rhein. Mus.* 27 (1872), 1–22. For an extensive study of the image of Dido as a maenad see E. Krummen, “Dido als Mänade und die tragische Heroine: dionysische Thematik und Tragödiendition in Vergils Didoerzählung,” in *Poetica* 36.1/2 (2004), 25–69.

audito ... Baccho: Echoing 301 *commotis ... sacris*. The reference is both to the voice of the god and to that of his frenzied followers. Cf. 303 *vocat clamore*.

With *audito* and the name of the god cf. 12.697 *At pater Aeneas audito nomine Turni*; and note also Ovid’s Dido at *Her.* 7.89–90 *fluctibus eiectum tuta statione recepi / vixque bene audito nomine regna dedi*. Lucan has *tu tantum audito bellorum nomine, Roma, / desereris* (*BC* 1.519–520).

stimulant: For the verb cf. on 576 below, where it occurs as a textual variant; otherwise this is the only occurrence in Virgil. There is an echo of the present image at 7.405 *reginam Allecto stimulis agit undique Bacchi*, at the conclusion of the Amata possession passage. Gildenhard comments on the lack of a direct object (as for 303 *vocat*): “a nice touch that reinforces the numinous powers of the god”; see Conington for the far less likely case of imagining that *stimulant* governs 303 *orgia*. The verb here probably recalls the stings and goads by which Euripides’ Dionysus drove the Bacchantes to Cithaeron (*Bacch.* 32 ff.).

trieterica: “Every third year,” that is, every other year according to the Roman system of inclusive counting. The festival of Bacchus on Mount Cithaeron (303) in Boeotian Thebes. The term first here in extant Latin; cf. Ovid, *Rem.* 593 ... *ut Edono referens trieterica Baccho / ire solet fuis barbara turba comis*; *Met.* 6.587–588 *tempus erat, quo sacra solent trieterica Bacchi / Sithoniae celebrare nurus*;

Stattius, *Theb.* 2.661–662 ... *non haec trieterica vobis / nox patrio de more venit ...*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.259–260 ... *voce chorus et trieterica reddunt / aera sonum ...*; 623–624 ... *Ogygii quam nec trieterico Bacchi / sacra neque arcanis Phrygius furor invehit antris*; also Lucan, *BC* 5.73–74 *mons Phoebus Bromioque sacer, cui numine mixto / Delphica Thebanae referent trieterica Bacchae*; and Censorinus 18.2. Another Greek word, adding—so Austin—to the precise character of the simile. “Exquisitely Greek and highly ritualistic” (A. Henrichs in *VE* 1, 164).

Why the rites should be conducted biennially is a matter of controversy; it seems that the likeliest of the many proposed reasons is that land would be left fallow in alternate years.

Baccho: For the god see on 58 *Lyaeo*. His name here will be balanced by the reference at 303 to his sacred mountain Cithaeron. The reference is to the cry *Io, Bacche*—the shout of the maenads in their ecstatic worship of the god.

303 *orgia nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron.*

The verse is a reworking of *G.* 3.43 ... *vocat ingenti clamore Cithaeron*. No hint here of poetic inspiration: the evocation of the mountain is designed to remind us of the Theban king who died on its heights at the hands of raving maenads.

orgia: Echoed at 7.403 *solvite crinalis vittas, capite orgia mecum* (Amata to the Latin matrons); cf. 6.517–518 *illa chorum simulans euhantis orgia circum / ducebat Phrygias* (the shade of Deiphobus' recollection of Helen); and especially *G.* 4.521 *inter sacra deum nocturnisque orgia Bacchi*, with reference to Orpheus' dismemberment. *Orgia* in prominent position recalls *sacris* at the end of 301; Austin notes that here the reference is to mystical rites.

nocturnusque: The adjective also below at 490 *nocturnosque movet Manis* (in the catalogue of what the Massylian *sacerdos* is able to do); 609 *nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes* (in Dido's imprecation); cf. 5.868 ... *nocturnis ... in undis* (as Aeneas realizes that Palinurus is lost); 6.252 *tum Stygio regi nocturnas incohat aras* (of Aeneas before the descent to Avernus); 7.13 *urit odoratam nocturna in lumina cedrum* (of the sorceress Circe); 11.736 *at non in Venerem segnes nocturna que bella* (Tarchon's upbraiding of the Etruscans). For nocturnal Bacchic dances see Gibert on Euripides, *Ion* 718; also Dodds on *Bacch.* 485–486 and Briscoe on Livy 39.15.9. Adjective as adverb.

In *orgia nocturnus* Henrichs (in *VE* 1, 164) sees an allusion to the rare Bacchic epithet *νυκτελιος*, with reference to Nonnus, *Dionys.* 9.114 (also comparing 7.349 and 27.173).

vocat: “Observe how Virgil adds grandeur and mystery by a single touch when he makes Cithaeron a living agent, calling to the votaries in the night” (Irvine).

Nocturnus ... Cithaeron in framing order around *vocat clamore*. The call referenced here is echoed at once in the voice of Dido that calls on Aeneas in the following verse.

clamore: Alliterative with *Cithaeron* and after *vocat*. Of the shout of the Maenads on the mount. For the noun cf. 411 and 665 below, and see E. Zaffagno in *EV* I, 808–809.

Cithaeron: Personification of the storied mountain that straddles the border of Boeotia and Attica, a traditional Bacchic haunt (cf. *trag. inc.* fr. 217 Ribbeck *Liber, qui augusta haec loca Cithaeronis colis*). Vid. G.A. Privitera in *EV* I, 801–802; V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* I, 268; *Barrington* 55 E4; 57 B3; 58 E1. The simile closes on a dark note, as Virgil recalls the very place where Pentheus—like Orpheus—was torn limb from limb; this imagery will recur more explicitly at 469–470 below. *Cithaeron* was the mountain where Euripides' Dionysus had driven the maddened women of Thebes (*Bacch.* 32 ff.; cf. 55–63, where Dionysus says that he will go to the glens of *Cithaeron* to join in dances with the Bacchantes); Virgil invites us here to recall the world of Euripides' *Bacchae*, when he has already reminded us of his *Medea*; Accius and other Roman tragic antecedents may lurk (cf. fr. 243–244 Ribbeck). Gildenhard closes his commentary on the first act of the book by noting “We are entering the terrain of tragedy.” Dido is destined to be a Pentheus-like figure; she may have thought that Aeneas was Apollo when in fact he was Bacchus.

The Bacchic imagery connected here with Dido may also reflect associations of the same revelry and ecstatic worship with Antony and Cleopatra. Plutarch in his *Antony* notes (75.4–5) that during the night before Antony's suicide, the sound of Bacchic celebration was heard as if exiting Alexandria via the gate that faced Octavian's forces; it was interpreted that the god with whom Antony had most associated himself was now abandoning him. Plutarch's Antony tried to imitate Dionysus (24.4; 33.6–34.1; 50.6; 60.5); according to Pliny (*NH* 14.147–148), Antony famously even authored a treatise entitled *de sua ebrietate*. See further Pelling 1988, 180 on the adoption of this role by Antony on his return to Greece in 39, and for the association of Dionysus with Osiris as consort of Cleopatra as Isis.

304 tandem his Aenean compellat vocibus ultro:

The adverbs frame the verse. The first refers succinctly to the time the queen needed to recover sufficiently from her Bacchic frenzy so as to be able to speak; the second describes her accosting of Aeneas before he has a chance to find anything resembling the *mollissima tempora fandi* he had planned to seek.

tandem: Cf. on 136. Again with some vagueness as to exactly how much time has passed: certainly not very long. “... [it] gives Dido's subjectively justifiable

rage time to swell" (Horsfall 1995, 131). The same word will be used at 333, as Aeneas prepares to make his response.

his ... vocibus: In framing order around *Aenean compellat*, as the queen "traps" Aeneas, as it were, to commence her recriminations. Here Virgil signals what will be the commencement of Dido's first speech to Aeneas (cf. Highet 1972, 133–137 on this "persuasive" address, the first of two such attempts to change her former lover's mind, and the only one she will deliver in person). Austin has an extended note on the supremacy of Virgil's art here above that of his predecessors Euripides and Apollonius, and especially surpassing that of his imitators from Ovid to the French classical dramatist Jodelle. For *his ... vocibus* cf. 1.64; 3.314; 5.708; 7.420; 9.83.

compellat: Cf. 1.581 ... *prior Aeneas compellat Achaten*; 2.279–280 ... *ultra flens ipse videbar | compellare virum et maestas expromere voces* (Aeneas to the ghost of Hector); 372 ... *atque ulro verbis compellat amicis* (the unsuspecting Androgeos to the Trojans); 3.99 (Aeneas to Helenus); 474 (Helenus to Anchises); 5.161 (Gyas to Menoetes); 6.499 ... *et notis compellat vocibus ulro* (Aeneas to Deiphobus); 8.164 (Evander's reminiscence of Anchises); 10.606 *Iunonem interea compellat Iuppiter ulro*; 11.534 (Diana with Opis); note also *Ilias Latina* 31.

ulro: 28× in the epic, only here in Book 4. See further especially Henry's discursive note on 2.145; also Page. A "crucial" word, as Horsfall observes (1995, 131); this is the end of Aeneas' plan for how to deal with his girlfriend from 291: "... Dido speaks first, while Aeneas, who has planned to offer an explanation, is forced instead into an anguished and halting defence. Let us be precise: it is *eadem impia Fama* who moves faster than Aeneas and thereby transforms an impossible situation into an inevitable tragedy."

305 "dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum

The hissing alliteration is in imitation of Euripides, *Med.* 476; for the exchange of speeches there between Medea and Jason cf. 446–626. The influence of Ariadne with Theseus at c. 64.132–201 is also present; Ovid's Dido at *Her.* 7 is indebted to the queen's speeches here. Pease notes that we need not be troubled about the question of language barrier; in epic those who need to understand each other have no difficulty. For the inspiration of Apollonius' Medea in her speech when she believes that Jason is about to desert her on the Brygean Isle (*Arg.* 4.355–390), see Nelis 2001, 160ff. Pervasive influence, then, of the Medea of (especially) Euripides and Apollonius; Catullus' Ariadne: epic and tragedy are replete with images of abandoned girls. On the association of sigmatic sounds with the cries of a wild animal see Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De comp. verb.* 14.

dissimulare: Echoing 290–291 ... *et quae rebus sit causa novandis, | dissimulent*. The infinitive works in close coordination with the vocative *perfide*. This is Dido's first utterance since her words to Anna ended in tears at 29–30; there she spoke of how Sychaeus had in some sense betrayed her by his untimely death. Virgil could hardly have chosen a better word for the prominent first position in the verse and in Dido's speech. Servius offers the perhaps overly subtle interpretation "satis artificiosa locutio; nam et sibi consulit sub facie utilitatis Aeneae."

etiam: Another easily missed little word: Dido is angry enough about the planned departure, but it is the perceived trickery and deceit that engenders her greatest indignation. Cf. 309.

sperasti: Something of a retort to the reference to Aeneas' premature conclusion at 291–292 ... *quando optima Dido | nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores*. Aeneas confidently thought that Dido did not expect so great a love to be broken; Dido upbraids Aeneas with the charge that he expected so great a crime (*tantum nefas*) to be able to be concealed by trickery.

perfide: The first of six occurrences of the appellation in the epic: Dido will repeat the insult at 366 below near the start of her second speech to Aeneas, and at 421 to Anna; cf. also 7.362 *perfidus alta petens abducta virgine praeda*, where it is again applied to Aeneas by another maddened queen, this time with reference not to the abandonment of a girl but to her abduction. At 10.231–232 ... *perfidus ut nos | praecipitis ferro Rutulus flammaque premebat* it is used by Cymodocea of the attempt of Turnus to burn the Trojan fleet; lastly at 12.731–732 ... *at perfidus ensis | frangitur in medioque ardentem deserit ictu* it describes Turnus' all too mortal sword. Four times then of Aeneas (always in connection with women in his life); twice in some connection to his antagonist. One of the many ironies in the Dido-Aeneas debacle is that both Trojans and Carthaginians had a stereotypical reputation for bad faith and deceptive natures. Lurking here too is the image of the bucolic Daphnis (*E.* 8.91 *has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit*, which will be echoed at 651–652 below). Cf. Catullus, c. 64.132–133 *hicne me patriis avectam, perfide, ab aris, | perfide, deserto liquisti in litore, Theseu?*; also c. 30.3 *iam me prodere, iam non dubitas fallere, perfide?*; Propertius, c. 2.34.9; 4.7.13; also, e.g., Ps.-V., *Aetna* 583; Ovid, *Her.* 2.78; 7.79; 118; 10.58; 12.37; *Rem.* 597; *Met.* 2.704; 6.539; *Fast.* 3.148; 473; 6.242; *Ep.* 4.3.17; *Ibis* 130; Statius, *Theb.* 6.197; 11.569; Juvenal, s. 9.82; Martial, *Ep.* 2.75.9; 4.11.10; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 4.643; 6.518. In the question of the betrayal of the queen there may be a shade of the worries of Cleopatra about Octavia and, too, of Antony's anxieties that Cleopatra was betraying him (particularly at the siege of Pelusium); see further Pelling on Plutarch, *Vit. Ant.* 73.2–4. A commonplace: lovers often lack trust.

At 311 Dido will call Aeneas *crudelis*; some critics have noted that there are thus only two insults in the speech, with the rest of the address given over

to pleading (Irvine in fact calls the two insults a “technical device given the very maximum of effect”). But an aggrieved lover easily switches from insult to appeal.

tantum: So great an unspeakable thing (306 *nefas*) that there is enjambment to enact the immensity of Aeneas’ crime.

For how our estimation of the queen is “diminished” by her emotional outbursts and ever more violent reactions, see Horsfall 1995, 131 n. 50.

R.J. Edgeworth, “The Death of Dido,” in *CJ* 72.2 (1976–1977), 129–133 draws a connection between Dido’s accusation that Aeneas intended to leave Carthage in silence and the similar case of Hasdrubal’s wife in the face of her husband’s surrender to Scipio (referencing surviving accounts in Polybius and Livy).

306 posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra?

posse: This infinitive after *sperasti* together with the reference to a *tantum nefas* and the general context of departure/abandonment echoes 2.657–658 *mene efferre pedem, genitor, te posse relicto | sperasti tantumque nefas patrio excidit ore?*, where Aeneas addresses Anchises; Dido had heard Aeneas’ story of the events of Troy’s last night, and she had been increasingly obsessed with his tale and with listening to his recollection of dramatic circumstances. Here she shows that she has virtually memorized key, emotionally charged moments from his epic recital, such that she can throw the words back in his face. A powerful appeal, then, alongside the insult: Dido asserts that Aeneas is abandoning her in the way he argued that he could never have left his father.

nefas: Repeated in a rather different, graver context at 563. For the noun see Fratantuono and Smith on 5.197; for its use here cf. S. Commager, “Fateful Words: Some Conversations in *Aeneid* 4,” in *Arethusa* 14.1 (1981), 101–114, 102–103. At 8.688 ... *sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniunx*, the presence of Cleopatra at Actium is as unspeakable as her name. We may also compare here the reference to Dido’s *infandus amor* above at 85. Austin comments on the “cruel irony” of Dido’s mention of something that would be uncountenanced by the gods (in his interpretation, the queen is largely a plaything of the immortals, a victim of their cruel capriciousness). But this queen tends to use dramatic language to describe her romantic situation with Aeneas. Not just a *nefas*, but *tantum nefas*.

tacitus: Alliterative with *terra*. The adjective echoes 289 *classem aptent taciti*; Dido’s attack on Aeneas transfers the charge of silence from his men to their leader. Together with 305 *dissimulent* this is the second word that is essentially repeated from Aeneas’ presumably secret instructions to his men; Clausen 2002, 82 comments on how it is as if Dido had overheard him. Spying on her lover is certainly not beyond her capacity for paranoid action (and in this case,

the anxious paranoic would be justified in her stress); of course Rumor may have also reported what he said. Both repeated words underscore how Aeneas' plan to find the right time to talk to Dido has been shattered; his hesitation has been fatal (whatever his gentle, "good" intentions), and he has badly misjudged the situation and exposed himself to the charge of perfidy.

mea ... terra: Framing the infinitive. "My land": there will be no further talk of a shared polity. D.Serv. interprets: "dicendo 'mea' stultum ostendit, qui putavit quod amanti se subripere possit." The image of being trapped in Carthage: no positive fate for a proto-Roman.

decedere: Cf. 11.325 *est animus possuntque solo decedere nostro*, in Latinus' speech at the war council (a reworking of the present line). The line-end also at Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.297 ... *patria liceat decedere terra*.

We may compare here Aeneas' famous (Catullan) line to Dido's shade at 6.460 *invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi*; vid. further below on 704.

307 *nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam*

An emotional appeal is followed at once by one to legality.

nec te ... nec te: In powerful repeated balance. "Emphatic personal appeal" (Page). The negative conjunctions coordinate with the more frightening reference to *nec moritura*, etc., in the next verse.

noster amor: Singular now, we might think, because Dido feels that she alone remains in love (cf. 292 *tantos amores*). *Noster* works on two levels: it refers of course to "our love" in the sense of the joint affection of Dido and Aeneas, but it also functions as an expression of the "royal we," with reference to Dido (cf. 211; 217 of Iarbas; 227; 237 of Jupiter). See further below on 316 *conubia nostra*. *Noster* is carefully juxtaposed with *te*: our love vs. how you now must feel based on your actions. *Noster* and *dextera* are alliterative; they follow on 306 *terra* (even if the doubled consonant would have sounded differently to a Roman ear).

data dextra: A key expression in the Didonian argument that there was a marriage in the cave at 165ff. Despite the perverse parody of a Roman marriage ritual described there, the joining of hands was not mentioned. Dido expands on this image at 314–315, where she once again references Aeneas' right hand (*dextram ... tuam*). An echo of the very different *dexter modus* for how to approach the queen that Aeneas had planned at 294. For the giving of the right hand as a sign and pledge we may compare Apollonius' Jason at *Arg.* 4.99; also Euripides, *Med.* 21–22. We move from the reference to the love to the evidence thereof that takes on a legalistic tone. Servius glosses this as "foedus amicitiarum," which is certainly not Dido's interpretation of the cavern episode, and probably not Aeneas' either. There is an echo of this image

at 7.365–366, where Amata speaks of the *totiens data dextera Turno* (of Latinus); in none of these situations does Virgil make it explicit that the claim is valid: certainly right hands were exchanged, but the meaning of the gesture was not necessarily the same for all parties. Cf. also 10.517 *dexteraeque datae* (of Aeneas and Evander). Ovid's Ariadne complains *dextera crudelis, quae me fratremque necavit, | et data poscenti, nomen inane, fides!* (*Her.* 10.115–116). “An indefinite phrase” (Williams), of the sort on which lawsuits and lovers' endless quarrels are based; see further Mackail's note here; also Monti 1981, 8. On the public implications of the reference to a marriage, see J. Tatum, “Allusion and Interpretation in *Aeneid* 6.440–476,” in *AJPh* 105.4 (1984), 434–452, 448.

quondam: Poignant as well as biting: all of that is so far distant now—if not in time, then at least in the queen's emotional estimation. Again, we have no sense of exactly how much time has elapsed, but for Dido it seems as if they have been together forever, as it were.

308 *nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?*

Vid. here A. Rondholz, “*Nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?*,” in *Hermes* 132.2 (2004), 237–240 (with analysis of references in the book to the prediction of the queen's death). An emotionally overcharged verse, of the sort that in some contexts might be dismissed as exaggeration: it harks back to the idea that Dido is surrounded by hostile enemies and that Aeneas' departure will expose her to their wrath, even as it presages her suicide. Among the faults of the queen manipulation via suicide threat is not to be found; she is all too capable and serious about the implications of *moritura* and *crudelis funus*.

Virgil here reworks *G* 3.263 *nec moritura super crudeli funere virgo*, in his allusive reference to the celebrated myth of Hero and Leander (left unnamed) and the tragic lover's fateful swimming of the Hellespont (a story that connects also to the ram of Phrixus and Helle and the origins of the lore of the Golden Fleece). In the Hero/Leander tale Leander drowns and Hero commits suicide; Leander risked his life to swim to his beloved, while Aeneas is preparing to sail away at a hazardous season (cf. the sentiments of the next verses). There is thus an evocation of the idea that he will perhaps be shipwrecked, with Dido-Hero killing herself over his corpse when it appears on her shores. See further L. Fratantuono in *VE* 11, 612–613. The literate Elissa has read the *Georgics*. A neat imitation: in the previous passage the *crudele funus* is that of Leander, over which Hero will add her own; here the syntax of the ablative is more ambiguous (no *super*); Dido will die a cruel death (ablative of quality), but there is also a hint of Aeneas' possible fate at sea if he departs now. Cf. the very different sentiments she expresses at 601–602.

For the animalistic connotations of the evocation of the *Georgics* passage and the implication for Virgil's presentation of Dido, see Newman and Newman 2005, 190.

moritura: Nearly framing the verse with Dido. The future participle of the queen also at 415; 519; 604—literally once almost every hundred lines now until she takes her life. The commentators debate on whether she is speaking of the elegiac conceit of dying of love, or if she is contemplating suicide even now; the end of the story renders the question academic. “The single bell-stroke of *moritura*” (Mackail): it is indeed the Virgilian poetic equivalent of a slow and steady toll that heralds her end. DServ. has a note here sadly reflective even of modern psychology: Dido uses the argument that she will die to increase her case that she has been wronged and is thus deserving of consideration.

Echoed here too is not only Hero from the *Georgics*, but also Eurydice from *G.* 4.458 *immanem ante pedes hydrum moritura puella*; cf. 12.55 and 602, of the epic's other suicidal royal, Amata. Priam is *moriturus* (2.511); so also Nisus (9.400); Lycus (9.554); Lausus (10.811); Mezentius (10.881, exactly eighty verses after his son); Tarchon (11.741).

tenet: The opposite of 306 *decedere*. The chilling image of being held by one who is about to die presages 386–387, of the frightening prediction Dido makes about how her ghost will haunt Aeneas wherever he goes. The present verse thus works on two levels simultaneously: there is the appeal for Aeneas to be considerate of Dido's pitiful state, and also the question of the “partners in death” imagery familiar not only from the Hero and Leander tragedy, but also from the final days of Cleopatra and Antony in Alexandria.

crudeli: Repeated soon hereafter at 311. Anna will call Dido by this epithet at 681 in the wake of her suicide; in Dido's very last words there will be a reference to *crudelis Dardanus* (661–662). For the adjective see R. Lamacchia in *EV I*, 944. *Crudelis*, some think, because it will be before her time (cf. on 697); there is also the element of expected violence from Iarbas and the other rejected suitors.

funere: With reference to the veiled preparations for Dido's suicide at 500 below; cf. the queen's reflections about the accursed fates of Aeneas' loved ones of which she fantasizes at 617–618. For the noun see Fratantuono on 11.3; the word is ambiguous and can refer to death in general; to the requiem rites for the deceased; or even to the corpse itself. The present passage will be echoed at 11.53 *infelix nati funus crudele videbis*, as Aeneas predicts how Evander will behold the death and requiem of his son. Cf. also *E.* 5.20 *Exstinctum Nymphae crudeli funere Daphnim*; *Ilias Latina* 1038; Statius, *Theb.* 5.218–219. There may be an echo in the collocation of Lucretius, *DRN* 3.72 *crudeles gaudent in tristi*

funere fratris; note Pothinus' plots against Cleopatra and Caesar at Lucan, *BC* 10.373–375 ... *nocturnas rumpamus funere taedas / crudelemque toris dominam mactemus in ipsis / cum quocumque viro*.

Dido: See Pease on the “pathetic effect” of the use of the name in the third person; on the affectation see Newman and Newman 2005, 122. We may remember too that “Dido” is less a proper name than a title.

309 *quin etiam hiberno moliri sidere classem*

Following at once on the allusive reference to the lore of Hero and Leander, Dido emphasizes exactly the point about winter and weather that Anna raised at 52–53. There is of course the danger of winter sailing, and also a hint of the idea that Aeneas must be particularly eager to leave Dido if he is willing to risk hazardous sea conditions. Apuleius, *Met.* 11.16 describes the launching of a miniature vessel in Corinth to symbolize the opening of the sea to ships at the start of spring. On Dido's expression and argument here see M. Pope, “*Quid si non ...*: An Idiom of Classical Latin,” in *Phoenix* 36.1 (1982), 53–70, 58 ff., with extensive analysis of the language and grammar.

quin etiam: Also at 2.768–769 *ausus quin etiam voces iactare per umbram / implevi clamore vias*, of Aeneas' search for the lost Creüsa; cf. 7.177; 299; 385; 8.485; 9.799; also *G.* 2.269 and 3.457. *Etiam* recalls 305—this is the language of impassioned urgency. Here with an air of indignation, as Dido becomes thoroughly exasperated with Aeneas: he is not only heedless of Dido's feelings, but he is also willing to engage in the reckless behavior of leaving at the worst time of year for long sea voyages.

hiberno ... sidere: For the adjective see on 143. The frame surrounds the verb that describes Aeneas' work on the fleet.

moliri: Cf. 273. The infinitive is the reading of FMP and other witnesses; there is respectable attestation for *moliris*, especially the Wolfenbüttel γ . *Moliri* is preferred by Mynors' OCT; Geymonat; Conte's Teubner; Binder and Binder's Reclam; Rivero García et al.; Holzberg's Tusculum; *moliris* by Ribbeck; Conington; Page; Mackail; Buscaroli; Pease; Austin; Götte's Tusculum; Williams; Perret's Budé; Heuzé's Pléiade. *Moliri* seems best taken as parallel to 310 *ire*; both infinitives complementary to 310 *properas*, with the infinitives elegantly placed in framing order around the main verb of haste; further, it is better to imagine that Virgil would not have written *moliris sidere* than to imagine that the last letter of the verb would have dropped out via some copyist's error. Interestingly, in their study of the Mediceus, though they did not adopt the reading, both Mynors and Geymonat erred in seeing an -s to terminate *moliri*, whereas Conte corrects them without comment in his apparatus. See further too above on 273.

The verb with *classem* is another echo from Aeneas' story to Dido: cf. 3.5–6 ... *classemque sub ipsa / Antandro et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae*, just before the departure from Troy. Austin comments on the enactment of the labor by the heavy spondees of *hiberno moliri(s)*: all the emphasis is on the labor of travel, especially under the stars of winter.

sidere: On this favorite Virgilian noun vid. R.M. Caldini in *EV* IV, 840–842; cf. above on 81. Of a constellation as marking the progression of the seasons (*OLD* s.v. 5a), with meteorological implications. Lucan has *Brundisii clausas ventis brumalibus undis / invenit et pavidas hiberno sidere classes* (*BC* 5.407–408); See further Goodyear on Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.70.2 *sidere aequinoctii*; cf. Ovid, *Ep.* 2.4.25–26 *Longa dies citius brumali sidere noxque / tardior hiberna solstitialis erit*. Probably with reference to Capricorn.

classem: With reference back to 289; cf. the echo at 313 below.

310 et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum,

mediis: In (threatening) framing order with *Aquilonibus* around the verb that describes Aeneas' haste. *Mediis* almost certainly of the very middle of the winter season, as DServ. noted—or (the other ancient explanation) because northerly winds were averse to those sailing from Africa.

properas: The verb also at 635. 9× in the epic, vs. 5× in the *Georgics*. Not only is the season hazardous, but Aeneas is in haste.

Aquilonibus: For the wind vid. D.M. Possanza in *VE* I, 200–201. The reference to the north wind here is echoed at 5.1–2 *Interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat / certus iter fluctusque atros Aquilone secabat*, as the narrative of the departure continues after the suicide of the queen. *Aquilo* is referenced also at 1.102 and 391, of the Junonian storm that drove Aeneas to Carthage; cf. 3.285, where a year is passed with (anachronistic) Actian games during winter storms. At 7.361, Amata fears that Aeneas will abscond with Lavinia during just such a windy season—something of a reworking of the present case of Dido wondering why Aeneas would abandon her at this dangerous time (Henry has a note here on the difference between the stormy *Aquilo* referenced by Dido and the vernal, *primo Aquilone* Amata mentions). See here the important paper of S. Mohler, “Sails and Oars in the *Aeneid*,” in *TAPA* 79 (1948), 46–62, 60–61, on how Virgil precisely describes what would have been a departure from Carthage under a westerly land breeze that soon confronted a northerly sea wind. See further Fratantuono and Smith on 5.2 (with reference to more on the historical allegory of Antony-Cleopatra, especially of their sojourn at Actium). *Aquilones* 4× in the poem vs. *Aquilo* 8×; here the plural probably underscores the danger of the winds in the queen's pleading argument. The Latin name of Boreas, which is rarer in Virgil; cf. below on 442 (in a simile, as at 12.365); also 3.687 and

10.350 (the latter in a genealogical context). Dido here references a wind that is usually a harbinger of bad weather; ironically it will be that very wind that will shepherd Aeneas away from Carthage at the opening of Book 5.

ire per altum: The line-end also at 3.374; probably inspired by Lucretius, *DRN* 3.1030. *Per altum* here correlates with 311 *domosque*: Aeneas is seeking a new and unfamiliar home over the seas. There is work on the still unrefurbished ships, and there is the immense journey even after that labor. *Altum* here echoed by 313 *aequor*.

“Les reproches se poursuivent, avec des accents tour à tour véhéments ...” (J. Soubiran, “Passion de Didon métrique de Virgile,” in *Pallas* 10 (1961), 31–53, 34).

311 *crudelis? quid? si non arva aliena domosque*

The beginning of an insightful commentary of the queen on the relationship of Aeneas to Troy; it presages the Trojan hero's comments at 340–344. Even if Aeneas could return to his beloved Troy, he would not do so under these adverse seasonal conditions. We may compare 429–430 below, where the queen will ask for a delay at least until the weather improves; this may be interpreted as genuine concern for Aeneas, but also as indicative of a desire to prolong his departure for her own emotional satisfaction.

crudelis: Echoing 308 *crudeli funere*. “Virgil is fond of giving great emphasis to the adjective by placing it at the beginning of a line with a pause after it” (Page). Probably vocative, following on 305 *per fide*. Servius comments: “etiam in te odio mei ...” *Crudelis* has been interpreted with reference to Aeneas' behavior toward himself ... as in, he is cruel in his carelessness for his own safety—but the principal referent is to Dido. In her emotional state she piles argument on argument.

quid: The interrogative of exasperation, with breathless indignation at the idea that Aeneas would leave now of all times.

arva: For the noun cf. on 236. Jupiter had related to Mercury the rhetorical question about whether Aeneas was bothering to look at Lavinian fields. *Arva* with reference to agriculture and the development of economies in a new land. Could there be a passing hint of sexuality, obliquely casting Aeneas in the role of a cad? Cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 4.1107 *muliebria conserat arua*; Adams 1982, 24 ff.; 154.

aliena: Echoed at 10.78 *arva aliena iugo premere atque avertere praedas?*, in Juno's complaints at the divine council; cf. 10.781 *sternitur infelix alieno vulnere ...*, of Hercules' companion Antenor; 866 of the *iussa aliena* of the Trojans that Mezentius imagines that his horse Rhaebes will not suffer. The reference is to Italy, a land that as yet neither Aeneas nor Dido knows. *Aliena* referred once to

Carthage, before Aeneas came to know of its comforts and charms; Italy will be his home, though he knows as little about it as he did about north Africa before his arrival. D.Serv. offers a different view that has attracted adherents: “blande, quasi haec iam tua sunt. domusque ignotas: ac si diceret: Carthago iam tibi nota est, licet et hic aliena sint arva”—i.e., foreign lands with reference to Carthage and not Troy. Ovid imitates this language and argument at *Her.* 7.16 *quis sua non notis arva tenenda dabit?*

Aeneas will speak of quite specific *arva* at 355 below, as he regretfully reflects on what has been taken from Ascanius.

domosque: An emotionally charged word for the Trojan exile, with hypermetric emphasis on its descriptor. With the noun here cf. below at 318, as Dido begs for pity on her house as it slips in ruin.

312 **ignotas peteres, et Troia antiqua maneret,**

ignotas: Emphasis on the unknown nature of the destination by position and enjambment. *Ignotus* also at 1.384 *ipse ignotus egens Libyae deserta peragro*, where it is used by Aeneas in his address to his disguised mother; now in a reversal it is Aeneas who is said to be pursuing an unfamiliar, unknown home. Also *ignotum* is the *pondus auri* that Dido was alerted to by Sychaeus that helped her to find her own new home over the waters; cf. 2.91 *haud ignota loquor* (Sinon about the mendacity of Ulysses); 3.591 *ignoti forma viri* of Achaemenides; 5.794–795 *exussit foede puppis et classe subegit | amissa socios ignotae linquere terrae* (Venus' complaint to Neptune); 871 *nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena* (Aeneas' poignant apostrophe to his lost helmsman at the very close of the book); 7.124–125 *cum te, nate, fames ignota ad litora vectum | accisis coget dapibus consumere mensis* (of the omen of the eating of the tables); 167–168 *nuntius ingentis ignota in veste reportat | advenisse viros* (of the report of the arrival of the Trojans in Latium); 8.112–113 ... *iuvenes, quae causa subegit | ignotas temptare vias?* (Pallas to the Trojans); 9.485–486 *heu, terra ignota canibus data praeda Latinis | alitibusque iaces!* (Nisus of Euryalus); 10.48 *Aeneas sane ignotis iactetur in undis* (Venus complaining at the divine council); 11.253–254 *antiqui Ausonii, quae vos fortuna quietos | sollicitat suadetque ignota lacessere bella?* (Diomedes to the Venulan embassy, with verbal repetition of this verse); 527 *planities ignota iacet tutique receptus* (of the locus of Turnus' planned ambush); 678 of the *ignota arma* of the hunter Ornytus; 866 *obliti ignoto camporum in pulvere linquunt* (of the fate of Arruns); 12.733–734 ... *fugit ocior Euro, | ut capulum ignotum dextramque aspexit inermem* (of Turnus' broken mortal sword). Of the unlucky fate of dying or of being left in unfamiliar territory, and of the arrival of strangers to a new home.

peteres ... maneres: Present contrafactual imperfect subjunctives, with a dose of poignancy: Aeneas is, after all, doing exactly what Dido envisages. *Peteres* echoed at once by 313 *peteretur*.

et: The Palatine reads *sed*, possibly in confusion regarding the train of thought.

Troia antiqua: So in Aeneas' address to his disguised mother at 1.375–376 *nos Troia antiqua, si vestras forte per auris / Troiae nomen iit ...*; cf. 1.626 of the *antiqua Teucrorum stirpe*; the reference to the *antiqua ornus* in the simile at 2.625–626 describing the destruction of Troy; Andromache's reference to *antiqua virtus* at 3.342; Aeneas' prayer to Jupiter at 5.688 with its mention of *pietas antiqua*. Amata reproaches Latinus with the *cura antiqua tuorum* that he is apparently ignoring in his passing over of Turnus for Aeneas. *Antiqua* references both the age and venerable lineage of Troy, and the fact that once it stood and now no more. The adjective recurs at 670 *antiqua Tyros*, as Virgil imagines the tumult and uproar there would be at the ruin of Carthage. In her appeal to Anna, Dido references the *coniugium antiquum* that Aeneas betrayed, an "ancient marriage bond" she no longer seeks. The repetition of the name of the city serves to heighten the pathos of the reference to the storied realm whose loss was the subject of an entire book of epic rendition at the queen's banquet.

313 *Troia per undosum peteretur classibus aequor?*

The apodosis of Dido's conditional sentence (*pace* Palmer *ad Ovid, Her.* 7.53, who prefers to insert a *si* before *Troia* and to introduce a third protasis—"very awkward" in the judgment of Pease). Psychologically effective: even Aeneas' beloved Troy would not be sought under these conditions.

Troia: Epanalepsis: Dido strongly emphasizes the name of the city.

per: Alliterative with *peteretur*.

undosum: The adjective elsewhere in Virgil only at 3.693, as an epithet of Plemyrion. With the hyperbaton, the point continues to be that the sea is hazardous and the journey long and exceedingly arduous. The *undosum ... aequor* frames and envelops the fleet that Dido imagines would be its hapless plaything. *Undosus* is rare in extant Latin; Virgil may have coined it; cf. Statius, *Theb.* 3.479; *Sib.* 1.5.34; *Ach.* 1.27–28; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 3.249; 5.21; 7.277; 8.553–554. The suggestion of some to emend to *hibernum* is unnecessary. Henry notes that the emphasis falls on Troy and not the adjective, *contra* Conington's verdict that *undosum* "is of course emphatic"; these are not mutually exclusive judgments, though especially via its repetition *Troia* is the stronger element of the condition.

peteretur: "An awkward yet not unpermissible repetition after *peteres* in the line before" (Pease); part of the point here is that the frustrated, angry and

anxious queen employs repetition as a natural enough feature of her excited speech.

classibus aequor: A Virgilian tag; cf. 3.156–157 *nos te Dardania incensa tuaque arma secuti, | nos tumidum sub te permensi classibus aequor*; 10.268–269 ... *versas ad litora puppis | respiciunt totumque adlabi classibus aequor*. At 582 below ... *latet sub classibus aequor*, the very sea is hidden under the Trojan fleet as it prepares to sail away from Carthage. Note also Manilius, *Ast.* 1.776; Lucan, *BC* 9.321. On *aequor* note M.P. García Ruiz, “*Aequor*: The Sea of Prophecies in Virgil’s *Aeneid*,” in *CQ* 64.2. (2014), 694–706.

314 *mene fugis? per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te*

An extraordinary collocation of personal pronouns and possessive adjectives, as Dido proceeds from *me* to *ego* to *tuam* and *te*, balancing herself with Aeneas. The verse is framed by *me* and *te*. This line is echoed poignantly at 6.466 *quem fugis? extremum fato quod te adloquor hoc est*, of Aeneas’ last words to Dido in the underworld. There it will be Dido who flees (6.472 *refugit*) and not Aeneas. On the parallel note especially M.B. Skinner, “The Last Encounter of Dido and Aeneas: *Aen.* 6.450–476,” in *Vergilius* 29 (1983), 12–18.

“Her agitation is reflected in the pulse of the hexameters” (Hight 1972, 134, who comments on the monosyllabic ending). “The line is eloquent of Dido’s misery, with its violent clashes of word-accent and metrical ictus continued even to the last foot by Virgil’s use of this abnormal end-pattern” (Austin).

mene fugis: On the topos of the fleeing lover see Clausen 2002, 87; the simple, understated eloquence of Dido’s reproach has been praised by commentators. Servius analyzes the queen’s rhetorical strategy: “adhuc aperte non vult impetrare beneficia, sicut paulo post irata.” Cf. 328 *ante fugam*.

per ego has: “In adjuration emphatic words are often violently misplaced for the sake of emphasis” (Page). The demonstrative (with deictic force) underscores how Dido is crying. Conington comments on how here we have a conjunction of the normal language of oaths and adjurations with the agitation of the anxious, emotionally distraught queen. For the denial of any oaths between Aeneas and Dido cf. on 337–339 below; more generally on Virgilian oaths note B. Gladhill in *VE* II, 923. Lines 110–112 and 191–193 are relevant here, though Gladhill correctly observes the significance of how there is no narrative of any oath.

lacrimas: On tears in Virgil see on 30 above. The tears of Dido are juxtaposed with Aeneas’ right hand.

dextramque tuam: As at 307, with recollection of the *iunctio dextrarum* that for her ratified their marriage in the cave. The mention of the right hand leads to the references to marriage at 316; there are tears and emotional importunings, but there is also a legalistic undertone to the speech.

te: The verb governing this key pronoun will not come until the start of 319. “The ending of this line in a word of one syllable reflects Dido’s distress, and even seems to echo her sobs” (Tilly). Cf. here J.N. Hough, “Monosyllabic Verse Endings in the *Aeneid*,” in *CJ* 71.1 (1975), 16–24. DServ. thinks that the focus of the appeal is on the valor and fortitude of the strong Aeneas, the valiant warrior. But the only element of reference on Dido’s mind is whatever happened in the cave.

Amata echoes the present appeal at 12.56–57 *Turne, per has ego te lacrimas, per si quis Amatae | tangit honos animum ...*

315 (*quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui*),

The parenthesis is entirely focused on Dido in a moment of self-reflection and self-pity; the pronouns underscore the fixation: *mihi, ipsa*.

aliud: The word order is deliberate and effective: at the start of the verse we think that there is something else, before hopes are dashed at *nihil*. *Aliud* with *nihil* is Plautine; only here in Virgil and generally rare in poetry.

miserae: Alliterative after *mihi*. For the adjective cf. on 20 (of Sychaeus); 117 *miserrima Dido*; 437–438 below of Anna the *miserrima soror*; 697 of Dido in her death agonies. Sinon and Sychaeus are *miser* 1× each; Turnus 3×. The doomed youths Lausus; Marcellus; and Pallas are all labeled *miserandus*. Dido was *misera* already at 1.344 with reference to her lost love Sychaeus.

ipsa: The emphatic pronoun takes on the blame for what has happened, though with a clear undertone of further reproach; her tears and the pledge of his right hand are all that she has left, and the reference back to *dextram tuam* implicates Aeneas in the misery. *Ipsa* here is both insightful and carefully juxtaposed with the mention of all she has left. A moment of introspection, though rooted in her strong sense of having been wronged.

nihil: Servius perceptively glosses this as “non pudorem, non regnum.”

reliqui: For the verb cf. 82; 129; 155; 277; 281; 415; 432; 452; 466; 495; 507.

“Then she appeals to his pity for herself again, in a line that is unforgettable, if you but realize properly the situation of the woman who without formal ceremonies has yielded her best, her own body and soul, to the man she loves, *quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui*, an appeal which quickly changes back to one of Aeneas’ gratitude for her many benefits, and changes as abruptly back to a plea for pity and the assurance that she cannot survive the loss” (E. Riess, “The Human Side of Certain Latin Authors,” in *The Classical Weekly* 18.7 (1924), 49–52, 52).

316 per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos,

Dido as Ariadne: cf. Catullus, c. 64.139–141 *at non haec quondam blanda promissa dedisti / voce mihi; non haec miseram sperare iubebas, / sed conubia laeta, sed optatos hymenaeos*. From her two references to the *iunctio dextrarum* (307; 314), the aggrieved queen proceeds to a direct mention of the marriage she is certain has been contracted. Exactly what is referenced here has been the subject of unsurprisingly labored speculation. *Conubia* and *hymenaeos* may refer to the same thing (theme and variation), as they appear to mean in the Catullan model; where Virgil works a significant change on his source is in the shift from Catullus' *optatos* to *inceptos*. Servius argues that the point here is that the marriage union was sweet because it was novel; others have seen a darker reference to how first there was the illicit, clandestine union—the *conubia*—and then the *hymenaeos* were started and never finished (so Wagner, e.g., followed by Conington; Page, Pease, and Williams in dissent, following Henry). Nuptial rites can stand for marriage by metonymy.

See further Monti 1981, 3–4 on the problem of whether Dido thinks of what happened in the cave as a nuptial liturgy or not; the question ultimately devolves to the matter of promise *vs.* execution. *Inceptos* in the present verse may point to the first of these options: Dido at the very least considered herself betrothed to Aeneas. The easy answer to all of this is to note that whatever the case, Dido and Aeneas do not have a common opinion on what transpired (and again, Virgil deliberately plays with the relative secrecy of the cave, where whatever took place was witnessed by divine powers who are not now providing commentary); second, the episode in the cave could not have constituted a wedding by Roman standards; third, *inceptos* is not Catullus' *optatos*, and the word plainly implies something is incomplete.

On Virgil's surpassing his Catullan model here note De Witt 1923, 96.

conubia: Cf. 167–168 ... *consciis aether / conubiis*. For the problems of 126 *conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo* see above ad loc.

nostra: With the possessive adjective cf. 306 *noster amor*. Here there is no hint of any “royal we”—the point is the perceived nuptial bond with Aeneas.

inceptos hymenaeos: Cf. 109–110 *quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos / exercemus?* By 638 *incepta* will have a darker meaning in the context of Dido's rites antecedent to her suicide; cf. the ominous 452 *quo magis inceptum peragat lucemque relinquat*, with reference to her wish for death. On *hymenaeos* see further Newman and Newman 2005, 286. *Inceptos* is a good example of a Virgilian description that invites controversy in a manner both subtle and effective. It can, as noted above, simply “mean nothing new”—that is, *inceptos hymenaeos* is synonymous with *conubia nostra*. But the notion of that which has been commenced implicitly raises the question of whether said

act has been finished, and therein lies the heart of the current controversy. Certainly Aeneas does not agree with the implications of the present verse.

“Notice the rare but beautiful rhythm of this line” (Sidgwick); the fact that the end of the second foot coincides with a word-end gives added power to *conubia*. See further Austin’s long note here.

317 *si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam*

Another juxtaposition of the *quondam* lovers; there is a heavy emphasis on Aeneas (*de te; tibi*), with the image of Dido as deserving of consideration and pity. Ovid’s *Heroides* is replete with complaints of abandoned lovers about the merits they have earned with those who have cruelly forsaken them. Pease provides a long list of epic and elegiac parallels; the most relevant are Homer’s Calypso (*Od.* 5.130–136); Euripides’ Medea (476–487); Apollonius’ (*Arg.* 4.360–368 and 4.1031–1041); and Catullus’ Ariadne (c. 64.149–153).

merui: For the verb cf. below at 547 *quin morere ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem*; 611–612 *accipite haec, meritumque malos advertite numen | et nostras audite preces*; 696 *nam quia nec fato merita nec morte peribat*; cf. M.L. Fele in *EV* III, 490–491. *Merui* will be echoed alliteratively at 318 *meum* and *miserere*: merit leads to pity. The present sentiment will be echoed expansively at 373–375 ... *eiectum litore, egentem | excepi et regni demens in parte locavi. | amissam classem, socios a morte reduxi*. For the topos see Finglass on Sophocles, *Ajax* 520–522.

The question of the benefits that Dido has merited is an important theme in Book 4, which will be developed ultimately by the poet in terms of the petition Dido will make of Aeneas via Anna at 435–436 below, an appeal that connects Virgil’s Dido to the historical allegory not of Cleopatra but of Antony. On this see further L. Fratantuono, “Virgil’s Dido and Rabirius’ Antony,” in *QUCC* 124.1 (2020), 175–181.

fuit: Poignant, even more so than its parallel perfect *merui*: Dido knows that whatever may have been considered sweet and appealing is finished, and she appeals now to the memory of the past.

aut: Postponed as at 187 *turribus aut altis*.

quicquam: Tilly comments on the possible implied negative, with regard to Dido’s fear that she may not, after all, have merited anything that can serve to reverse Aeneas’ decision to leave her city.

See Mackail on 3.155 for “... one of the rare instances in the *Aeneid* where there are as many as ten words in the line: the others are iv. 317, vii. 466, ix. 409, x. 242, 903, xii. 48, 917.” In the present case the many little words point to a heightened emotional state. “What does Dido conceal in such simple words as *fuit aut tibi quicquam dulce meum ...?*” (Newman and Newman 2005, 120). Like

what happened the cave, the sentiments of 317–318 are veiled in the obscure language of those with intimate histories for whom much need not be said. Page notes that Dido speaks with more assurance at first, and then with greater hesitation and doubt by verse 319.

On 317–318 Irvine notes: “It is amazing to be told by Henry, quoting Russell’s *Memoir of Fox*, that Gilbert Wakefield would not lecture on Aeneid iv. because this passage ‘would lead to a discomposure of decorum in a mixed assembly.’ And this in the free-spoken century of Richardson and Fielding!” See further on 318 *dulce*.

An appropriate acrostic commences after this verse, as Dido says *doto* (318–321) just after her reference to what she may have merited from Aeneas.

318 dulce meum, miserere domus labentis et istam,

dulce: Prominently placed, and with reference back to the *dulcis ... terras* of 281 that Aeneas thought of leaving. Alliterative with *domus*, so that the verse has an ABBA sound pattern. “Tegit rem inhonestam” (Servius, likely rightly—*pace* Henry), and comparing Terence, *And. 294 seu tibi morigera fuit in rebus omnibus*. Aeneas will respond to Dido’s use of this adjective at 342–343, where he describes his wish ... *dulcisque meorum / reliquias colerem*.

Parallel to the present passage is 12.882–883 *aut quicquam mihi dulce meorum / te sine, frater, erit*; this echo does not, however, rule out an obscene sense for the present case of *dulce meum*. The later passage concerns Juturna and Turnus (“Her short-lived brother is her only solace, and him she is to lose. Her *dulce ...* is shared only with Dido”—Newman and Newman 2005, 206). It is possible that the point of the comparison is to highlight the great difference between Dido’s situation with Aeneas and that of the nymph Juturna (violated by Jupiter) and her brother Turnus; Dido and Turnus have affinities, but Dido and Juturna have far more differences than similarities.

meum: Alliterative with *miserere*, following on 317 *merui*.

miserere: This imperative recurs at 435 *extremam hanc oro veniam (miserere sororis)*, of Anna to Dido. Cf. 2.143 (Sinon to the Trojans); 6.117 (Aeneas to the Sibyl); 9.145 (Nisus to Jupiter); 10.598 (Lucagus to Aeneas); 11.365 (Drances to the Latin war council); 12.43 (Latinus to Turnus); 653 (Saces to Turnus); 777 (Turnus to Faunus); 934 ... *Dauni miserere senectae* (Turnus to Aeneas, closing a ring from Latinus’ appeal at the opening of the book).

domus: Dido’s familial household consists of Anna principally; the reference here is to all those who depend in some way on her. The allusion is to the private suffering of the house of Dido, but given her royal status, said suffering cannot be divorced from the fate of Carthage. The appeal for pity comes appropriately enough immediately after the reference to *dulce meum*.

labentis: For the verb cf. the different uses at 77 *labente die*; 223 *labere*. By 391 ... *conlapsaque membra* it will not be Dido's house that has fallen metaphorically, but the queen who has literally collapsed. Lurking here is the fear of Iarbas and the other threats enunciated by Anna at 39–44.

Amata echoes Dido's language at 12.59 ... *in te omnis domus inclinata recumbit*, as the doomed queen addresses Turnus. The house of Protesilaus cited at Homer, *Il.* 2.701 likely also lurks here.

istam: With suspense enacted by the striking hyperbaton: this adjective will not find its referent until the parallel last word of the next line. But whatever we imagine (for the length of a verse) will be the noun, we know that it has been cast in pejorative language.

319 oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.

oro: Emphatically placed. With the verb here cf. 435–436, as the queen requests her *extrema venia* from her former lover.

si quis ... locus: The language of increasing despair and hopelessness.

adhuc: 11× in the epic; only here in Book 4. Here it carries a strong air of poignance and hope against hope. Cf. Sinon at 2.142–144.

precibus: Cf. below at 612 *et nostras audite preces* (Dido in her invocation of the underworld deities); the noun 21× in the epic.

Precibus locus also at *Laus Pisonis* 246; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.509.

exue: This figurative use also at the parallel *G.* 2.51 *exuerint silvestrem animum*; so too in Livy and Tacitus, but relatively rare in extant literature. The imperative of the verb occurs also at 5.420 ... *et tu Troianos exue caestus*, of Entellus at the boxing match (and cf. 423 *exuit atque ingens media consistit harena*). Significantly, the not particularly common verb occurs also at 1.690 *exuit et gressus gaudens incedit Iuli*, of the disguise of Cupid; 2.153 *sustulit exutas vinclis ad sidera palmas*; note also 7.415–416 *Allecto torvam faciem et furialia membra / exuit ...*; 8.566–567 ... *cui tunc tamen omnis / abstulit haec animas dextra et totidem exuit armis*; 9.303–304 ... *umero simul exuit ense / auratum* (of Ascanius' gifts to Nisus); 11.394–395 ... *et Evandri totam cum stirpe videbit / procubuisse domum atque exutos Arcadas armis* (Turnus at the Latin war council).

mentem: Vid. Negri 1984, 172–175; 181. Here of Aeneas' intention and rational mind—the decision to leave. As Pease observes, this is the opposite of the reference to the queen's *mens benigna* with respect to Dido's reception of the Trojans; we have come full circle from the time when the principal concern was how the Carthaginians would welcome their guests.

320 *te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni*

The local threats to Dido are named in balanced pairs; the emphasis is on how Aeneas is to blame (*te propter*) for their exacerbated hostility to the queen. Conington explores the question of how Dido may or may not have learned of Iarbas' anger, but the theme of local danger has been developed already and is an important subplot both to explain character motivation and to evoke something of the history of Roman involvement in north Africa, especially the place of client kings in the context of Roman relations with Carthage.

te: In sound pattern with *tyranni* at line-end. The emphatic pronoun ascribes culpability; the effect is heightened by the enjambed verb of 321, and (especially) in the same verse by the repetition of *te propter*, with added intensive. Anastrophe: *te propter* is "not a common inversion" (Austin); the principal reason is to stress the pronoun, though Austin highlights also the undesirability of having a single spondaic word in the first position.

Pease does well to highlight that Dido is being "perhaps a little insincere" in casting (repeated) aspersions on Aeneas for her situation vis-à-vis her neighbors: it has been worsened since she commenced her affair with her Trojan lover, but it was already a serious problem.

Libycae gentes: Cf. Lucan, *BC* 9.515–516 *non illic Libycae gentes posuerunt ditia gentes / templa ...* At 40 above Anna spoke of the *Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile belli*, just before the Numidians; the present verse more or less replicates her warning, with a bit of geographical generalization. "West of Egypt" (Tilly); Dido wants to underscore the idea that she is hemmed in by many enemies, and "Libyan" is a suitably vague moniker. At 271 Mercury asked Aeneas why he tarried in Libyan lands (*Libycis ... terris*).

Nomadumque tyranni: Cf. Anna's warning about the *Numidae infreni* of 41. Below at 535 ... *Nomadumque petam conubia supplex*, Dido wonders about her (unappealing and increasingly unrealistic) options. *Nomades* here for *Numidae* has been explained on metrical grounds; as noted above on 41, the two terms are etymologically connected and refer to the same people. The variant reading *Numidumque* is an obvious attempt at unnecessary correction.

Tyrannus is not a common word in Virgil. At 1.361 it is applied to Sychaeus; at 7.266 of Aeneas; 342 of Latinus; 8.483 of Mezentius; 10.448 of Turnus; 12.75 again of Aeneas, the *Phrygius tyrannus*. At *G.* 4.492 it occurs of the lord of the underworld, the *immitis tyrannus*. Iarbas is the main referent; Dido does not name him here (that will come at 326), the Gaetolian monarch did not name her in his speech to Jupiter at 206–218. Already in Servius the commentary tradition notes that the word does not need to have negative connotations; here certainly it does—Pease notes that in Virgil such is usually the case.

321 **odere, infensi Tyrii; te propter eundem**

odere: Enjambment; juxtaposition with *infensi* of related sentiment. *Odisse* also at 2.158 *fas odisse viros ...* (Sinon to the Trojans who have welcomed him); 3.452 of those who leave the Sibyl after having been frustrated in their designs; 7.327 where even Pluto hates Allecto, just as her own sisters do (the Fury is perhaps the most hated figure in the epic); 10.503–505, where it is forecast that a time will come when Turnus will hate the spoils and death day of Pallas; 12.431 of how the seriously wounded Aeneas hates delay and wants to return to battle.

infensi Tyrii: Something of an ambiguity that deserves more notice than it has received. Anna focused at 43–44 above on how there were threats to Dido from her brother's realm in Tyre; more or less Dido's rendition of her foes here follows the order of her sister's (from a very different context). It is, however, easier to see how Dido's African neighbors would hate her because she had "married" Aeneas; why the Tyrians under Pygmalion would care is less obvious—they were already a threat to her anyway.

Likelier is that *Tyrii* refers to the Tyrians in Carthage. From the focus on the African neighbors, Dido turns to her own people. As Butler notes, this is the sole instance of a reference to the anger (indeed enmity) of the Carthaginians for Dido; he cites 235, where Jupiter noted to Mercury that Aeneas was delaying *spe inimica in gente*, though there the point was to warn of the threats to the Trojans from Carthage that had already occasioned Jupiter's dispatch of Mercury to north Africa at 1.297 ff. Here the context is the displeasure of Dido's own people for their ruler, who has neglected her queenly duties as her affair has increasingly dominated her life. Mackail wonders if Dido's comment about the *infensi Tyrii* is a product of her "fevered imagination," rather than a reflection of reality. See further below on 325 and the queen's mention of Pygmalion.

Some have seen a connection here to the Carthaginians alluded to at 545 below (*quos Sidonia vix urbe revelli*), possibly evidence of preexisting dissatisfaction with the queen; others have argued that there may have been people in Tyre still who were loyal to Dido, people who now were angry that she had dishonored the memory of Sychaeus. The first argument simply adds another element to local displeasure with the queen; the second is overly subtle and far less likely.

Infensus occurs only here in Book 4; at 2.72 it is applied by the liar Sinon to the *Dardanidae*; at 5.587 to the "combatants" in the *lusus Troiae*; at 641 to the fire that is used to try to burn the Trojan ships; note also 10.521 of Aeneas' spear wielded against Mago; 11.123 and 336 of Drances' disdain for Turnus; 859 of Opis as she prepares to kill Arruns; 899 in Acca's report to Turnus of the enemy

advance in the wake of Camilla's death; 12.232 of Etruria's attitude toward Turnus. MacLennan notes that it is "only Dido's word" that secures a welcome reception for the Trojans in Carthage; there is also the element of Jovian intervention with Mercury.

te propter: Reversal of balance from 320, where the anastrophe of the preposition came first in the line, followed by the mention of the hostile neighbors.

eundem: Following on the anaphora of *te propter*, and closing the line with a link back to the opening of 319. All the emphasis is on Aeneas' guilt and responsibility.

322 *extinctus pudor et, qua sola sidera adibam,*

extinctus pudor: For *pudor* cf. on 27 and 55. With *extinctus* we may compare especially the powerful *extinxti te meque, soror, populumque patresque | Sidonios urbemque tuam* at 682–683 below; note also 606. "Dido has forgotten that it was she herself who stifled it" (Austin). The metaphor is from the extinguishing of a flame—Dido is on fire for Aeneas, and that fire has (paradoxically) served to put out the former fire, as it were, of her sense of decorum and respect for Sychaeus. More enjambment: Aeneas is to blame for the queen's loss of *pudor* and, in consequence, her loss of any chance to win the crown of immortality.

There is a strong reminiscence here of 27 *ante, Pudor, quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo*—Dido's oath in that passage has been irrevocably broken, though here the fault is ascribed to Aeneas.

sola: Alliterative with *sidera*. The distinction between the idea of 1) that which alone would have been enough to render me glorious, even were there naught else, vs. 2) that which alone was my claim to glory may seem to totter on the verge of overly subtle analysis. But *sola* has a pathos all its own: all Dido really had was that which she has now lost on account of Aeneas (321 *te propter eundem*). *Sola* here will be echoed soon after at 324 *hoc solum nomen*.

sidera: Cf. 309; 489; 520; 578. The clear import of Dido's sentiment here is that the glory won by her past reputation (323 *fama prior*, which is coordinate with *pudor*)—that is, her *univira* loyalty to Sychaeus—is her means of future apotheosis. She had not, for example, achieved martial glory (or the splendid reputation of an epic or other poet); only her example of chaste devotion to her dead husband has given her a claim on immortality. *Qua sola* (with reference to her *fama*) underscores this. O'Hara connects the image of Dido's apotheosis with the glory accorded to the crown of Catullus' Ariadne; later the celebrated Catullan image of the lock of Berenice's hair (which aspired to the same immortality as Ariadne's crown) will figure in the death scene of Dido (see below on

698–699). See further Rutherford on Homer, *Od.* 19.108 (of Penelope), for the same image of the road to undying fame open to the chaste wife.

Stephenson prefers a metaphorical reading of the passage to avoid any reference to apotheosis; he was not moved by Henry's long note here to the contrary ("more than usually exciting"—Austin). Dido had aspired to that which Jupiter had predicted to Venus was the destined lot of her son: 1.259–260 ... *sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli | magnanimum Aenean.*

adibam: The verb also at 56; the future elsewhere in the epic only at 6.375, of the Sibyl to Palinurus. The imperfect is conative and frequentative: Dido had been drawing nearer to the stars every day that brought her closer to a grave worthy of the *univira* epitaph.

323 fama prior. cui me moribundam deseris, hospes

fama prior: Harking back to the signal role of Rumor and gossip since 173. *Fama prior* refers to the queen's *univira* reputation before the arrival of Aeneas, the *fama* that had been maintained by the rejection of suitors from north Africa. *Fama prior* here balances 322 *extinctus pudor*. Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 4.32 *nunc mihi, Fama prior mundique arcana Vetustas*; *Silv.* 1.1.8 *nunc age Fama prior notum per saecula nomen*; also Ovid, *Her.* 6.9–10 *Cur mihi fama prior de te quam littera venit: | isse sacros Marti sub iuga panda boves* (Hypsipyle of Jason).

cui: Deliberately vague; it could refer to another man (i.e., masculine pronoun), or to some fate (neuter). The preceding mention of the hostile neighbors points to the peril of the queen falling under the control of someone like Iarbas; the little pronoun is meant to encompass a broad range of possible horrible fates for Dido. *Cui* juxtaposed with *me*.

me: Alliterative with *moribundam*.

moribundam: Cf. 5.374 *perculit et fulva moribundum extendit harena* (the reminiscence of the boxer Dares' victory over Butes); 6.732 *terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra* (in the description of the rebirth of souls); 10.341 *dextraque ex umero nervis moribunda pependit* (of the severed limb of Alcanor); 590 *excussus curru moribundus volvitur arvis* (of Lucagus); also *G.* 3.488 (of a sacrificial victim). DServ. connects this adjective with 308 *moritura*; there the emphasis was on impending death, while now the point is to underscore the queen's weakened, enervated state. The variant reading *morituram* is an obvious enough error from the earlier passage.

deseris: The verb also at 144, in the very different description of how Apollo abandoned Lycia and the Xanthus. The reference here to Aeneas' abandoning of Dido will be echoed more strongly below at 582, as the Trojan vessels actually depart from the harbor. In *moribundam deseris* there is an effective moment of biting dental alliteration.

Virgil's Dido echoes Lucretius, *DRN* 3.128–129 *est igitur calor ac ventus vitalis in ipso / corpore qui nobis moribundos deserit artus*, where see Kenney. There is also a reminiscence of Creüsa's words to Aeneas at 2.677–678 ... *cui parvus Iulus, / cui pater et coniunx quondam tua dicta relinquitur?*

hospes: Very different from Dido's comment to Anna at 10 *quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes*. On the argument/charge that the queen's hospitality has been abused, see Newman and Newman 2005, 152. It is not much more than half a dozen lines since Dido was speaking of marriage; the tone of the queen's psychologically masterful speech has changed dramatically since 305 *perfide* and 311 *crudelis*. There is an effective play here on the twin senses of *hospes*; Aeneas has been Dido's guest, and now the guest is, as it were, abandoning the host, in reversal of the sort of reproach where a guest complains about a bad or neglectful reception. The vocative *hospes* recalls 1.753 *immo age et a prima dic, hospes, origine nobis*, at Dido's request for the story of Troy and the wanderings. Austin notes that a hundred lines later *hospes* will have changed into *hostis* (and a *superbus* one at that), at least in the description of Aeneas that Dido voices to her sister. Tilly highlights the reproach and bitter undertones of *hospes*.

According to Servius, Virgil read verse 323 and its successor with great emotion: "dicitur autem ingenti adfectu hos versus pronuntiasse, cum privatim paucis praesentibus recitaret Augusto; nam recitavit primum quartum et sextum." "It scarcely requires his authority to make us believe this" (Sidgwick).

324 (*hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat?*)

"... si mariti, inquit, vocabulo conventus preces meas audire non curas, has vel hospitibus religione commotus admitte" (Tib.).

solum: An interesting echo of 322 *qua sola*, of the reputation and renown by which alone Dido had a path to immortality. Here the argument is that *hospes* is all that remains from *coniunx*. We remember here 22 *solus hic inflexit sensus*, as Dido confessed her feelings about Aeneas to her sister.

coniuge: Cf. 316 *per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos*.

nomen: With a strong reminiscence of 172 *coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam*.

Ascanius will eerily recall this language at 9.297–298 *namque erit ista mihi genetrix nomenque Creüsa / solum defuerit ...*, with reference to Euryalus' mother. There is an echo of this passage in the opening verses of Seneca's *HF*: *Soror Tonantis hoc enim solum mihi / nomen relictum est ...* (1–2); cf. also Statius, *Theb.* 8.641–644 *prima videt caramque tremens Iocasta vocabat / Ismenen. namque hoc solum moribunda precat / vox generi, solum hoc gelidis iam nomen inerrat / faucibus* (with Augoustakis ad loc.). Ovid plays with Virgil's

imagery here at *Her.* 9.33 *vir mihi semper abest, et coniuge notior hospes*, where Deianeira complains about Hercules.

quoniam: See Pease for the postposition.

restat: The verb also at 1.555–556 *sin absumpta salus et te, pater optime Teu-
crum, | pontus habet Libyae nec spes iam restat Iuli*, in Ilioneus' address to Dido;
588 *restitit Aeneas claraque in luce refulsit*; 679 *dona ferens pelago et flammis
restantia Troiae* (Venus' reference to Cupid about Ascanius' bringing presents
for Dido); 2.70 ... *aut quid iam misero mihi denique restat* (Sinon to the Trojans,
with strong parallel to the queen's appeal here); 142–144 *per si qua est quae restet
adhuc mortalibus usquam | intemerata fides, oro, miserere laborum | tantorum,
miserere animi non digna ferentis* (Sinon again); 7.270–272 ... *generos externis
adfore ab oris, | hoc Latio restare canunt, qui sanguine nostrum | nomen in astra
ferant*; 10.29 ... *equidem credo, mea vulnera restant* (Venus at the divine council,
after her mention of fear about Diomedes); 367–368 ... *unum quod rebus restat
egenis, | nunc prece, nunc dictis virtutem accendit amaris* (Pallas encouraging his
men); 11.160–161 *contra ego vivendo vici mea fata, superstes | restarem ut genitor*
(Evander's lament for the dead Pallas); 12.793 *quae iam finis erit, coniunx? quid
denique restat?* (Jupiter to Juno).

Different shades of meaning, then, with several occurrences in contexts where it appeared (as here) that all else is lost. The most natural interpretation is that only *hospes* remains from her former status as *coniunx*; Dido is once again emphasizing that she considered Aeneas to be her (implicitly legal) husband, and that now he is once again only what he was at 1.753—a guest (and one who intends to leave forthwith). Servius notes other possible ways to construe: “*alii restat intellegunt ‘resisit,’ id est ‘contrarium tibi est.’ non nulli dicunt ‘hoc solum nomen quoniam superest, ut te coniugem dicam.’*”

There is a strong echo here of 172 above, where Dido was said to have covered her fault by calling her relationship with Aeneas a marriage (*coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam*). Not a brachylogy, as Pease correctly argues: Dido is to be interpreted literally and not figuratively.

325 *quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater*

quid moror?: The principal allusion here is to thoughts of suicide. Already in DServ. there was the question of whether this meant waiting in Carthage as opposed to traveling somewhere else; while it is true that at 543 below Dido rhetorically (and briefly) muses about accompanying the Trojans, there is no serious intention of this on either side of the now broken relationship, and the force of Dido's appeal is that for her to remain in Carthage means either suicide or an intolerable life as a thrall of Iarbas or a casualty of Pygmalion. *Moror* is alliterative with *mea* and *moenia* at start, middle, and end of verse.

There is an echo here of Jupiter's indignant words to Mercury about Aeneas' Carthaginian delay at 235 *quid struit? aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur*; the present language will be poignantly recalled at 649 *mente morata*, of Dido before her suicide.

an: The introduction of the implicitly unacceptable alternatives to the equally implicit suicide that lurks behind the entire speech.

Pygmalion ... frater: In threatening embrace around the *moenia* that ineffectually surround the queen; further, the word order follows an interlocking ABAB pattern with *mea* / *Pygmalion* / *moenia* / *frater*. *Moenia* and *frater* are also juxtaposed, so as to enact the image of the hostile brother at the walls.

Pygmalion is first referenced in Book 4 by Dido to Anna at 20–21, followed by Anna's oblique remark at 44 *germanique minas*; the disguised Venus had informed Aeneas about the backstory of Dido's murderous brother and lost husband at 1.346 ff.; there is no indication in the narrative of when or if Aeneas and Dido discussed the matter. For Pygmalion see S.F. Bondi in *EV* IV, 104–105; S. Casali in *VE* III, 1056. Pygmalion figures in the story of Dido related by Justin in his epitome of Trogus (18.4); note further Heyworth on Ovid, *Fast.* 3.377–378; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 8.63–64. For the semantic associations of his name with a fist (*pugnus*) and the notion of striking something, see Paschalis 1997, 45. Here the point is that he will come to strike at the (perhaps unfinished) walls. In the reference to the threats from her brother Pygmalion there is a strong reminiscence of the historical situation of Cleopatra in peril from her brother Ptolemy (more accurately, from Ptolemy's courtiers and military).

moenia: We recall that at 260–261 Mercury had found Aeneas working on the citadels of Carthage; part of his sojourn with Dido was spent on the fortification of her city that had been delayed once she was lost in her all-consuming passion (86–89). Dido had led Aeneas through the midst of the walls of her city at 74; cf. Juno's reference to *moenia nostra* in her remarks to Venus at 96–97; the royal walls that Jupiter had turned his eyes to at 220–221. Dido just before her suicide will make a final reference at 655 *mea moenia vidi* to the walls of Carthage. Poignantly, Aeneas will look back at these *moenia* at 5.3–4 *moenia respiciens, quae iam infelicis Elissae / conlucent flammis*, where he will be uncertain as to the cause of the disaster, but all too well aware of what a raving woman is capable of doing (6 ... *notumque furens quid femina possit*).

326 *destruat aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas?*

destruat: Alliterative with *ducat*. This is the only occurrence of the verb in Virgil. Here in an especially powerful enjambment to describe the predicted action of the angry brother. The verb is not particularly common in either poetry or prose even participially; note Ovid, *Ars* 2.312; *Met.* 15.235; *Fast.* 5.132; Manilius,

Ast. 3.627; Calpurnius Siculus, *E.* 5.37 *destruat ut niveos venalis caseus agnos*; Lucan, *BC* 8.28 and 9.1042; Ps.-Seneca, *Oct.* 611; 631; Statius, *Theb.* 12.93.

captam: Echoed soon after at 330 *non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer*. Cf. Catullus, c. 62.24 *quid faciunt hostes capta crudelius urbe?*; in the rendition of the girls' chorus of the cruelties of marriage.

ducat: Worse in Dido's estimation than to face the destructive threats of her brother: he will kill her, while Iarbas will enslave her. The language is effectively ordered: one might usually expect a city to be taken, and then the women to be carried off as captives; in Dido's sarcastic recital of her intolerable options, she faces the risk of attack from not one but two parties, one of whom most definitely has sexual designs on her.

Gaetulus Iarbas: Harking back to 40 *hinc Gaetulae urbes*. Geographical imprecision again (how well does the relative newcomer Dido know the peoples and places of north Africa?), since Iarbas was not, strictly speaking, a Gaetulian.

Ovid echoes Dido's remark here about her persistent, angry suitor at *Her.* 7.125 *quid dubitas vinctam Gaetulo trader Iarbae*.

327 *saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset*

Halting word order, with an abundance of "little words," as Dido raises a sensitive and intimate point of argument for the close of her address: if only she had become pregnant.

saltem: The commencement of an almost whispering, sibilant alliterative pattern with *si* and *suscepta*, which is carried on by 328 *suboles*. *Saltem* occurs also at 1.557 *at freta Sicaniae saltem sedesque paratas*, in Ilioneus' note that Sicily remains an option if all else is lost; 6.371 *sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam* (the appeal of the shade of Palinurus); 885–886 *his saltem accumulem donis et fungar inani | munere* (the shade of Anchises regarding Marcellus); cf. the powerful appeal concerning Augustus near the end of the first *Georgic* at 500–501 *hunc saltem everso iuvenem succurrere saeclo | ne prohibete!* Servius connects the language here with that used by prisoners who seek their life when all else has been lost; this interpretation follows naturally on the fear of capture in 326. "Emphatic both by position and rhythm" (Austin). Here a spondaic word in first *sedes* is deliberately used for the slow, cautious start of what Dido considers her strongest emotional weapon.

si qua: The words will build up slowly and steadily as we move to *suscepta* and then to 328 *suboles*. *Si qua* here is echoed at once by 328 *si quis*.

mihi de te: More effectively juxtaposed personal pronouns. Dative of agent. *Mihi* is repeated in 328 for heightened emotional import.

suscepta: The verb will recur in the very different context of 391 ... *suscipiunt*

famulae conlapsaque membra, as Dido's handmaidens care for her in her fainting episode (paralleled at 11.805–806 *concurrunt trepidae comites dominamque ruentem / suscipiunt*, after the fatal wounding of Camilla); cf. 1.175 *succepitque ignem foliis*; 438 *Aeneas ait et fastigia suspicit urbis*, as the Trojan gazes on the Carthaginian bees at work; 6.629 *sed iam age, carpe viam et susceptum perforce munus* (the Sibyl to Aeneas); 668 *hunc habet atque umeris exstantem suspicit altis* (of Musaeus in Elysium); 723 *suspicit Anchises atque ordine singula pandit* (as the Pythagorean discourse commences). Only here then of offspring, and in this case of a child who will never be conceived. This use of the verb with reference to children can be cited as early as comedy; see Shipp on Terence, *And.* 219 on the custom of the taking up of children as an acknowledgment of paternity and legitimacy. Cleopatra and Antony had children together; no such possibility existed of course for Dido and Aeneas. Cleopatra's son Caesarion was conveniently removed from the chessboard. For the use of *susceptus* as the past participle of *tollere* see Shipp on *And.* 401. *Suscipere* of the mother and not the father also at Plautus, *Epid.* 561. Austin argues that the more "literal" meaning is preferable here (i.e., of Dido picking up the child). But alongside this there is the question of Aeneas' recognition of any pregnancy. For the biological "frankness" of *suscepta* see Newman and Newman 2005, 141.

Ovid's Dido tries to trump Virgil's on this question: *Forsitan et gravidam Dido, scelerate, relinquo, / parsque tui lateat corpore clausa meo. / accedet fati matris miserabilis infans, / et nondum nato funeris auctor eris, / cumque parente sua frater morietur Iuli, / poenaque conexas auferet una duos* (*Her.* 7.133–138).

fuisset: "She alone in this book uses *fuisset* (18), with its sighing might-have-been, a tense from which she extracts unforgettable pathos at 327, and then rises to passionate intensity in her curse at 603, developed with a clear reminiscence of Medea (Apollonius, *Arg.* iv. 391–393)" (Newman and Newman 2005, 123). The reference to 18 *si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset* is particularly poignant, coming as it does in a remembrance of the loss of Sychaeus.

Juvenal alludes to the present passage at s. 5.137–139 ... *dominus tamen et domini rex / si vis tum fieri, nullus tibi parvulus aula / luserit Aeneas nec filia dulcior illo* (where see Braund, and Courtney). Modern critics have not found fodder here for sarcasm and satire; cf. Williams' "Nowhere else in the *Aeneid* (or in epic) is such immediacy of feeling presented this way"; "To a speech which would move a stone Aeneas replied with the cold and formal rhetoric of an attorney" (Page 1894, xviii).

328 ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula

ante fugam: Directly echoing 314 *mene fugis*? We recall also 281 *ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras*. Conington is right that *fugam* is a note of reproach; the strong implication is that Aeneas would leave Dido behind even if she were pregnant. Cf. Servius' "et amatorie et amare."

suboles: The noun only here in the epic; cf. *E.* 4.49; *G.* 3.71; 308; 4.100. "A shepherd's or farmer's term ... The queen speaks plainly about a delicate subject. Women are not afraid of biological realities. They have too much at risk." (Newman and Newman 2005, 141). Anna had spoken of children at 33 *nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris*?

si quis mihi: Echoing the language of 327, and with deliberate juxtaposition of the imagined child and the lovesick queen.

parvulus: "This is the only occurrence of a diminutive adjective in the whole *Aeneid*" (Austin). "Epic requires a type of diction which precludes the homely and the intimate" (Williams). For something of the verbal massacre of Virgil's poignant moment one may compare Stanyhurst's version: "A cockney dandiprat hophthumb / Prittye lad Aeneas." Servius took the desire for a child to be proof of love ("amor autem ex filii desiderio comprobatur"); we may recall however the disturbing image of 84–85 above. For *parvulus* cf. Catullus, c. 61.209 *Torquatus volo parvulus*. Silius has it of Cupid (*Pun.* 7.443); see Lightfoot ad loc. for the "sentimentality of the neoteric diminutive." We may compare Apuleius, *Met.* 5.13 ... *sic in hoc saltem parvulo cognoscam faciem tuam* (Psyche to her husband), with clear reminiscence of the present plea; see further Kenney ad loc. Dido is certain that the child will be a boy, in part because her principal reason for wanting a child is to have someone who will remind her of Aeneas (for the secondary consideration see below on *aula*). For the "frustrated maternity" question, see Newman and Newman 2005, 120.

For the satisfaction of the anxious, one may note that 3.343 *avunculus* (of Hector) is a technical diminutive; for such recondite observations vid. Ladewig 1870, 11. More sentimental and less lexical considerations may be found in Austin's extended note here.

aula: Cf. 1.140–141 ... *illa se iactet in aula | Aeolus et clauso ventorum carcere regnet*; 3.354 *aulai medio libabant pocula Bacchi* (at Buthrotum); otherwise in Virgil the noun occurs only at *G.* 2.504; 4.90; 202. Pease has a good note here on the implications of the word: Dido may be overcome with emotion at the thought of Aeneas abandoning her, but her reflection on a child includes a clear allusion to the son as royal heir. The implication throughout this appeal is that any offspring would remain with Dido; some have seen in that an implicit admission on the queen's part that she knew that the relationship was illegitimate (and cf. 172 above).

329 luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,

The imperfect subjunctives neatly frame the verse.

luderet: The verb only here in the book; we may recall 1.407–408 *quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis / ludis imaginibus*, as Aeneas reproached his mother for her masquerade. An occasion for more sentimental commentary from some critics: Aeneas will come closest to having a chance to “play” only in the next book, in Sicily.

The playful image of a little Aeneas is made more ominous by the echo here of 1.352 *multa malus simulans vana spe lusit amantem*, of the cruel behavior of Pygmalion toward Dido when he deceived her about the fate of her husband.

Aeneas: The key point, as Dido moves from *suboles* and *parvulus* to the real focus of her desire for a child.

tamen: Of subtle and ambiguous meaning that has been debated since antiquity; also of textual dispute, with the variant *tantum* as the reading of the *recentiores* (defended by Henry because it would clarify the sentiment and limit it to reproach and recrimination). “Beautiful and untranslatable” (Page’s judgment, followed by Austin; cf. Maclennan’s “... but it can barely be translated”). The more positive aspects of interpretation here would refer to the idea that the child would remind Dido of Aeneas even while Aeneas himself is far away; the negative connotation would be that the child will be like Aeneas in physical appearance and not in *mores*. “A Vergilian usage, implying an unexpressed thought” (Tilly). Alliterative with *te*, and closely connected with the pronoun. *Tamen* also contrasts the framing verbs of the verse—the *parvulus Aeneas* is playing, but for Dido, his purpose is to recall her *quondam* lover. Gould and Whiteley simply advise their schoolboys to “ignore in translation.”

ore referret: Echoing 11 *quam sese ore ferens*, of the queen’s reflections on Aeneas’ handsome appearance. More alliteration: *ore referret*; on this see Pease *ad 47 surgere regna*. *Referret* means “to recall”; here it also has a shade of the literal sense of “bring back”—the child will, as it were, transport Aeneas back to his lover. Much of Dido’s speech is a reworking of themes developed in her early morning address to Anna from the start of the book. There is the further theme of how Aeneas was asked to recall the destiny of Ascanius, while Dido yearns for an alternate history in which there will be a child of Troy and Carthage. The final nail in the coffin of that *topos* will come at 11.72 ff., in the Pallas requiem.

330 non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.”

non equidem: Also at 8.129 *non equidem extimui Danaum quod ductor et Arcas*; 10.793 *non equidem nec te, iuvenis miserande, silebo* (of Lausus); cf. E. 1.11–12 *Non equidem invideo, miror magis: undique totis / usque adeo turbatur agris ...*

omnino: Elsewhere in Virgil only at 9.248 *non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis* (Aletes in his invocation to the gods).

capta ac deserta: The concluding image of the pitiful queen. *Capta* recalls 326 *captam*; *deserta* echoes 323 *deseris*. For *deserta* cf. 468 and 677 below, and for the verb see on 144: the image of Apollo leaving Lycia and Xanthus and proceeding to his maternal Delos has taken on new meaning in light of Aeneas' plan to depart from Carthage. As the commentators have observed, the language the queen uses in self-description is that of a captured city; Dido's fate is always closely linked to that of Carthage (for the evocation of Scipio and 146 B.C. see Newman and Newman 2005, 52). There is also a strong reminiscence of the Ariadne of Catullus, c. 64.56–57 *utpote fallaci quae tum primum excita somno / desertam in sola miseram se cernat harena*.

Capta probably refers to Iarbas, the referent of the captivity imagery above; the alternative is to take it of Dido's state of captivity in her passion for Aeneas, or the related image of how she has been deceived by her now former lover. She has been wronged, in her estimation, by two men, and a third waits in the wings to drive her into servitude. For *capere* of deception Stephenson comments: "*Capio* in this sense differs from *decipio* in that it always implies harm done to the person deceived. Lucr. IV. 16 *deceptaque non capiatur*, 'be beguiled but not to its hurt.'"

viderer: The closing word of the speech is all too easy to pass over. It carries a hint of the image of public respectability and indeed the *fama prior* (323) that has been lost. The close of the address is markedly different from its commencement. The last word carries a connotation of appearances and that which seems to be so; the first word, *dissimulare*, referenced dissembling and falsehood. The *parvulus Aeneas* for which Dido laments as a lost chance at essentially fooling herself echoes the same aspect of deception as at 85 *si fallere possit amorem*.

Dido's childlessness and her lament here has been interpreted as a response to those who accused Caesar of having fathered a child with Cleopatra (i.e., Caesarion), see A.A. Barrett, "Dido's Child: A Note on *Aeneid* 4.327–330," in *Maia* 25 (1973), 51–53; cf. Griffin 1985, 184. Drew 1927, 83 saw an allegory for Octavian's divorce of Scribonia on the day Julia was born. A difficult question: one wonders if anyone really doubted that Caesar was father to Cleopatra's child, though of course his violent departure from the stage rendered the paternity question academic. Seeing Scribonia in Sidonia is difficult to countenance even for editors quite open to allegorical speculation. Dido had been compared to Diana; the goddess was a patroness of childbirth, which adds another level of (deliberate) inconcinnity to the association.

For an argument that Dido the bee here surrenders to the invading shepherd in what amounts to a "hollow pastoral" for the epic see Newman and Newman

2005, 103 (and 122 on the “completion” of the hunt, with Dido as the vanquished quarry); also below on 335 *Elissa* as incomplete *Melissa*.

331–361 Aeneas makes his response, in his only speech in the book. The Homeric model is Odysseus’ address to Calypso at *Od.* 5.214–224, though Virgil has significantly reworked his closest epic antecedent. The next thirty lines have occasioned a wide spectrum of critical comment, ranging from the “despicable” Aeneas of the Victorian Page to the “pity” for the proto-Roman championed by the post-war Austin. “The last words spoken by Aeneas to Dido in the world of life” (Highet 1972, 72). For a positive view of Aeneas here see especially Cairns 1989, 52–53; Stahl 2016, 231 ff. Mackie 1988, 83 ff. provides a balanced appraisal. Sidgwick actually considered this address to be “soothing.”

331 *Dixerat. ille Iovis monitis immota tenebat*

Dixerat: The pluperfect of Dido’s address frames the verse with the imperfect of Aeneas’ action; further, the opening verb of the queen’s completion of her speech is juxtaposed with the demonstrative referring to her interlocutor. With the position and form of the verb cf. 238 *Dixerat*, of the conclusion of Jupiter’s very different remarks to Mercury; also 663, just after Dido’s last words as she simultaneously stabs herself. “Forming a barrier between a speech and its consequences” (Maclennan). On the tense here and its parallels at 4.238; 8.520; and 11.132 see Adema 2019, 190.

ille: Followed at once by the name of the god whose presence has loomed over the affairs of mortals since the dispatch of Mercury at 238 ff.

Iovis monitis: A good example of how Virgil packs much into a relatively brief collocation. The ablative is likely causal; Aeneas kept holding his eyes fixed (*lumina* effectively enjambed) because of the admonition of Jove that Mercury had delivered. There is a strong echo here of 282 *attonitus tanto monitu*, of Aeneas’ first reaction to the divine herald’s message. For the noun note also 8.503–504 ... *tum Etrusca resedit / hoc acies campo monitis exterrita divum*; 8.35–36 *his posuere locis, matrisque egere tremenda | Carmentis nymphae monita det deus auctor Apollo*; 10.110 *sive errore malo Troiae monitisque sinistris* (Jupiter at the divine council with reference to the Trojans trapped in their camp). There is a direct echo of the present reference at 10.689–690 *At Iovis interea monitis Mezentius ardens | succedit pugnae Teucrosque invadit ovantis* (where see Harrison), a difficult passage in which the supreme god rouses Mezentius to the fight so that he will proceed to death for his impiety, and this despite the god’s previous edict of neutrality. There is an alliterative echo between *monitis* and the consequences that follow immediately: *immota*. “Bene praescribit, ne ei det impietatem” (Servius). The theme of divine ordinance will return in Aeneas’ words to Dido’s shade at 6.461 *iussa deum*.

immota: With the enjambed *lumina* of 332 in frame around the verb. *Immota* coordinates well with *tenebat*, as the force of the verse is on the absolute absence of motion. The adjective will recur to powerful effect below at 449 *mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes*. Here it echoes 15 *si mihi animo fixum immotumque sederet*, of Dido's feelings at the start of the book for her status as an *univira*. Now it is Aeneas who here and in a little over a hundred verses will be unmoving.

tenebat: Durative; conative; frequentative—many shades of the tense are present here to describe the Trojan hero in his hour of great crisis. Austin is correct that the exact force of the verb is determined in part by one's appraisal of Aeneas. But the conative force in particular haunts the speech as it commences, and is hinted at by 332 *obnixus*. The verb here is balanced in rhyming sound effect with 332 *premebat*.

332 *lumina et obnixus curam sub corde premebat.*

lumina: Enjambment and position to underscore the key word. Servius has a note on the physical indicator of the eyes as what English idiom calls a “window into the soul.” The present description of the *immota lumina* will be echoed at 6.469 *illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*, where the verb recalls 331 *tenebat*, and where the “fixed eyes” may be seen as even more “final” than the “unmoving eyes” of Aeneas: in *immota* there is a hint of *mota*, after all, and we are reminded in the passage of the struggle of Aeneas to keep from crying or relenting; with Dido's shade there is no such element of emotional tension. The eyes are not turned away (cf. not only the eyes of Dido's shade in the underworld, but also those of the goddess Pallas in the picture in Dido's temple (1.482 *diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*)—the queen had a model for her own action in an artwork that Aeneas too had seen. We may compare 362–364, with its note about the reaction of Dido's eyes to the present speech. Ovid's Argus could keep his eyes on Io even when he was *aversus* (*Met.* 1.629 *ante oculos Io, quamvis aversus, habebat*). Aeneas is not ashamed, as the commentators observe; it is noteworthy, however, that Virgil does not make clear where his eyes are focused.

obnixus: Crucial to the characterization. At 406 *obnixae* recurs of the ants to which Aeneas' busy men are compared as they prepare for the departure; cf. 5.21 *nec nos obniti contra* (Palinurus to Aeneas in the storm after leaving Carthage); 205–206 ... *et acuto in murice remi | obnixi crepuere inlisaque prora pependit* (of Sergestus' beached vessel); 9.725 *obnixus latis umeris* (of Pandarus); 10.359 ... *stant obnixa omnia contra* (in the comparison of a battle scene to the conflict of raging winds); 12.105 *arboris obnixus trunco* (of the bull to which Turnus is compared); 721 *cornuaque obnixi infigunt ...* (of the fighting bulls to which Aeneas and Turnus are compared). Of physical effort (see Pease); Austin argues for an

emphasis on mental effort. The two are inextricably intertwined; the contrast between the physical and the mental is at the heart of the powerful verse 449. We are reminded in this speech that neither Jupiter nor Mercury advised any further meetings with Dido.

curam: Alliterative with *corde*, with which it closely correlates. *Curam* returns us to the problem of 4.1 and the queen's grave anxiety and care. The noun that expresses stress and care is juxtaposed with the participle of effort. The language is effective in its very simplicity; the *cura* is clearly with reference to amatory affection, though Aeneas has more than enough right now to cause him anxiety. With *curam* cf. 341 *curas*.

corde: For the heart as the seat of emotion and feelings see Negri 1984, 194–196. Only here in the epic is it cited in connection with love.

premebat: Balancing *tenebat* from the previous line-end, and again with conative and durative force. For the verb cf. on 81; 148: interestingly, in those two uses it was of the moon and then Apollo; here of the hero who was compared to the god at the hunt. There is an echo of 1.209 ... *premit altum corde dolorem*, of Aeneas after the landing in Carthage; Conington is correct that here the verb is used more forcefully. On the parallel passage note O'Hara 1990, 8–9, 134–137.

333 *tandem pauca refert*: “*ego te, quae plurima fando*

tandem: Cf. 304, where the same word was used as Dido was preparing to begin her angry address. Once again there is no certainty as to the amount of time that has passed. Austin highlights the successful word order (better than *pauca tandem refert*), with the spondaic disyllabic word first: the emphasis is on how Aeneas is weighing his words very carefully before he commences.

pauca: Repeated almost at once at 337 *pro re pauca loquar*. In point of fact Aeneas' speech will be longer than Dido's. Alliterative and in deliberate contrast with *plurima*. An interesting detail: both Aeneas and the poet-narrator use *pauca*; an argument could be developed that Dido deserves more than this speech. MacLennan highlights the Roman virtue of brevity; in context the problem is that though Aeneas' speech may be thought inadequate for its subject, it manages still to be longer than that of his former lover. For Page there is an authorial indictment of the hero here; Austin dissents.

refert: Cf. 304 *compellat* of Dido at the start of her address.

ego te: The first words of the speech powerfully juxtapose Aeneas and Elissa. Not perhaps the best way the Trojan hero could have commenced his reply.

quae plurima fando: A difficult expression, with hypermetric expansion. This is the direct response to 317–318 *si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam / dulce meum*; some critics have argued that Aeneas is being insulting here, since

quae plurima seems to imply that Dido has made what she has done for Aeneas a major feature of her speech. Anyone who has tried to parse the speech of a lost lover understands the problems inherent to this exchange; whatever Aeneas or Dido says will be hyperanalyzed. One could assert that Aeneas labors with guilt due to his awareness of all that the queen has done. Newman and Newman 2005, 126–127 argue that there is a gender contrast here: Aeneas presents a case for masculine brevity as opposed to feminine loquacity. If so, there is also a sense of irony given its relative length. Servius found the “few words” to be more than adequate for the task, rendering a positive verdict on all possible elements of charge and accusation against Aeneas.

fando: For the gerund at line-end compare 293–294 ... *quae mollissima fandi / tempora*, of Aeneas’ plan to try to find the best time in which to speak to Dido. A dismal failure of a strategy.

334 *enumerare vales, numquam, regina, negabo*

enumerare: The verb recurs at 6.717–718 ... *hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum, | quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta*, as the shade of Anchises announces his wish to unveil the Parade of Heroes. The start of an alliterative pattern that provides an anchor for the verse: *enumerare; numquam; negabo*. The verb is prosaic and relatively rare in verse; cf. Ovid, *Ars* 1.253–254 *Quid tibi femineos coetus venatibus aptos | enumerem?*; *Met.* 1.214–215 *longa mora est, quantum noxae sit ubique repertum, | enumerare*; Statius, *Theb.* 1.232; 2.163; 5.190; 10.464; *Silv.* 3.1.102; *Ach.* 1.140; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 13.522 and 852; never in Manilius; Lucan; Valerius. The long infinitive at the start of the verse enacts the idea of a long recitation of benefits conferred; this contrasts deliberately with Aeneas’ sentiment that he has but a little to say (337). But again, we are left with the fact that Dido did not say very much on this point (Aeneas knows of course that she could). We may well have here a case of unintentionally unsympathetic phraseology: Aeneas and Dido are not remotely on the same page, as it were.

vales: The verb only here in Book 4.

numquam: Prominent at midverse. Cf. also on 658. The beginning of a striking number of negatives: *numquam | negabo | 335 nec | 336 neque | 337 ne | nec*. Aeneas takes pains to deny any accusation (implicit or otherwise) of lack of gratitude. *Numquam* with *negabo* is Ciceronian (*De Leg.* 2.5.23); cf. Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 15.396 ... *numquam hoc tibi, Roma, negabo*. The words of denial frame the queen.

regina: He addresses her with the formal title of queen in the vocative before referring to her personal name in the third person at the end of the next verse. Cleopatra is *regina* on the shield at 8.696 and 707.

negabo: Also below at 428 *cur mea dicta negat duras dimittere in auris*? The same verb and form at 2.78 ... *neque me Argolica de gente negabo* (of Sinon). The opening of Aeneas' speech attempts to deflect the imputation of ingratitude. In fairness to Aeneas, Irvine's judgment is correct: "Dido's appeal to pity is harder to meet than fury would have been."

335 *promeritam, nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae,*

References to the queen balance the verse.

promeritam: Artfully placed first with rhetorical precision, to flatter the queen in expression of the gratitude that is owed. This is the only occurrence of *promereri* in Virgil. Aeneas echoes Dido's 317 *merui*.

me: At 333, *ego* and *te* were juxtaposed; in the present line, *me* and *Elissae* are separated by the verbs of memory and shame. *Promeritam* is alliterative with *pigebit* (framing the alliterative *me meminisse*); the two words connote widely divergent concepts.

meminisse: For Aeneas' "profound statement" about the undying memory of Elissa see Seider 2013, 117. Williams comments rightly on the Stoic inappropriateness of such a pledge with respect to something that is shameful. Alliterative and in sound balance after *me* of the one who will be doing the remembering (and cf. *promeritam*). The emphasis on memory is underscored at once by 336 *memor ipse mei*, again with strong correlation between the act and the person performing it.

pigebit: A strong verb, also at 5.678 ... *piget incepti lucisque* (of the reaction of the Trojan women in the wake of the discovery of the burning of the ships); 7.233 *nec Troiam Ausonios gremio excepisse pigebit* (Ilioneus at the court of Latinus). The verb of shame is juxtaposed with the name that arguably should bring embarrassment to the hero. It "has the sense of reluctance or distastefulness, not directly of regret" (Mackail).

Elissae: The first of but three uses of this name in the poem; note W.C. McDermott, "Elissa," in *TAPA* 74 (1943), 205–214. Marlowe's Eliza. *Elissa Tyria, quam quidem Dido autumant* (Velleius Paterculus 1.6.4). At 610 below it is used by the queen herself in her reference to the *di morientis Elissae*; lastly at 5.3–4 *moenia respiciens, quae iam infelicis Elissae / conlucent flammis*, it is employed by the poet-narrator as he describes Aeneas' backward glance at the walls of Carthage and the glow from the flames. The name thus appears only in the genitive, and only at the end of a verse ("Dido" is never used by Virgil in the oblique cases, though other poets have no such qualms—cf. the obscene use of her name in *Priap.* 67). Williams sees no difference in meaning between Dido and Elissa save metrical considerations (but on how double names matter, see Newman and Newman 2005, 271–272). For the possible semantic associations

of the name Elissa with prayers of entreaty, see Paschalis 1997, 170; on Elissa in the foundation legends of Carthage note Hoyos 2010, 7–12. At 7.64 ff. Virgil will employ apian imagery to describe the arrival of the Trojans in Latium; at 1.430 ff., the Carthaginians at work on their city will be compared to bees. It will be Lavinia who will serve as the queen bee, as it were, in Italy, and not Dido; the Carthaginian queen is Elissa and not Melissa, and thus a failed queen for the Trojan swarm (on this see Fratantuono 2008; cf. J. Grant, “Dido Melissa,” in *Phoenix* 23 (1969), 380–391). For the reborn soul as a μέλισσα (cf. the parallel of Dido to Orpheus’ Eurydice) see Horsfall on 6.707–709; Clausen 2002, 85 on the question of why the poet uses this name in select places. A priestess could be called a bee (vid. Braswell *ad* Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.60 (c)); Dido will not be a priestess, but she will practice necromancy.

Dido had also spoken of herself in the third person (308), though there remains the matter of whether Dido is more of a title and Elissa the proper name, with resultant question of degree of intimacy implied by using it here. DServ. glosses Elissa: “*Elissae autem ‘Didonis,’ quae appellata est lingua Punica virago, cum se in pyram sponte misisset, fingens placare manes prioris mariti, cum nubere se velle Iarbae mentiretur.*” See Pease on the *El-* of the name as the Semitic equivalent of θεός (i.e., the “Theiosso” of Timaeus, fr. 23 Müller (*FHG* 1, 197); our knowledge of Timaeus’ Dido lore is due to the anonymous *De Mulieribus*; vid. Gera 1997, 126–140—*DM* 6 = *FGrH* 566 F82, etc.). Ovid names Elissa at *Am.* 2.18.31; *Her.* 7.102; 193; *Ars* 3.40; *Fast.* 3.553; 612; 623; Statius at *Silv.* 3.1.74; 4.2.1; 5.2.120; Juvenal at s. 6.435; often in Silius; also in Justin’s epitome of Trogus (18.5). “The use of her personal name in her native tongue simultaneously has an emotive effect and avoids the problem of settling on a genitive form of Dido” (P.E. Knox in *VE* 1, 363). Wanderer; virago; would-be bee: here relegated to the memory and not the embrace of the lover.

336 *dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.*

dum ... dum: The repeated proviso of solemn assurance. There is a strong echo here of far happier times: cf. 1.607–610 *in freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbrae / lustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascet, / semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt, / quae me cumque vocant terrae.* Triple *dum* there reduced to double here. Apollonius’ Jason pledges to Medea that he will not forget her, provided that he avoids death (*Arg.* 3.1079–1080).

memor ... mei: Echoing 335 *me meminisse.* *Ipse* and *mei* are effectively juxtaposed. The language is wonderfully rich: Aeneas means that he will be forever mindful of Dido, but it is phrased to say that he will remember her as long as he remembers himself—and in the present context, part of the problem is that the queen thinks he is being self-centered and insufficiently mindful of her state.

Memory is elsewhere a haunting concern for Aeneas: cf. 1.203 ... *forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit*.

spiritus: "In principio vitale" (Negri 1984, 189; 279). For the verb with *regit* cf. the imitation at Lucan, *BC* 1.456–457 ... *regit idem spiritus artus / orbe alio* (with Roche). The noun also at 5.648 ... *qui spiritus illi*, as Pyrgo points out to the Trojan women that Beroe is not who she seems to be; 12.365–366 ... *cum spiritus alto / insonat Aegaeo*; and note especially 6.726–727 *spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus / mens agitat* ..., at the start of the eschatological revelations of the shade of Anchises (imitated by Ovid at *Met.* 15.166–168 *huc venit, huc illuc, et quoslibet occupant artus / spiritus eque feris humana in corpora transit / inque feras noster* ...). Here with perhaps no hint of the *anima mundi* of that grand exposition; rather of the breath of life that contrasts with the limbs; this antithesis is felt also at 704–705, as Iris snips the fateful lock of Dido's blond hair. There is, however, a glimmer of the idea that the memory of Elissa will remain long in the Roman imagination via the chain of events set into motion in Carthage in Books 1 and 4.

hos: Deictic.

regit: For the tense (present vs. future) see Pease. The expression is especially vivid. The verb also in Book 4 at 102 and 232.

artus: Cf. 385 ... *cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus* (Dido in her threat to Aeneas); 695 *quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus* (in the description of the sending of Iris to end her death agonies). Note also Lucan, *BC* 4.463–464 *quisquis inest terris in fessos spiritus artus / egeritur*.

"The words come more quickly now" (Austin). The Homeric inspiration here is *Il.* 22.387–388 (where see De Jong), of Achilles' pledge never to forget Patroclus. For how the present promise will be fulfilled in the requiem for Pallas in Book 11, see Henry 1989, 161 (in Virgil, the topos of prematurely doomed youth supplants the Homeric conception of Patroclus as being older than Achilles, even if not by much (cf. *Il.* 11.787)). Apuleius quotes the present verse at *Flor.* 16.114.

337 *pro re pauca loquar. neque ego hanc abscondere furto*

pro re: Ambiguous; it refers either to the immediate situation of Aeneas' planned departure that Dido has discovered, or to the ability of Aeneas to respond to the charge that Dido leveled against him at 305–306.

pauca: The character echoes his composer (333).

loquar: For the verb note 105; 276; and especially Dido's *quid loquor? aut ubi sum? quae mentem insania mutat?* (595).

ego: Cf. 333.

hanc: Hyperbaton.

abscondere: The infinitive is juxtaposed with the noun that also connotes treachery. The verb elsewhere in the poem only at 3.291 *protinus aërias Phaeacum abscondimus arces*; cf. *G.* 1.221 and 3.558.

furto: Commencing an alliterative pattern with 338 *ne finge fugam*. The noun is not common in the epic; at 6.24 it is used of the trick by which Daedalus was able to assist in the gratification of Pasiphaë's taurine lust; cf. 658–659 *quae quis apud superos furto laetatus inani / distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem* (in the description of Rhadamanthus' underworld justice). At 9.150 Turnus uses it of the *inertia furta* the Trojans need not fear (e.g., the Wooden Horse); at 350 it aptly describes Euryalus' grisly work in the night raid. Juno angrily invokes the image of such trickery and deceit at the divine council (10.90–91 ... *quae causa fuit consurgere in arma / Europamque Asiamque et foedera solvere furto?*); Mezentius does not rely on stealth but on the blunt force of arms (735 ... *haud furto melior sed fortibus armis*); Turnus prepares an ambush (11.515 *furta*) for Aeneas and his infantry force that plans its own secret attack on Latinus' city under cover of the frontal cavalry assault. There is papyrological attestation for *furtim*. With the language here cf. Apuleius, *Met.* 9.21.5 ... *sublatis iis et in sinum furtim absconditis* ... One might take issue with Aeneas' denial here of any trickery or subterfuge; the evidence of 290–291 is telling.

“The reader will form his own opinion of Aeneas' veracity” (Hardy).

338 *speravi (ne finge) fugam, nec coniugis umquam*

The verse moves from the question of Aeneas' secret flight to a far more delicate and controversial subject.

speravi: Responding directly to Dido's charge at 305; cf. 292 ... *et tantos rumpi non speret amores*; cf. also below on 419. Aeneas had planned an active deception in his concealment of the preparations for departure; he did not, however, intend to abscond from Carthage without telling Dido, and that forms the substance of his brief of self-defense here. This is the first of three perfects, which form something of an ascending tricolon as Aeneas responds to Dido's charges: he did not anticipate a secret flight, and he did not pretend that there was a marriage or enter into some alliance.

ne: The use of this negative particle with the present imperative is a poeticism; cf. 6.544 *ne saevi*.

finge: Alliterative with *fugam* as well as with 337 *furto*. For the verb cf. 188 in the description of Rumor. Deft handling of the accusation: Aeneas truthfully denies one aspect of the charge, while glossing over the fact that he did instruct his men to commence preparations for the exit in secret and with dissimulation.

fugam: Cf. 72; 155; 284; 306; 314; 328; also below at 400; 430; 543; 575.

coniugis: Following in order from Dido's accusation; first she mentioned the question of deceptive flight, and then she raised a point about the alleged marriage (307); she expanded on both topics first with reference to the season and the bad weather for sailing, and then by mentioning the *conubia*, etc. (316), as well as by noting that *hospes* was all that was left as a title from *coniunx* (324). The assertion that commences here is a direct invocation of reality in lieu of the fantasy that Dido crafted to soothe her conscience and improve her self-reputation at 172 *coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam*, where *praetexit* will be echoed in 339 *praetendi*: Dido attempted to cover her fault with the name of "marriage," while Aeneas declares that he never offered the marital torch.

umquam: After *nec*: an emphatic denial.

339 *praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni.*

The verse is framed by the perfects, following on 338 *speravi*. Aeneas abjures any responsibility for the situation with the queen.

praetendi: Cf. 8.116 and 128, of the extension of signs of peace and amity; so also in this sense at 11.332. Different is the blistering taunt of Numanus Remulus at 9.598–599 *non pudet obsidione iterum valloque teneri, | bis capti Phryges, et morti praetendere muros?*. Participial forms of the verb occur at 3.692 and 6.60. *-tendi* is alliterative with *taedas*. Whether or not the bridegroom carried the torch in the Roman nuptial liturgy is irrelevant; Aeneas' point is that he neither married Dido nor pretended that he did.

Mackail notes here "... throughout this speech Aeneas ... is in any event only making a bad case worse by his faltering and entangled attempts at justification." "Not even Vergil's art can soften the crude baseness of this plea" (Sidgwick). Lurking here again is Antony with Cleopatra; certainly they lived as if they were husband and wife, though Roman law would not recognize the union (nor that of Cleopatra and Caesar). The crucial difference is that Aeneas—another *A-s* figure—will leave Carthage, in contrast to Antonius at Alexandria.

taedas: Recalling 18 *si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset*, in Dido's reflections to Anna. There is an effective contrast between the image of the torches that implicitly bring light and the denial of any concealment of deceit at 337–338.

haec ... foedera: Cf. 112, as Venus mused about what Jupiter would and would not countenance between Trojans and Carthaginians; see further on 520–521 below. A legalistic verse, with a strong emphasis on denial of a marriage contract: there was no ritual, and there was no solemn ratification of any agreement.

Haec is deictic, as at 336 *hos*; it is also emphatic (so Conington).

With *foedera veni* cf. Propertius, c. 4.8.71 (with Coutelle). Here the phrase is laden with the notion of diplomatic union and prospective alliance between Troy and Carthage. The lovesick Elissa at 316 offered the theme and variation of *conubia* and *hymenaeos*; Aeneas is focused on how the idea of marriage with a foreign queen is inextricably connected to an alliance between powers. The quotation of the second part of this verse in legal decisions is studied by M. Radin, “Vergilius Iurisconsultus,” in *CJ* 15.5 (1920), 304–306. The reference to alliances with foreign powers leads directly to Aeneas’ reflection on how he would rather be in Troy in happier times, were he to have a choice in the matter or the ability to rewrite history—and that now, at any rate, he has an Ausonian future.

340 *me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam*

References to Aeneas and his life frame the verse. The present passage constitutes a rare case where the protagonist reflects and makes an admission about his own wishes. Aeneas here expresses the same sort of sentiment as his father in Troy’s last hour at 2.641–642 *me si caelicolae voluissent ducere vitam, | has mihi servassent sedes ...*; cf. 637–638 *abnegat excisa vitam producere Troia | exsiliumque pati*. We are reminded again of how unlikely the affair with Elissa would perhaps have been had Anchises been with his son in Carthage. For the evocation of *Troia rediviva*—a dream of Julius Caesar before the Ides—see Newman and Newman 2005, 247; also 261 on Aeneas’ “curious fixation” with the past. Halting language, as Aeneas no doubt knows that Dido may not be comforted by the blunt declaration that if he had his own way, he would be in Troy. On the slow revelation of his sentiments and the idea that one might naturally think that he is about to say that he would rather stay in Carthage, see W. Suerbaum, “*Si fata paterentur*: Gedanken an alternatives Handeln in Vergils *Aeneis*,” in Radke 1998, 353–374.

me: Closely coordinate with *meis*, as Aeneas emphasizes his own personal wishes; cf. 341 *sponte mea* and 342 *meorum*. It may be noted that Dido’s speech focuses more on the second person, and Aeneas’ on the first. In prominent first position.

fata meis: “Fate up against your will.” There is a direct echo here of Jupiter’s sentiments to Mercury at 225 about the cities granted to Aeneas by fate; the protagonist casts himself as the puppet of destiny.

paterentur: The verb only here in the book; vid. E. Zaffagno in *EV* III, 1024–1025. Here begins a sequence of imperfect subjunctives expressing present contrafactuality.

ducere vitam: The same language is used by Helenus at 3.315 *vivo equidem vitamque extrema per omnia duco*. The line-end also at Persius, s. 5.83; Silius

Italicus, *Pun.* 6.308; 13.645. The language is Lucretian (cf. *DRN* 3.1087); cf. Ovid, *Met.* 11.702.

This verse is the start of an acrostic of *Maure*; 341 opens an acrostic *aures*. Pease considers these to be accidental (he compares 84 ff. above with *adnet*). See Austin for the quoting of these verses by William Pitt the Younger in 1801.

341 *auspiciis et sponte mea componere curas,*

auspiciis: A strong recollection of Juno's proposal to Venus at 102–103 *communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus / auspiciis ...*, of the idea of uniting Carthaginians and Trojans into one polity. He speaks like a consul or an army commander with the right to take the auspices.

sponte mea: Continuing the strong emphasis from 340 on Aeneas' personal wishes. Aeneas' speech will close with an echo of this sentiment in the powerful hemistich *Italiam non sponte sequor* (361); cf. the doors of Apollo's temple that open of their own accord at 6.82; also Latinus' description of the life of the Saturnian age that was without legislation (7.204); the striking account of Camilla falling from her horse at her fatal wounding, *non sponte fluens* (11.828). Theme and variation again, since *auspiciis* and *sponte mea* are essentially the same concept.

For the morphology of *sponte* see Pease; it is almost always restricted to the ablative (a nominative is cited only in Ausonius); it is regularly used with a possessive adjective, and never in the plural.

componere: For the verb see Fratantuono and Smith on 8.317. The verb recurs in the appeal of Juno at 12.821–822 *cum iam conubiis pacem felicibus (esto) / component, cum iam leges et foedera iungent*, as the goddess speaks of the forthcoming union of Aeneas and Lavinia; that is of course a union sanctioned by fate and the decrees of destiny, though in the reconciliation of the goddess to that future, she will secure the crucial concession that Ausonia will be the superior partner, with Troy sinking down.

curas: Alliterative with *componere*, and echoing 332 *curam*. As the commentators note, this is a broader use than the earlier occurrence; Aeneas is referencing all of the anxiety and struggle that he has endured since the war at Troy.

An interesting response commences here to the picture of a queen who was obsessed with hearing about the story of Troy (cf. 78–79 *Iliacosque iterum demens audire labores / exposcit*, etc.). Elissa had wanted to have Aeneas repeat his tales of Troy for her enjoyment; now she hears how he wishes he could be back in the city whose fate it delighted her to hear, solely because he was the one relating it.

342 *urbem Troianam primum dulcisque meorum*

urbem Troianam: Enjambment and prominent position together with spondaic rhythm: Aeneas declares his personal fealty and wish to cultivate Troy. For the adjective cf. 124; 165; 191; 467. The language will be echoed at 8.36–37 *o sate gente deum, Troianam ex hostibus urbem | qui revehis nobis aeternaque Pergama servas* (Tiberinus to Aeneas). Once again the omnipresent urban theme; see here J. Morwood, “Aeneas, Augustus, and the Theme of the City,” in *G&R* 38.2 (1991), 212–223. Aeneas is making progress toward his goal, but the question of a reborn Troy is one the resolution of which will be reserved ultimately for the colloquy of Jupiter and Juno, a settlement to which the poem’s audience will be privy, though not its characters.

primum: Dominating at midverse. In the enumeration of civilizations, Aeneas clearly has a hierarchy of Troy; Ausonia; Carthage as distant third. The adverb also at 239; 252; 631; 677. Again, a strong reminiscence of the entirety of Book 2.

dulcisque meorum: A direct response to Dido’s mention of *dulce meum* at 318, but in a very different context and with a quite modified meaning. More enjambment, with the usual momentary attendant suspense as to what is being described. Aeneas moves from the public to the private.

On the implications of the sentiments expressed here for an appraisal of Aeneas’ emotions on leaving Dido, note the valuable study of E. Rodón, “Psychological Characterization of Virgil’s Aeneas,” in *Listy filologické / Folia Philologica* 106.1 (1983), 29–32, 32. *Meorum* is especially pointed in terms of the implicit reminder that for Dido, there should be the memory of Sychaeus above all; if the situation were reversed, she should be saying that happier times in Tyre and the life of her lost husband were *primum* in her evaluation of alternate fates. There are shades of reminiscence here too of the episode of the “toy Troy” at Buthrotum, where Helenus and Andromache have found their peace (3.294 ff.); for how Dido is like Andromache in her devotion to nostalgia and the lost past, see G.S. West, “Andromache and Dido,” in *AJPh* 104.3 (1983), 257–267; cf. Newman and Newman 2005, 194, 250 (with reference to Vegio’s idea that there would be a reborn Troy—577–578 *dehinc pace tenebis | Sub placida gentem Iliacam*, with little concern for the fateful decisions of Jupiter and Juno in Book 12). For the moment at least, despite his obeisance to the *monita Iovis*, Aeneas is also mired in his own lost past.

An interesting acrostic commences in this verse: URES (342–345), just as Aeneas references the ruined, burned city of Troy, and as he addresses the raving Dido who will soon enough cause her own conflagration in Carthage and, via her curse on the Trojans, in the future history of Rome with the Punic Wars.

343 reliquias colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent,

Another verse vexed with textual difficulty. Conte's Teubner brackets *Priami tecta alta tenerent*, following Ribbeck (after Peerlkamp). According to Sparrow 1931, 143 "The words ... present an insurmountable difficulty." There is a clear reminiscence of Aeneas' remark at 2.56 *Troiaque nunc staret Priamique arx alta maneres* (of what would have happened if the Wooden House had not been received into the doomed city). The principal objection to the hemistich is that it seems to refer to an impossibility, namely that Priam's city (as opposed to some second Troy built by Aeneas, as described at 344) would still be standing. This would then render 343 an unfinished line that at some early point someone attempted to "remedy."

Geymonat does not bracket the half-line; neither do other modern editors save Conte. E. Courtney, "The Formation of the Text of Vergil," in *BICS* 28 (1981), 13–29, 19 is sympathetic to the idea that the text here is corrupt (specifically *manerent*, which Courtney argues is "quite impossible to refer to rebuilding"). Both Pease and Austin argue that much ado has been made out of little. Buscaroli agrees with Gossrau: "recte etiam dicitur manere res, quae ante fuit et nunc est, etiamsi aliquando per breve tempus interrupta fuerit."

The citation here of the *Priami tecta alta* refers back to Dido's ... *et Troia antiqua maneret* (309), where the queen raised the point that Aeneas would not be sailing off at a hazardous time of year even to ancient Troy. Here, Aeneas means simply that given his own wish and command of his own destiny, first he would be cultivating the *dulcis meorum reliquias*; the *Priami tecta alta* would be in a restored state; and (theme and variation again) he would have set up a new Troy for those who had been defeated (344). There is an essentially ABBA chiasmic structure to his dream, as we move from the *reliquias* (which implies a defeated remnant), to the *tecta alta* (with connotations of pride and grandeur), to the *recidiva Pergama* (again, of rebirth and renewal), to finally the detail about how this would be done for the *victis* (the survivors of the first Trojan conquest). The language here is at worst somewhat awkward; Dido at 309 had reworked Aeneas' own apostrophe of Troy from his story at 2.56, and here in effect he repeats what he said then. Aeneas states the present contrafactuals first, before crowning the description of his imagined, idealized present with the foundational past contrafactual (344) that would have made it possible.

reliquias: The noun occurs 9× in the epic; at 1.30 it refers to the Trojans as the remnants of the Danaans (so also at 1.598 and 3.87; cf. 5.787 and the presents from what was salvaged out of Troy at 7.244); at 5.47 it is employed of the remains of Anchises (cf. 6.227 for those of Misenus); the *reliquias veterumque ... monumenta virorum* at the site of the future Rome (8.356). The three prior uses

to this one, then, are of people; here there is recollection, then, at least secondarily if not principally of the survivors of Troy who have come to depend on him, and also of the remains of such as Creüsa (since Anchises was buried in Sicily). This is the closest that Aeneas comes in his words to Dido in this book to a reference to his lost wife. The word can of course mean the physical remains of a place, and there is a clear indication in Aeneas' speech (see on 345 ff.) that what Aeneas is fantasizing about here is a rebuilding of Troy on its original site, in which case *reliquias colerem* refers to cultivation of the locus of the doomed city, such that with proper rebuilding and restoration, the *Priami tecta alta* would endure.

colerem: The verb also in this book at 422; 458.

Priami: Priam is mentioned only here in Book 4; for the doomed Trojan king vid. L. Polverini in *EV* IV, 264–268; T. Joseph in *VE* III, 1036–1037. The king is almost inseparable from the fate of his city (cf. the similar case of Carthage and Dido): so at 8.399; 12.545. It is the city of Priam long after Pyrrhus' infamous murder of the monarch.

tecta alta: Of the royal palace of the king, the scene of the unforgettable carnage related at 2.453 ff. The phrase is Lucretian (*DRN* 2.1110); cf. the *alta atria* below at 665; also 9.557–558; 11.235–237; Statius, *Theb.* 12.447; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 6.560–561.

manerent: For the verb cf. on 312, and note 449. It is almost as if for a fleeting moment, Aeneas loses himself in the fantasy that Priam's lofty palace were still standing.

344 *et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis.*

recidiva: Also at 7.322 *funestaeque iterum recidiva in Pergama taedae*, in direct echo of the present passage. There Juno makes her dire predictions before the summoning of Allecto from the depths of hell to work her magnificent maleficence. Otherwise only at 10.58 *dum Latium Teucricae recidivaque Pergama quaerunt?*, in Venus' complaint at the divine council. Always, then, with reference to the rebirth of Troy, the question of which will not be resolved definitively until 12.833 ff. Fittingly, the adjective and its noun are separated by the hand and the action of the one who will put Troy back together. In echoing sound effect after 343 *reliquias*. Pace Pease, not first in this verse; cf. also Catullus, c. 17.2–3 *crura ponticulis axulis / stantis in recidivis*. Seneca has *recidiva ponas Pergama et sparsos fuga / cives reducas* (*Troad.* 472–473); note also Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 1.106 *gens recidiva Phrygum ...*

manu: Of Aeneas as personal builder. There is no sense here of war; the point is on restoration and renewal. Not a pleonasm—but certainly a commentary on what Mercury had found Aeneas engaged in doing at 260 *Aenean*

fundantem arces ac tecta novantem. The hero who had been busy with the construction and urban improvement of Carthage now admits to her queen that he would rather be rebuilding Troy as his first and fondest wish.

posuissem: Alliterative with *Pergama*. With the verb cf. 200 (of Iarbas' establishment of his hundred altars).

Pergama: Cf. 426. The citadel of Troy: "La rocca fortificata della città di Troia, e, negli scrittori successivi ai poemi omerici, anche la città stessa" (*EV* IV, 24); "the commanding citadel and palace complex of "Pergamum"" (G.C. Lacki in *VE* III, 1304). The name of the storied locale is juxtaposed with the memory of the equally storied defeat.

victis: The dative of advantage, in the final position and linking back to *reliquias* at the opening of 343. This word will be cast back in Aeneas' face with a rather different meaning at 370 below.

345 *sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo,*

Aeneas introduces a second realm to his response to Elissa: there is the dream of a *Troia rediviva*, and there is *Italia magna*.

nunc: A relative marker of time, of course—and Aeneas was not so troubled about the clock until Mercury made his manifestation. *Nunc* here is echoed at 356 below.

Italiam: Echoed at once in 346.

magnam: An understated adjective that nevertheless conveys something of the grandeur of Italy, especially as opposed to the defeated Troy or the doomed to be defeated Carthage.

Gryneus Apollo: A beloved passage for lovers of alleged inconsistency, since the prophecy that would seem to be referenced here was received in Delos and not in Asia Minor. Vid. G. D'Anna in *EV* II, 807–808; L. Morgan in *VE* II, 580; Van Wees 1970, 45. This is one of but two references to "Grynean Apollo" in Virgil. At *E.* 6.72–73 *his tibi Grynei nemoris dicatur origo, / ne quis sit lucus quo se plus iactat Apollo*, Linus was imagined to be encouraging the poet Gallus to tell of the birth of the Grynean grove, so that in no other wood might Apollo rejoice and glory more. The passage is replete with allusive references to Parthenius and the origins of the grove, lore that apparently involved Apollo's rape of the Amazon Gryne (cf. Lightfoot 1999, 59 ff.; 149–151; D'Serv. has "qui traditur ibi Grynem Amazonem stuprasset" here, and a much longer exposition *ad E.* 6.72). Gryneum was in northwestern Anatolia, and the *Lyciae sortes* of 346 on the southern coast of modern Turkey. We recall here the movement of Apollo from his winter haunt at Patara and the Xanthus to Delos (143–144, nearly exactly two hundred lines prior—indeed, *exactly* two hundred if verse 273 is excised). Delos was the locus for the Apollonian prophecy to the

Trojans about a new home (3.94–98). We now see something further of the point of Virgil's comparison of Aeneas to Apollo: in the context of the simile, Aeneas has moved from the realms associated with the former Troy to Delos, which means that he would have received Apollonian prophecies not here in Carthage-Delos, but in the Troad—in Lycia or at Gryneum. See further Fratantuono 2017, 178: "In an important sense, Aeneas is thus speaking "in character", as the Apollo of the simile from the hunt—the apparent inconsistency thus deliberate and evocative of how the comparison of Aeneas to Apollo has moved us back in time, back to an earlier point in the Trojan progression to Italy—an Italy that has receded from view during the long delay in Carthage."

The Apollonian prophecy of Book 3 did not mention Italy; it was famously misinterpreted by Anchises, who thought that it referenced Crete (note the effective parallelism of 3.102 and 8.356—the latter passage coming when Aeneas is in the correct destination). The ghost of Creüsa had spoken earlier of Hesperia and the Lydian Thybris (2.781–782). The Penates in dream visitation to Aeneas clarify both Creüsa's words and those of the Apollonian oracle, and speak explicitly for the first time about *Italia* (3.163 ff.).

Aeneas does not refer to the Book 3 prophecies in his address to Dido, and nowhere else in the epic does he make note of the oracles of 345–346, or indeed of the dream epiphany of Anchises described below at 351ff. Servius simply notes that it was Delos and not Clazomenae/Gryneum where Aeneas received this news, but in fact the Delian message was, as aforementioned, not explicitly about *Italia*. Some scholars have argued that we have here a case of imperfect melding of Books 3 and 4, with inconsistencies that would have been smoothed over in a final revision of the epic (cf. Miller 2009, 100–101 on the quite plausible theory that what we find here is evidence for a "variant oracular tour" in Asia Minor before Aeneas left on his westward voyage). But it seems at least possible to imagine that Aeneas is indeed speaking in character as Apollo from the hunting simile, with "Lycian," indeed "Grynean" Apollo now making his manifestation: that god had traveled from Lycia to Delos, and that is whence Aeneas is now, as it were, speaking in prophecy about Italy. It is telling that Mercury's visit is not yet referenced (for that we must wait until near the end of the address, at 356–359); the entire focus is on Apollo—the god of the simile from the hunt. If only, after all, Aeneas had proceeded from Delos by a more direct travel itinerary to Hesperia. Conington does well to note that "Virg. is fond of conveying information indirectly."

At the very least, the Apollonian image from the hunt has been dramatically recast, and the mention there of Lycia and Delos in a happy, breezy and playful context has been replaced by the allusive reference to the prophecy about

Hesperia that was associated with Delos in Book 3, and to Lycia—an ABBA chiasmic pattern that offers yet more of a rationale for why Aeneas cannot remain in Carthage.

346 *Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes;*

Italiam: Anaphora; enjambment: all the emphasis is on Italy. Juxtaposition of west and east, too.

Lyciae ... sortes: In framing order around the verbs they govern. For Lycia see on 143. As with the allusion to Grynean Apollo, so with the Lycian oracles there is no mention elsewhere in the epic—only of the god having left wintry Lycia for Delos. Dido will recall both Grynean Apollo and the Lycian oracles at 376–377, as she makes her (unanswered) retort to Aeneas. For the noun vid. M. Massenzio in *EV* IV, 949–951.

The *sortes* were oracular responses obtained by cleromancy (*OLD* s.v. 3; cf. 1b); see Paschalis 1997, 57 n. 89 for the connection of “Lycia” to “Sight and Light” (including bright colors), with reference to 143–144 (Lycia/Xanthus/Delos); 6.634; 7.721; 8.14–8.16; 8.165–168; 10.126; 11.771–775. Any connection of Lycia to wolves is appropriate here, with Italy juxtaposed with a word that evokes her patron canid.

capessere: Also at 1.77 ... *mihi iussa capessere fas est*, of Aeolus to Juno; 3.234–235 ... *sociis tunc arma capessant / edico*, of Aeneas to his men in the wake of the attack of the Harpies; 5.703 ... *Italasne capesserent oras*, where Aeneas wonders about remaining in Sicily or proceeding on to Italy; 8.507 *succedam castris Tyrrhenaque regna capessam*, of the invitation to Aeneas to take command of Etruscan allied forces; 9.366 ... *excedunt castris et tuta capessunt*, of Nisus and Euryalus during the night raid; 11.324–325 *sin alios finis aliamque capessere gentem / est animus possuntque solo decedere nostro*, among Latinus’ options proposed at the Latin war council; 466 *pars aditus urbis firment turrisque capessant*, as Turnus gives his orders before the joint cavalry and infantry actions.

Aeneas attributes admonitions about the pursuit of Italy to Grynean Apollo and the *Lyciae sortes*; he also references the dream apparition of Anchises and Ascanius (351 ff.). Lastly, he names the dramatic epiphany of Mercury from this book (356 ff.). To the degree that there were other, unmentioned instructions and prophecies, we see further evidence of Aeneas ignoring his destiny in the wake of his Carthaginian distraction. Lycia was even more of a detour from his journey than Gryneum; some critics have thus tried to imagine that the reference here is to Lycian contingents at Troy. But in this passage again Virgil is mostly thinking of his Apollo simile from the hunt, and distantly second of the indirectly revealed fact that Aeneas has had ample prophetic advice and guidance to illustrate that Carthage was not his intended destination in any way.

Italy at the opening of this line is in opposition to the citadels of Carthage from the end of the next. The repeated mention of Italy is a direct response to the queen's mention of *arva aliena* and *domos ignotas* at 311–312.

347 hic amor, haec patria est. si te Karthaginis arces

hic ... haec: Deictic; decisive; devastating to the lovesick queen. The first demonstrative is attracted into the case of its referent (a practice of both prose and poetry), unless we are to imagine that *hic* is adverbial—which would be more traumatizing for her to hear. In either case, Aeneas offers something of an unintentional final comment on Cupid. Cf. here 6.129 *hoc opus, hic labor est* (the Sibyl to Aeneas about a successful return from Avernus). There is a recollection in this verse of the oracle of Delian Apollo: *hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris | et nati natorum et qui nascerentur ab illis* (part of the prophecy originally misinterpreted to refer to Crete).

amor: Alliterative with *arces*, in near frame around the verse. See here O'Hara 2017, 156 (with reference to Stanley 1963 and S. Skulsky, "Invitus, regina ...: Aeneas and the Love of Rome," in *AJPh* 106.4 (1985), 447–455; cf. also Servius ad 1.277), for the possible allusion to Amor as the (anagrammatic, palindromic) "occult ritual name" of Rome. We think inevitably of Aeneas' half-brother and his work in the Dido infatuation. On Forbiger's connection of *hic amor* with 134 *hortor amare focos arcemque attollere tectis* (of the doomed venture in Crete), see Henry 1989, 50–51.

patria: Dido will reference Aeneas' (Trojan) *patrios penates* at 598; at 680–681 she will mention her own *patrios deos*. The present use of the noun recalls Ilioneus' remark at 1.539–540 ... *quaeve hunc tam barbara morem | permittit patria?* (on the poor reception of the Trojans in Carthage); cf. also Aeneas' impassioned apostrophe at his reminiscence of the reception of the Wooden Horse at 2.241–242 *o patria, o divum domus Ilium et incluta bello | moenia Dardanidum!*; Iris-Beroe's not dissimilar remark to the Trojan women at 5.632–633 *o patria et rapti nequiquam ex hoste penates, | nullane iam Troiae dicentur moenia?*; Aeneas to his Trojans at 7.122 *hic domus, haec patria est*; Pallas' comment at 10.374 *hac vos et Pallanta ducem patria alta reposcit*; Apollo's ignoring of Arruns' prayer ... *reducem ut patria alta videret | non dedit* (11.797–798). The closest parallel is thus of Aeneas in Italy—fittingly enough: these are the only two positive references to Italy as *patria*, given that the other two concern the doomed Pallas and Arruns. For the possible influence here of Lycophron, *Alex.* 1271–1272 see Newman and Newman 2005, 244–245, and cf. Hornblower ad loc.

te: Queen is juxtaposed with city, as the verse moves from Italy to Carthage. Aeneas separates himself from his now former lover on the basis of urban identity and native land. *Te* here will be echoed by 350 *nos*.

Karthaginis: Recalling Mercury's indignant, exasperated question at 265–267 about Aeneas' work in laying the very foundations of what history would prove to be Rome's deadliest foe.

arces: With deliberate echo of 260–261 *Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem / conspicit*, as Mercury found Aeneas at work on the very city that he references here as Dido's and not his. *Arces* at line-end is balanced by 348 ... *urbis*.

On the comparison between a home in Carthage and the destined dwelling of the Trojans in Italy see Erdmann 2000, 178–184, with detailed analysis.

348 *Phoenissam Libycaeque aspectus detinet urbis*,

Phoenissam: Heralded by the little personal pronoun of 347, and here as a bolt from the ethnic blue: Aeneas reminds Elissa that she is, after all, a Phoenician. On the significance of the geographical adjective see Van Wees 1970, 68, 87–88. The present language is an echo of Venus' words to Amor at 1.670–671 *nunc Phoenissa tenet Dido blandisque moratur / vocibus*; here Venus' other son speaks of how the sight of the Libyan city detains the Phoenician queen, while before it had been Venus telling Amor how the Phoenician queen was detaining Aeneas. The only other uses of the appellation in the poem come at 1.713–714 *expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo / Phoenissa et pariter puero donisque movetur* (of the Phoenician under Cupid's spell); and at 6.450–451 *inter quas Phoenissa recens a vulnere Dido / errabat ...*, of the wandering shade of Dido in the underworld (where the reference to "Phoenician" highlights her original wanderings over the Mediterranean to north Africa). On Phoenicia and the Phoenicians in Virgil see F. Càssola in *EV* IV, 351–352; L. Fratantuono in *VE* III, 1004–1005. On the semantic associations of the appellation with fire and burning, see Paschalis 1997, 51; here the fire imagery would relate both to the queen being on fire with love for Aeneas, and to the ultimate fate of the Carthaginian citadels and Libyan city. The geographical references of the verse move from Phoenicia to Libya, in enactment of the queen's own wanderings. ABBA chiasmic arrangement, as we move from *Phoenissam* to *Libycae* and then in 349 to *Ausonia* and *Teucros*.

Libycaeque: Rather different from the use of the same adjective at 320 as Dido mentioned her many enemies in the environs; Aeneas significantly makes absolutely no reference to the question of the queen's fears about her neighbors—of course there was little if anything he could say, given that taking Dido with him was out of the question for any number of reasons.

Libycae here offers a sound echo with 346 *Lyciae*. With *urbis* in framing order around *aspectus detinet*. We may recall too Mercury's bitter question *aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris* at 271.

aspectus: For the noun see on 279, where Aeneas was terrified at the *aspectus* of the god Mercury. The visual emphasis again: Aeneas imagines Dido as being effectively beguiled by the lovely sight of a new city as it rises up in Libya.

detinet: In deliberate echo of 84–85, of the imagined or all too real holding of Ascanius in Dido’s lap to help to assuage her lovesick longing for Aeneas. The *difficilior lectio* here is *demeret*, which would probably render a meaning of “the sight of the Libyan city merits your favor”—with a reworking of the theme of benefits and just deserts that had been raised already by Dido, and which will recur later in the book. Nettleship thought that *demeret* was a corruption of *demorat*; no modern editor has tried to alter the text here. *Detinet* with recollection of 84–85 would offer a reminder of how Dido is no longer thinking so much in terms of her city and her queenly destiny; her passion for Aeneas has destroyed her. The verb implies that there is no question that Dido will not remain in Africa.

urbis: Cf. the mention of the *Troiana urbs* at 342.

349 *quae tandem Ausonia Teucros considerare terra*

Again, the geographical references the queen had made to the hazards she faced on account of Aeneas have been transformed into a miniature lecture on how the Trojans have an overseas destiny similar to the Phoenicians.

quae: Dramatic hyperbaton as we wait for *invidia* at 350: Aeneas is frustrated.

tandem: Dentally alliterative with *Teucros* and *terra* across the verse. For *tandem* cf. 333. There is more than a hint of exasperation here: Aeneas’ argument is that he is, after all, doing nothing that Dido herself had not done. Tilly correctly identifies the “impatience” in Aeneas’ voice here. “Often so in lively interrogations, the counterpart of a gesture or look or tone” (Austin).

Ausonia: Juxtaposed with the Teucrians. We may compare 230 from Jupiter’s remarks to Mercury, where Italy and the Teucrians framed the verse; also 236, where the supreme god referenced the Ausonian offspring Aeneas was not considering. *Ausonia ... terra* in framing order around *Teucros considerare*.

considerere: Very different from the use at 39, where Anna asked her sister to consider just where she was situated; by 573 the verb will have the much more practical sense of sitting down to commence rowing away from Carthage.

350 *invidia est? et nos fas extera quaerere regna.*

invidia: A rich word, which harks back to Jupiter’s rhetorical question to Mercury at 234 *Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arcēs?* The noun is not particularly common in Virgil; we may compare 2.90 of Ulysses’ *invidia* (in the estimation

of Sinon); also the lament of Mezentius over the dead Lausus at 10.851–852 *idem ego, nate, tuum maculavi crimine nomen, | pulsus ob invidiam solio sceptrisque paternis*; the jealousy of Drances for Turnus at 11.336–337 ... *quem gloria Turni | obliqua invidia stimulisque agitabat amaris*; the description of Camilla's father Metabus (a doublet of Mezentius) at 11.539 *pulsus ob invidiam regno virisque superbas*. Of looking askance at, with implicit jealousy and covetousness, here of begrudging someone what one has done for herself. Prominent by the usual Virgilian tricks of hyperbaton and hypermetric word painting. The visual metaphor follows on 349 *aspectus*.

The mention of *invidia* here is a direct response to the crowning appearance of the personified Invidia at *G.* 3.37, in the celebrated (programmatic) temple vision from the proem of that book; the description of the temple the poet will (metaphorically) build may look forward to the *Aeneid*.

nos: Echoing 347 *te* of Dido, perhaps with an air of the “royal we.” Servius here is most concerned about why grammatically we read *nos* and not *nobis*. *Nos* is used with reference to the “public” act of settling in a new home; at 351 *me* occurs also of Aeneas, but in the more intimate recollection of the dream apparition of his father.

fas: Also at 113 ... *tibi fas animum temptare precando* (Venus to Juno about approaching Jupiter). Few “little words” in Latin carry as much solemn import; here Aeneas invokes the entire weight of the prophetic tradition that has summoned him to Ausonia. The word here is a direct response to the opening of Dido's speech and its powerful rhetorical question at 305–306 about the *tantum nefas* of concealing a departure from Carthage. *Fas* “of permission accorded by superhuman powers” (Pease).

extera: Only here in the epic: “The positive of *exterus* is infrequent in classical Latin” (Pease). *Extera* with *regna* is again in response to Dido's mention of *arva aliena* and *domos ignotas* at 311–312. The queen's point was that the weather would be terrible for returning to Troy, let alone for a voyage into the unknown; Aeneas makes no mention of storms or winter—he has, after all, survived them before, and heroes do not express concern to queens about meteorological anxiety.

quaerere: For the verb cf. 77. For the verb with *regna* cf. Seneca, *Phoen.* 599; 614; the same line-end at Statius, *Theb.* 2.308.

regna: From *terra* at the end of 349 we move to *regna* here: first the land, and then the kingdoms. We are very far indeed from Anna's sentiment at 47–48 ... *quae surgere regna | coniugio tali!*. *Regna* is echoed soon hereafter at 355.

351 *me patris Anchisae, quotiens umentibus umbris*

On Anchises' visit see Steiner 1952, 47–48.

me: In emphatic position, and juxtaposed with *patris Anchisae*. It is repeated at 354, to underscore the point; there it comes in juxtaposition with the *puer Ascanius*: the complete “Roman” family is thus referenced.

Anchisae: On Aeneas' father see especially F. Canciani in *EV* I, 158–162; R.F. Thomas in *VE* I, 74–76; Wiik 2008; R.B. Lloyd, “The Character of Anchises in the *Aeneid*,” in *TAPA* 88 (1957), 44–55. He is cited again below at 427, as Dido recalls to Anna what she has not done with respect to desecrating the remains of Aeneas' father; these are the only mentions of this key character in *Aeneid* 4—a book where his presence is sorely missed in terms of the moderation of the behavior of his son. As with the reference before to the Grynean oracle and the Lycian lots, there is no mention anywhere else in the epic of these nocturnal visits from Anchises' shade; they would have had to have occurred in the period after the end of Aeneas' story as related at the close of Book 3—that is, fairly recently. Again the emphasis is on how the Trojan hero has ignored numerous warnings; the Apollonian prophecies refer to a more distant set of revelations about Italy, and are not at all dire in their import. The dream manifestations of Anchises are ominous (353 is chilling), and this second prophetic allusion is followed by the crowning mention at 356 ff. of Mercury's visit, the epiphany that was the proximate cause for Aeneas' decision to prepare to leave.

A similar passage occurs at 6.695–696 ... *tua me, genitor, tua tristis imago / saepius occurrens haec limina tendere adegit*, where Aeneas addresses the shade of his father in Elysium; that passage specifies that the frequent visitations of Anchises were designed to urge him to descend to the underworld. Cf. the last verse of John's gospel, which references that which has not been recorded about the life of Christ.

“In this pre-Roman family, *patria potestas* is all. This is what Dido found out ...” (Newman and Newman 2005, 47; cf. 152 on how Anchises is the one who spoils the girl's happiness; 268 on the virtual battle between Dido and Aeneas' father). Cf. Anchises' words in Elysium at 6.694 *quam metui ne quid Libyae tibi regna nocerent*.

We must wait until the closing word of verse 353 to find a subject for this genitive; the hyperbaton builds effective suspense.

quotiens: Evocatively repeated at 352. Other than this noteworthy repetition, the relative appears elsewhere in the epic only at 3.581 *et fessum quotiens mutet latus* (in the description of Etna's Enceladus), and at 12.483 ... *quotiens oculos coniecit in hostem* (of Aeneas). The problem here is that Aeneas literally says that the dream visitations of Anchises occur whenever night falls; given the

affair between Trojan and Tyrian the nights have been spent in love, and yet now Aeneas confesses for the first time that his father has haunted his dreams and come to him night after night. Some critics have preferred to understand the Anchises figure as the “guilty conscience” of Aeneas (see Tilly here). “... a piece of psychological insight for which Virgil may have credit” (Mackail, in attempted explanation for why these visits have had no real effect on Aeneas until Mercury appeared). At 5.722 there will be the only recorded Anchises dream in the epic, in the wake of the disaster of the burning of the ships and the question of remaining in Sicily. Again, we are left with the unanswered but good question as to how Aeneas could have carried on the sort of work Mercury found him doing at 260–261 in the wake of such warnings and omens.

umentibus umbris: An echo of 3.589 *umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram*, just before the Achaemenides episode, which = 4.7 as Dido begins her address to Anna. The *umbris* are the shadows of the night, but the clear association is with the otherworldly *umbra* of Anchises that haunts his son. The damp, wet imagery of *umentibus* is contrasted effectively with the fiery *astra ignea* of 352.

352 *nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,*

There is a reminiscence here of 2.8–9 ... *et iam nox umida caelo / praecipitat suadentque cadentia sidera somnos*, as Aeneas reflected to Dido and his audience on the descent of night as he began his long story of the fall of Troy and the aftermath.

nox: Night will receive a full personification at 5.719–723, in the description of her chariot ride across the sky as the ghost of Anchises visits Aeneas.

operit: For the verb note also 11.680, where it describes the covering of Ornytus’ animal pelt; also the reference to the *operta telluris* (of the underworld) at 6.180. Of night also at Statius, *Theb.* 1.455; cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.37.21 ... *cuncta denique spectata quae etiam in femina nox operit* (of Nero’s “marriage” to Pythagoras). Cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 6.864 (where *obruit* should be read and not *operit*).

terras: Alliterative with 353 *turbida terret*. Tilly remarks: “These suggest Aeneas’ impatience and anxiety, and give harsh hurrying sounds to the lines.”

quotiens: Again, the repetition serves only to highlight all the more how often these visits occurred; the double *quotiens* echoes the double *Italia* of 345–346.

astra ignea: *Igneus* occurs also at 6.730–731 *igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo / seminibus*, near the beginning of the great eschatological discourse of the shade of Anchises—we have here a distant foreshadowing already, then, of that monumental, climactic revelation. Otherwise the adjective is used at 8.97 *sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem*, of the rising of the sun before the

fateful arrival of Aeneas at Pallanteum; 392 *igne a rima micans percurrit lumine nimbus* (in the simile describing the effect of Venus on Vulcan in her seductive attempt to secure the forging of the arms); 11.718–719 *haec fatur virgo et pernicious ignea plantis | transit equum* (of the swift, fiery Camilla with the Ligurian); 746 of *igneus Tarchon*. *Astra ignea* first in Virgil; cf. Lucan, *BC* 1.75–76; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.210–211.

Astrum occurs only here in Book 4; 20× in the epic. The moon and stars are meant; the astronomical detail and the two *quotiens*-clauses come as part of a complex word order that MacLennan rightly takes as evidence of Aeneas' troubled and confused mind.

surgunt: For the verb note also 43; 47; 129; 274. There is an echo here of the *surgentibus astris* of *G.* 1.440. There have been critical attempts to dissect from *operit* and *surgunt* a specific reference to the time of night and the resultant question of whether or not the dream visitations are true or false. *Operit* has been taken of the start of night, when darkness first envelops the lands; *surgunt* could refer to different times of night (either earlier or just before dawn). Pease dismisses the attempts as “hardly successful,” and rightly so: certainly there is no hint here that what the shade of Anchises said was not true, or that the nocturnal visions should not have been heeded. On the contrary, Aeneas should have taken serious note of them sooner than Mercury's daytime visit.

If verse 273 is omitted (and 528 is retained—see further below), then this is the midpoint of the book; we may note the powerful contrast between the rising of the fiery heavenly bodies that is referenced here and the heat and warmth of Dido's body that passes away at 705 *dilapsus calor*.

353 admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago;

admonet: The verb is not particularly common in Virgil; at 6.293 and 538 it is used of Deiphobe with Aeneas; cf. 6.618–619 ... *Phlegyasque miserrimus omnis | admonet et magna testatur voce per umbras*; also 9.108–109 ... *cum Turni iniuria Matrem | admonuit ratibus sacris depellere taedas*; 10.586–587 *Lucagus ut pronus pendens in verbera telo | admonuit biuugos*.

in somnis: A strong reminiscence here of 1.353 *ipsa sed in somnis inhumati venit imago*, of the similar visitation of Sychaeus to Dido to warn her away from Tyre; cf. below at 557 *obtulit in somnis rursusque ita visa monere est*, of the second visit of Mercury to Aeneas; 12.908–909 *ac velut in somnis, oculos ubi languida pressit | nocte quies ...*, of the comparison of Turnus to a man in a dream. On all these increasingly frightening images see Newman and Newman 2005, 176–177. Aeneas had experienced a similar visitation from Hector at 2.270–271 *in somnis ecce ante oculos maestissimus Hector | visus adesse mihi*; also of the

Penates at 3.150–151 ... *visi ante oculos adstare iacentis / in somnis*. For the plural see Pease, with reference to Löfstedt I, 50–54. “Virgil has *in somnis* seven times, Lucretius fourteen times, and neither uses *in somno*” (Austin).

turbida: The adjective recalls the *turbida nubila* of 244–245, as Mercury made his way through the clouds to Aeneas: warning after warning has been ignored until now, and we are still—remarkably—over two hundred verses away from yet another, this time final admonition. Anchises, unsurprisingly, is quite disturbed by developments in Carthage. “Terribilis, quod et umbrae convenit et parentis auctoritati” (Servius). Turnus is *turbidus* before the Trojan camp at 9.57; cf. Arruns in the wake of his fatal wounding of Camilla at 11.814 (more terror than any sort of rage). Some commentators have questioned why Anchises would be angry at his son—but again the point is that the affair with Dido is utterly at variance with what Aeneas’ father would have countenanced had he been alive, and the range of meanings of *turbidus* are at play here: Anchises is upset, and that emotional state includes concern for his son: the fearful father makes a frightening appearance to try to warn Aeneas.

terret: Echoing 9 *Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent!*: the present passage offers Aeneas’ companion to the nocturnal terrors of the Carthaginian queen. For the effect of fear from dreams see Heuzé 1985, 424 ff.

The Grynean and Lycian prophecies had been focused on Italy; the *turbida imago* of his father that frightens Aeneas may have devoted his nocturnal visits to warnings about the perils of remaining with the unstable Dido. In his state of erotic passion and oblivion, Aeneas may have found such admonitions unconvincing.

imago: For the noun see on 84 *genitoris imagine*, where the referent was Aeneas: here a different *genitor* makes his frightful appearance. Below at 654 *et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago* it will recur of Dido before her suicide. Statius imitates the present passage at *Theb.* 2.349–350 ... *aut turbida noctis imago / terret* ... The inspiration for such scenes is Lucretius, *DRN* 4.770 *nam fit ut in somnis facere hoc videatur imago*. It has been debated whether this was a dream or a ghostly apparition; Virgil may not have intended such oneirocritic specificity. The main point of contrast with Mercury’s apparition is the urgent significance of the daytime visit.

For the “mysterious and uncanny” sound effects of 351–353 see Austin. Some of the effective import of these verses comes from the surprise revelation both to Dido and to the reader.

With the present passage cf. 9.294 *atque animum patriae strinxit pietatis imago*, of Ascanius after the appeal of Euryalus.

354 me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari,

The sentiments are more emotional now, as Aeneas blames himself for the injury to Ascanius; the need to supply a verb or to imagine a zeugma is evidence of the deliberate syntactic enactment of the father's troubled state. Anchises had visited in nocturnal dream apparition; Ascanius is a living, diurnal reminder of Aeneas' failure to attend to his familial responsibilities. Conington imagined that we must supply something like *commovet*—but Virgil has used exactly as many verbs as he needed, neither more nor less.

me: Balancing 351 *me patris Anchisae*, with parallelism of sound effect and juxtaposed familial relationship.

puer Ascanius: The appellation offers maximum pathetic effect (“a sort of formula”—Newman and Newman 2005, 43). The reference is to Jupiter's mention of the boy's destiny at 232–234; cf. Mercury's admonition to Aeneas at 274–276. For *puer* of Ascanius cf. 154: at 19× the preeminent “boy” of the epic (Euryalus a distant second at 4×, cf. 3× of Pallas).

capitisque: Alliterative with *cari*. The head is mentioned again almost at once (357); cf. 493 and 613 below. Ultimately the echo here is of 2.682–684 *ecce levis summo de vertice visus Iuli | fundere lumen apex, tactuque innoxia mollis | lambere flamma comas et circum tempora pasci*, of the prodigious flame that appeared on the head of Iulus in Troy's last hour. The recollection of that portent is particularly apt at this juncture; it came in the darkest hour of Troy as a beacon of light and hope for a new future; the fire that danced on Iulus' head was harmless, unlike the all too real flames of Troy that threatened his family. The “dear head” framing the mention of *iniuria*. For the noun cf. on 177.

iniuria: Recalling 1.341 *longa est iniuria*, in the disguised Venus' account of what Dido suffered at the hands of her brother in Tyre; cf. 1.27 of the affront to Juno's loveliness at the judgment of Paris; 3.256 *nostraeque iniuria caedis* of Celaeno's complaint about the attack on the Harpies; 9.108 of the *Turni iniuria* (i.e., the attempt to burn Cybele's sacred ships).

cari: Cf. 91 of Juno as the *cara Iovis coniunx*; 492 of Anna and 634 of Barce. The adjective with *caput* also at Horace, c. 1.24.1–2 *Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus | tam cari capitis?*, where see Nisbet and Hubbard with extensive parallels. Cf. the imagery of the close sisterly bond in the first verse of Sophocles' *Antigone* (a model for Dido and Anna). *Carus* is used often of Aeneas' family relationships; for the influence of the present passage on Tacitus' Germanicus, who says of his family *non mihi uxor aut filius patre et re publica cariores sunt* (*Ann.* 1.42), see R.T.S. Baxter, “Virgil's Influence on Tacitus in Books 1 and 2 of the *Annals*,” in *CPh* 67.4 (1972), 246–269, 249.

355 quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis.

quem: Balancing 354 *me*: father and son at the start of the verses. Ascanius has been deprived of what Jupiter had noted was his due at 275–276. See Servius for disapproval of Virgil's use of the relative here and unfounded accusations of solecism.

regno: Echoing 350 *regna*. The reference to the kingdom of Hesperia is balanced by the *fatalia arva* at line-end. For the elisions of this line see Austin, who takes them as evidence of Aeneas' state of distress and agitation, especially as he speaks of how he has wronged his son.

Hesperiae: On Hesperia in Virgil see G. Maddoli in *EV* 11, 391–392; L. Fratantuono in *VE* 11, 614; Fratantuono 2015c. The Hesperides will be referenced at 4.483–486, in a dramatic development of the ruse of Dido with Anna before her suicide. The first mention of Hesperia in the epic is at 1.530–534, as Ilioneus addresses Dido's court and describes the ultimate destination of the Trojans (*est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt*, etc.). Virgil echoes that announcement at 3.163–166, in the description of the dream revelation of the Penates about Aeneas' ultimate destination. Anchises links Hesperia and Italy in his recollection at 3.185 *et saepe Hesperiam, saepe Itala regna vocare* of the ravings of Cassandra. And there is the revelation of Creüsa's ghost at 2.781–782 about Hesperia and the Lydian Thybris. One might wonder in the present context if Aeneas associated Hesperia with the Hesperides, a place that has some connection (however vague, not to say remote) with Dido's north Africa; cf. Mercury's stopover at Atlas at 245–255.

fraudo: Alliterative with *fatalibus*. This is the only occurrence of this strong verb in Virgil; cf. 675 below, where Anna accuses the dying Dido of *fraus*. The theme of trickery and deceit again: Dido had accused Aeneas of seeking to deceive her, and Aeneas has turned the argument into one of his fraud with regard to Ascanius.

et: Epexegetical; see Tilly, and Pease.

fatalibus arvis: Echoed poignantly at 5.82–83 *non licuit finis Italos fataliaque arva | nec tecum Ausonium, quicumque est, quaerere Thybrim*, of Aeneas at Anchises' *tumulus* (where see Fratantuono and Smith). The adjective also of the Palladium at 2.165–166; of the Wooden Horse (*fatalis machina*) at 2.237 and 6.515 (*fatalis equus*); of the Golden Bough (*fatalis virga*) at 6.409; of the *fatalis crusti* in the eating of the tables (7.115); of the *fatalis moles* of the envisioned new Trojan city that Drances suggests the Latins should help in building (11.130–131); of Aeneas at 11.232; of the Etrurian *fatalis manus* at 12.232; of Aeneas' *fatale telum* at 12.919. The *arva* cited here are very different from Dido's mention of *arva aliena* at 311: the fields are fated, not alien: they will be the destined new home for the Trojans.

Tibullus has c. 2.5.57–58 *Roma, tuum nomen terris fatale regendis, / qua sua de caelo prospicit arva Ceres* (where see Murgatroyd). We may recall here too Horace's *fatale monstrum*, of Cleopatra (c. 1.37.21).

356 *nunc etiam interpres divum Iove missus ab ipso*

nunc etiam: Cf. 345 *sed nunc*, as Aeneas moved from indulgence in his personal wishes about a *Troia rediviva* to mention of prophecies about Italy. Dido will repeat *nunc* three times with sarcastic contempt at 377–378. *Etiam* here emphasizes how this is simply the most dramatic of the already impressive list of admonitions Aeneas has received; it comes as the crown of the ascending tricolon as we move from Apollo's oracles to the ghost of Anchises to Jupiter's Mercury.

Nunc etiam ushers in a new and dramatic level of seriousness to Aeneas' response to prophecies. For how he has effectively ignored Anchises heretofore, and for the serious implications of this neglect, see Fratantuono 2007, 112.

interpres: Echoed at 378 below, as Dido responds to this specific reference; the noun elsewhere in Virgil at 3.359 *Troiugena interpres divum* (Aeneas to Helenus); 474 *Phoebi interpres* (also of Helenus); 10.175 (of Asilas), and—significantly—at 608 below, where it occurs of Juno in Dido's invocation: *tuque harum interpres curarum et conscia Iuno*. With *divum* cf. Seneca's *interpres deum* at *Troad.* 351 and 938. An old word (Plautus), found in both prose (Cicero) and poetry, though not particularly common in any genre or period. For the Servian gloss on Greek Hermes = Ἑρμηνεύς, see O'Hara 2017, 156.

divum: For this favorite Virgilian genitive plural cf. on 95; 201; 204; 378; 396; *deum* occurs at 62; 268.

Iove: Recalling the mention of the *monita Iovis* at the 331, as Aeneas' speech commenced.

ipso: The intensive to underscore the point: Aeneas has had many divine visions and omens, and this is the final appeal to immortal authority, as it were. *Ipsa* recalls Mercury's own declaration of his credentials at 268–269 *ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo | regnator*. "This is the fact which Aeneas feels sure must convince Dido" (Williams)—another tragic miscalculation.

Henry has a note here on the question of culpability and blame given the strong divine intervention.

357 (*testor utrumque caput*) *celeris mandata per auras*

testor utrumque caput: A famous crux. Already in Servius the several options were delineated: Aeneas and Dido; Jupiter and Mercury; Aeneas and the *carum caput* Ascanius. Pease favors the first of these options, comparing Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.151; Mackail considers this interpretation "feeble," and the ref-

erence to the two gods “absurd”—he opts for Anchises and Ascanius. Austin concurs with Page; so also Buscaroli; Tilly; Williams. Irvine argues that the only possibilities are Aeneas and Dido or the two gods; he finds the latter option better (cf. Tib.). Butler offers a choice between Aeneas and Dido or Aeneas and his son. Paratore takes no position. The different opinions all have objections and supporting, circumstantial evidence (e.g., may one combine the living and the dead, or may one swear by the head of a god; cf. Maclennan’s “it seems odd to refer to the *caput* of ghosts or gods”). Buscaroli emphasizes that one swears by that which one loves or by that which is especially dear to one, with the argument that the sad lover swears by Dido and himself that he is acting against his will under divine injunction.

Parallel to the present use is 4.492–493 *testor, cara, deos et te, germana, tuumque / caput*, where Dido addresses her sister. In the immediate context the most obvious referents for the appeal are Mercury and Jupiter; before them came Anchises and Ascanius, the latter of whom was associated with the image of the “dear head” and the portent of the flame on the crown of the head from Book 2. Beyond that, Aeneas is of course addressing Dido, and he has an especially guilty relationship right now both with her (arguably) and with his son (explicitly; cf. 354–355). At the very opening of his speech, Aeneas juxtaposed *ego* and *te*; those pronouns will be recalled below at 360 *me* and *te*, as the address draws to a close. As Aeneas prepared to speak, the narrator noted that his eyes were unmoving; the causal detail was *Iovis monitis* (331). Here, all things considered it seems best to take the reference to the gods—with Aeneas offering as the climactic, crowning evidence of the legitimacy of his case the Mercurian message from Jove. This appeal—complete with a calling of both gods to witness that he speaks the truth—is the rationale behind the direct, forceful imperative of 360. Still, there may well be a deliberate ambiguity, which would serve to highlight the complex web of associations in one and the same passage: the triad of Aeneas with father and son; the two now former lovers; the supreme god and his dutiful, filial herald. It is not unheard of to report nocturnal visitations of gods and dead loved ones; it is entirely different to speak of a diurnal apparition (in this case, literally as Aeneas was engaged in supervising Dido’s building projects)—and so the oath by the two gods just mentioned is more than fitting. If one were to give a second choice interpretation, we would prefer Aeneas and Ascanius.

At 2.155 *testor* is used of calling divine power to witness; cf. 519 below; also 7.593; 12.201; 496; 681; Aeneas’ calling the ashes and fire of Troy to witness at 2.432; invocations to stars at 3.599; 9.429; to rivers at 5.803; cf. Phlegyas at 6.619. Parallels can be helpful or unhelpful; what Briseis says to Achilles at

Ovid, *Her.* 3.107 *perque tuum nostrum caput* does not resolve the problem of what Virgil has Aeneas say here.

There is an argument to be made in favor of taking the *utrumque caput* of Aeneas and Dido, and it is one that can be fashioned even absent interpreting the two heads here to be of the now former lovers. R.O.A.M. Lyne, "Virgil's *Aeneid*: Subversion by Intertextuality: Catullus 66.39–40 and Other Examples," in *G&R* 41.2 (1994), 184–204, 190 ff. connects the present reference with the celebrated reminiscence of the lock of Berenice recalled at 6.458–460 (cf. Catullus, c. 66.39–40), via 492–493. We shall return to this problem below on 704.

Likewise, there is one intratext that points to taking Ascanius and Anchises as the two heads: cf. 9.300 *per caput hoc iuro, per quod pater ante solebat*, where Ascanius addresses Euryalus; on this interpretation see Henry 1989, 4; 182, n. 8. The fact that such strong arguments can be made for different interpretations is a testament to the poet's deliberate manipulation of ambiguity; he knew perfectly well that what he wrote could be interpreted in different ways, and he used this particular device as a potent weapon in his crafting of an epic that can be read on various levels simultaneously. We do well to remember that Aeneas' emotional tone has increased as his address has progressed; not everything that he says can be subjected to precise, definitive analysis in the face of the personal passion under which he labors as he seeks to resist this woman.

celeris ... auras: Aeneas virtually quotes Mercury's words at 270 *ipse haec ferre iubet celeris mandata per auras*, which in turn was an echo of 226 *adloquere et celeris defer mea dicta per auras* (Jupiter to Mercury).

358 *detulit: ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi*

The verbs frame the verse.

detulit: Alliterative with *deum*. The verb echoes Jupiter's command to Mercury at 226 *defer*. The present use is paralleled at 12.416–417 *hoc Venus obscuro faciem circumdata nimbo | detulit ...*, of the goddess' securing of the dittany to heal Aeneas' serious wound. The enjambment enacts the surprise visitation.

ipse: The intensive of personal witness, and in deliberate juxtaposition with *deum* of Mercury: suddenly Aeneas found himself standing next to the god. The intensive here is coordinate with the deictic *his auribus* of 359.

manifesto: The adjective is not common in Virgil; cf. 2.309 *tum manifesta fides ...* (after the revelation of the deceptive horror of the Wooden Horse); 3.151 *... multo manifesti lumine ...*, of the dream apparition of the Penates; 374–375 *Nate dea (nam te maioribus ire per altum | auspiciis manifesta fides: sic fata deum rex | sortitur volvitque vices, is vertitur ordo)* (Helenus to Aeneas); 8.16–17 *... manifestus ipsi | quam Turno regi aut regi apparere Latino* (of the Venulan embassy to Diomedes); 11.232–233 *fatalem Aenean manifesto numine ferri | admonet ira*

deum tumulique ante ora recentes (of the cause for Latinus' disheartened state before the Latin war council). The Penates were *manifesti* in contrast to the darkness of the night; here the emphasis is on how the heavenly god (who would already be bright) appeared in broad daylight, as it were. *Manifesto* coordinates closely with *lumine*.

lumine: Of deliberate double meaning: there is the *lumen* of the god, and the *lumen* of the day that contrasts with the appearance of Anchises' ghost in the shadows of the night.

With Virgil's expression cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.105 *iussi laude canunt manifesto in lumine Fauni*; cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 2.149–150.

vidi: The perfect of personal attestatation, coordinate with the intensive pronoun in framing order. The emphasis here is on the visual; in the second half of 359 it will be on the aural.

"It is no fantasy, and there is only one answer to it" (Austin).

359 *intranter muros vocemque his auribus hausit*.

intranter muros: We may recall 259 *ut primum alatis tetigit magalia plantis*: gods have no need of siege engines (especially when they have golden *talaria*). The image is one of invasion: Mercury interrupted work on the very citadels that are designed to ward off would-be invaders. *Intrare* is participial only here in Virgil (we exclude Ribbeck's conjecture at 1.455); cf. 3.219; 254; 501; 5.57; 6.59; 7.201; 8.390. Virgil prefers *moenia* to *muri*, though not by a great margin; *muri* nowhere in Book 4.

vocemque: Quintilian 8.3.54 cites *vocemque his auribus hausit* as an example of pleonasm (cf. Servius' note) where the purpose is emphasis.

his auribus: Cf. Terence, *Hec.* 363 *partim quae perspexi hisce oculis, partim quae accepi auribus*.

hausit: Alliterative after *his*. The metaphor is from drinking, in particular of draining a cup to the dregs; here it is as if Aeneas is quasi-drunk on the words of Mercury, words that he has taken down completely and utterly. Virgil may be experimenting with language here, since it is difficult to parallel this sense of the verb in earlier authors (cf. Livy 27.51.1; Mack on Ovid, *Met.* 14.309). Dido will echo this verb in her blistering reply at 383 *supplicia hausurum scopulis*; cf. also 660–661, just as she fatally wounds herself: a powerful recurrence of a verb that is otherwise not particularly common in the poet. We may compare Bitias draining the vessel at 1.738–739 during the banquet; Venus' words to her son during Troy's fall at 2.600 *iam flammae tulerint inimicus et hauserit ensis*; cf. 5.137; 9.23; 10.314; 648; 899 (a particularly poignant use as Mezentius "drinks in the heaven" before his death); 12.26; 946 (where Aeneas "drinks in the spoils" that Turnus had taken from Pallas). If there is any allusion here to the notorious

bibulousness of Antony and Cleopatra, the point is that Aeneas' intoxication is now on the Jovian injunction to leave Carthage. The verb will be echoed frighteningly by Dido at 383 *hausurum*, in the queen's curse.

On auditory sensations and hearing in Virgil see R.F. Thomas in *VE* 11, 590–592. We move from the effect of Mercury on the eyes to that on the ears; this emphasis continues in Aeneas' imperative in 360 that the queen cease her entreaties and complaints. On the possible etymological connection between *aures* and *haurire*, see O'Hara 2017, 156–157; Bartelink 1965, 95. The claim is ancient (Lactantius; Isidore); it may simply be rooted in the juxtaposed sound effect.

360 *desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis:*

desine: The verb is not common in the epic; we may compare 12.800 *desine iam tandem precibusque inflectere nostris* (Jupiter to Juno); also 10.881–882 *desine, nam venio moriturus et haec tibi porto | dona prius* (Mezentius to Aeneas); the Sibyl to Palinurus at 6.376 *desine fata deum flecti sperare precando*; finite forms at 8.11 and 10.211. The last command that Aeneas ever gives to the queen.

meque: Balanced by *teque*, and echoing the *ego te* at 333 with which Aeneas commenced his speech; there however the personal pronouns were juxtaposed, while here—after having stated firmly and definitively his position given the divine mandates he has received—the pronouns are separated.

tuis: Coordinate with *teque*, in hyperbaton. The effect of Dido's words on herself is added almost as a halting afterthought after his emphasis on how she has further enflamed *his* passions. The word order enacts the emotion and the near unraveling of Aeneas' composed response.

incendere: Fire imagery yet again; for the verb see on 197; 300. A powerful admission as the speech draws to its close: Dido's words did set Aeneas on fire. Dido will not heed this admonition; cf. 364 *accensa*.

querelis: We may compare the lowing Herculean cattle stolen by Cacus at 8.215; also Juno's closing words to Venus at the divine council (10.94–95 ... *nunc sera querelis | haud iustis adsurgis et inrita iurgia iactas*). This is the vocabulary of elegy and amatory complaint; cf. Catullus, c. 64.130; 195; 223; c. 66.19; Tibullus, c. 1.2.9; 1.4.71; 1.8.53; Ovid, *Am.* 2.6.8; *Her.* 1.70; 2.8; 13.110; 15.71; 17.12; *Ars* 3.455; 660; *Rem.* 509; etc. For the spelling *querellis* of the older editors see DServ.

Aeneas makes clear that the gods are requiring his departure; the acrostic DI of 360–361 follows on the same at 358–359 to underscore the point.

361 *Italiam non sponte sequor.*"

One of the most revealing and devastating verses in the epic; the words of Irvine in comment have been justly celebrated: "This unfinished line nobody,

I suppose, would wish to see completed.” Cf. Tilly: “It is hard to believe that Vergil intended to fill in this line in the revision of the *Aeneid* which he contemplated.” Even Maclennan—who reminds us that the hemistichs would have been finished in said revision—admits that it would have been difficult to finish this verse. Warde Fowler 1918, 93–96 famously made the argument that the half-lines were a deliberate poetic experiment by the poet, a case that has not been widely accepted by successive generations of scholars, and understandably so. The present verse is perhaps the best example that can be offered of what some would want to call a “deliberate” half-line, one that expresses the near breakdown of Aeneas’ steadfast resolve after his imperative appeal at 360. We have certainly come far from the unmoving eyes of 331–332. There is a hint in what follows that the furious Dido interrupted Aeneas.

Italiam: Repeated from 345–346, with rather different implications here. Pease draws attention to the implications of “Italy” in this passage; at 347 Aeneas had declared *hic amor, haec patria est* with reference to the storied land that had been declared to be his destiny; those words—if they do not ring entirely hollow—assume a new register in light of the sentiments expressed here.

sponte: Alliterative with *sequor*, and echoing 341. There Aeneas had spoken of how he would be focused on a reborn Troy if he had his own will; here he remarks bluntly and abruptly that he is pursuing Italy against his will—certainly with the implication that he would rather be engaged in the rebuilding of Troy, and quite possibly with the secondary admission that Dido would be his next choice, had he *liberum arbitrium* to decide his destiny. The sentiments expressed here will be echoed at 6.460 *invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi*, where Aeneas addresses Dido’s shade—in direct imitation of Catullus’ c. 66.39 *invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi* (of the lock of Berenice’s hair). Here Aeneas’ language emphasizes what he is pursuing against his personal will; in the underworld he will reverse the tenor of the argument and underscore his unwilling departure from the queen.

sequor: The last word spoken by Aeneas to Dido while she is still alive. The queen will make a direct response to this sentiment at 381 *i, sequere Italiam* ... The image here is of the chasing after Italy that is also at work in passages such as 3.496 and 6.61; it is the stuff of Ovid’s depiction of Aescacus’ pursuit of the nymph Hesperia at *Met.* 11.749–795, and indeed of the point of the final resolution of the Italian-Trojan problem between Jupiter and Juno in Book 12. In one sense, Aeneas will never capture Italy. Iris-Beroe will echo the present sentiment in her words to the Trojan women at 5.629 *Italiam sequimur fugientem*.

This is Antony, though saved from the fate of the disgraced triumvir who would never leave Alexandria. More than halfway through the closing book of the epic's first third, Aeneas still has much to learn. No contemporary Roman could have been proud of Aeneas on hearing this unfinished verse.

362–392 Dido offers a furious, enraged reply to Aeneas' speech; it closes as she flings herself away from him, with her servants taking the fainting queen away to her bedchamber. Cf. Apollonius' *Medea* at *Arg.* 4.355–390; also Euripides, *Med.* 465–519; Catullus' *Ariadne* at c. 64.132–201. Henry quotes the appraisal of Charles James Fox: "... and, on the whole, it is perhaps the finest thing in all poetry."

362 *Talia dicentem iamdudum aversa tuetur*

Talia: Echoing 361 *Italiam*. In framing alliteration with *tuetur*: she gazes at him who speaks of Italy.

dicentem: Dido virtually interrupts the one who is speaking of Italy ([I]talia). *Talia dicentem* also at Ovid, *Met.* 2.394; 3.526; 9.27; 10.40; 609; 13.966; *Fast.* 5.275; Statius, *Theb.* 3.720; 10.927; *Silv.* 3.3.205; *Ach.* 1.956.

iamdudum: Cf. on 4.1. It was not merely the closing sentiments of Aeneas' speech that engendered the queen's ire; she has been seething for a long time during his address (cf. Servius' "ab initio orationis"). In terms of any attempt to mollify her, Aeneas has failed utterly. We may recall, too, that his speech was longer than hers.

aversa: Exactly like the image of the goddess Pallas in the pictures in Dido's Junonian temple at 1.482 *diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*; cf. the imitation of the same verse at 6.469 *illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*, of the shade of Dido with Aeneas in the underworld (which marks a progression on the sentiments of this verse). We may compare too the *aversa deae mens* of Pallas at 2.170; Turinus' comment at 12.647 ... *quoniam superis aversa voluntas*. She looks askance at the hero who speaks of Italy, because she is, after all, Carthage's queen: there is a strong hint in this verse of the lasting enmity between the two cities, which in the final analysis is the most devastating consequence of Aeneas' Carthaginian sojourn and dalliance with this queen. *Aversa* is far stronger if it is taken as feminine singular rather than neuter adverbial accusative—though the meaning is not very different. "Her head is turned away ... but her eyes seek him ... from time to time" (Sidgwick). Cf. Mackail: "From the beginning of his speech—for it strikes a false note to her at once—she has been glaring at him in silence ..." See Newman and Newman 2005, 154 for the queen's gesture here as a definitive turning away from Aeneas, notwithstanding her remaining attempts to change destiny. Here commences a powerful description of the queen's physical reac-

tion to Aeneas' address, before she launches into her blistering rejoinder. For the deliberate oxymoronic juxtaposition of *aversa tuetur*, see Williams ad loc. and cf. S. Farron, "Dido 'Aversa' in *Aeneid* IV, 362 and VI, 465–471," in *Acta Classica* 27 (1984), 83–90.

tuetur: The verb also at 373 and 451 below; cf. above on 88 and 298. The emphasis on Dido's visual response to Aeneas echoes the similar description of the Trojan at 331–332. An historical present, which while it may well be translated as an imperfect, is all the more vivid by virtue of its tense. The verb at line-end is echoed at once by 363 ... *perrerat*.

363 *huc illuc volvens oculos totumque pererrat*

huc illuc: So also at 5.408 *huc illuc vinclorum immensa volumina versat*, as Acestes inspects Entellus' boxing gloves; cf. also 12.763–764 *quinque orbis explent cursu totidemque retexunt* / *huc illuc* ...; *G.* 2.297. Ennian; Plautine; Terentian; cf. Lesbia's sparrow at Catullus, c. 3.9; above at 285 as Aeneas ponders the sudden appearance of Mercury; 5.701 as he wonders what to do in the wake of the burning of the ships; 8.20 as he confronts the reality of the Italian war; 229 of Cacus; the grisly 9.755 of Pandarus' fatal injury; 10.680 of Turnus; also 12.764.

volvens: The verb also below at 449; 524; 671. The present description will be echoed in the terrifying appearance of Dido before her suicide at 643 *sanguineam volvens aciem*. *Volvens oculos* recurs of Latinus at 7.251 *intentos volvens oculos*, and—crucially—of Aeneas as he hesitates in response to Turnus' appeal for his life (12.938–939 ... *stetit acer in armis* / *Aeneas volvens oculos dextramque repressit*). Cf. Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 16.189; 17.259. Aeneas has a similar reaction to the bestowal of the arms at 8.618 *expleri nequit atque oculos per singula volvit*. Aeneas had held his eyes fixed as he commenced his speech (331–332); Dido's roam over his body. On the gesture as emblematic of madness see Newman and Newman 2005, 228–229.

oculos: Henry was a medical doctor, and so it is perhaps unsurprising that he specifies the *oculi* as the eyeballs, and the *lumina* of 364 as the organs of vision. The repetition of the ocular language underscores the visual; Aeneas had urged Dido not to enflame either of them any further with words, while meanwhile Dido's rage has increased as she listens to and gazes on the one whose appearance had once engendered such feelings of passion and lust. All the emphasis on the queen's visual response makes her verbal outburst all the more striking; her eyes may be silent (364 *luminibus tacitis*) for all their expressiveness, but her voice will be loud, clear, and eloquent.

totumque: Closely coordinate with the verbal prefix that follows. Williams has a perceptive note here about the seemingly unparalleled use of the verb

with a personal object; *totum*, further, is used absolutely and without qualifier or expressed referent—“Aeneas does not seem human to Dido anymore.” Such will be the premise with which she commences her address at 365. Alliterative with 364 *tacitis*.

pererrat: The prefix is intensive. *Pererrare* occurs elsewhere in the epic also at 5.441–442 *hunc hos, nunc illos aditus omnemque pererrat | arte locum ...*, of Entellus during the boxing match; 7.374–375 ... *penitusque in viscera lapsum | serpentis furiale malum totamque pererrat*, in the description of Amata under Allecto’s influence; 11.766 *hos aditus iamque hos aditus omnemque pererrat | undique circuitum ...*, of Arruns in his death ballet with Camilla; cf. 2.295 *pererrato ponto*, in the dream visit of Hector to Aeneas. *Errat* here recalls the etymology of Dido’s name as “wanderer”; she is fixed in place, as it were, but her active eyes are thoroughly wandering over Aeneas as he addresses her. The queen is in full etymological character here; indeed, she is the “supreme” (*per-*) wanderer.

We may recall here the image of maenadic Dido (300f.). With the description of Dido’s eyes and visual action cf. 6.467 ... *ardentem et torva tuentem*, of the burning, glowering queen in the underworld.

364 *luminibus tacitis et sic accensa profatur*:

luminibus tacitis: The silent eyes, in contrast to the voice that will soon explode in anger. The adjective recalls Aeneas’ tacit men at 289 amid their leader’s instructions about secret preparations for departure; also Dido’s reproachful comment to Aeneas at the beginning of her first speech (306), where she wondered sarcastically if he thought he could leave her in silence. Eyes that are silent are not crying, since that is the principal physical symptom of emotion that the eyes are able to display; Dido’s eyes are active as they wander over Aeneas’ body, but they are silent precisely because they are not lachrymose—a striking verbal expression, not to say experiment. The eyes that are not dissolved in tears reflect the queen’s burning (*accensa*) state: water extinguishes flames, and here it is the fire that predominates in Dido. Cf. Ovid, *Am.* 2.3.17 (with McKeown). A far less satisfactory interpretation is to imagine that the point is simply that Dido’s eyes have given no indication during Aeneas’ speech of what her emotional response might be. *Luminibus* in the prominent first position echoes Aeneas’ *lumina* at 332, which were *immota*; Dido has in some sense trumped him in the powerful description of her visual acumen and activity. Cf. Tib.’s analysis: “... quod est maximum irascentis signum, ut, cum totum nolit visum, totum tamen errantibus oculis cernat.” Cf. the queen’s reference to tears at 370; her own refraining from crying reflects how Aeneas did not seem to display any such emotion to her during his address.

accensa: Directly echoing Aeneas' 360 *desine ... incendere*. For the verb see on 203 and 232, and cf. 697 below. *Accensa* echoes 300 *incensa*, in the comparison of Dido to a maenad; note also 376.

profatur: Significantly, this verb occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at 1.561 *Tum breuiter Dido vultum demissa profatur*, as the queen responds to Ilioneus and urges him to put aside his fear. The two speeches introduced by this shared verb are polar opposites. *Profatur* is borrowed from Lucretius (*DRN* 1.739 = 5.112), where it is used of the sacred oracular pronouncements of Pythian Apollo; the verb is poetic and not common until the Silver Age (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 9.473; 11.290; Lucan, *BC* 2.337; 4.701; 5.16; 318; 9.147; Statius, *Theb.* 7.154; 362; 8.33; 9.811; 884; 11.75; 362; 12.373; *Silv.* 1.2.63; 4.1.16; 4.3.123; *Ach.* 2.16; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.289; 3.200; 534; 7.476; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 1.124; 2.454; 3.570; 674; 4.419; 808; 6.295; 11.201; 211; 13.762; 15.158; 16.287; 17.35; 186). The verb coordinates effectively with *tacitis*, as the line progresses from the silent eyes that are devoid of tears, to the heralding of the voice that will denounce Aeneas in vicious verbal riposte.

365 “nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor,

tibi: Aeneas had opened his speech at 333 with the juxtaposed pronouns *ego te*; Dido's rejoinder commences with two negatives that are focused on *tibi* of Aeneas.

diva parens: The insulting denial of Aeneas' divine maternity harks back to Dido's musing to Anna of the opposite sentiment at 12 *credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum*. *Parens* of Venus 7× in the epic; cf. 12× of Anchises; 4× each of Daunus and Evander; 3× of Cybele; twice of Aeneas and once each of Creüsa; Dolon; Faunus; Mezentius; Pilumnus; Saturn; Silvius and Terra. The noun coordinates with the parallel *auctor*. *Divia parens* also at 6.196–197 ... *tuque, o, dubiis ne defice rebus, / diva parens*; cf. Ovid, *Her.* 7.107 *diva parens seniorque pater, pia sarcina nati*. Virgil here echoes Homer, *Il.* 16.33–34, where Patroclus upbraids Achilles as not being the son of the horseman Peleus and the goddess Thetis (the intertext noted already by Macrobius, *Sat.* 5.11.14; see further Newman and Newman 2005, 184–185). The question of the legitimacy of claims of divine parentage is an old one; it lies at the heart of the Phaëthon story. Cf. Euripides, *Bacch.* 987–990 (with Dodds); Theocritus, *Id.* 3.15–16 (with Gow). For *divus* see on 95.

generis: Deliberately at midverse; it links the allusion to Aeneas' divine parent with the mention of the progenitor of the Trojan *genus*. For the noun cf. on 40 above. *Parens* and *generis* juxtaposed. *Generis* in this position is echoed by the related *genuit* at 366.

nec: The postponed *nec* also at 33, where it occurred after the name *Veneris*—a neat parallel.

Dardanus: Cf. the description of Ascanius as the *Dardniusque nepos Veneris* at 163. The Italian origins of Dardanus are deliberately in the background here, as Dido responds to (if not interrupts) a speech that ended on an Italian note. The present expression of doubt about Dardanus and Venus echoes 1.617–618 *tunc ille Aeneas quem Dardanio Anchisae / alma Venus Phrygii genuit Simoentis ad undam?*, where Dido addressed her Trojan guest in happier times. Everything she says in this opening verse cancels out something she had said earlier either to Aeneas or to her sister (Servius notes that the queen condemns herself here alongside Aeneas). A subtle, snide rebuke of Aeneas' invocation of Jovian orders: in the Trojan lineage, the descent was Zeus, then Dardanus (cf. Homer, *Il.* 20.215–239).

auctor: The noun only here in Book 4; the echo is of 3.503–504 ... *quibus idem Dardanus auctor / atque idem cursus*, as Aeneas takes his leave of Buthrotum; cf. 8.134 *Dardanus, Iliacae primus pater urbis et auctor*; also 6.650 *Ilusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor*: 4× of Dardanus; vs. 2× of Apollo and once each of Acestes; Drances; Jupiter; Potitius and Saturn.

366 *perfade, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens*

perfade: Echoing the same vocative insult at 305.

duris ... cautibus: In framing word order around the reference to Aeneas' birth. For *durus* cf. 247, in the description of Atlas (cf. also Aeneas' own Atlantid associations). The ablative has been variously explained; it may simply denote place, or be of respect or instrument. "Virg. makes Dido indulge in those geographical recollections of which he himself is so fond" (Conington). *Duris cautibus* describes what is meant by *horrens*. The adjective in prominent position as the description opens: Dido's focus is on the hardheartedness of Aeneas that reflects his apparent origins.

genuit: The verb echoes Dido's related remark about Aeneas' parentage at 1.618. Catullus' Ariadne again lurks here: c. 64.154 *quaenam te genuit sola sub rupe laena?*

cautibus: The noun also at 3.534 *obiectae salsa spumant aspergine cautes*; 699–700 *hinc alta cautes proiectaque saxa Pachyni / radimus*; 5.163 *litus ama et laeva stringat sine palmula cautes*; 205 *concussae cautes*; 11.260 ... *Euboicae cautes*. The present insult will be echoed in the encounter between Aeneas and Dido's shade in the Fields of Mourning, where it will be Dido who is described in stony language: 6.470–471 *nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur / quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes*—a case in Pease's estimation of "poetic justice." *Cautibus* is alliterative with 367 *Caucasus*.

horrens: With effective enjambment. For the verb see on 181; 209; 454. Alliterative with 367 *Hyrcaea*.

The literary antecedents for the image Dido conjures here are vast; Austin rightly labels Pease's note "monumental." But most on Virgil's mind is his own previous use of the same language, at *E.* 8.43–45 *nunc scio quid sit Amor: nudis in cotibus illum / aut Tmaros aut Rhodope aut extremi Garamantes / nec generis nostri puerum nec sanguinis edunt* (where see Cucchiarelli ad loc. in particular). This passage focuses on the question of the nativity and parentage of Aeneas' stepbrother, whose mischievous machinations with Venus had caused so much of the tragedy unfolding now. What had been applied to Amor in Virgil's pastoral is now ascribed to Aeneas in his epic.

367 Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.

Caucasus: Vid. A. Fo in *EV* 1, 713; L.E. Patterson in *VE* 1, 248; *Barrington* 88 B2; 1 L2; 84 E4; 87 F1. Elsewhere cited in Virgil only in connection to its most famous myth, namely the chaining of Prometheus on account of his gift of fire: *E.* 6.41–42 *Hinc lapides Pyrrhae iactos, Saturnia regna, / Caucasiaeque refert volucris furtumque Promethei* (in the song of Silenus). In that passage, the name of Deucalion's wife Pyrrha heralds the notion of fire; in the present context, the association of fire with Aeneas and Dido (cf. 360 *desine ... incendere*; 364 ... *accensa profatur*) provides a rationale for the queen's reference here to the storied location. Prometheus was imprisoned by Zeus in the Caucasus for bringing mortals fire; Aeneas has set Dido on fire, and now he has invoked Jupiter as divine authority for his planned departure from the woman he has enflamed. The Caucasus is *horrens* because of its beetling crags, but there is also a look forward to *tigris* at the end of this verse, of the bristling tiger.

Hyrcanae: See on this juxtaposed location vid. M. Malavolta in *EV* 111, 21; V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* 11, 637; *Barrington* 96 C2; 3 F2. Somewhere south of the Caspian Sea, in the territory of modern Iran. The Hyrcanians figure in the description of the custom of the opening of the *Belli portae* at 7.604–606 *sive Getis inferre manu lacrimabile bellum / Hyrcanisve Arabisve parant, seu tendere ad Indos / Auroramque sequi Parthosque reposcere signa*.

admorunt: The verb also at 3.410–411 *ast ubi digressum Siculae te admoverit orae / ventus*; 12.171 *attulit admovitque pecus flagrantibus aris*.

ubera: Cf. 11.570–572 *hic natam in dumis interque horrentia lustra / armentalis equae mammis et lacte ferino / nutribat teneris immulgens ubera labris*, of the rearing of Camilla. Note also Polyphemus' pastoral milking at 3.692; the portentous sow with its piglets at 3.392 and 8.45; the sucklings Romulus and Remus with the she-wolf on the shield at 8.631.

tigres: Tigers figure in the epic elsewhere at 6.805 *Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigris*, in the description of Bacchus' traditional tiger-drawn chariot; 9.730 *immanem veluti pecora inter inertia tigrim*, where Turnus is compared to

a tiger amid the Trojan flock; 10.166 of Massicus' Tigris vessel in the Etruscan catalogue; 11.576–577 ... *pro longae tegmine pallae / tigridis exuviae per dorsum a vertice pendent*, of the adolescent Camilla's tiger pelt. On Virgilian tigers see S. Rocca in *EV* v, 176–177; R. Katz in *VE* III, 1269–1270; Toynbee 1973, 69–82; Meyer 2020, 28–30. There may be a connection between the insult about Aeneas' parentage and the huntress disguise of Venus at 1.314–320. “In the Roman world, at any rate, it was the female of the species that played the leading role” (Toynbee 1973, 70). The most anti-Venusian female figure in the epic is Camilla, and appropriately enough she wears a tiger pelt; how the Volscian adolescent managed to find a tiger in Italy is irrelevant to the poet's point (cf. Reed 2007, 58—“Are there tigers in Italy?”; *G.* 2.151–152 on the absence of large felines from Italy), and may point anachronistically to the Roman conquest of the East (see Reed 2007, 158–159; Fratantuono 2012/2013, 84)—especially after the mention of Hyrcania. Horsfall *ad* 11.577 wonders how a tiger-skin could have fit a child (but heroic girls are no doubt taller than average); Fratantuono *ad loc.* wonders if Diana had given it to her as a present. Tigers are first mentioned in extant Latin verse at *E.* 5.29–30, where Daphnis is said to have taught the skill of yoking Armenian tigers to chariots. There may be a reminiscence here too of *G.* 3.248, where the tiger is said to become *pessima* under the influence of love. Any association of the tiger with Bacchus serves only to link the hero more closely with the god via the alleged nurturing of the patron animal. There is also implicit contrast between Aeneas' allegedly being reared by a tigress, and the lupine infancy of Romulus and Remus. “The meaning apparently is that a rock was his mother and a tigress his nurse” (Conington). Tigers were a contemporary novelty for Virgil's audience; they likely were not exhibited in the city until 11 B.C. (see Pliny, *NH* 8.65), and may have been seen first by Romans only in 20 B.C. (Augustus on Samos—it is possible that Virgil learned his eyewitness report of the animal first from the *princeps*). We may note that Servius thought that the tiger should be localized to Arabia (“Arabicae; nam Hyrcania silva est Arabiae ...”). English commentators avidly collect the Shakespearean references to the Hyrcanian tiger (cf. *Hamlet* 2.2.472; *Macbeth* 3.4.101).

The tiger image, then, is principally one of insult to Venus; it is directly linked to the masquerade of a huntress played by that goddess when she told the story of Dido to Aeneas, and it will be recalled when the poet introduces his anti-Dido, the Italian heroine Camilla. For those who cringe at the activities of the capricious Venus in Books 1 and 4 that have caused so much turmoil, Dido here voices savage, implicit condemnation of Aeneas' mother: even as she denies that a goddess gave birth to Aeneas, the comment that a tigress gave him suck cannot help but be offensive to his divine mother. On Dido's reduction of Aeneas to the status of a monster see Newman and Newman 2005, 24. It

is of course sometimes a good thing to be suckled at the teats of wild animals, if you are Romulus and Remus (and Camilla has affinities to that lupine lore); the suckling of lions and tigers such as that referenced by Catullus' Ariadne and Virgil's Dido does not fit into that category. Virgil reverses something of the language of the Jason of Euripides, who called Medea a lioness in the aftermath of the slaying of the children (*Med.* 1342; 1407). The child murderess relished the title (cf. 1358).

The queen's commentary on Aeneas' parentage reflects his own rhetorical question of her at 1.606 ... *qui tanti talem genuere parentes?*; the poet consistently recalls happier moments in the relationship as he chronicles its dramatic demise.

368 *nam quid dissimulo aut quae me ad maiora reservo?*

The savagery of the preceding verses is now self-justified by the appeal to the queen having been driven to her limit: she feels that she has no reason to restrain her fury. "Dido justifies herself for the bitter words she has just thrown at Aeneas: her love is ended and has turned to hate" (Tilly). If the sentiments here seem excessive, that is exactly the poet's point: Dido is now a creature of rage, her amatory passion converted into loathing for her now former lover.

nam: See Austin for the "conversational" tone of the particle, here with a note of impatience.

quid: Coordinate with *quae*; the double pattern of this verse is followed by the tricolon of 369–370 (arranged as double question and then single); and then by the doubled double pair of 371 that introduces the reference to two gods. Dido's mastery of the rhetorical arts in this passage dwarfs any of Aeneas' aspirations to eloquence.

nam: Explanatory and excusatory. There is a sound effect as *nam* here gives way to *num* at the start of 369.

dissimulo: Echoing 305 *dissimulare etiam sperasti*, at the start of her previous speech. Logically this should be a deliberative subjunctive; the only way to construe the indicative is as a mark of vividness and extreme emotion. We may compare the rhetorical questions of the queen at 534 ff. below.

me: Alliterative with *maiora*, with the elision of the monosyllable further reflecting the serious emotion and anger.

ad maiora: With reference perhaps to the idea that for Dido, this is the summit of her struggle and anxiety, and there is no greater crisis that will demand her rhetoric—no grief, as it were, could be more intense or painful (so Servius' "ad maiores scilicet iniurias"). But there is also a hint that the queen has already now given voice to her most savage insult, since she has implicitly attacked Venus.

reservo: For the verb note also 5.624–625 ... *o gens / cui te exitio Fortuna reservat?* (Iris-Beroe to the Trojan women); 8.484 ... *di capiti ipsius generique reservent!* (Evander speaking of Mezentius); 575 ... *si fata reservant* (Evander musing about the fate of Pallas). None of the occurrences are in optimistic, positive contexts.

369 num fletu ingemuit nostro? num lumina flexit?

num ... num: The anaphoric drumbeat of indignation. “The stock in trade of the rhetorical schools” (Butler). Page has a fine note here on how “a great actress” would deliver these lines of sarcasm and contempt.

fletu: Fricative alliteration with *flexit*. The present passage is echoed below at 437–439 *Talibus orabat, talisque miserrima fletus / fertque refertque soror. sed nullis ille movetur / fletibus* (of Aeneas’ reaction to Dido); cf. 463. Four of the ten uses of the noun in the epic come in Book 4; note also 2.271 *visus adesse mihi largosque effundere fletus* (of the ghost of Hector); 3.344–345 *talia fundebat lacrimas longosque ciebat / incassum fletus ...* (with reference to Andromache at Buthrotum); 5.765 *exoritur procurva ingens per litora fletus* (on the departure from Sicily); 6.699 *sic memorans largo fletu simul ora rigabat* (Aeneas with the shade of Anchises); 9.498 *hoc fletu concussi animi ...* (of the reaction to the lament of Euryalus’ mother); note also G. 4.505 *quo fletu Manis, quae numina voce moveret?* (of Orpheus’ song in the underworld).

Fletu is either dative or ablative; most commentators prefer the former, though the difference in meaning is not very great. Causal ablative is the simplest way to construe the phrase.

ingemuit: Echoed poignantly below at 692 *quaesivit caelo lucem ingemuitque reperta*, of Dido in her death agonies; cf. 11.840 *ingemuitque deditque has imo pectore voces*, of Opis in the wake of Camilla’s death. Dido asks if Aeneas groaned in sorrow on account of her weeping; in fact one of the few occurrences of the verb in the epic comes of Aeneas at 1.93 *ingemit et duplicis ad sidera palmas*—this is in fact the first action of Aeneas in the epic. Note also 10.789 *ingemuit cari graviter genitoris amore* (Lausus for Mezentius); 823 *ingemuit graviter miserans dextramque tetendit* (Aeneas for Lausus); also 6.483 *ingemuit*, of Aeneas mourning for the souls of the Trojan heroes in the underworld—tears for them, we might think, and not here for Dido.

This verb introduces a change of person, as Dido refers to Aeneas now in the third person; this significant switch comes just after the dehumanization of Aeneas at 367. After a one-verse interlude in which two first-person verbs referred to the queen’s state of reflection, Dido now proceeds to describe Aeneas as if he were not standing in front of her. “... very expressive of her scorn and hate” (Sigdwick).

nam lumina flexit?: Referring to 331–332 ... *immota tenebat / lumina*, of Aeneas as he commenced his address.

flexit: For the verb cf. 35 above.

The reference to the “bending of the eyes” comes immediately after an allusion to the queen’s *fletus*. We may be certain that the emotionally overwrought Dido was crying amid the delivery of her first speech on the evidence of 314 ... *per ego has lacrimas* (hence the perfect tenses here, with reference back to Aeneas’ action or lack thereof in the wake of that address); now her eyes are “silent,” (364), that is, dry and devoid of tears.

“Dido will not address such a traitor; she speaks of him as though he were elsewhere; and doubtless he wished he were. Yet in 380 she must turn to him and pour her wrath upon his quailing head” (Hardy).

370 **num lacrimas victus dedit aut miseratus amantem est?**

References to tears and love in second and penultimate position: Dido like any lover considers the former to be evidence of the latter.

num: After the double rhetorical questions of 369, the third *num* introduces the crown of the ascending tricolon.

lacrimas: The absent tears of Aeneas, again recalling 331–332. *num lacrimas* here balances 369 *num fletu*. For the noun cf. 30; 314; 370; 413; 548; 649. Dido equates tears with a sign of conquest in her amatory engagement.

For *lacrimas* with *dedit* cf. 9.292–293 ... *percussa mente dedere / Dardanidae lacrimas*, of the Trojan reception of Euryalus’ words.

victus: Echoing Aeneas’ reference at 344 to the *victis*, i.e. the Trojans for whom he wished he could be establishing a second Troy. Note also 434 below, to which Mackail draws attention.

miseratus: Cf. 5.726–727 *imperio Iovis huc venio, qui classibus ignem / depulit et caelo tandem miseratus ab alto est* (Anchises’ visitation of Aeneas in the wake of the burning of the ships). There is an interesting change here on the usual sentiments: normally we would pity the one who is conquered, while here the one conquered is invited to pity the lover. There is a strong echo of 1.597 *o sola infandos Troiae miserata dolores*, of Aeneas to Dido as he is revealed to her out of the mist in which his mother had enveloped him. Cf. 10.234 *miserata* of Venus; the parallel 686 of Juno; cf. 6.56 *Phoebe, gravis Troiae semper miserate labores*.

amantem: At line-end also at *G.* 4.488 *cum subita incautum dementia cepit amantem*, of Orpheus exiting the underworld; *Aen.* 1.352 *multa malus simulans vana spe lusit amantem*, of Pygmalion’s treatment of Dido in the wake of Sychaeus’ murder; above at 296 *At regina dolos quis fallere possit amantem?*; 479 below.

The present passage is echoed at 6.28 *magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem*, of Daedalus taking pity on Pasiphaë's unnatural love for a bull. The only other character in the poem who is referenced regarding taking pity on love is the master craftsman who devises the means for another queen to satiate her bestial perversion—an interesting intratext.

371 *quae quibus anteferam? iam iam nec maxima Iuno*

quae quibus: The doubled interrogatives are echoed at once by the double adverb *iam iam*. The implication is that Dido has much concerning which she could complain. Page argues that “the expression denotes utter despair.” “Amphibolia,” says Servius: “quid prius, quid posterius dicam?” Henry has an extended note here on how we must understand this as a rhetorical question, lest Dido be imagined as offering the cold legalism of a lawyer.

anteferam: Deliberative subjunctive. There is an echo of Juno's favor for Carthage as expressed at 1.15–16 *quam Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam / posthabita coluisse Samo*. The verb occurs only here in Virgil and is not common in poetry; cf. Horace, *Ep.* 2.1.19; 2.1.65; Ovid, *Her.* 16.205–206 *nec, puto, conlatis forma Menelaus et armis / iudice te nobis anteferendus erit*; 16.357–358 *nec plus Atrides animi Menelaus habebit / quam Paris aut armis anteferendus erit* (Paris to Helen).

Despite Henry's misgivings of the image, Williams is right here: “This rhetorical question could come from a Ciceronian speech.”

iam iam: Also in the epic at 2.701 *iam iam nulla mora est: sequor et qua ducitis adsum* (Anchises after the confirmation of the Iulus omen); 12.676 *iam iam fata, soror, superant, absiste morari* (Turnus to Juturna); 875 *iam iam linquo acies, ne me terrete timentem* (Juturna after the apparition of the Dira). The double doubling here introduces the reference to the supreme pair of divinities. “It has come to this” (Conington). Tilly speaks of the “darkest hour of her need” in which the immortals have abandoned her.

maxima Iuno: Named here principally and first because she was the patroness of Carthage. Cf. Catullus, c. 68B.138–139 *saepe etiam Iuno, maxima caelicolum, / coniugis in culpa flagrantem contudit iram*; *Aen.* 8.84–85 *quam pius Aeneas tibi enim, tibi, maxima Iuno, / mactat sacra ferens et cum grege sistit ad aram* (of the portentous sow); 10.685–686 *ter conatus utramque viam, ter maxima Iuno / continuit iuvenemque animi miserata repressit* (of Juno with Turnus). It is interesting that the three references to *maxima Iuno* in the epic all come with some element of doubling, which may reflect the language of magic formulae. The names of the immortals are arranged chiastically: first *maxima Iuno* and then 372 *Saturnius pater*. Dido does not, of course, know of the machinations of Juno with Venus from 90 ff. On her naïve nature on display here see

Newman and Newman 2005, 145. There is an element in 371–372 of the adolescent complaint about what is and is not fair: these two lines—for all their solemn reference to the gods—are akin to a tantrum.

Maxima Iuno correlates closely with 372 *Saturnius pater*, and the shared subject is almost certainly *aspicit* there. Others have attempted to have Dido deny that Juno is the greatest goddess by understanding an *est* here (the interpretation is as old an alternative as Servius). But the queen's point may well be that she has been undone by supreme deities whose very supremacy makes them unable to be countered by any appeal to justice or a sense of right.

The most extensive consideration of the difficult theological reference introduced at 371–372 is Stephenson's school commentary. He notes that there are three possibilities of interpretation for what Dido says about Juno and Jupiter: 1) they are not impartial observers of the world; 2) they are not favorable to Carthage (Juno in particular should be its patroness *par excellence*); 3) they are not inclined to look with favor on what Aeneas has done. Stephenson prefers the last of these options ("[it] seems to suit the sense of *iam iam* and the context best"); Pease notes simply "I should prefer the first or the second." Given that Juno is Dido's patroness and that Aeneas had referenced the intervention of Jupiter (356 ff.), it seems best to exclude the last of Stephenson's options and to imagine that Dido is arguing for an anti-Epicurean divine action for the one, and an anti-traditional one for the other: Jupiter is certainly not eyeing the world with detachment, and Juno—who should be intervening to help Carthage—is standing aloof.

See Pease for attempts to connect Dido's references here to the Punic Tanit and to Baal: "But that Virgil archaeologizes to this extent for the antiquities of a country outside the Graeco-Latin tradition is hard to prove or disprove." First the queen addressed the behavior of the *quondam* lover; now she speaks of the gods—including Juno, who was of course not a part of Aeneas' address.

372 *nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis.*

Saturnius ... pater: Jupiter is described as the "Saturnian father" only here in Virgil. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.163; *Ilias Latina* 223. For the appellation see on 92; in the *Aeneid* it is especially applied to Juno (16×), *vs.* once each of Jupiter (here) and Neptune (5.799). The Carthaginian Dido addresses Juno as *maxima*, and she calls Jupiter by the title most associated with his divine *coniunx*—naïve thinking, perhaps, that the two "lovers" are actually closely allied in the current divine machinations behind the scenes. In other words, Dido thinks of Juno and Jupiter the way she would like to think of Aeneas and herself—a happy couple in power. There is also a strong hint here of the Saturnian

Golden Age by the allusive reference to Jupiter's sire; there will be no such happy image for the abandoned queen.

haec: For the monosyllable after the end of the second foot coinciding with word-end, see Austin; the demonstrative here is as ambiguous as the interrogatives in the preceding line. For this use of the diæresis cf. the grim verse 385 below.

oculis: Repeated not long after the mention of Dido's eyes at 363. Virgil is fond of this verbal repetition within a relatively short compass of lines; it tightens the narrative and creates intratextual echoes. Dido has physically responded to Aeneas' speech via her organs of sight, and she references the gods with respect to the same action. There is an implication in this verse that she, unlike the immortals, has fairly appraised the situation and made an equitable judgment on Aeneas.

aspicit: The visual element again. For the verb see on 208, and cf. 664; *aspicis haec* was what Iarbas indignantly asked Jupiter in his address about what was happening in Africa, and here Dido is made unwittingly to recall what had been said previously by her rejected suitor. Jupiter has indeed seen what is going on in Carthage, and in the queen's estimation neither his great consort nor he is looking down with fair or impartial eyes.

aequis: The emphasis falls on the last word, in a position not often accorded to an adjective (see Austin on 97 *altae*). The adjective recurs below at the related 520–521 ... *tum, si quod non aequo foedere amanti / curae numen habet iustumque memorque, precatur*.

Virgil is also fond of recalling verses later in his narrative, in very different contexts: the verbal reminiscence allows a previous moment (usually of heightened emotional import) to cloud the later episode. Cf. 9.208–209 ... *non ita me referat tibi magnus ovantem / Iuppiter aut quicumque oculis haec aspicit aequis*, of Nisus to Euryalus with respect to the plan for the night raid. That endeavor will of course end in death and disaster; the recollection there of Dido's rueful words to Aeneas is ominous and points the way to the coming nightmare.

Dido's sentiments here will be echoed to diverse effect at 382, in the strikingly different context of where she will envisage a dark, accursed future for Aeneas, if there are *pia numina* who are able to do anything on her behalf.

373 *nusquam tuta fides. eiectum litore, egentem*

nusquam tuta fides: A celebrated Virgilian tag. The echo is back to 12 *nec vana fides*, as Dido mused to her sister about Aeneas' divine origins; below at 552 *non servata fides promissa cineri Sychaeo* the image will be applied to the betrayal of Dido's *fides* to her murdered husband (on the connection between these pas-

sages note Newman and Newman 2005, 124). At 597–599 ... *en dextra fidesque, / quem secum patrios aiunt portare penates, / quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem!*, Dido will speak bitterly about Aeneas' much vaunted *pietas* (with reference to signal instances of its application), which she conflates with *fides* owed to her. Aeneas will invoke *fides* in the underworld in his last meeting with Dido: ... *per sidera iuro, / per superos et si qua fides tellure sub imo est, / invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi* (6.458–460).

For *tuta* see cf. on 88; 298; there is an echo here of that latter passage (*omnia tuta timens*), about Dido's severe anxiety.

ieictum: The verb occurs only in participial forms in Virgil. In parallel sound effect with *egentem* and 374 *excepi*, as Dido recalls what she did for Aeneas; this is the queen's bitter rejoinder to Aeneas' comment at 333–335 ... *ego te, quae plurima fando / enumerare vales, numquam, regina, negabo / promeritam* ..., where the parallel negative use further secures the reminiscence. Dido's word choice directly echoes 1.578 *si quibus ieictus silvis aut urbibus errat*, as the queen ordered searchers to go out to find the lost Aeneas in the wake of Ilioneus' address to her court. Elsewhere the verb is used at 8.646–647 *nec non Tarquinium ieictum Porsenna iubebat / accipere* ..., of the exiled king on the shield of Aeneas; 10.893–894 ... *effusumque equitem super ipse secutus / implicat ieictoque incumbit cernuus armo* (of Rhaebes and Mezentius). Not a positive set of associations.

The start of a markedly asyndetic passage; it is not clear (deliberately so) if Dido is addressing Aeneas directly (i.e., with an understood *te* for the participles), or if she is continuing her third-person references in virtual soliloquy; *te* will not appear until 380, as object of *teneo*.

litore: See Paratore for a good summary of the problems this one word has occasioned for the commentators. The mention of the shore recalls of course 1.2–3 ... *Laviniaque venit / litora*, the only shores of the epic, in one sense, that matter; the ablative here is of location (Pease rightly expresses skepticism about Henry's impassioned argument that the reference is to how Aeneas was "ejected," as it were, from the Trojan strand). Especially with the technical meaning of *ieictum* as "shipwrecked," the ablative is clear enough to construe.

Servius argued that *litore* should be separated from *ieictum*; the resultant difference in meaning is not very great despite the exercise of the commentators over the subtlety. The fifth foot pause is unusual (see Williams); it may be a further mark of the queen's impassioned condition. Cf. Sidgwick: "*ieictum* alone would be obscure, but the addition of *litore* makes it clear, although not in the usual way."

egentem: The second all too true participle. The echo here is of 1.384–385 *ipse ignotus egens Libyae deserta peragro, / Europa atque Asia pulsus* ..., as Aeneas

spoke to his disguised mother; for the participle cf. 11.343–344 *rem nulli obscuram nostrae nec vocis egentem / consulis, o bone rex ...* (Drances to Latinus); also 8.299–300 *... non te rationis egentem / Lernaeus turba capitum circumstetit anguis*, in the Salian hymn to Hercules; the *animos nil magnae laudis egentes* (5.751) who remain in Sicily; Latinus to the Trojans at 7.197–198 *... quae causa rates aut cuius egentis / litus ad Ausonium tot per unda caerulea vexit?*

While true, the sentiments Dido expresses here are strongly at variance with the Carthaginian reception of which Ilioneus make complaint at 1.538–543; we recall again Jupiter's mission for Mercury at 1.297–304 (which apparently took place after the bad behavior of which Aeneas' spokesman complained). Irony: the queen complains about the behavior of the gods, when absent Jovian intervention in Book 1 it is conceivable that the Carthaginians would have been at war with the shipwrecked Trojans. Dido is also made to echo the very complaints that Iarbas leveled against her in his address to Jupiter (211–214). "Dido's egoism is clear here: what first strikes her in her misery is the blow to her pride ..." (Austin, not usually a critic of the queen's behavior).

Seneca, *De Benef.* 7.25.2 cites 373–374 (and 317–318), as he recalls certain sentiments of the Carthaginian queen Dido in the matter of her treatment of the Trojan hero Aeneas. The saga of Dido and Aeneas is rich with material for one reflecting on the nature of *beneficia*; certainly Dido would conclude that Aeneas had been ungrateful to her in return for the manifold benefits she had bestowed on him. See further below on 436.

374 *excepi et regni demens in parte locavi.*

The powerful perfects frame the verse; the two verbs here will be crowned at the close of the next verse with *reduxi*: another ascending tricolon.

excepi: The verb also at 114 and 297, first with reference to Juno and then to the queen as she sensed the planned departure. Pease notes that the verb can be used in a bad sense (citing 6.173); the implicit metaphor is from hunting. Henry is correct that *excipere* is of flexible, indifferent application; here any negative hint, however, is appropriate given that the subject is the queen of Carthage and she is speaking in anger and with reference to a time when the Trojans were seemingly at her mercy. The variant reading *suscepi* may reflect an effort to suppress any negative connotations of the verb.

regni: As at 47; 194; 199; 202; 214; 267; 275; 350; 355; 363; 381—it occurs often in this book in clustered repetitions.

demens: Cf. on 78; 107; 469; 562. Here deliberately at midverse, as Dido reflects on her self-delusion and madness. "The ten *e*'s between *eiectum* and *demens* make an unusual sound-effect. Is Dido speaking through gritted teeth?" (Maclennan). The queen has a moment of self-awareness.

locavi: Cf. 266; 508. We recall here Dido's lavish offer at 1.572–574 about sharing Carthage with the Trojans. Our “put him in a position” is meant to reflect that she is expressing that she in fact once had real power over him when he was the one needing mercy; now, with the tables turned, Aeneas has little compassion for her.

The line-end here will be echoed in the different context of 12.145 *praetulerim caelique libens in parte locarim*, where Juno speaks of her favor toward the nymph Juturna despite her husband's involvement with her.

375 *amissae classis socios a morte reduxi*.

A verse on which the commentators fall into one of two extreme categories: either those who obsess over it, or those who virtually ignore it (Page; Austin; MacLennan, e.g., have nothing or nearly nothing to say). The manuscripts are clear here in reading *amissam classem socios a morte reduxi*; the editors punctuate so as to read *amissam classem, socios a morte reduxi*. We have followed the conjecture of Kraggerud 2017, 184–186 and read *amissae classis*, which seems to offer the attraction of solving many problems at once with a paleographically plausible emendation.

Ribbeck (following Bryant) deleted the verse: a radical solution to the problem posed by the apparent “radical use of the zeugma figure” (Kraggerud). Peerkamp conjectured *a flammis* for *amissam*. Blommendaal suggested *ambustam*. Conington, and Stephenson (following Wagner, and ultimately Servius) argue that another verb must be supplied to govern *amissam classem*, since *reduxi* will not seem to do; the explanation offered is that Dido is, after all, speaking in a highly emotional state—true enough, and also all too easy to use to explain any apparent difficulty. Williams waxes poetic in the same vein: “As the fires of frenzy burn hotter in Dido her words become more disjointed.” Buscaroli defends the use of an über-zeugma, as it were, at length. Pease is not much troubled by the passage. Mackail focuses on the sound balance effected by *amissam* and then *a morte* (cf. Austin, who is always attuned to such considerations).

Kraggerud is correct here in our estimation: it makes no good sense to have Dido speak (emotionally or not) about having saved or rescued the “lost fleet”; the reference rather is to the lost companions—as at 1.217 *amissos longo socios sermone requirunt*, where Aeneas and his men speak of the lost comrades they will see again only in Dido's Junonian temple (1.509 ff.). “Dido had of course no part in their rescue from shipwreck (which was thanks to the intervention of Neptune) nor would she herself suggest anything in that direction” (Kraggerud 2017, 186).

socios: Powerfully at midverse. With Kraggerud's conjecture of *amissae classis*, the *socios* referenced here are those for whom Ilioneus made his plea at 1.522 ff.

a morte: Again, we may be reminded of Ilioneus' complaint ... *hospitio prohibemur harenae; | bella cient primaque vetant consistere terra* (1.540–541). Rhetorical exaggeration certainly may play a part in what Dido claims here, but outright fantasy would not suit her case or the context; she takes credit in this passage for what had essentially been secured by Jupiter's dispatch of Mercury. *A morte* is an example of exaggeration only insofar as one downplays the threat from Dido's shore patrols.

reduxi: Directly recalling the consoling words of the disguised Venus to Aeneas about his lost companions at 1.390–391 *namque tibi reduces socios classemque relictam | nuntio ...*; cf. 1.397 *reduces* of the portentous swans to which they are compared. When Neptune calms the Junonian storm at 1.143, he “leads back the sun” (... *solemque reducit*); note also 1.160–161 ... *quibus omnis ab alto | frangitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos* (in the description of the sheltered harbor where some of Aeneas' shipwrecked men find refuge).

Verse 374 thus focuses on Aeneas, the one who is identified as *eiectus* and *egens*, and with whom she has shared her kingdom; 375 is devoted to the *socios* of the lost fleet, who were led back from death.

376 *heu furiis incensa feror! nunc augur Apollo,*

heu: Cf. on 13. The reminiscence of what she has done for the Trojans leads directly to an interjection of frustration and righteous fury.

furiis: Fricative alliteration with *feror*. For the Furies as veritable “children of Dido” see Newman and Newman 2005, 4. Some here would understandably wish to capitalize *furiis* (as elsewhere); the noun applies both to the participle and the verb, and should not be taken strictly with one instead of the other. We may note here the reminiscence of Orestes and the Furies at 3.331; also 8.494 of all Etruria rising up in anger over the shielding of Mezentius by Turnus; Juno's bitter characterization of Aeneas as *Cassandrae impulsus furiis* at 10.68. Cairns 1989, 84 considers the question of whether or not *furiae* represents just and legitimate anger, as opposed to *furor*.

Significantly, this self-description of Dido will be echoed near the end of the epic, at 12.946 ... *furiis accensus et ira*, just as Aeneas takes in the sight of the spoils of Pallas and prepares to slay Turnus. Dido's words here will also be directly associated with her own suicide below at 697 ... *subitoque accensa furore*. While Dido and Turnus have numerous and strong affinities, it will be Aeneas in the end who assumes the mantle of madness and fury. Hercules is a type of Aeneas; we may compare too 8.219–220 *hic vero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro | felle dolor ...*, of the hero in the wake of the theft of his cattle by Cacus (and compare the variant readings *furiis* and *furis* at 8.205).

incensa: The fire imagery continues to dominate. Apollo was a sun god; his connection to fire and light is of more positive import.

At 384 ff., Dido will describe how she will pursue Aeneas with torches, as if she were one of the Furies—a fine reworking of her exclamation here, as the one who says she was borne off by fury becomes a fury herself.

feror: Cf. 110 *sed fatis incerta feror* (Venus to Juno).

nunc: The start of another mighty tricolon. “This is the first of three stabbing gibes” (Austin). “Scoffing recapitulation” (Page).

augur Apollo: Dido here commences a recollection of Aeneas’ invocation of Grynean Apollo and the Lycian lots at 345–346. *Augur* elsewhere in the poem only at 9.327 (of Rhamnes); 12.258 and 460 (of Tolumnius); vid. further P. Catalano in *EV* 1, 399–400; M. Beard in *VE* 1, 150–151; Highet 1972, 151; and cf. 12.392–394 on the god’s gift of *augurium* to Iapyx (cf. Hyginus, *Fab.* 19.2.2); also 3.2502 for Celaeno’s ascription of prophetic warnings to Apollo. Augury as a prophetic practice was connected to the flight of birds; Dido in this case (cf. *feror*) is almost like some bird driven on by the winds of fate.

For Apollo as *augur* cf. Horace, c. 1.2.32 (with Nisbet and Hubbard); *Carm. Saec.* 61–62 (with Thomas). *Augur* evokes the image of *Augustus*; on this see further Newman and Newman 2005, 316. If Apollo is a god of reason, then there is deliberate balance between the opening of the verse and the close: the discordant note emphasizes the furious rage of Dido, in marked contrast to the place of Apollo as the paragon of orderly reason. Cf. 8.704 ff., where Actian Apollo presides over the defeat and flight of Antony and his *Aegyptia coniunx* in the decisive naval battle. From her mention of Juno and Jupiter, Dido proceeds to Apollo—and she identifies him with a particularly Roman term that does not appear in Aeneas’ speech; the closest he came to allusion to such religious and prophetic lore was at 340–341, with his mention of *auspicia*. This is Dido’s working of a change on Aeneas’ use of *Gryneus*. In later verse Apollo is *augur* at Statius, *Theb.* 1.495; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.234.

The variant reading *auctor* is in echo of 365 *Dardanus auctor*. To the extent that we recall Augustus here, we remember Actium and the defeat of another Dido. The present allusion to augury comes directly in the wake of the reminiscence about Dido’s role in saving Aeneas’ shipwrecked companions; we recall Venus’ omen of the swans (1.393–400), one of the framing instances of prophetic augury in the epic (cf. 12.257–265). The Apollonian imagery recalls Aeneas at the hunt; see here especially Newman and Newman 2005, 316–317, with consideration of whether or not what was revealed there was an “illusion”; part of the poet’s point is that Dido was never a true Diana (the same may be said for Venus and the masquerade she adopted for her revelation of the story of Dido to Aeneas). The implications of sibling marriage reflect Ptole-

maic Egypt and not Augustan Rome, let alone the place of the patron of Actium in the Augustan pantheon. So long as he remained at Carthage, Aeneas was Antony; he was compared to Apollo just before the commencement of his affair with the queen and not before. Significantly, the Apollonian imagery returns at 345–346, in the specific context of Aeneas' need to leave Carthage forthwith.

Yet for all these important associations lurking behind the word *augur*, the primary thrust of the word in Dido's mouth here is sarcastic, the proof of which is *scilicet* in verse 379.

377 *nunc Lyciae sortes, nunc et Iove missus ab ipso*

A verse in which Dido plays virtual Virgilian centonist; the first clause is in sarcastic imitation of Aeneas' words at 346 *Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes*; the second of 356 *nunc etiam interpres divum Iove missus ab ipso* (the Mercury description carried on in 378). There is an element of disbelief here (see Austin's perceptive note): Dido takes on what some might call a quasi-Epicurean stance, in skeptical critique of Aeneas' defense of his actions by invocation of divine ordinance. Cf. Tib.: "si ista vera sunt, cur non extiterunt ante beneficia mea?" There may also be a darker, more disturbing implication in Dido's order and expression of thoughts: "I did so much for you and your men; now you invoke divine orders to justify leaving your benefactor." Dido wishes, after all, to be all but a goddess to Aeneas.

Lyciae sortes: Where is the verb? Cf. Sidgwick: "The broken condensed style is admirably effective"; the asyndeton reflects the queen's enraged, enflamed state.

Iove: The second mention of Jupiter in Dido's address (cf. 372). Dido follows the order of the triad of gods that Aeneas had outlined.

378 *interpres divum fert horrida iussa per auras.*

Continuing the sarcastic near repetition of Aeneas' words (cf. 356–358).

interpres: On the etymological connection (Mercury = Hermes = ἑρμηνεύς) see above on 356; cf. O'Hara 2017, 157. There are the gods (Juno; Jupiter; Apollo)—and there is the interpreter or mouthpiece thereof.

horrida: Dido's one noteworthy change to her interlocutor's account; this is the queen editorializing on what Aeneas had said. For the adjective see above on 251, where it described Atlas' beard; we may compare also the *horrens Caucasus* Dido identified as Aeneas' birthplace (366–367). The gods are unjust because they bring such horrid messages—at least so Aeneas asserted; the queen will comment on her feelings about such divine interventions at once (cf. 379–380).

What Dido does not realize here (in contrast to Virgil's audience) is that she is almost quoting what the poet said about Aeneas' reaction to Mercury's diurnal visitation at 280 *arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit*, where the hero's hair stood on end and a shivering fear, as it were, came upon him. There is a careful balance of meaning here: Dido is certainly engaging in mockery of Aeneas' description of Mercury's manifestation at 356–359, but there is also a strong hint of lament and complaint: the orders that the god brings are *horrida* to the lovesick queen. The one adjective is a good example of where the queen moves from bitter self-pity to sardonic mockery of divine omen and portent.

The present language will be echoed in the Pallas requiem scene, as Aeneas bids farewell to his lost friend, and notes *nos alias hinc ad lacrimas eadem horrida belli | fata vocant ...* (11.96–97). *Horrida iussa* also at Statius, *Silv.* 4.2.50–51 *sic gravis Alcides post horrida iussa reversus | gaudebat strato latus adclinare leoni*.

iussa: The Medicean reads *dicta* here, a reminiscence of 226 *adloquere et celeris defer mea dicta per auras*; see on 380 *dicta*. Janell's Teubner is one of the rare cases of a modern editor accepting this variant.

per undas: Echoed below at 381 *per undas*; the god brought the orders in his airy journey, and the command means that Aeneas must seek a kingdom via a watery path.

379 *scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos*

scilicet: 7× in the *Georgics*; 7× in the epic (if we judge the Helen episode to be genuine). At 2.577–578 *scilicet haec Spartam incolumis patriasque Myce-nas | aspiciet partoque ibit regina triumpho?* it occurs in Aeneas' bitterly sardonic comment about the survival of Helen of Troy; cf. the related passage 6.526–527 *scilicet id magnum sperans fore munus amanti | et famam exstingu-i veterum sic posse malorum*, where the shade of Deiphobus reflects on Helen's activities on Troy's last night. At 6.750–751 *scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant | rursus et incipient in corpora velle reverti* it is used in Anchises' revelation of the process by which souls are reborn into new bodies; cf. the dueling orators Drances and Turnus at the Latin war council, both of whom use it in insult (11.371; 387); 12.570–571 *scilicet expectem libeat dum proelia Turno | nostra pati rursusque velit concurrere victus?* (Aeneas to his men after Venus inspires him with the idea of burning Laurentum). Alliterative with *superis*, in hissing sibilant sound pattern that continues with 380 *sollicitat*.

“A more formal version of ‘yeah, right’”—O'Hara.

is: Coordinate with *ea*.

superis: Dido virtually echoes Aeneas' words at 3.1–2, about how it seemed best to the immortals to overthrow Troy; cf. 10.40 (where Venus complains that Allecto has been sent up from the lower regions); 12.647 ... *quoniam superis aversa voluntas* (Juturna's complaint). "How could the general who owed Actium to Apollo ever have been satisfied with Dido's pre-Epicurean notion (iv. 379–380) that the gods take no interest in human affairs?" (Newman and Newman 2005, 322).

labor: For the noun see on 78; cf. 115; 233; (273); 528; Bruck 1993 is essential reading.

cura: Cf. on 1; Dido has had her many anxieties and cares, and evidently the gods are bored and have nothing better to do but to harass the peaceful.

quietos: There is an echo here of 1.303–304 ... *in primis regina quietum / accipit in Teucros animum mentemque benignam*, of Mercury's influence on the Carthaginians; cf. the *sedes quietas* in Latium of which Aeneas speaks to his men at 1.205; the *fluctus quietos* that Palinurus tells Somnus he does not trust at 5.848; the *gentis quietas* Juno accuses Aeneas of disturbing in her speech at the divine council (10.71); and especially Diomedes commenting to the Venulan embassy *o fortunatae gentes, Saturnia regna, / antiqui Ausonii, quae vos fortuna quietos / sollicitat suadetque ignota lacessere bella?* (11.252–254). *Quietos* is balanced with *superis*, in framing order around the *labor* and the *cura*; there is also a hint (see above on *cura*) that the gods agitate those who were in a state of tranquil peace: Dido before the arrival of Aeneas.

This is Dido the (anachronistic) Epicurean, complaining that the tranquility and peace of the Carthaginians has been disturbed by the unnecessary intervention of the gods who apparently seek playthings to relieve their boredom (cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 1.44–49; = 2.646–651; also 6.73 ... *placida cum pace quietos*, of the gods). Again the final adjective receives the emphasis. This is the logical expansion of the sentiments expressed at 371–372 about Juno and Jupiter; they were characterized as gazing down on Carthage with essentially unfair eyes; now after the mention of Apollo and Mercury (Jove's messenger), Dido gives voice to her full expression of sarcastic contempt for the machinations of the gods.

The present speech provides perhaps the best analysis in the epic of a major problem of Virgilian theology: how much can be ascribed to the immortals *vs.* men on earth? Lurking behind Dido's quasi-Epicurean reflection is the conclusion she reached as soon as she heard that Aeneas was taking his leave: she has been treated unfairly by her lover. The gods are actually the puppets in the jilted young lover's complaint about the older paramour who has treated her badly. See Newman and Newman 2005, 151 for Dido here as denier of the "basic premise of the *Aeneid*." Cf. Schmitz 1960, 143: "Didon ne croit donc pas en la mis-

sion du Troyen. Pour montrer le faux-fuyant que récéle celle-ci, elle emploie, à dessein, les mots mêmes de traître ... à ses yeux, la réponse de cet être déloyal n'est qu'une subtile cavillation."

Quintilian (9.2.50) cites the first half of this verse as an example of a disparaging phrase that says the opposite of what you intend. Dido could be a Ciceronian orator here. The view of some ancient critics that *superis* refers to Apollo, Jupiter, and Mercury, while *quietos* references the dead (e.g., Anchises), is particularly curious. Misguided is any attempt to ascribe to Dido a coherent Epicurean philosophy; certainly one will not be found either in Book 4 as a whole, let alone the present bitter speech. To the extent that her bard Iopas sang an Epicurean song at 1.740 ff., one may regret that the import of *DRN* 4 was never imparted to the queen or her guest-lover. Cf. 34 above, where Anna voiced the rhetorical question *id cinerem aut manis credis curare sepultos?*

380 *sollicitat. neque te teneo neque dicta refello:*

sollicitat: Prominent by position and enjambment. The verb occurs elsewhere in the epic at 10.611–612 ... *quid, o pulcherrime coniunx, | sollicitas aegram et tua tristia dicta timentem?* (Juno to Jupiter); 11.254 where Diomedes asks why the Latins are considering a war with the Trojans; 12.403–404 ... *nequiquam spicula dextra | sollicitat ...*, of Iapyx's ministrations on Aeneas' wound; cf. *G.* 2.418; 503; 3.131. *Sollicitus* occurs at 7.81 and 9.89, respectively of Latinus and Cybele. The verb that expresses vexing irritation comes in hypermetric anxiety, as it were, after the word denoting peace and serenity. *Sollicitat* and *refello* offer effective sound balance via *-oll* and *-llo*.

neque ... neque: In powerful coordination with the first-person verbs. Dido says that she is not restraining Aeneas, as it were—she will not stand in the way of destiny, even if she has her own plans to pursue him infernally.

te teneo: Dental alliteration, which is resumed by *dicta*. *Teneo* echoes Aeneas' use of *detinet* at 348. The personal pronoun is the first reminder or hint that Dido has been addressing Aeneas directly since 366 *te*, in the second verse of her angry address. Conington is right to note that *te* is all that is needed—no *tua* with *dicta* here. The verb recalls the queen's sentiment above at 308 *nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?* Here she answers her own question. The comment anticipates how she will not be present when he calls on her; the holding is both metaphorical and literal.

dicta: So of Jupiter with respect to his message for Mercury (226); cf. the Medicean *dicta* at 378.

refello: For the verb note also 12.16 *et solus ferro crimen commune refellam* (of Turnus); 644 ... *nec Drancis dicta refellam?* (again of Turnus). Thus one of the verbal mannerisms by which Aeneas associates the Carthaginian and the

Rutulian. Dido will not refute Aeneas' words—and yet that is what she has been doing successfully or not for sixteen lines and counting. “She will not chop logic with him, as he has done with her” (Austin). See Maclennan for the rhetorical device of the *de facto praeteritio*, effective in itself and perhaps more successful than what Aeneas offered by way of argument. The verb is old (Lucilius; Terence; Accius); cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 4.479; Ovid, *Met.* 1.759; Statius, *Silv.* 2.2.26; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.555.

This is the formal commencement of Dido's valedictory to Aeneas: “he does not bid her farewell, and they never see each other again alive” (Hight 1972, 116, who comments that she also does not say farewell to her sister at 685–696 in her death agonies: “her suffering has gone far beyond speech”).

Dido dismisses Aeneas with anger and bitterness; the acrostic SIS of 380–382 may be deliberate.

381 i, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas.

A direct response to Aeneas' concluding hemistich at 361 *Italiam non sponte sequor*; the second half of the present line echoes 350 ... *et nos fas exera quaerere regna*. “Dido gives Aeneas leave to go, but with the deepest scorn” (Tilly). Conington has a good note here on how this verse divorced from context could be taken to be of exceedingly positive import. Already in the next verse the curses and baleful wishes will begin.

i: A crucial and forceful imperative, all the more pointed for its brevity. Two commands are juxtaposed, with a third soon to follow: rhetorical *permissio*. Very different is the command of the shade of Deiphobus at 6.545 *i, decus, i, nostrum ...*; so also already at 424 *i, soror ...*, as Dido sends Anna to Aeneas to intercede for her.

sequere: Dido tells Aeneas what to pursue; she will describe her own intended pursuit in the terrifying verse 384.

Italiam ventis: Most modern editors punctuate so as to take *ventis* closely with Italy, following Quintilian 9.2.48 (who quotes it as a unit). “The reader must make his own decision, but Quintilian probably knew what he was talking about” (Austin, himself an editor of the rhetorician). Irvine follows Henry and places the comma after *Italiam*; so also Page, who thinks that the reminiscence of Aeneas' sentiment is spoiled if we punctuate otherwise. For us the evidence of Quintilian is telling; otherwise Henry's preference is certainly appealing, mostly because it might be taken more closely to echo Aeneas' infamous hemistich. Aeneas spoke of his will (*non sponte*); Dido speaks of the winds that will bring him to Italy. Theme and variation in either case.

The winds come at midverse and link the parallel ideas of Italy and kingdoms; it will be the winds that speed Aeneas on his way to his regal Italian

destiny. The winds of course were what conveyed Mercury to Aeneas to speed the separation of Aeneas from Dido (241). Winds correlate with waves; Italy is to be pursued with the former, while kingdoms are to be sought through the latter.

pete: Cf. 1.620–621 ... *nova regna petentem / auxilio Beli* (Dido's reminiscence of Teucer). Alliterative with *per*.

regna: Cf. 4.432 *nec pulchro ut Latio careat regnumque relinquat*.

per undas: The line-end is Ciceronian; Lucretian; Propertian; Tibullan; cf. *Aen.* 1.119; 5.796; 6.370; 7.299; 10.247; 650. *Per* will be echoed at once at 382 *spero*.

382 *spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,*

Dido returns allusively to the argument she had raised near the start of her first speech to Aeneas, where at 309–313 she had pointed out that he would be departing in a dangerous, tempestuous season. The exact meaning of Dido's sentiments here has been disputed, with some seeing irony in, for example, her reference to *pia numina*, and others arguing that in her heightened emotional state, strict logic cannot be demanded. Likeliest is that she means what she says: even her patroness Juno has seemingly abandoned her (371), and certainly the triad of Apollo, Jupiter, and Mercury are in support of Aeneas' departure. If there are any divine powers worthy of the appellation *pia*, they will ensure that Aeneas suffers grievously on his journey.

spero: Of anticipation more than hope, as the rhetoric turns more vicious—but even if the gods will not cooperate, the queen has her own threatened actions (384 ff.). For the verb see on 338 and 292.

equidem: Echoing 330, from the very close of her first speech.

mediis: The striking hyperbaton enacts the image of Aeneas being lost on the rocks, somewhere in the midst of the sea. The fate Dido envisages for Aeneas is not dissimilar to that dreamed of by Juno in Book 1, minus of course the invocation of Dido by the helpless man. In the middle of the line as usual, like *scopulis* in the next.

pia: Alliterative with *possunt*. Dido employs exactly the adjective that is characteristically applied to Aeneas; here it used of the divine powers that would see to the Trojan's suffering, were they both *pia* and able to do anything on behalf of right and justice. There is a powerful echo here of 1.603–605 *di tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid / usquam iustitia est et mens sibi conscia recti, / praemia digna ferant ...*, where Aeneas made his solemn profession of gratitude and everlasting memory to Dido.

numina: Cf. especially 204; below on 521 and 611. Here suitably vague after the earlier recitation of the specific deities who had in some way been associated with Dido's being wronged. For the adjective see especially on 393 below;

cf. also on 464; 517; and 637; A. Traina in *EV* IV, 93–101; L. Fratantuono in *VE* III, 1007–1008. *Pietas* always envisions a reciprocal relationship, though certainly in cases of mortal/immortal relationships the gods are not required to return the “piety,” as in the case of Panthus (2.429–430); cf. Priam at 2.536 *di, si qua est caelo pietas quae talia curet*—the king’s prayer would be heard no more efficaciously than that of Panthus. We may compare Ilioneus’ implicit assertion to Dido about the Trojan race in his plea at 1.526 *parce pio generi. Numina* here probably means *di*, though the distinction between gods and divine power is an especially subtle one in this sort of imprecation; see further Pease. *Numina* here is echoed by 383 *nomine* at the same *sedes*.

Henry 1989, 189 n. 14 offers a convenient summary of Virgilian uses of *numen/numina*, referencing Bailey 1935, 60–69.

Virgil echoes Dido’s sentiment here at 9.446 ... *si quid mea carmina possunt*, about the power of verse to immortalize the slain Nisus and Euryalus.

383 supplicia hausurum scopulis et nomine Dido

Punishment and the name of Dido frame the verse.

supplicia: Alliterative with *scopulis*, and fittingly so: Aeneas is envisioned as finding his punishment/death on the crags. The noun is not particularly common in the poem; note 6.498–499 *vix adeo agnovit pavitantem ac dira tegentem / supplicia ...* (of Deiphobus); 7.439–744 *ergo exercentur poenis veterumque malorum / supplicia expendunt ...* (of souls to be reborn); 7.596–597 *o miseri, te, Turne, nefas, te triste manebit / supplicium ...* (Latinus’ warning); 8.495 *regem ad supplicium praesenti Marte reposcunt* (of Mezentius); 11.257–258 ... *infanda per orbem / supplicia ...* (of the punishments of the Greeks after Troy); 273–274 ... *heu, dira meorum / supplicia! ...* (of the avian fate of Diomedes’ men); 8.41–842 *heu nimium, virgo, nimium crudele luisti / supplicium, Teucros contra lacessere bello!* (Opis’ lament for Camilla). The strong sibilant pattern Dido has been employing (reminiscent of 305, etc.) will continue in the next verse. A particularly suitable word: Dido had been *supplex*, and now she imagines *supplicia* for the man who has rejected her supplication. Punishment is what is most on Dido’s mind, and so as usual prominence is expressed by position. By verse 414, she will be *supplex* as she tries for one last gambit by which to win back Aeneas.

hausurum: A bitter echo of Aeneas’ 359 ... *vocemque his auribus hausi*, near the close of his speech. There the Trojan hero spoke of drinking in the god’s words; here Dido imagines that he will drink deep, as it were, from the chalice of his guilt. The metaphor from drinking is extended to the idea of drowning. Dido is referencing a scenario in which Aeneas is shipwrecked on crags at sea; his death will come by “drinking deep his punishment”—that is, by drowning; if he survived the wreck by being beached on the rocks, he would find a slower

end by wasting away from lack of sustenance. The very metrical pattern enacts the act of drinking down the penalty the queen imagines.

scopulis: Again, the Carthaginian queen echoes her city's divine patroness. The main allusion is to the grisly fate of the Lesser Ajax as ruefully recalled by Juno for the sole reason that the goddess Pallas was able to punish her enemies, in contrast to her inability to harm the Trojans: 1.42–45 *ipsa Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem / disiecitque rates evertitque aequora ventis, / illum exspirantem transfixo pectore flammam / turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto*. The noun also at 255 in the comparison of Mercury to a shore bird; cf. 445 below, where the present passage will be echoed in a manner one could not have anticipated. There is also an echo here of the *scopuli* of the African coast at 1.163 that represented safety and security after shipwreck, especially in light of Dido's reminder of how she had saved Aeneas' companions from death at 375. See below on 445 for a possible evocation of the lore of the Sirens on their crags.

nomine: Tib. perceptively connects Dido's sentiments here with the power of memory: Aeneas will finally remember the queen once he is beyond range of her ability to help. We may compare 308 *nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?*

Dido: Pace Pease, it is likely that Kowalski 1929, 21 is correct: there is a pun here between *Dido* and δειδω, and the form is vocative and not (Greek) accusative. So Austin, and Tilly (she considers the vocative a more impressive touch here, especially with the drawn-out final syllable). Mackail observes that Virgil does not employ *Dido* in the oblique cases. The question was debated already in antiquity (hence Servius' "potest et vocativus esse et accusativus"). We may recall that the first time we had a glimpse of Aeneas in the epic, he was afraid because of Juno's storm (1.92 *extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra*). Fear was the initial quality with which Virgil invested his protagonist. There may be reminiscence too of the powerful threefold repetition of the name of Eurydice with respect to the last words of the dying Orpheus at *G.* 4.525–527.

384 saepe vocaturum. sequar atris ignibus absens

The verse closes the queen's comment about what will happen if *pia numina* have any power, and commences her own, first-person and independent curse.

saepe: Continuing the sibilant, hissing alliteration, and followed by the powerful future *sequar*. The death is imagined as being prolonged enough to permit frequent invocation of the name. The adverb recurs at 463, in another chilling context.

vocaturum: Balancing *hausurum* in the previous verse.

sequar: Surpassing Aeneas' *sequor* at 361, and coming in close sequence after 381 *sequere*.

atris: For the color see Edgeworth 1992, 74–86 (and Tilly on the “sinister” undertones of the chromatic reference); cf. on 248; 472; 570; 633; 687. Some have seen a connection here to the flames from the walls of Carthage that Aeneas beholds at 5.3–7, which implicitly would be smoky (an idea as old as Servius, a favorite for those who would try to find fulfillments of prophecies later in the epic); more apt is the more imminent echo below at 472, where the image here is reversed and it is Dido who is like Orestes being pursued by the Furies with their black serpents. The present passage follows on 371 *heu furiis incensa feror!*, in another reversal: Dido was, as it were, pursued by fury—now she herself is the avenging fury, a role she will in turn switch at 472.

This is Apollonius’ Medea from *Arg.* 4.383–386. See Austin for the start of an effective pattern of coincidence of ictus and accent: these are stabbing words. A declaration that you will pursue someone whose death you have just fantasized about is something of an admission of your own impending suicide even apart from her other clues here about her intentions; what actually happens in the underworld will prove the present threats hollow in a way that is still devastating to Aeneas. The Dido-*Geist* will, however, manage to find its way to Aeneas (after a fashion at least), notably in the Pallas requiem. The color here is funereal (as usual); smoke makes this easy enough to imagine, even if one does not necessarily anticipate her pyre.

ignibus: First the peril of water and drowning, now the threat of fire and flame. Likewise, the next verses will emphasize chill as opposed to heat, and presence (386 *adereo*, cf. *sequar* here) as opposed to absence. Henry was compelled to understand these fires to be metaphorical for those possessed of a guilty conscience after his lengthy attempt at hyperprecision as to when Dido would pursue and when she would be present (386 *adereo*) to Aeneas.

absens: In paradoxical, fine effect after *sequar*. Dido here has taken control of her trauma, as it were: the word recalls 83 ... *illum absens absentem auditque videtque*, of the obsessive queen’s quasi-hallucinatory visions of Aeneas. There he was absent; soon she will be absent—and yet all too present: revenge and poetic justice. She is *absens* because she will commit suicide; further, if there are *pia numina*, then he will die calling on her name for help and finding no salvation. As he suffers from the absence of her aid, she will be pursuing him like some fury, and like some spectral wraith she will haunt him for all time—a promise that she is resolved to carry out even if he does not die at sea. Whatever complications of logic are perceived here is the result of Dido’s twin imprecation: the first is dependent on *pia numina*, the second is entirely in her power. “... is not mystery a prerogative in prophecy, and is not Virgil a poet?” (Austin).

Newman and Newman 2005, 171–172 present the argument that Dido as lover seeks ever to be with the beloved, even after the grave; they connect the queen’s

curse here with the end of the romance, as it were, when “with the help of dead Pallas (xii. 948), she pours herself into, and transforms, *pius* Aeneas into another victim of the Furies (*Furiis incensa*, iv. 376; *Furiis accensus*, xii. 946). In this last metamorphosis he thus becomes what he has already personified for her.”

385 et, cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus,

frigida: Death is cold, in contrast to the firebrands of 384 (cf. the similar juxtaposition of hot and cold at 12.951 *fervidus ... frigore*, of Aeneas and Turnus). The adjective recurs in the death scene of Camilla at 11.818–819 *labitur exsanguis, labuntur frigida leto / lumina, purpureus quondam color ora reliquit*; 828–829 ... *tum frigida toto / paulatim exsolvit se corpore ...* (in the actual death scenes of the two girls, heat is associated with Dido and cold with Camilla); cf. 2.472 of winter; also 3.29 of Aeneas’ *frigidus horror* at the Polydorus omen; the *frigidus annus* at 6.311; 7.515–516 of chill Nursia; 9.414–415 *volvitur ille vomens calidum de pectore flumen / frigidus et longis singultibus ilia pulsat* (of Sulmo’s gory death); 10.452 of the *frigidus sanguis* of the Arcadians; 11.338–339 of Drances’ *frigida bello / dextera*. There is a strong reminiscence at 385–386 of *G.* 4.505–506 *quo fletu Manis, quae numina voce movet? / illa quidem Stygia nabat iam frigida cumba* (with reference to Orpheus in quest for Eurydice). *Frigida mors* imitated by Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.26. “A purposely harsh beginning” (Page). It becomes clear enough that we are dealing with the envisioned death of the queen, in another of the many foreshadowings of her ultimate fate. Cf. Conte 2007, 90: “... (*frigida* has an emphatic force and a causative meaning here: referring logically to *artus*, it is instead connected with *mors*).” With the chill of death we may compare below at 705 *dilapsus calor* as the queen dies. Virgil may have Lucretius, *DRN* 3.929–930 in mind here.

anima: In alliterative contrast with *artus*. Separative ablative. Death and the *anima* in juxtaposition. For the noun see Negri 1984, 42; 51; 62; 84; 272; 280. Here parallel to the *spiritus* of which Aeneas spoke at 336, and with no profound eschatological significance beyond the simple meaning of life as opposed to death. Aeneas had professed his devotion to memory; Dido will ensure that his memories remain vivid by her *post mortem* hauntings.

seduxerit: The verb only here in Virgil. Syntactic enactment, as *seduxerit* literally separates the *anima* from the *artus*. Not a particularly common word in prose or verse (though old); cf. Propertius, c. 2.6.41 *Nos uxor numquam, numquam seducet amica: / semper amica mihi, semper et uxor eris*. The separation of limbs from soul will be exactly the means by which Dido will be able to begin her ghostly hauntings; the scope of her possible wanderings will expand appreciably once liberated from her body.

artus: See above on 336 ... *dum spiritus hos regit artus*. Aeneas had spoken of how he would remember Dido for as long as breath rules his limbs; the queen references the time when frigid death has separated limbs from soul. Hypallage, says Servius (who argues that *animam artubus* would be more usual). *Artus* at line-end balances 384 *absens*, and with rather opposite import: limbs imply physical presence.

This verse will be echoed at 695 *quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus*, of Iris' mission to release Dido from her death agonies. The end of Book 4—Juno's mission for Iris—is thus not a defeat for the supreme goddess as some commentators have argued, but the terrifying commencement of the incarnation of the curses and threats that Dido voices here. As we shall explore below on 693 ff., the close of Book 4—like that of Book 12—offers a victory for Juno as a crown to the first and last thirds of the epic; in Book 12 that will come in large part through the terms of the Junonian reconciliation, but also on a personal level for Aeneas in his succumbing to the same sort of fury that possesses Dido here, and that has characterized the angry Carthaginian patroness Juno theretofore.

386 *omnibus umbra locis adero. dabis, improbe, poenas:*

omnibus ... locis: Especially frightening words for inveterate travelers. *Omnibus* in prominent position to emphasize the universality of her threat.

umbra: Nestled eerily amid all the places she will haunt. For the noun cf. on 7; 25–26; 184; 351; 571; 660.

adero: Contrasted with 384 *absens*. Sidgwick comments (inspired by Henry): “Dido means that *till her death* she will be like a fury haunting him from fear: his evil conscience personified, as the Furies were: and *after her death* she will be a ghost present with him. So *absens* is naturally opposed to *adero*.” The threats are truly omnibus: living and dead she will rack him and see to his punishment. Newman and Newman 2005, 159 take this to be a literal threat; cf. 150 for a connection between the present passage and the question of Aeneas' ability or lack thereof to extricate himself from the labyrinth imagery of Book 6 (cf. Dido as Ariadne). The two verbs in the future tense are juxtaposed.

dabis: The second person follows on 380 *te*. The threat here will be echoed in the poignant apostrophe of the poet to Dido at 309 *quosve dabis gemitus* (with reference to the queen seeing the Trojan preparations for departure). Aeneas will utter this same sort of threat with reference to Turnus (8.538 *quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis!*). Very different is 408 below, where the poet apostrophizes Dido with *quasve dabis gemitus* in the description of her reaction to the sight of the preparations for the Trojan departure.

improbe: In sound effect with the following word. Significantly, the appellation will recur at 412 of Amor in authorial comment (i.e., of Aeneas' step-brother); otherwise in the epic it occurs at 2.79–80 ... *nec, si miserum Fortuna Sinonem / finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget*; 356–357 of the *improba ventris* / rabies of the *lupi ceu raptores* of the Trojans as they fight; 5.397 of Dares in the estimation of Entellus; 9.62 of the Turnus-wolf as it stalks the Trojan sheepfold; 10.727–728 ... *lavit improba taeter / ora cruor* of the Acronlion; 11.512 again of Aeneas, with reference to the report of his secret plan to launch a surprise infantry attack on Laurentum; 767 of Arruns (Aeneas' shadowy doublet) as he stalks Camilla; 12.250 of the Jovian eagle that pursues the swans in the Juturna omen; 261 of Aeneas in the estimation of the augur Tolumnius; of the Turnus-*mons* in the simile of 687. A striking set of associations, then, in a passage with verbal connection to the cold death of Camilla and the role of both Aeneas and Arruns in the drama of Book 11; also animal imagery as Dido uses an insult applied elsewhere to bloodthirsty, ravenous beasts (vid. Schmitz 1960, 145). Cf. of the avaricious goose that spoils the crops (*G.* 1.119); the crow that seeks rain (1.338); the seemingly never-ending toil of the farmer (1.146).

poenas: The noun recurs below at 656 *ulta virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi*, as Dido reflects on Sychaeus and Pygmalion. A key word at line-end; cf. 383 *supplicia*: images of punishment come in near framing order around the queen's dire musings. The penalties are broadly envisaged, and include both *ante* and *post mortem* torments. All of this underworld imagery is reworked to great effect in the encounter of Aeneas and Dido in the *Lugentes Campi*.

Tib. comments here “cum vivo, inquit, timebis me absentem et, quasi te infesta persequar, semper et ubique terreberis ...”; there is then a break in his text until *ad* 621.

387 **audiam et haec Manis veniet mihi fama sub imos.**”

The last words that the queen speaks to her onetime lover in this life, and with direct entrance into 6.450 ff., where the couple will meet again in the Fields of Mourning. The verse is suitably framed by the letters *A* and *S*, indicating both Aeneas and Antonius.

The final utterance has evoked considerable critical commentary, on which Austin renders the not unwise verdict “Virgil’s imaginative picture deserves less frigid treatment” (cf. Page’s similar appraisal; also Pease who calls for praise of the poet’s “psychological insight”). Once again the argument can and has been made that Dido’s words cannot be parsed into oblivion given her mental state. The basic problem is how she can be an *umbra* haunting him, while hearing the news of his pain *Manis sub imos*. For Conington et al., the point is that the

ghost was taken to be separate from the soul in the afterlife. Servius has a long note on the question of the fate of those who died violently and how they are condemned to wander. Ribbeck (followed by Norden) considered that either verse 386 or 387 should be a candidate for excision so as to restore logic.

We may trace now the course of Dido's "blood-curdling" (Williams) threats at 382 ff. Dido speaks first of what the *pia numina* would do if they were both *pia* and potent; she for her part (384 *sequar*) will pursue him like some avenging fury while she lives, and then after she dies she will haunt him as a ghost. The news of his suffering will reach even to the underworld; *mihi* in this verse may be taken as a dative of advantage (cf. Tilly), which accords with the fact that Dido is, after all, destined (soon) to be a denizen of the underworld, ghostly forays notwithstanding. Revenants are exceptionally mobile in the dream world of nightmare and hauntings.

The root cause of the difficulty in following the logic of the queen's argument is that 382–384 fantasizes about Aeneas' death at sea. Dido knows that she cannot work that fate out herself; it requires divine intervention (i.e., the *pia numina*). Verse 384 marks a break between the imagining of Aeneas' death and the independent action that Dido will take. The Furies torment the living and the dead (cf. Orestes); Dido will pursue Aeneas like a Fury, and after death she will continue to haunt him. Having spoken in expectation of the *supplicia* that would be the preserve of *pia numina*, she closes her remarks with a parallel reference to *poenas* (386)—i.e., to the penalty that follows on the action she herself as avenging Fury and haunting wraith will be able to effect. Normally the underworld is a place of bleak desolation and unhappy, endless quasi-existence. But for Dido, the *fama* of Aeneas' torment will come as if it were a soothing balm. It matters not whether or not Dido will be the executor of the penalties envisaged in *dabis poenas*; her focus is on what she will be pleased to hear.

audiam: The queen had been associated strongly with the visual aspect of her infatuation for Aeneas; this final speech to Aeneas had been prefaced with a powerful emphasis on how her eyes were wandering over him (362–364). Now she will see him whenever she wishes as a spectral wraith, and in the underworld she will receive the report of what he is suffering. She would (implicitly) not hear him calling on her name (cf. 383–384).

haec, etc.: Interlocking word order (*haec* / *Manis* / *fama* / *imos*), with effective hyperbaton to express the vast distance and gulf the news will traverse.

Manis: Cf. on 34 *id cinerem aut manis credis curare sepultos?*, in Anna's comment on what Sychaeus' *manes* would or would not care about. Modern editors usually capitalize here and take *Manis* to refer to the realm of the underworld (*OLD* s.v. 3).

With *Manis sub imos* cf. 3.565; 11.181; 12.884. Pease argues “It is unfair to expect a logical apportionment of punishment and an exact differentiation of the places involved. Aeneas might have given that, but hardly Dido in her passionate, swooning excitement ...”

veniet: The future is more vivid than the subjunctive read here by Probus.

mihi: Dido is not in the lowest region of the underworld when Aeneas encounters her shade in Book 6—but of course the queen contemplating suicide assumes that she will be in the most dramatically suitable region of Avernus.

fama: A victory of sorts of the queen over the monster who had played such a signal role in her undoing; the last *fama* or report will be of Aeneas’ suffering, of the report of his paying the penalty for his misdeeds that will reach Dido even in the underworld, indeed in its lowest regions.

The language of bringing the report of something *manis ... sub imos* will be echoed at 11.180–181 ... *non vitae gaudia quaero, | nec fas, sed gnato manis perferre sub imos* (of Evander with respect to his wish for Aeneas to secure vengeance for Pallas).

388 **his medium dictis sermonem abrumpit et auras**

his ... dictis: Cf. on 54. Interlocking word order. *Dictis* here will be echoed soon after at 394, of Aeneas’ wish to assuage Dido’s cares by words.

medium ... sermonem: Those troubled by any perceived problems of logic in Dido’s speech may take comfort ultimately in the fact that the speech ended prematurely. The echo here is of 277 ... *medio sermone reliquit*, as Mercury broke off his speech to Aeneas; cf. 1.385–386, where at almost the same place in the book the disguised Venus interrupts Aeneas in his tale of woe. The elision of *sermonem* enacts the action. Williams argues that the speech is not incomplete, but rather that “no opportunity was given for reply” (cf. MacLennan); it seems better to take the poet’s point as being that Dido was overwhelmed and unable to finish.

abrumpit: Here simply of breaking off a speech; below at 631 *invisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem* it refers to the queen’s wish to commit suicide forthwith; this ominous parallel is further strengthened by the language of “fleeing the breezes” that could just as well be applied to death. A strong verb; we may compare 3.55 *fas omne abrumpit* (of the Thracian king’s killing of Polydorus for gold); cf. 8.579 *nunc, nunc o liceat crudelem abrumpere vitam* (of Evander in his poignant remarks before the departure of Pallas); 9.497 *quando aliter nequeo crudelem abrumpere vitam* (of Nisus); the happier case of 9.118 of the Trojan ships as they break their bonds and assume the form of sea creatures; participial uses at 3.199; 11.492; 12.451; 687. The verb is alliterative with *auras*.

Quintilian has *abrupto ... sermone* (4.3.13); cf. Woodman on Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.60.2; Seneca, *De Ira* 2.24.1—all likely in imitation of Virgil. On Dido's predilection for silence (for all her eloquence), see Newman and Newman 2005, 114. Ovid has *at mihi saevus amor somnos abrumpat inertes!* (*Am.* 2.10.19).

The first in an ascending tricolon of assonant verbs that describe the queen's flight—rather at variance with her threat about being present (386 *adereo*).

auras: Enjambment of the verb; the heavy emphasis on the underworld leads naturally enough to how Dido is said to flee the open air. There is also an undertone of shame and embarrassment, perhaps at how she has let her emotions get the best of her; thus she breaks off the speech and flees the sight of others. Pease does well to remind us that we cannot be certain where the Dido-Aeneas exchange took place; apparently outdoors.

389 *aegra fugit seque ex oculis avertit et aufert,*

She had pledged that she would pursue him, even *absens* (384); here she begins to carry out the “absent” part of her threat. *Fugit* is the opposite of pursuit; in her overwrought state all that she can manage to do is to flee away; somewhere in the course of the next two verses she faints.

aegra: The emphasis is on the queen's sick state; this is the return of the medical metaphor from the very opening verse of the book. Here there is a reminiscence of 35 ... *aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti*, in Anna's musings about Dido's nonexistent interest in suitors; also of 1.351–352, where Dido was *aeger* as Pygmalion tormented her. Aeneas is *aeger* at 1.208 after the shipwreck in Carthage. Reminiscent again of Ennius' *Medea animo aegro*. Newman and Newman 2005, 176 compare 12.910, where Virgil speaks of the *aegri* (i.e., reader and narrator, essentially) in the simile of Turnus as a man in a dream. Virgil here returns to the theme of the pathetic, poignant Dido after the frightening image of her curses: she is sick with love for Aeneas, and far beyond the point of cure.

fugit: She does exactly what she does not want Aeneas to do; cf. 314 *mene fugis?*

seque: The elision enacts the disappearance. Dido flees away like the ghost she is in some sense already becoming.

ex oculis: The visual metaphor returns; the mention of the eyes links back to the emphasis on the visual organs at 362–364. She flees away from Aeneas exactly like Eurydice from Orpheus at *G.* 4.499–502 *dixit et ex oculis subito, ceu fumus in auras / commixtus tenuis, fugit diversa, neque illum / prensantem nequiquam umbras et multa volentem / dicere praeterea vidit ...*

avertit: A foreshadowing of 6.469–470 *illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat / nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur*, of Dido's shade with Aeneas;

cf. the parallel 1.482 *diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*, of Pallas in the pictures at Dido's temple. Here the verb closes a ring with 362 above, where Dido was described as *aversa* before she launched into her screed. The verb will be echoed almost at once at 394, in the unfulfilled wish of Aeneas to "avert" the queen's anxiety and care.

aufert: For the verb cf. on 29 and 699.

On "disappearing ghosts" see C. Segal, "Like Winds and Winged Dream': A Note on Virgil's Development," in *CJ* 69.2 (1973–1974), 97–101.

390 **linquens multa metu cunctantem et multa parantem**

Page comments on the "stammering iteration" that describes Aeneas' reaction.

linquens: For the verb cf. on 71. Here the participle balances 389 *aegra*; the sick queen now leaves Aeneas' sight. The fourth verb in two lines to describe essentially the same action; Dido in her misery has reversed the topos of abandonment, and here she is the one in flight. The verb is used in the context of Camilla's death at 11.827–828 ... *simul his dictis linquebat habenas | ad terram non sponte fluens* ... *Linquens* is the result of 389 *fugit*; *avertit*; and *aufert*.

multa: Alliterative with *metu* and *multa*. The double *multa* deserves close attention: the second one is easier as the object of *parantem dicere*; the first is an adverbial accusative that describes the referent of Aeneas' hesitation. Was he planning to embrace her? Butler argues that the first *multa* may also be regarded as an object of *cunctantem*, but this yields a far weaker sense. The anaphora of *multa* here will be crowned at 395.

metu: The noun also at 164 (and cf. 176); for the image of Aeneas in fear see above on 383 *Dido*. Rand 1931, 360 offers the interpretation that Aeneas is worried about what may become of Dido (cf. below on 393–394)—a rather generous interpretation of his behavior, all things considered. But the principal reference is to the terrifying threats Dido has just voiced.

cunctantem: The key participle in prominent position at midverse, echoed from 133 where it described Dido hesitating in her chamber before proceeding to the hunt. A ring thus closes, as Aeneas hesitates in fear after the shocking imprecations he has heard. Ever the romantic, Austin says that it is Aeneas' love that made him afraid here. But verses 382–387 merit all the dread the hero can muster.

parantem: The Medicean and other witnesses offer *volentem* here. *Multa volentem* would recall both Orpheus at *G.* 4.501 and Aeneas with the ghost of Creüsa at *Aen.* 2.790–791 ... *lacrimantem et multa volentem | dicere deseruit* ...; defenders of *parantem* more or less follow Austin's argument that *parantem* is the more "graphic" and thus better word. Eurydice and Creüsa were shades; it

was impossible for Orpheus or Aeneas to speak further to them absent another supernatural incident. Dido is still alive. For the connection between these three women note Newman and Newman 2005, 47. More enjambment, as Aeneas literally struggles to find words or the means of expression thereof in his frightened state. This is the participle of logical planning and careful consideration, applied to a man who knows that whatever he says may well make the situation worse; we may recall 293–294, as he labored to find the right time to approach Dido. All the caution is for naught.

The present passage is echoed at 12.915–916 ... *Rutulos aspectat et urbem / cunctaturque metu letumque instare tremescit* (of Turnus). The homoeoteleuton here is very different from that at 260 *Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem*.

391 **dicere. suscipiunt famulae conlapsaque membra**

dicere: The enjambed infinitive is juxtaposed with the verb that describes the actions of Dido's handmaidens. The beginning of a guttural sound pattern that continues with *suspiunt* and *conlapsa*.

suspiunt: Another textual crux; the Palatine reads *succipiunt* (and compare the musings of the grammarians; e.g. at *GLK* VII, 98.6), which Page reads and Nettleship defends (the same confusion obtains *ad* 6.249 *succipiunt/suspiunt*). Sabbadini and Geymonat agree, *contra* Conte; Mynors' OCT; Heuzé's Pléiade and Holzberg's *Tusculum*; Perret's Budé; Goold's Loeb; Rivero García et al.; Binder and Binder, etc. Virgil's response to Homer's description of the collapse of Andromache at *Il.* 22.466 ff. There are two echoes later of the present passage: first below at 664 *conlapsam aspiciunt comites*, where Dido's companions witness her collapse after she has stabbed herself; and then at 11.805–806 *concurrunt trepidae comites dominamque ruentem / suscipiunt ...*, after Arruns' fatal wounding of Camilla. For the verb we may compare also 1.175 and 6.723; also above at 327. It appears that *succipiunt* was the original, "more correct" form (vid. Brown on Lucretius, *DRN* 4.1250 *succipiunt*; cf. 5.401–402); vid. e.g. Servius *ad* 6.249. Another instance of where the variant offers little difference in meaning; here we have followed the weight of both manuscript and papyrological evidence in preferring *suspiunt*, though without appreciable partisanship for the choice. As Brown observes, *succipere* seems to have a special sense of "catching from below," which different readers will consider particularly appropriate or not here (if she fainted suddenly—as is almost certain—then it is perhaps less likely that she was caught from below before she fell down, regardless of how assiduously she was being watched by her servants). In the end we would note that the parallel to the scene of Camilla's fall in death (where there is no manuscript confusion) is telling.

We may observe here that at first we have no idea that Dido has fainted or swooned; we move from Aeneas struggling to find words to the sudden detail about the *famulae* attending to their mistress: Virgil thus enacts the shock of the swoon. The best way to describe something that happens as suddenly as a faint is not to describe that it happened, and to focus only on the response.

famulae: Echoing 1.703, of the fifty handmaidens at Dido's court; cf. 11.558 *ipse pater famulam voveo* (Metabus' dedication of the infant Camilla to Diana); also the servants in the simile of the hour of spinning at 8.411; Andromache's self-description at 3.329. The servants who support Dido are prominent at mid-verse. The commentators note that Virgil does not use *servus*, and *serva* but twice (5.284 and 9.546); vid. on this Haarhoff 1931, 64–67; 1949, 68. Inexplicable, unless we are to think of *famulus/famulae* as more poetic.

conlapsaque membra: So at 9.708 ... *conlapsa ruunt immania membra* (of the giant Bitias) and 9.753 *conlapsos artus atque arma cruenta cerebro* (of his brother Pandarus); cf. the also grisly description of the effect of the plague at *G.* 3.484–485 ... *omniaque in se | ossa minutatim morbo conlapsa trahebat*; also the *conlapsa cervix* of the Euryalus-flower at 9.434; the poignant image of the *conlapsi cineres* at the Misenus requiem (6.226). For *membra* note 559, in a more splendid context; here the noun follows on 385 *artus*. The death that Dido envisioned there is foreshadowed in her vasovagal episode here. *Conlapsa* here of the queen's limbs will be echoed at 705 of the heat that leaves her body (*dilapsus*).

There is a parallel fainting in the description of Evander as Pallas makes his departure with Aeneas (8.583–584 ... *haec genitor digressu dicta supremo | fundebat; famuli conlapsum in tecta ferebant*); see further on this Newman and Newman 2005, 226. Pease in another age comments on the contrast between “womanliness” and “queenliness.”

392 *marmoreo referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt.*

marmoreo: Prominent by position. The adjective is rare in Virgil; cf. 6.729 *et quae marmoreo fert monstra sub aequore pontus* (near the opening of Anchises' eschatological discourse); *G.* 4.523 *tum quoque marmorea caput a cervice revulsum*, of Orpheus' severed head. The allusion here is to a sepulcher (the commentators strangely silent to this allusion); Dido's *thalamus* has been reduced to a grave, and the place that should be the locus of new life is the ward of the sick, doomed woman. Pease (followed by Tilly) focuses here on the wealth of Carthage and the splendor of African marble, and Austin considers it “curiously otiose”; Virgil may have had Orpheus' pale neck and severed head more in mind. This is a prefigurement of burial. The adjective probably borrowed from

Lucretius (*DRN* 2.765; 767; 775); cf. Propertius, c. 2.1.72; also the statue of Delia that Corydon vows at *E.* 7.29–32.

The marble bed chamber will be recalled at 457–458 below, of the marble temple of the dead (and, one might fairly say, dishonored) Sychaeus. The shared marble prefigures the eventual reunion of that couple in the Fields of Mourning (6.473–474).

referunt: In balanced alliteration with *reponunt*. The verbs frame the references to the chamber and the bed. For the verb cf. 31; 329; 333; 438. The prefixes are noteworthy: she is being carried, out of sight of Aeneas.

thalamo: For the noun cf. on 18. Deep pathos is expressed merely by the reference to the queen's chamber; we recall 133, where she tarried in her *thalamus* before the start of the fateful hunt. Juxtaposed with *stratistique*. The poetic use of the dative is normal Virgilian practice. "Once again a *thalamus* is deadly" (Newman and Newman 2005, 164).

stratistique: Echoing 82–83 *sola domo maeret vacua stratistique relictis | incubat* ..., of Dido in her state of obsession.

reponunt: The verb recurs soon after at 403 (also at line-end), in the very different context of the work of the Trojan ants. The present passage is echoed at the Misenus requiem: cf. 6.220 *fit gemitus; tum membra toro defleta reponunt*; also in the description of the aid for Euryalus' mother in the wake of the news of her son's death at 9.502 *corripiunt interque manus sub tecta reponunt*.

Dido will never leave her palace alive; the final words were spoken at 387; this is the last time Aeneas will see her until the grim encounter in the underworld.

393–415 Preparations are made for the Trojan departure; Dido is in despair, and decides to make one final attempt to convince Aeneas to change his mind.

393 At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem

At: Recalling 4.1; 296; and cf. 504. Now that Dido has delivered her last words to Aeneas and has been carried off from the scene, this is a new beginning for Aeneas—though one mired in grief, peril, and struggle.

pius Aeneas: A much debated epithet; still useful is N. Moseley, "Pius Aeneas," in *CJ* 20.7 (1925), 387–400; see now especially Moore 2021, 97 ff. For Page—notoriously—this is one of the "puzzles of literature"; Austin comments on how generations of schoolboys have dutifully parroted the Victorian teacher in examination booklets. This is the first occurrence of *pius* of Aeneas since 1.378 *sum pius Aeneas*, where the hero addressed his disguised mother. Maclennan places a paragraph marker after 396, and considers the present four lines as parallel to 156 *At puer Ascanius*, etc., of the description of the eager youth at

the hunt. In his estimation, *pius* is even more “startling” if it comes as what he calls almost a “throwaway” phrase at the end of the sequence, rather than in more prominent position commencing one. Regardless of where the marker is placed—and leaving aside the matter of ancient attention to the largely modern convention of paragraphs—the problem remains of why Aeneas is labeled so here.

The answer is surely to be found in 396 *tamen*, and requires no cipher: Aeneas is very much in love with Dido, and yet the orders of the gods compel him to leave. This is still the Aeneas of verse 361; even Dido’s threats and imprecations have not altered his emotions toward her. *Quamquam* here coordinates with *tamen* below; the four verses sum up the thoughts and feelings of the man who was unable to say anything to Dido just now, and who will speak to her in vain in the underworld.

Pius here comes in close sequence after Dido’s reference to *pia numina* at 382. The contrast is effective: in her estimation, *pia numina* would avenge Aeneas’ mistreatment of her; in the poet-narrator’s estimation, Aeneas is *pius* precisely because he does not surrender here to his passion, strong and vital as it is. “It goes without saying that the luckless epithet has come in for violent condemnation here. Yet it is hard to find a place where Virgil uses it more deliberately. He has never used it while Aeneas was Dido’s lover: now that *pietas* has conquered self, he gives him back his epithet.” (Irvine). It is eminently fitting that it was last used as Aeneas spoke to his mother in masquerade: that was the start of the Dido story, with his divine parent step by step not helping the situation. Austin’s note here is one of his finest, with its analysis of the occurrences of *pius* of Aeneas, and his observation that “Dido is an open book: Aeneas we see only in half-glances, half-revelations ...” Aeneas is not *pius* to Dido because a proto-Roman cannot be *pius* to a proto-Cleopatra—but he wants to be *pius* and more to her, and that is part of the problem that must be at least addressed (if not resolved) as the epic progresses. Pease has a virtual *note de lecture* here on *pietas/pius*. DServ. (followed by some critics) attempts to explain *pius* with reference to Aeneas’ wish to console Dido. But again we recall that for a Roman audience he owes this Carthaginian, allegorical Cleopatra no *pietas*; this rangles with human sentiment in tragic love stories, but resonates with Virgil’s imperial, Augustan program. *Pius* refers to Aeneas’ obedience to divine edict; there is no emotion behind the obedience, however, and these crucial verses on the hero’s wish to comfort Dido—a sort of *pietas*, one could admittedly argue—reveal just how far removed Aeneas still is from his (Roman) goal. One could then take the always complex appellation as deliberately Janus-faced: it applies in some regards both to Aeneas’ action (he will leave) and to his will (he would prefer to stay). We note, too, that at 554 ff. Mercury will have to appear yet again

to hasten the sailing away. See further on all this W.R. Johnson, "Aeneas and the Ironies of *Pietas*," in *CJ* 60.8 (1965), 360–364.

quamquam: With the indicative also at 2.533; 10.857; 11.2; 12.746.

lenire: Cf. on the textually vexed 528 below. The verb echoes 1.450–452 *hoc primum in luco nova res oblata timorem / leniit, hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem / ausus et adflictis melius confidere rebus*, of Aeneas' perhaps premature taking of solace in Dido's Junonian temple and its images of Trojan defeat. Most significantly, the verb will recur at 6.467–468 *talibus Aeneas ardentem et torva tuentem / lenibat dictis animum lacrimasque ciebat*, during the encounter in the underworld. The only other use of the verb in Virgil is at 8.86–87 ... *nocte tumentem / leniit et tacita refluens ita substitit unda*, of the Tiber.

dolentem: With a sound echo of her title "Dido." The verb recurs below at 434 *dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere*, as Dido imagines a respite if not a reversal; cf. Venus' words to Cupid as she makes her appeal for help with the queen at 1.669 ... *et nostro doluisti saepe dolore*; 6.733 and 11.732, and the famous *quidve dolens regina deum* of 1.9 (a neat sharing of the verb between the patroness of Carthage—Juno *regina*—and the queen Dido).

394 *solando cupit et dictis avertere curas*,

solando: The verb only here in Book 4. The principal echo is of *G.* 4.464 *ipse cava solans aegrum testudine amorem*, of Orpheus; cf. Venus at *Aen.* 1.238–239 *hoc equidem occasum Troiae tristisque ruinas / solabar ...*; the heartbreaking image of Euryalus' mother at 9.488–489 *veste tegens tibi quam noctes festina diesque / urgebam et tela curas solabar anilis* (and cf. 9.290 *at tu, oro, solare inopem et succurre relictas*, as Euryalus makes his plea to Ascanius); Aeneas' words over the dead Lausus at 10.829–830 *hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem: / Aeneae magni dextra cadis ...*; also the consoling of Aeneas by the ghost of his father at 5.708; Acestes with the Trojans at 5.41; Aeneas comforting Iulus' fear at 12.110. Soothing sibilant sounds flow through the verse. More common as the compound *consolando*.

cupit: Alliterative with *curas*. The language is evocative: it refers simply to Aeneas' wish to alleviate Dido's anxiety. But the verb and the noun alike recall Aeneas' mischievous stepbrother and the havoc he has worked with his mother. The verb is not particularly common in Virgil; at 2.108 *saepe fugam Danai Troia cupiere relictas* it is used by the liar Sinon of Greek intentions; cf. 5.810–811 ... *cuperem cum vertere ab imo / structa meis manibus periurae moenia Troiae* (Neptune to Venus); 6.717 ... *hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum* (the shade of Anchises); 733 *hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque* (in Anchises' philosophical, eschatological reflection on the source of emotions); 9.795–796 ... *nec tendere contra / ille quidem hoc cupiens potis est per tela virosque* (of

Turnus in the Trojan camp); 10.443 ... *cuperem ipse parens spectator adesset* (of Turnus' terrible wish for Evander).

dictis: Note 388 of the queen's words; Aeneas was preparing to say many things (390–391), just as earlier he had been trying to ascertain the best time for a conversation (293–294).

avertere: Directly echoing Dido's action at 389; cf. 362.

curas: The word that has been associated with Dido since 4.1.

The language here is reminiscent of 3.153 *tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis*, of the dream apparition of the Penates; cf. the same verse at 2.775 of the ghost of Creüsa with Aeneas (where there is good reason, however, to excise the line); also at 8.35 of the appearance of Tiberinus.

395 *multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore*

Another verse that does no credit to Aeneas in terms of the Augustan future; he is racked with regret and love for this Carthaginian Cleopatra. This is perhaps the closest Aeneas comes in the poem to failure in his mission. Some might say that the curse of Dido is already being manifested in the hero's discomfiture.

multa: Crowning the double *multa* of 390; now *multa* in prominent first place ushers in a blunt declaration of the hero's own lovesick state. Alliterative with *magno*.

gemens: With *multa* also at 1.465 *multa gemens, largoque umectat flumine vultum*, of Aeneas in Dido's Junonian temple; the tears there were on account of the vivid evocation of the war at Troy. We may compare 1.221–222 *nunc Amyci casum gemit et crudelia secum / fata Lyci* ..., of Aeneas' lament for his lost companions; 5.806–807 of the Xanthus and Simois that were overloaded with the corpses of Achilles' slaughter; 5.869 *multa gemens casuque animum concussus amici* of Aeneas as he faces the loss of Palinurus; 6.413–414 of Charon's boat, groaning under the weight of the living Aeneas; 7.501 of the fatally wounded stag of Silvia; 8.451 ... *gemit impositis incudibus antrum* (of Vulcan's forge); 11.138 of the wagons that groan under the weight of lumber for the requiems; 150 *procubuit super atque haeret lacrimansque gemensque* of Evander over the dead Pallas; 865 *illum exspirantem socii atque extrema gementem* (of the dying, abandoned Arruns); 12.334–335 ... *gemit ultima pulsu / Thraca pedum* ...; 886 *multa gemens et se fluvio dea condidit alto* (Juturna's departure from the scene of her brother's imminent doom).

Multa gemens does not occur in extant verse outside Virgil; cf. *multum gemens* in Phaedrus and Silius (*Pun.* 17.202); Statius, *Ach.* 1.686 *arcebant aegram ac multa gementem* (of Thetis).

magnoque: The elision enacts the greatness of the love, which threatens to consume Aeneas' *animus*. *Magno* ... *amore* in frame around *animum labefactus*.

animum: For the noun note on 15. Alliterative with *amore*. Vid. Negri 1984, 122; 262; 285; 306.

labefactus: Elsewhere in the epic only at 8.390 *intravit calor et labefacta per ossa cucurrit* (where see Fratantuono and Smith), of the effect of Venus on Vulcan in the seduction of the divine craftsman to secure the arms for Aeneas: a powerful parallel. Cf. *G.* 2.264. The love for Dido is an undermining one that has destructive potential. The verb is Plautine; Terentian; Catullan; Lucretian.

Temporally *labefactus* is coordinate with *gemens*; on this see C.M. Knight, "The Time-Meaning of the To-Participle in Vergil," in *AJPh* 42.3 (1921), 260–264.

amore: The crucial term, at line-end. Since antiquity the referent has been debated. To imagine that Aeneas is this shaken because of the queen's love as opposed to his own is difficult to countenance; both of them are passionately in love. We may recall here 347 *hic amor, haec patria est*, of Aeneas' characterization of Italy to Dido; in the space of just under fifty lines, *amor* has been transformed from Italy to Dido, as it were—and already at 361, before the queen had interrupted his address, he had admitted that he was pursuing his Italian *amor* against his will. Some have taken this seeming contradiction as evidence that the *magnus amor* of 395 = Dido's love; this does not explain verse 361. Both 395 and 361 can be reconciled with 347 by taking *hic amor, haec patria est* as the declaration of destiny and fate; Aeneas has been ordered to go to Italy, and so there is his *amor*—but his *magnus amor* remains in Carthage.

"One might think that some of Virgil's critics had never read these lines" (Irvine). On Aeneas' sentiments here and how he does not give in to tears see A. Hudson-Williams, "*Lacrimae Illae Inanes*," in *G&R* 25.1 (1978), 16–23, 17–18 with a catalogue of references to emotional outbursts in the book.

396 *iussa tamen divum exsequitur classemque revisit.*

iussa ... divum: Echoing Dido's reference to the *horrida iussa* that Mercury brought (378); cf. 356–358; 270; 226.

tamen: The crucial adverb; after *quamquam* also at 2.534–535.

exsequitur: Another play on the repeated emphasis on *sequi*. The verb recurs soon after at 421, in Dido's appeal to Anna; otherwise note 5.53–54 *annua vota tamen sollemnisque ordine pompas | exsequeretur strueremque suis altaria donis*; 6.236 *His actis propere exsequitur praecepta Sibyllae* (after the Misenus requiem); also *G.* 4.1–2 *Protinus aërii mellis caelestia | exsequar ...*: another connection between the present verse and the lore of rebirth and renewal expounded in *G.* 4 and *Aen.* 6 (see below on *revisit*).

revisit: The verb also at 1.415 *ipsa Paphum sublimis abit sedesque revisit* (of Venus); 2.669–670 ... *sinite instaurata revisam | proelia ...* (Aeneas before his

family); 3.318 ... *aut quae digna satis fortuna revisit* (Aeneas to Andromache); 6.330 *tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt* (of souls after the hundred years of waiting); 750–751 *scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant / rursus* ... (of the souls to be reborn); 899 *ille viam secat ad navis sociosque revisit* (after the exit from the underworld); 8.546 *post hinc ad navis graditur sociosque revisit* (at Pallanteum); 11.426–427 ... *multos alterna revisens / lusit et in solido rursus Fortuna locavit* (Turnus at the Latin war council). Henry argues that this is a return to the fleet after a long period of neglect and absence; Mackail waxes poetic and notes, “This melancholy line is echoed at the end of Book VI and the transition to the main theme of the *Aeneid*. Here too, though through no ivory gate, Aeneas returns to the task of life from the interlude of a dream-Paradise.” In fact in both Book 6 and *G.* 4 (cf. 4.390; 546; 553), the verb is used of rebirth and the lore associated with the Bugonia; it is eminently suited to a context here that has returned repeatedly to the visual element. Aeneas is like Orpheus; he will not see Eurydice again, as it were, except in his unsuccessful underworld encounter. Aeneas has a chance at rebirth in the wake of his fidelity to the *iussa divum* in contrast to the *magnus amor* for Dido; soon enough we shall recall the Carthaginian bees of 1.430, as Virgil describes the Trojan workers as ants (402–407).

His return to the fleet is indeed a return after a long absence, not in the underworld as a katabastic hero, but as a lover in mourning for his lost girl. Especially after the mention of the *iussa* of the gods, we may recall 295 *imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt*, of the happy, joyful obedience to the orders to commence preparations for the departure.

For a somewhat different reading of Aeneas’ mood here see Tilly, who focuses more on how “the brightness has fled” from the romance.

The fleet had been mentioned at 288–290, and the present interlude that now commences harks back to the instructions given there (which may now be carried out absent any need for secrecy, and with far more reason for speed). The commentators remark on the diminution of tension, though what follows is by no means otiose.

“Once closed, this door is never opened again; whatever Aeneas might have been is lost. He hurries to obey the gods, but not fast enough” (Van Nortwick 1996, 120).

397 **tum vero Teucri incumbunt et litore celsas**

tum vero: Cf. below at 450 (of Dido); 571 (again of Aeneas). *Tum vero* emphasizes the arrival of Aeneas: the men are all the more eager to work now that their leader has revisited them.

Teucri: Alliterative after *tum*. For the Teucrians see on 48.

incumbunt: In the same sense at 8.444–445 *ocius incubuere omnes pariterque laborem / sortiti*, of Vulcan's Cyclops as they commence work on the arms. The verb also at 650 *incubuitque toro dixitque novissima verba* (of Dido before her suicide). There remains a fair amount of work on the ships; there had been, after all, a long hiatus in repair work. Of varied connotations; cf. 1.84 *incubuere mari* ... (of the storm winds); 2.205 *incumbunt pelago* ... (of Pallas' serpents); 514 *incumbens ara* ... (of Hecuba); 652–653 ... *ne vertere secum / cuncta pater fatoque urgenti incumbere vellet* (fears about Anchises at Troy's fall); 9.791 (the Trojans advancing on Turnus in the camp); 10.894 (Mezentius' horse looming over its thrown rider); 11.674 ... *sequiturque incumbens eminus hasta* (of Camilla); 12.774 (of Aeneas struggling to retrieve his spear from the *oleaster* of Faunus); note also 5.15; 8.108; 236 (with Fratantuono and Smith); 10.294 (with Harrison).

litore: Probably a separative ablative and not a locative. The hyperbaton may enact the length of the beach. Aeneas had twenty ships; he lost one in the storm and now presumably has nineteen vessels to refit and refurbish. The beginning of more interlocking word order: *litore / celsas / toto / navis*. With the mention of the shore here cf. below on 409, as Dido sees all the activity of the Trojan preparations for departure; *toto* ... *litore* again at 416, as Dido calls the scene on the shore to her sister's attention.

celsas: The lofty ships literally overhang the verse: hypermetric enactment. The epithet elsewhere with reference to sea vessels at 1.183 *celsis in puppibus*; 2.375 *celsis navibus*. *Celsas* here balances the alliterative *carina* at 398 line-end. For the adjective note also 554 *celsa in puppi*, where Mercury finds Aeneas sleeping. The reference is to the sterns.

This verse is imitated at 9.73 *tum vero incumbunt (urget praesentia Turni)*, of the Rutulian's attack on the Trojan camp—again with the absolute use of the verb. The spondaic rhythm enacts the laborious effort.

398 *deducunt toto navis (natat uncta carina)*

deducunt: Cf. 2.799–800 *undique convenere animis opibusque parati / in quas-cumque velim pelago deducere terras*; 3.71 *deducunt socii navis et litora complent*; the very different use at 6.397 *hi dominam Diti thalamo deducere adorti*; also 10.618 *ille tamen nostra deducit origine nomen* (Juno to Jupiter about Turnus' lineage). The verb follows on 397 *incumbunt*, before the “liberated” vessels float on the water (*natat*). Cf. 1.551 *liceat subducere classem*: the Trojans had sought permission from Dido in the face of her hostile shore patrols.

toto: Echoed soon after at 401 *tota*; cf. also 410–411, of the *totum aequor* that resounds with the shouts of the eager men.

navis: In juxtaposed alliteration with *natat*.

natat: The verb elsewhere in the epic only at 5.181, of Menoetes as he swims to shore after his not so accidental overboard experience during the regatta; 856 of Palinurus' eyes swimming in slumber. The rhythm becomes dactylic once the ships are afloat. Likely a Catullan reminiscence from c. 4.3–4 *neque ullius natantis impetum trabis | nequisse praeterire ...*

uncta: “Pice delibuta” (DServ.). A realistic detail, of the sort Virgil likes to include. Parallel is 8.91 *labitur uncta vadis abies ...* (“caulked with pitch or wax”—Fordyce). The verb occurs also of anointing Misenus' body at his requiem (6.219); with reference to smearing arrows with poison (9.773). “Always explained [as] ‘tarred,’ but boats are actually greased, and in Ireland smeared with butter” (Page *ad* 8.91). *Uncta carina* is Ennian (*Ann.* fr. 14.376 Skutsch, preserved at Macrobius, *Sat.* 6.1.51); cf. fr. *sed. inc.* 505. Reed 2007, 68 wonders what nation-building voyages may have been described in Ennius. The emphasis is on how the well-caulked boats will soon be able to glide over the water.

carina: Cf. 46 and 656. Synecdoche. The boats that Anna had said had arrived in Carthage under divine auspices now prepare to flee. Singular for plural, in reverse of the usual practice; the ships now in a row appear almost as one.

399 *frondentisque ferunt remos et robora silvis*

Makeshift oars; Austin thinks that the allusion is to an emergency stock, though it is possible that these are rough-hewn oars that have just now been cut from local woods for the journey. Roiron 1908, 225 offers the critical citation for the question of whether Virgil has slipped into inconsistency about the season, or if we must now think that it is spring—or indeed if the coastal regions of Carthage always offer leafy trees. Pease rightly wonders if these questions must be answered. Certainly there is an echo of 1.552 *et silvis aptare trabes et stringere remos*, in Ilioneus' seeking permission from Dido to repair the fleet. Mandra 1934, 213 consulted botanical authorities in Tunis who doubted that there have ever been trees in the vicinity that could provide wood for large oars. ABBA chiasmus: *frondentis | remos | robora | infabricata*.

frondentisque: Alliterative with *ferunt* and 400 in *fabricata fugae*; the pronounced *r* sounds of the verse together with the fricative pattern serve to enact the cutting of trees and branches. Cf. the *ramis frondentibus* of 3.25; the *frondens ilex* that is the *meta* for the regatta (5.129); 6.208–209 *talis erat species frondentis opaca | ilice ...* (in the description of the Bough); 7.67 *examen subitum ramo pendente pependit* (of the settling of the swarm of bees on Latinus' laurel); the *frondens ramus* Aeneas assumes at 7.135 soon after the arrival in Latium: a clear progression of uses from 1) the failed settlement in Thrace to 2) the goal of the boat race that is a type of the successful arrival in Italy to 3)

the mystical Bough to 4) the bees of Latium and Aeneas' arrival in fulfillment of Faunus' oracle about a foreign husband for Lavinia.

With *frondentis* J.T. Katz in "An Acrostic Ant Road in *Aeneid* 4," in *MD* 59 (2008), 77–86 sees the start of a virtual spelling out of *formica* that continues at 401 *migrantis* and 402 *ac*—an inexact acrostic that Katz also takes as part of the enactment of the action.

remos: Proleptic, some might say; *ramos* has weak attestation and is an obvious enough correction; Pease compares 3.25. Alliterative with *robora*. Henry notes that he had once been sympathetic to reading *ramos*, but had decided on *remos* so that there was clear indication that oars were being referenced.

et: Epexegetical.

robora: The oak in juxtaposition with the forests. The noun recurs at 441 in a very different context, though one related still to the notion of departure. Cf. 8.315, of the race born from the hardy oak; the metaphorical use at 8.518 to connote the strength of youth in arms; Paschalis 1997, 7–8 on the semantic force. Theme and variation: the *robora* is probably equivalent to the *remos*, and thus appropriately alliterative (though of course one needed wood for other parts of the ship than simply the oars; cf. 5.752–753, with Fratantuono and Smith). For the oak in Virgil see Armstrong 2019, 115–131; Sargeaunt 1920, 107–110. Any hint of the Jovian associations of the tree is appropriate in the context of the god's orders to sail from Carthage. Doubtful that Virgil had any specific species in mind here. "Plus ou moins synonyme de *quercus*" (d'Herouville 1930, 17). Cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.9–10 ... *robora caedunt / pars silvis* ...; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 15.389 *convectant silvis ingentia robora*; also Ovid, *Her.* 16.109–111 *ardua proceris spoliantur Gargara silvis, / innumerasque mihi longa dat Ida trabes. / fundatura citas flectuntur robora naves.*

silvis: As at 1.552, in the same context.

400 *infabricata fugae studio.*

Another celebrated hemistich, given that the unfinished line is devoted to the unfinished. Vid. here Sparrow 1931, 31. For those who fancy the idea that Virgil experimented with deliberate half-lines, this verse offers an appealing example of enacting the text via the imagined stylistic device; Austin and other critics (notably Mackail, who has a long note here) see evidence in this passage of lack of revision and incompleteness, specifically in the forthcoming simile having no concluding clause, and in the "singularly jerky effect" of the rhythm of *fugae studio*—criticisms that others would say are also part of the point, as Virgil proceeds to compare the incredibly efficient, swift and rapid work of the Trojans to a swarm of ants. Pease finds this half-line "very effective"—we would concur. Certainly it draws attention to the simile of the ants that now commences.

infabricata: The verb only here in Virgil. Possibly a coinage of the poet: building words as he describes the refurbishing of ships. “Ten times in Ennodius”—Pease.

fugae studio: So zealous to escape that the verse is not even finished. We are reminded again (cf. 295) that Aeneas’ men have not enjoyed being in Carthage. For *fuga* see on 72; *studium* recurs below at 641, with reference to the gait of the nurse Barce. And yet it will still be over a hundred and fifty lines until the departure. The sentiment expressed here is continued at 401 *ruentis*.

401 *migrantis cernas totaque ex urbe ruentis*:

The participles frame the verse (“... jewels Akkustiv Plural ... Homoioteleuton der rahmenden Partizipien” (Binder)). Mackail—troubled by the lack of a “conclusion” to the forthcoming simile, and convinced that the ant simile has been imperfectly integrated into the narrative—proposed that this line could be transposed after 407 (where it would, however, create a repetition of forms of *cernere* in successive lines—not a fatal objection, but noteworthy when there is in any case no manuscript authority to play with the verse order). The simile in a sense begins here with the potential subjunctive *cernas*; Virgil invites us to see not what is happening so much as what it appeared to be—the busy work of the swarm of ants. On the apostrophe, cf. Smith 1997, 163 ff.; also Matilde Bandini, “Didone, Enea, gli dei e il motivo dell’inganno in Virgilio, *Enéide* IV,” in *Euphrosyne* 15 (1987), 89–108.

migrantis: Only here in the epic; cf. *E.* 9.4 ... *haec mea sunt; veteres migrate coloni*. The migration is from city to coast; there is also a hint of the migration to Italy. Should *migrantis* be emended to *nigrantis*, in anticipation of the simile? Cf. the *nigrum agmen* of 404.

Ants do regularly “migrate” and set up new nests. Virgil may in this simile be reflecting his knowledge of the behavior of ants in the winter; the departure from Carthage is so sudden that the Trojan ants cannot maintain dormancy, and must act as if it were spring.

cernas: The visual emphasis again. For the verb see on 246; 561. At 408 below it is echoed as the poet addresses Dido, the principal viewer of this scene. Mandra 1934, 122 argues that this scene occurred in “plain daylight,” since ants would “scarcely be visible” in the night. “Swift is the sequence of events in the Aeneid. Here men are eager to work, work fast and accomplish much in a short time” (124). The present subjunctive (following on the historical presents of 397–400) expresses vividness; see Adema 2019, 275–276 for an analysis of a “report made from a base in reference time.”

totaque: Cf. 398 *toto*. The adjective with *urbs* already in Plautus; the echo is of 68–69, where Dido wandered through the whole city like a wounded deer;

cf. 300, where she did the same thing as if she were a maenad; 592 in a threatening context as the Trojans make their escape. *Totaque ex urbe* has been cited as evidence that the Trojans were housed in the city; in the context of the simile of the ants the “city” is used of an anthill the swarm is now abandoning.

ruentis: A favorite Virgilian verb; vid. F. Cavazza in *EV* IV, 602–605. Cf. 429 *quo ruit?*; 674 *per medios ruit*. Once again the emphasis is on the rush and hurry (400 *fugae studio*); it is exactly like what Virgil will compare it to—the busy work of ants.

This is still the “single, pivotal fifth day” in Nelis’ chronology ... “which may be said to start at 4.196 and end at 521” (178).

402 ac velut ingentem formicae farris acervum

The fifth simile of the book; vid. Hornsby 1970, 50; Fratantuono 2012/2013, 75–76; also Smith 2005, 111–112, with reference to the Homeric (*Il.* 2.469–470); Apollonian (*Arg.* 4.1452–1453); and possibly Accian antecedents. This is the parallel simile to the comparison of the Carthaginian workers to bees in early summer at 1.430–436 (the first “animal” simile in the epic); on the contrasting insect images note Henry 1989, 87. The only mention of ants in the epic. Relevant here too is the comparison of the souls in Elysium to bees in a serene summer at 6.707–709; that summer—unlike the one in Carthage—is not new but serene; there is no mention of the harsh exclusion and potential massacre of the lazy drones: all is lovely and bright in the Elysium that has its own sun and its own constant, radiant light. Bee similes in the first and last books of the poem’s first third; in Book 12, Aeneas is compared to a shepherd (as at 4.68–73 in the Dido-deer simile) who attempts to smoke out bees (12.587–592); the simile describes the action of the Trojan hero as he seeks to follow his divine mother’s address to set fire to the city of Latinus and Lavinia—and we recall the bee portent of 7.64 ff., the swarm on Latinus’ laurel (balancing bees in Books 1 and 6 and 7 and 12). The Book 12 bee simile is the one in which Virgil inserts his own name in acrostic play (*pu-*; *ve-*; *maro* at 587–588; on this see M.A.S. Carter, “Vergilium Vestigare: *Aeneid* 12.587–588,” in *CQ* 52.2 (2002), 615–617). The bees of that simile = Lavinia and her fellow Latins; the anger they display (590 *discurrunt magnisque acuunt stridoribus iras*) may reflect something of the ultimate disposition of Roman *mores* in the future Italy. The Carthaginian bees of Book 1 are depicted in “new summer,” fittingly enough given the emphasis on the nascent city; the Latin bees of Book 12 are enclosed in a completed city, a city that Aeneas seeks to destroy in rage over his inability to win the war at one stroke. The bees that matter, then, are the Latin ones—the Lavinian swarm. The competing king bees of *G.* 4.88–102 have been associated by some commentators with Octavian and Antony; Virgil’s bees at *G.* 4.197–199 do not engage in

sexual reproduction, but have *amor* only for flowers and wealth—cf. Dido and Carthage before the arrival of Aeneas.

It is often assumed that the ancients were ignorant of the fact that the “queen bee” was a female. The subject is discussed by T. Hudson-Williams, “King Bees and Queen Bees,” in *CR* 49.1 (1935), 2–4, with consideration of the extant evidence: “The procreation of bees was certainly a mystery to the ancients ... the head bee was occasionally called by names usually reserved for females; it would be rash to claim that the Greeks could give proof of her sex; but they had some inkling of the truth” (4). In the *Aeneid*, Elissa is revealed to be an incomplete—failed, as it were—Melissa; she is not the queen bee for Troy—a role that will be assumed by Lavinia. In Book 1 the *Carthaginians* are bees; after the serene, lovely image of the Elysian bees in 6, we encounter the image of the presumably *Trojan* swarm that finds shelter at Latinus’ laurel in 7. But by Book 12, the Trojan Aeneas seeks to smoke out the *Latin* bees—an effort in which he will fail, in accord with the final dispositions of *mores* in the future Rome as agreed to by Jupiter and Juno later in the same book.

The commentators note here that Virgil returns to the imagery of the *Georgics*; they see humor and lightheartedness in the homely comparison (see below, e.g., on 404). Different critics will have various subjective opinions, but the image of the ants here seems ominous from the point of view of Carthage, and effectively in contrast with the apian comparisons made elsewhere in the epic that relate to the foundation of new cities—these ants are principally a destructive force, even as they go about the work of refurbishing ships.

ac: Untranslatable, Austin notes, because of the “incomplete” simile. “... here as in Aen. 11. 626 *ac* = not ‘and as,’ but ‘even as’” (Stephenson).

velut: *Veluti* has respectable attestation; the same confusion obtains at 5.441 and 6.707; cf. also 2.626, where as at 6.707 there seems to be a “missing apodosis.” Pease suggests that perhaps Virgil has become too involved in the details of the simile (the comparison thus overtaking the narrative); Mackail and others would see evidence of unrevised composition; fanciers of the metapoetic think the text enacts the image of the seemingly frenzied, haphazard motion of the ants.

ingentem: For the adjective see on 89, and cf. 405–406 *grandia* / *frumenta*. The hyperbaton expresses the size of the *acervus* relative to the tiny ants. In terms of the devastation the ants are imagined as working here, the adjective has special force.

formicae: Alliterative with *farris*. For ants note B. Gladhill in *VE* 1, 99–100; Royds 1918, 29–31. They figure negatively at *G.* 1.178–186 because of how they

prey on threshing floors; they give a hint of storms to come when they move their eggs to shelter (*G.* 1.379–380). The Trojan ants are a destructive force as they pillage Carthage; ants are both a hazard to grain and eminently vulnerable—a contrasting image as the Trojans hurry to leave the city. Pease perceptively notes that we never really come to know any of Aeneas' companions very well; they are indeed virtually indistinguishable from each other—like the swarm of ants they now appear to be. Williams highlights how the tiny size of the ants reflects how far from Dido the Trojans now are; vulnerability is however a major point, especially given the queen's past and future threats. For the possible etymology of the name from the carrying of crumbs (cf. 405 *convectant*) see O'Hara 2017, 157. Ants make for a decidedly homely comparison; cf. Titinius fr. 34/5 Ribbeck *Homo formicae pol per simil est rusticus*.

farris: Elsewhere in the epic only at 5.745; cf. *G.* 1.73; 101; 195; 219; 3.127. Spelt, used here to mean grain; the image is one of destruction of the ability to sustain agricultural life (Maggiulli 1995, 294). The Trojan ants prefigure the Romans who would one day plunder Carthage. Scholars have questioned the idea that ants carry grain (they do); Sidgwick, for example, thinks that Virgil misunderstood the conveyance of the pupae after an anthill is disturbed. Virgil is consistently accurate in his country and rural observations; he was a keen audience of the world of nature. *Farris* echoed at 406 *frumenta*.

acervum: For the noun note also 6.503–504; 8.562; 10.245; 11.304; *G.* 1.158; 185; 263.

403 *cum populant hiemis memores tectoque reponunt,*

populant: Coordinate with *reponunt*. The verb echoes 1.527–528 *non nos aut ferro Libycos populare penatis | venimus ...*, in Ilioneus' address to Dido's court: here the Trojan ant colony does exactly what Aeneas' spokesman had said they had not come to do. The verb recurs at 6.494 *populata tempora* in the gruesome description of Deiphobus' injuries; note also 12.262–263 ... *et litora vestra | vi populat ...*, in Tolumnius' complaint to the Rutulians about what Aeneas has done. In *populant* there may be a sound reminiscence of 1.21–22 *hinc populum late regem belloque superbum | venturum excidio Libyae ...*, in the explanation of Juno's hatred for Aeneas' men.

Virgil here recalls also *G.* 1.185–186 ... *populatque ingentem farris acervum | curculio atque inopi metuens formica senectae* (where see Mynors, and Thomas) of the destructive weevil and ant. The pest of his previous poem is here transformed into the Trojan colony eager for escape: the image is not particularly flattering, but this is hardly the finest moment for the *Aeneadae*. *Populant* here correlates with 404 *praedam* in both sense and alliterative pattern.

hiemis memores: Ants are fantastic survivors of winter, with expert evolutionary ability to endure the season. On the prudence of ants see Gowers on Horace, *Serm.* 1.1.36–38. Here the immediate reference is to the Trojans who have been wintering in Carthage. Bees are also mindful of winter at *G.* 4.156–157.

With *memores* cf. 336 *dum memor ipse mei*, of Aeneas' promise to Dido about the power of his memory. Dido had raised the point of the hazards of winter sailing (309–311), essentially asking Aeneas to be mindful of the season; the Trojans follow the admonition in ways she had not envisaged. Paradox: being “mindful of winter” means sailing at the worst of seasons, anything so as to escape Carthage. The principal contrast here is between the passing of winter in decadence and luxury (the Aeneas-Dido/Antony-Cleopatra image), and the thrifty, devoted work of ants in preparation for a harsh season. The Trojan ants thus do here what should have been done earlier; their work has been delayed significantly by Aeneas' sojourn, and part of the rush is to compensate for the lost time.

tectoque: In the same case as *stratisque* at 392: either a dative or an ablative, with certainty impossibility and difference in meaning barely distinguishable. The noun in context refers to the structure of the nest for the colony; in terms of the Trojans, the *tecto* describes the fleet—the only shelter they have.

reponunt: “A curious echo” (Austin) of the same verb from 392. There Dido's handmaidens had virtually buried their queen in her marble chamber; here the Trojan ants store up food for the winter, though in this particular winter the ants have waited quite some time to begin to forage and store. *Memores* here is reminiscent of *marmoreo* there.

404 *it nigrum campis agmen praedamque per herbas*

A celebrated reminiscence of Ennius, fr. sed. inc. 502 Skutsch *it atrum* [the color term conjectured and defended by Skutsch ad loc.] *campis agrum* (and before him of Accius), as noted by Servius: “hemistichium Ennii de elephantis dictum, quo ante Accius usus est de Indis.” “Elephants were used by Pyrrhus, Hannibal and Antiochus, and the placing of the fragment is therefore uncertain.” It is likely that any deliberate echo here of Ennius referred to Hannibalic pachyderms. For some critics, the comparison is evidence of humor: Virgil has transformed Ennius' mighty elephants into Trojan ants. And yet the Trojan swarm devastates Carthage effectively: the slow and heavy movement of the spondees enacts the relentless advance of the ants (“Die schwere Arbeit der Ameisen kommt in den Versen 404f. durch denselben Rhythmus in langsamen Spondeen zum Ausdruck”—Binder). See further Reed 2007, 99; Giusti 2018, 230

on the possible evocation of Hannibal's elephants and a connection with the Myrmidons sacking Troy; also E. Giusti, "Virgil's Carthaginians at *Aen.* 1.430–436: Cyclopes in Bees' Clothing," in *CCJ* 60 (2014), 37–58.

Virgil's emphasis is on the vulnerability of the ants more than anything. They are a destructive force, because some day Romans will sack Carthage, and Book 4 shows a prefigurement of that eventual doom. But Dido's anger and her increasingly dangerous curses reflect the great Roman suffering that will precede any final victory. Ants are the perfect insect to highlight first the vulnerability of Aeneas' men (cf. 554 ff.), and secondarily the destructive image of the destined ruin of Carthage (cf. 1.19–22).

it: The verb echoes 381 *i, sequere Italiam*, of Dido's bitter command to Aeneas; cf. 424. Some have argued that the short verb matches the short legs of the tiny ants; this is true enough, though the verb form is used of elephants too, after all, and so the point cannot be pressed too far.

nigrum ... agmen: Framing the Carthaginian *campis* that the swarm plunders. For the color see Edgeworth 1992, 138–141; elsewhere in the book of the black poison for Dido's ceremony at 514. *Niger* often occurs in the epic in baleful contexts (cf. e.g. 5.516, of the black cloud that is the locus of Eurytion's shooting of the dove in the archery contest; black Tartarus at 6.134; Turnus' sleep in the black night at 7.414 before he is visited by Allecto; the black dust cloud as the enemy approaches the Trojan camp at 9.33; the forest dense with black holmoak as Nisus and Euryalus flee at 9.381; the black whirlwind at 11.596 as Opis descends to see to the vengeance for Camilla; the doom associations of Juturna in her comparison to a black swallow at 12.473); there may be a reminiscence here of 3.120, where a black sheep is sacrificed by Aeneas to Hiems, which is itself described as *atra* at 7.214. Any ominous chromatic associations reflect the ruin of Carthage.

Agmen is repeated at once (406); cf. also 142; 154; 469. The comparison is to a military formation; it is as if Dido is watching her city being plundered by an invading army.

campis: Local ablative. The Trojan swarm had rushed out of the city (401 *totaque ex urbe*) and now plunders the plains.

praedam: The noun here only in Book 4. The plunder of the ants is the grain of 402. The simile invites us to imagine what the Trojans may have taken from Carthage when they departed.

per: The postpositive preposition is alliterative with its object.

herbas: For the noun cf. 514. Effective focalization of what we are invited to see, as we move from the large plains to the individual grasses over which the ants make their relentless way, conveying their plunder. The plural here is better than the weakly attested singular. The line-end is borrowed from Lucretius

(*DRN* 1.260; 5.461); also at *G.* 3.436; *Aen.* 3.221; *Ps.-V., Culex* 70; *Ilias Latina* 501; Ovid, *Her.* 4.93; *Ars* 3.727; *Met.* 4.635; 7.836; 10.8; 15.14; *Fast.* 1.409; 3.525; Manilius, *Ast.* 2.53; Statius, *Theb.* 7.68.

For verses allegedly pilfered by Virgil (a favorite carp of the *obtrectatores*), cf. Octavius Avitus, Funaioli p. 544.

405 **convectant calle angusto; pars grandia trudunt**

The verbs frame the line.

convectant: Alliterative with *calle*. Another rare verb, which occurs first here in extant literature; it recurs in the epic only in a passage imitative of this one: 7.748–749 *armati terram exercent semperque recentis | convectare iuvat praedas et vivere raptō*, in the description of Ufens' contingent in the Italian catalogue. The prefix emphasizes how the ants work together as a unit. The related *convehere* is not particularly common in verse and carries a prosaic tone; it may have inspired Virgil in his coinage of a word appropriate to the description of insect labor; cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 2.101; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 15.389; Pliny's *convehunt* of ants at *NH* 11.109.

calle: Also at 6.443–444 *secreti celant calles et myrtea circum | silva tegit ...*, in the description of the Fields of Mourning in the underworld where Dido's shade will be found; cf. 9.381–383 *silva fuit late dumis atque ilice nigra | horrida, quam densi complerant undique sentes; | rara per occultos lucebat semita calles*, during the fateful night raid: clear harbingers of doom. Servius has a note here on the meaning and etymology of the word; the point—especially with the rather tautological adjective—is to highlight the thinness of the line. The noun masculine here.

angusto: At 2.332 this adjective appears substantively in a description of narrow passageways at Troy now under Greek occupation; cf. 11.525 of the locus of Turnus' planned ambush of Aeneas' infantry force. The emphasis is once again on the vulnerability of the line of Trojan ants. For ants moving in single file note *G.* 1.380, again the fruit of country observation. The adjective with *semita* is Ciceronian; Livian.

pars: Following on 404 *agmen*; echoed in anaphora at 406 *pars*.

grandia: Enjambment and hyperbaton to describe what for the ants are the heavy burdens of grain; again we may wonder just what the Trojans took from Carthage (cf. 1.363–364, of the plunder the Tyrians under Dido escaped with to Africa). Notably, the adjective occurs only twice in the poem; at 11.90 *it lacrimans guttisque umectat grandibus ora* it is used of Pallas' horse Aethon as it cries copious tears at its rider's requiem. *G.* 4.26 describes *saxa* that seem large to bees; note *G.* 1.181–182 on the similar relative appearance of mice to each other.

trudunt: The verb only here in the epic; note *G.* 1.310; 2.31; 74; 335; 3.373. The ants push what they cannot carry, as Servius noted.

“Whatever can those people be doing down there like a lot of ants” (Irma in Joan Lindsay’s *Picnic at Hanging Rock*); for the sentiment cf. Aristophanes, *Pax* 821.

406 *obnixae frumenta umeris; pars agmina cogunt*

obnixae: The enjambed participle underscoring the effort. For the verb see on 332; there it described Aeneas’ efforts to keep his emotions in reserve in the wake of Dido’s address; here it is employed of the tremendous efforts of the Trojans.

umeris: Probably with *obnixae* and not *trudunt*, though the resulting difference in shade of meaning is small. The ants exert considerable effort with their shoulders to push along the heavy pieces of grain.

frumenta: I.e., the *farris acervum* of 402. The ants are said to carry grain; the Trojans were gathering timber for oars and ship furnishings—and whatever else we may imagine that they took with them.

pars: Juxtaposed with the *agmina*. Virgil plays throughout the description on the notion of commonalty and individuality: the ants move both separately and as a unit.

agmina: Echoing 404. The shift to the plural describes well how the one line of ants has now become many lines of insects as they all proceed to the individual vessels.

cogunt: The Trojans were eager to leave, and there is much to do; even in this description there is room for laggards and stragglers, but the emphasis is on how no expenditure of effort is fast enough given the lost time and the urgent need to leave. The verb with *agmen* is military language (common in Livy; see Briscoe on 34.28.7, and cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.68 *agminis coactores*, with Ash), again continuing the association of the Trojan ants with an invading force. We are reminded of the descriptions of the bees and their wars in *G.* 4 (67 ff.; 82 ff.). The verb works alliteratively in hypermetric juxtaposition with 407 *castigantque*—more theme and variation. There is a hierarchy among the ants, just as there was in the description of the Carthaginian bees at 1.434–435 as the lazy drones were kept away from the hive. *Cogunt* at line-end correlates with *trudunt* at 405.

407 *castigantque moras; opere omnis semita fervet.*

The verbs frame the verse, with both of them describing the intensity of the vigorous work. There is a strong contrast between these images and the labor left in abeyance at the height of the passionate affair.

castigantque: Also at 5.387 *Hic gravis Entellum dictis castigat Acestes*; 6.566–569 *Cnosius haec Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna / castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri / quae quis apud superos furto laetatus inani / distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem*. Prominent by position. Of “calling to order” and not “punishing” (Henry).

moras: Cf. Mercury’s laconic and brusque *heia age, rumpe moras* at 569. Again the point is that there is no more time to lose. *Moras* has been taken as a substitute for *morantes*, although this is not necessary and the difference in meaning minimal.

opere: Alliterative with *omnis*, and in framing order with *fervet* around the whole path that seethes with the work. The reading is confused in the manuscript tradition; the Medicean originally had the genitive; *operi* and *opera* are also attested.

semita: Following on 405 *calle*. The image is of lines of ants filling the pathways as they go about their various tasks.

fervet: Directly echoing 1.436 *fervet opus redolentque thymo fragrantia mella*, at the conclusion of the description of the work of the Carthaginian bees, itself borrowed from *fervet opus* of the work of the bees at *G.* 4.169. The verb recurs almost immediately at 409; note also Mercury’s warning to Aeneas at 566–567 *iam mare turbari trabibus saevasque videbis / conlucere faces, iam fervere litora flammis* (of the threat to Aeneas’ vessels if he delays in departing). The image will be recalled at 8.676–677 ... *totumque instructo Marte videres / fervere Leucaten auroque effulgere fluctus*, in the description of Actium on the shield; Dido is Cleopatra, and Aeneas as he breaks away from the Antony mold is able to enter the Augustan. Note also 9.692–693 (the news brought to Turnus about the night raid); 11.95 (in the description of the spoils carried in Pallas’ funeral cortège). For the conjugation see Eden on 8.677; cf. Leumann I, 544; the third conjugation form appears to be the older. We may recall 400 ... *fugae studio*.

“As usual, the last clause of the simile gives the general effect of the whole” (Conington).

408 **quis tibi tum, Dido, cernenti talia sensus,**

An extraordinary apostrophe. 401 *cernas* was an already vivid invitation for the audience to gaze at the scene of Trojan hustle and bustle; now the referent of that dynamic subjunctive is focalized on the queen, who views the scene from her lofty citadel (410 *arce ex summa*). Newman and Newman 2005, 103 recall Dido’s *Obstipuit primo aspectu* at 1.613: “The pantomime is not far away. Virgil turns us into choreographers, matching his lyrical outburst with his character’s silent, interpretive dance” (115). A reminiscence of Sophocles, *Phil.* 276–278 (where see Schein), on the lament of Philoctetes as he sees the Greek fleet sail

away after having abandoned him; cf. also Homer, *Il.* 24.367 (“The beginning of an idiomatic turn of phrase quite common in later literature” (P. Shorey, “Homer *Iliad* 24.367 and Plato *Republic* 492C,” in *CPh* 5.2 (1910), 220–222)); Ovid, *Her.* 7.65 *quid tibi mentis erit?* Rather different is 3.710–711, where it is Aeneas who apostrophizes his dead father at the climax of his long story. For Virgilian apostrophe see above on 27; there the queen had solemnly addressed Pudor with respect to her devotion to her *univira* status, in striking contrast to her situation now. Austin is usually highly attuned to the sentimental and the poignant; he observes here that while the apostrophe is effective, it is also occasioned by the wish to avoid inflecting the queen’s name.

quis: In framing word order with *sensus*; balanced at once by 409 *quosve*.

tibi: Alliterative with *tum* and *talia*.

tum: The Medicean reads *tunc*; see Pease on the question of whether Virgil uses the one *vs.* the other when the following word begins with a vowel *vs.* a consonant; cf. further Conington on *G.* 2.317. Some have argued that there is a difference of emphasis between the words, but it is difficult to discern any appreciable shade of import either way here.

Dido: Powerful at mid-line.

cernenti: Echoing 401 *cernas*. The visual metaphor again. This is the first mention of the queen’s activity since her fainting and quasi-burial at 391–392; she has recovered quickly enough to peer out on the dramatic scene on the beach. Very different is the imagery from the opening of Lucretius’ Book 2; Dido is intimately involved in the Trojan story, and she cannot gaze on what is taking place with serene detachment and ambivalent composure. Here Dido the wanderer is relegated to being Dido the observer—she will not be a part of what is currently afoot in terms of the planned Trojan migration (401).

Cernenti is the first verbal repetition in close sequence; the second will be at 409 *fervere*. On the connection between the ant simile and not only the narrative of the Trojan departure, but also the emotional state and thought sequence of Dido, see M.C.J. Putnam, “The Lyric Genius of the *Aeneid*,” in *Arion* 3.2/3 (1996), 81–101, 83–84.

talia: With an echo of *Italia*. For Virgil’s fondness for this sort of wordplay see R.J. Schork, “Acoustic Intratexts in *Aeneid* 7.122 and 4.408,” in *CPh* 91.1 (1996), 61–62. All of the work currently heating up the shore is designed to hasten the advent of the Roman future.

sensus: For the noun see above on 22; it recurs below at 422. Another keyword at line-end: Virgil indulges in a brief commentary on Dido’s feelings before reporting on her new plan of action. *Quis sensus* correlates closely with 409 *quos gemitus*. The verb (*erat*) is elided as often, which serves here only to draw more attention to 409 *dabas*.

This verse was imitated by the author of the seventh responsory of the Matins of the Seven Dolours: *Quis tibi sensus fuit, o Mater Dolorum, dum Ioseph sindone filium tuum involvit, et posuit eum in monumento?*

409 quosve dabas gemitus, cum litora fervere late

quosve gemitus: Parallel to 408 *quis ... sensus*. *Gemitus* here recalls 395 *multa gemens* of Aeneas; the two former lovers are thus closely paralleled in their emotional state. The noun occurs 6× in Book 2, not surprisingly; below note 667 and 687, of the responses to Dido's suicide first from the city and then from her sister. The shared death line of Camilla and Turnus may be noted here (11.832/12.952 *vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras*); cf. 10.505; 11.37 and 95 of reactions (including in the second case Aeneas') to the death of Pallas; the groan that will be heard in the Field of Mars after Marcellus' death (6.873). *Gemitus* also of the groan heard from Polydorus' tomb (3.39). Pease catalogues the "tears and groans of Dido": note 413; 437; 439; 548; 553; 649.

dabas: A vivid imperfect, mostly frequentative in its import. Quite a change from the future *dabis* of 386.

cum: The beginning of the description of what it is that Dido sees *and* hears (411 *tantis clamoribus*)—there is now, after all, no reason for any attempt at concealment on the part of Aeneas' men.

litora: Alliterative with *late*, and echoing 397–398 *litore / toto*.

fervere: Echoing 407 *fervet*; the repetition need not imply hasty, unrevised composition given that the ancient poets were not as bothered by such effects as some moderns. The older form of the infinitive (third *vs.* second conjugation) may be used for variety (so Sidgwick), or for metrical convenience (see Austin); cf. 6.826 and 689 (with Horsfall). Williams finds the switch of conjugations to be "rather remarkable"; certainly it draws yet more attention to the already repeated verb. The metaphor once again from heat and fire: now the passion is on the task of preparing for a departure. Virgil probably had in mind Lucretius, *DRN* 40–41 *si non forte, tuas legiones per loca campi / fervere cum videas belli simulacra cientis*. In another context the present verse could describe a scene of invasion and/or battle.

late: Cf. on 42 and 526. The adverb correlates well with the plural noun: this is a massive effort, as nineteen ships prepare for an exodus.

410 prospiceres arce ex summa totumque videres

The verse is framed by the verbs of sight that follow on 408 *cernenti*. A tricolon of visual import, on which Maclennan notes that first she notices something; second she looks out; lastly she perceives fully what is happening on her shores.

prospiceres: The verb 17× in the poem, only here in Book 4. The verb occurs at 11.838–839 *utque procul medio iuvenum in clamore furentum / prospexit tristi multatam morte Camillam* (of Opis); cf. Aeneas at 11.908–909 *ac simul Aeneas fumantis pulvere campos / prospexit longe Laurentisque agmina vidit*.

arce ex summa: The same image at 586 *regina e speculis ...*, as the dawn breaks when the ships will sail. For *arx* note also 234; 260; 347. Her lofty vantage point allows her to see the entire spectacle unfold. We may recall 1.20, of Juno hearing about the race from Trojan blood that would one day come to overthrow these citadels. The middle of the verse is dominated by the high perch of the queen; she is not unlike Rumor at 186–187, and this time she will need no intermediary to bring the report of what is transpiring.

We may compare here 2.41 *Laocoön ardens summa decurrit ab arce*; 615–616 *iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas / insedit nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva*; 6.518–519 ... *flammam media ipsa tenebat / ingentem et summa Danaos ex arce vocabat*; 7.69–70 *adventare virum et partis petere agmen easdem / partibus ex isdem et summa dominarier arce*; 9.85–86 *pineae silva mihi multos dilecta per annos, / lucus in arce fuit summa, quo sacra ferebant*; 11.477 *nec non ad templum summasque ad Palladis arces*; 12.697–698 *At pater Aeneas audito nomine Turni / deserit et muros et summas deserit arces*. An interesting range of uses, including baleful images connected to the fall of Troy and peril to cities.

See Austin here (following Wagner) for the use of *ex* rather than *e*.

totum: Cf. the similar reference to the shore above at 397–398. The extreme hyperbaton enacts the vast spread of the ships on the water.

Another harbinger of the queen's end: she is reminiscent here of Aegeus at Catullus, c. 64.241–242 *at pater, ut summa prospectum ex arce petebat, / anxia in assiduos absumens lumina fletus*—just before he sees the carelessly retained dark sails and casts himself down to his death. There is also an echo of Catullus' Ariadne at c. 64.52–54 *namque fluentisono prospectans litore Diae / Thesea cedentem celeri cum classe tuetur / indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores*.

The present verse will be echoed at 8.675–677 *in medio classis aeratas, Actia bella, / cernere erat, totumque instructo Marte videres / fervere Leucaten auroque effulgere fluctus*, with strong verbal reminiscence of the depiction of Dido (*cernere / totumque ... videres / fervere*). Virgil is proleptically having the Cleopatra of his epic gaze at a scene that will be fulfilled later in the presentation on the shield of the climactic battle at Actium: the ships of Aeneas that are now hastily outfitted are like the vessels of Octavian and Agrippa; the image of the eventual Roman defeat of Carthage shades into the more recent Roman history of the vanquishing of Cleopatra at Actium. The fact that Aeneas is no longer Antony (given his resolve to leave Carthage) only adds to the appropriateness of the parallelism. Neither Dido nor the poet's audience knows as yet

that there will be a connection between this scene and Actium; the shield is a visual *tour de force*, and in its central panel in commemoration of the great naval victory, via verbal reminiscence Virgil will recall the present picture of the forlorn queen.

411 misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor!

The verse mingles the visual and the auditory sources of Dido's severe discomfiture. Infinitive and subject frame the verse. The scene echoes that at Priam's palace at 2.486–487 *At domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu / miscetur ...*

misceri: Recalling 160 above, as the heaven was mixed with a great murmur at the commencement of the storm. "A common Vergilian term for tumultuous, confused scenes" (Sidgwick). The present language mingles that of storm and naval war; the emphasis is on how the Trojan departure bears all the trappings of an invasion, though paradoxically Aeneas' men are departing. It is as if they have won the war and are carrying away the spoils of a ruined city: prolepsis of later Roman history on a grand scale.

The verb occurs also at 112 *miscerive probet populos aut foedera iungi*, as Venus muses on what Jupiter will allow regarding Aeneas' and Dido's peoples. See below on 413 *temptare precando*.

ante oculos: A not uncommon tag, in verse as early as Lucretius (*DRN* 1.62; 342; 998; 2.113; 732; 3.75; 185; 488; 655; 3.995; 4.979); cf. *Aen.* 1.114; 2.270; 531; 773; 3.150; 5.109; 7.240; 11.311; 887; *oculos ante* at 12.638.

tantis clamoribus: Absent a need to remain silent, the shouts of the Trojans as they prepare to depart are noteworthy for the high volume. For *clamor* note 303; 665. "Virgil's descriptions are often made lively by the introduction of sound" (Tilly). Here alliterative with 410 *totum*, and prominent by its position just after the caesura. Some have seen a technical reference to the *κέλευμα*, though the vessels are not yet ready to leave; to the extent that it seems that the departure is imminent, this is a testament to the further delaying tactics on Dido's part that will soon commence, and Aeneas' willingness to listen, if not to respond.

Dido will soon invite Anna to share in the view (416–418).

412 improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!

A second, equally celebrated apostrophe: from Dido, the poet-narrator proceeds to Aeneas' stepbrother, whose machinations with Venus played such a role in the unfolding tragedy. Mackail was not impressed, judging the verse "feeble"; even Austin (admittedly an avowed devotee of Mackail's commentary) found it "odd" to have a second address in such close sequence. Dido is thereby closely associated with Amor; Virgil again poses the implicit question of just how much work the god had to do with this woman, especially after Jupiter

had already seen to the perhaps more difficult task of soothing the violent Carthaginian hearts so as to permit simply a safe landing. The authorial intervention compels further consideration, however, of this paramount question of Virgilian theology, even if definitive answers are elusive. It comes immediately before the queen tries yet again to alter her fate; her mood has shifted from imprecation to supplication. Such are the vicissitudes of lovers, and thus the apostrophe.

improbe: As at 386 ... *dabis, improbe, poenas*, where the queen addressed Aeneas. The shared epithet recalls the common Venusian parentage of Cupid and Aeneas; there is also an echo of Aeneas' declaration at 347 *hic amor, haec patria est* (see above on Amor as a "secret," anagrammatic name for Rome). Ovid imitated this appellation for Love at *Fast.* 2.331 ... *quid non Amor improbus audet* (where see Robinson). Horace condemns *improbus amor* at *Serm.* 1.3.4, in a context where the reference is to self-love (*stultus et improbus hic amor est dignusque notari*); if Virgil was inspired by the phrase in his recent predecessor, then it is possible that we see here a hint that Dido's love for Aeneas is tinged with narcissism. We may compare too Propertius, c. 1.1.4–6; Statius' *cupido improba* at *Theb.* 7.299–300. Seneca's Phaedra utters *O spes amantum credula, o fallax Amor!* (634).

Virgil here recalls *E.* 8.47–50 *saevus Amor docuit natorum sanguine matrem / commaculare manus; crudelis tu quoque, mater. / crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille? / improbus ille puer; crudelis tu quoque, mater*. It is a brilliant intratextual borrowing that draws together many strands of the Dido narrative. In the eclogue, there is a strong allusion to Medea's murdering of her children with Jason; the Apollonian intertext for the present verse concerns Medea's murder of her brother. "Love" may well be said to have compelled both actions, and yet if love is cruel and wanton, so is the mother. The "mother" in the eclogue blends and confuses Medea and Venus; Venus is like her son, and divine son and mother are both savage—but the mortal mother is too, and that mother is the murderous Medea. In Virgilian jurisprudence the gods may be indicted, but even a verdict of guilty will not absolve mortals of culpability for their own actions, and "divine compulsion" is not an absolute refuge of defence.

We may compare here 12.668 *et furiis agitatus amor at conscia virtus*, of Dido's *comparandus* Turnus. Aeneas in the underworld will address Dido's shade with *dulcis amor*: 6.455 *demisit lacrimas dulcique adfatus amore est*.

Amor here will be echoed at 414 *amori*.

quid ... cogis: See below on 3.56, and note also 10.63 ... *quid me alta silentia cogis*, of Juno at the divine council; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 12.542–543.

mortalia pectora: Love's divinity is contrasted sharply with the mortality of the human heart. For the adjective note 277, of the *mortalis visus* that Mer-

cury left; *pectus* already above at 4; 11; 67; etc. (vid. Negri 1984, 209, 308). The phrase also at Ps.-V., *Ciris* 232; Ovid, *Met.* 4.201; 6.472; Statius, *Theb.* 2.253–254; *Silv.* 5.2.85–86; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 15.612.

cogis: The verb will be repeated at 415, which Pease and others have found awkward (though he correctly observes that Virgil is given to repetition, and we would add that anyone listening to someone who is hopelessly in unrequited love will be struck by the incidence of repetition—surely something that the poet knew was a commonplace). Cf. also on 289.

The poet here recalls 3.56–57 ... *quid non mortalia pectora cogis, / auri sacra fames!* ..., of the lust for gold that led to the murder of Polydorus; we remember that Dido, too, has a fancy for the precious metal. Apollonius similarly apostrophizes Eros as he commences the narrative of Medea's murder of her brother for love, if not for gold (*Arg.* 4.445–447).

413 ire iterum in lacrimas, iterum temptare precando

Striking sound effect: *ire / iterum / in / iterum*. “hinc est amoris improbitas, quae lacrimis cogit rogare dudum superbam ...” (Servius).

ire: A simple verb that has acquired significant weight after 381 and 408.

iterum ... iterum: Effective repetition—the anaphora of futility (see here Maclennan). Cf. 78–79; 576–577.

lacrimas: This noun will be echoed below at the difficult 449; cf. on 30 above, etc. There is perhaps a hint here that Dido is engaging in studied manipulation, though the manipulation is inseparable from the oppressive force of the rogue Amor. She is compelled (414 *cogitur* in prominent position) literally to go again into tears, and to test Aeneas by prayer and entreaty, etc. Carefully balanced here is the image of a powerful force (we recall *Georgics* 3 and *DRN* 4) that is exceedingly difficult to resist, and the woman's treasure chest of seductive and amatory tricks. The tears here recall the woman's *luminibus tacitis* at 364: dry eyes there as she launched into her vicious attack on Aeneas; now—under Amor's compulsion—a “going into tears.” If Amor is to be blamed for the present tactic, then we must wonder where he was at 362ff.; Love has many moods and patterns, and yet there is, we might argue, room for freedom of action and thus resultant personal responsibility.

temptare precando: For *temptare* see on 113; 293. The line-end ... *temptare precando* is borrowed from Venus' comment to Juno *tu coniunx, tibi fas animum est temptare precando* (113), where the goddess of love raised the question of whether or not Jupiter would countenance the mixing of Trojans and Carthaginians. This is the second of two verbal reminiscences of that scene; the parallels are that Venus and Amor are of a piece, and in a sense so are Juno and Dido: deities of love on the one hand, Carthaginian patroness and queen

on the other. Juno had raised the question of mixing peoples; now the mixing is of the Trojans on the shore, who self-mingle, as it were, with no chance of any shared polity.

precando: With reference principally to Aeneas, though Anna will be the go-between (416 ff.).

Theme and variation: the tears (*lacrimas*) will be her prayers (*precando*). The present image will be distantly echoed at 5.781–782 *Iunonis gravis ira neque exsaturabile pectus / cogunt me, Neptune, preces descendere in omnis*, as Venus appeals to her uncle for help in securing the Trojan voyage from Sicily.

414 *cogitur et supplex animos summittere amori*,

cogitur: Enjambment, and echoing 412 *cogis*: active and passive. Compulsion and passion frame the verse.

supplex: Alliterative with *summittere*, and part of an interlocking auditory arrangement with *animos / amori*. For *supplex* see on 205 (of Iarbas); 424 and 535 below. Not included at Naiden 2006, 364 since this is not a formal act of supplication. Cf. Propertius, c. 1.91.3 *ecce iaces supplexque venis ad iura puellae*; Ovid, *Her.* 4.149 *non ego dedignor supplex humilisque precari*.

animos: In effective sound pattern with *amori*. Reason and the proud spirit of courage and determination will submit to passion. Vid. here Negri 1984, 131, 136, 138. *Animos* is juxtaposed with *supplex* to underscore the opposites. Cf. 2.386 *atque hic successu exsultans animisque Coroebus*; 11.366 *pone animos*; 491 *exultatque animis et spe iam praecipit hostem* (of Turnus). D.Serv. connected *animos* here with the queen's anger; the noun is sufficiently broad in its associations that even in the plural all of its many shades may be felt.

summittere: A key verb in Virgil: at 12.807 *sic dea summisso contra Saturnia vultu* it describes Juno as she makes her great appeal to Jupiter about the future Roman destiny and its ethnic composition; cf. Jupiter's preceding 806 *ulterius temptare veto* and the language of 4.413. At 12.832, Jupiter responds to his wife's request with *verum age et inceptum frustra summitte furorem*, where we see the start of how Juno's submissive appeal (and, of course, her furious actions for twelve books before) will secure a great concession about the relationship of Troy and Italy in the future Rome. Juno is also *summissa* with Jupiter at 10.601; other than 3.93 *summissi protinus terram* (of the Trojans on Delos), these are the only occurrences of the verb in the epic. Cf. also *E.* 10.69 *omnia vincit Amor: et nos cedamus Amori*. Palmer thinks that this is where the Dido of the *Heroides* commences her letter. Virgil plays throughout the Dido narrative on how the once successful queen has been so reduced by her passion; Juno has similar complaints from Book 1 through to 12, though she will be more successful than Dido in regaining her proud position.

amori: Not without a hint of *mori*, as Dido advances inexorably toward her end; cf. 415 *moritura*. Servius notes that it does not say *Aeneae*, though the step-brothers overlap in many regards.

415 ne quid inexpertum frustra moritura relinquit.

inexpertum: Only here in Virgil; cf. Tibullus, c. 1.7.31; 2.1.56; Horace, *Ep.* 1.18.86; *Ars* 125; Ovid, *Her.* 12.23; 20.42; Lucan, *BC* 4.555; 5.486; Persius, s. 3.52; Statius, *Theb.* 3.536; 9.904; *Silv.* 4.5.11; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.97; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 3.496; not uncommon in Curtius Rufus; Livy; Tacitus.

frustra: A difficult adverb (19× in the poem; only here in Book 4). We may compare here Jupiter's comment to Juno at 12.832 *verum age et inceptum frustra summitte furorem*, with verbal echoes of the present passage. That passage would seem to point to taking *frustra* here with *inexpertum*. This is the reading of D^{Serv.}; Servius argues that *frustra* is "ex iudicio poetae," that is, "another of those subjective, more or less parenthetical, intrusions by the poet ..." (Pease). The principal problem here is the question of whether or not Dido has decided on suicide. Again, while she has made as yet no final decision, she has for some time spoken of life without Aeneas as intolerable; suicide has been contemplated, and her language reflects the vacillation of a deeply disturbed mind that wavers between reason and insanity. *Frustra* at midverse shades the entire line: it is poised between *inexpertum* and *moritura* because on the one hand, anything she tries will fail in light of Jupiter's will and his command to Aeneas; on the other hand, her death will accomplish nothing of her purpose either. She cannot have Aeneas, except as a haunting spectral presence (385 ff.). She is literally "frustrated" in her purpose, and at some level probably realizes that the efforts soon to commence with Anna will end in failure, even if lovers are prone to be credulous and she must try all the same. Nettleship rightly speaks of a "commiserating epithet": the queen's death will have no effect on the fortunes of Aeneas, though the hero's experience with Dido will have immense consequence for the future Rome and its engagement with Carthage. Henry was critical of the poet here: "Our author has been forced, as so often elsewhere, by the necessity of his metre into a rather forced expression. The correct expression ... *ne quid inexpertum relinquens, frustra moriatur.*"

moritura: See on 308 *nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?*; cf. Newman and Newman 2005, 128 and 161. Yet another reminder of the queen's ultimate fate; it is clear that she has already contemplated suicide, though she is not as yet resolved on that final course. Dido is like Eurydice at *G.* 4.458–459, who was *moritura* even before she stepped on the serpent in the grass—though the queen has more sense of her likely enough doom. Kvičala 1881, 116–118 argued in

favor of reading *monitura*, which would render the line flat in exchange for the small, unnecessary compensation of removing any question about the queen's suicidal intentions.

relinquat: Cf. on 82; 129; 155; 277; 281; 315; 432 and 452 (also at line-end in the same form); 466; 495; 507. Here it means to leave nothing untried, and yet especially juxtaposed with *moritura* it has a hint of the notion of leaving life.

This verse was recycled for obscene use at Ausonius, *ep.* 71.7–8 *deglubit, fellat, molitur per utramque cavernam, | ne quid inexpertum frustra moritura relinquat*.

416–436 With no introduction, Dido launches into another speech, this time to her sister. Anna is to act as intermediary with Aeneas in a final attempt to forestall his departure. For the direct speech with delayed signaling thereof, see Conte 2021, 88 and cf. 478 ff. and 560 ff. below.

416 “Anna, vides toto properari litore circum:

Anna: We have not heard of Dido's sister since the sacrificial rites at 54 ff., just after she had urged the queen to surrender to her amatory feelings. Dido's remarks here begin in earnest with the address to her sister. “A peculiarly intimate bond exists between Dido and Anna ...” (Bryce 1974, 257–269, 258). The absence of any introduction to this miniature speech highlights the sense of urgency and frustrated impatience. Pease notes that Virgil does not bother to tell us where minor characters are or what they have been doing until he needs to recall them for his narrative.

vides: Following on 410 *videres*. The name is repeated at 421 (the personal, vocative appeal of urgency); Maclennan notes that the sororial bond is underscored by threefold reference (420; 424; 435).

DServ. saw a hint of bitterness here (“prope invidose”), since it had been Anna who had encouraged Dido in her pursuit of Aeneas (“quia ipsa nuptias suaserat”); Pease disagrees. Certainly the present scene recalls the previous encounter of the sisters, and adds the fascinating, mysterious detail about Dido's jealousy regarding Anna's relationship with Aeneas (420–422), a theme that has never been mentioned before. For Anna as a bad royal advisor see Cairns 1989, 44–45; cf. the different emphasis of Wiltshire 1989, 45–46.

toto ... litore: Directly echoing 397–398, and here in framing order around the impersonal verb that described the bustle on the beach. Wagner recommended punctuating with a question after *litore* (so also Markland; Conington is sympathetic, alongside Forbiger and Ribbeck; Henry not remotely so: “Ingenuity could hardly invent a greater awkwardness than to begin a new

sentence with a half word at the end of the line ... Markland's conjectures never show taste, and this is no exception.").

properari: The verb also at 310, as Dido complained that Aeneas was hurrying away during the winter. There is a hastening on the shore, and the queen indulges in her own impatient act as she appeals to Anna. The language of "studied nonchalance" (Newman and Newman 2005, 127). "The infinitive used impersonally is more vague and indefinite than a personal construction, and lays stress rather upon the action expressed by the verb, than upon the persons acting" (Tilly). There is a reminiscence of *E.* 1.11–12 ... *undique totis / usque adeo turbatur agris*.

circum: With reference to the shape of the main harbor at Carthage. Adverbial, rather than prepositional.

417 **undique convenere; vocat iam carbasus auras,**

undique: They come from all directions; there is an emphasis on the size of Aeneas' force (always a vaguely defined number), and the busy preparations that have them arriving from all directions, perhaps after preparing timber for makeshift and replacement oars, etc. Coordinate with the verbal prefix, as everyone arrives together from different directions.

convenere: Alliterative with *carbasus*; Austin takes the "repeated hard consonants" as an enactment of the sound of the preparations. A reversal of fortune: we may recall 1.361–362 *conveniunt quibus aut odium crudele tyranni / aut metus acer erat* ..., in the description of Dido's companions who prepared for the flight from Pygmalion's Tyre; note also 1.699–700 *iam pater Aeneas et iam Troiana iuventus / conveniunt* ... and the parallel 707–708 *nec non et Tyrii per limina laeta frequentes / convenere* ..., of the gathering for Dido's first banquet. With *undique* there is also a recollection of 2.799 *undique convenere animis opibusque parati*, of those preparing to depart from Troy. The verb also at 5.293 (for the foot race); 490 (during the archery contest); 9.720 *undique conveniunt* (of the Trojans in the camp under Turnus' attack; cf. 779); 11.236 (as the Latin war council prepares to meet); 12.184 in a different sense. *Convenere* coordinates closely with 418 *imposuere*.

vocat iam: The sail invites the breeze; the personification is poetic and vivid. Despite the awkward season for sailing, the weather is perfect for a swift departure. Cf. 223, as Jupiter told Mercury to summon the Zephyr for his journey.

carbasus: Ovid's Dido notes *cum dabit aura viam, praebebis carbasa ventis* (*Her.* 7.171). The noun in Virgil also at 3.356–357 ... *et auras / vela vocant tumidoque inflatur carbasus Austro*; 8.33–34 ... *eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu / carbasus* ... (of Tiberinus). The rare adjective *carbaceus* occurs at 11.775–776, in the description of the outlandish raiment of Camilla's quarry Chloereus. "Prop-

erly a very fine kind of linen invented at Tarraco in Spain" (Conington *ad* 8.34); vid. Hutchinson on Propertius, c. 4.11.54. The noun borrowed probably from Catullus (c. 64.227 *carbasus obscurata decet ferrugine Hibera*); cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 6.109–110 (of a curtain in a theater); Ps.-Tibullus 3.2.21 (with Fulkerson); Ovid, *Her.* 10.30; 21.71; *Ars* 2.337; *Rem.* 531; *Met.* 6.233; 11.48; 477; 13.419; 14.433; *Fast.* 3.587; 6.715; *Trist.* 1.2.91; Lucan, *BC* 2.697; 3.239; 596; 5.421; 428; 560; 8.50; 185; 254; 471; 8.77; 324; 799; often elsewhere in argentine epic and Senecan tragedy; also in the *Carmen de bello Actiaco*.

auras: Very different from 388; cf. 176; 226; 270 and 357; 278.

The fleet is clearly ready now to sail; the critics have argued about the problem of how long an interval of time must be imagined between now and 554 ff. Following strict attention to when Virgil indicates day and night, the fleet will leave on the following morning, and this is the last day in Carthage. It will be an exceedingly active, busy period.

418 *puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas.*

Repeated from *G.* 1.304 (where see Mynors, and Erren). The reminiscence is deliberate. In the previous context, the scene was the opposite of here: winter meant that the time had come to enjoy the fruits of the harvest, not to set sail on new trade missions or economic adventure: 1.300–304 *frigoribus parto agricolae plerumque fruuntur | mutuaque inter se laeti convivia curant. | invitat genialis hiems curasque resolvit, | ceu pressae cum iam portum tetigere carinae, | puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere carinas*. The grammarian Probus was not impressed with the careful echo; DServ. records his comment “si hunc versum omitteret, melius fecisset”; Mackail would seem to agree with the ancient critic; Conte notes the citation in his apparatus; cf. Sparrow 1931, 97, who thinks that it is a good example of a *tibicen*. The point certainly is to emphasize the reversal of the previous action; there is the obvious contrast between the happy sailors and the devastated queen, but the repeated line underscores how the Trojans are leaving even in the face of winter’s hazards.

Stephenson (who wonders if the line has been interpolated) argues here “Virgil could hardly make pious Aeneas guilty of such bad taste as to exhibit signs of rejoicing under the circumstances.” The analysis of a gentleman vicar: but the men could hardly be restrained from their happiness, even if Aeneas wanted to exert such effort.

puppibus: Synecdoche. The noun also at 554, of where Aeneas is sleeping when Mercury rouses him. The verse is framed by the ships and the garlands that crown them. The reference is to the stern again, as in the mention of the *celsas navis* at 397–398, where it is properly the *puppes* that are lofty (“correctly” then at 554).

et: Again the neoteric mannerism of the delayed conjunction (as at 33 ... *nec*; 124 ... *et*).

laeti nautae: As at 295 *imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt*. The sailors are happy here, even though they are setting out at a bad time of year for nautical trips—again, the image is deliberately borrowed from the conventional attitude on return, not leave taking. The rejoicing sailors are prominent at midverse. As DServ. observed, the men leave because they wish to depart, not because any gods ordered them.

imposuere: Note the verb also at 639, of putting an end to cares. The mention of the placing of the garlands indicates that the practical preparations for departure are now finished, and the religious and ritual observances are in full vigor. Pease wonders if there would have been time for such a rite; those like Kvičala (1881, 118) who think that a longer time elapsed before the departure find the garlanding too early. Another question that may never have occurred to the poet.

coronas: For the practice of garlanding the protective deities of vessels see Henry; also Bömer, and Fantham on Ovid, *Fast.* 4.335. The noun only here in Book 4. Any allusion to the practice of honoring patron immortals recalls the role of the gods in urging the departure from Carthage.

After this verse Ribbeck transposed lines 548–549 (with an assumed lacuna after them), with no manuscript or ancient warrant—another good example of an editor thinking of how to improve on the poet.

419 **hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem,**

Another verse that has been subjected to minute exegesis (Kvičala 1881, 119–120 offers just some of the possible nuances of interpretation that have been proposed; cf. C. Murley, “Vergil, *Aeneid* 4.419–420,” in *The Classical Weekly* 23.9 (1929), 67–68, also with hyperanalysis). Those following Henry (e.g., Conington; cf. Pease) simply take the line literally. Dido’s point in her appeal to Anna is to secure a respite of time (cf. the previous issue of the hazards of winter sailing) to become accustomed to the reality; of course the pathetic plea is designed to buy more time in which to try to convince Aeneas to stay indefinitely. She is an emotional wreck, and manipulative behavior is not incompatible with such a state. Servius thought that the point here was that Dido would have loved Aeneas less had she known that he was leaving; this is difficult to reconcile with the opening of this book, *inter al.*

Irvine notes with deep perception and critical acumen on 419–423: “These lines are important, and must be taken at their full value ... They make it clear ... that she had known that Aeneas must go—presumably when winter was over, which seemed a long time away—[and that] Aeneas was never quite at ease

with his mistress and more at home with her less passionate sister. This surely suits his character well. Virgil's Dido could never have made a Roman wife for Aeneas: Virgil's Anna might have done so."

hunc: The demonstrative and its referent frame the verse. Deictic and prominent by position.

potui: Plosive alliteration with 420 *perferre* and *potero*. The mood is vivid.

tantum: In frame with its noun around the verb of anticipation.

sperare: For the verb cf. on 292; 338; 382. There is a recollection here of 297–298, where the queen was said to sense in advance the risk to her situation. Page argues that Dido is being duplicitous here, and that she is merely employing a convenient argument with Anna and Aeneas whereby she claims to be resigned to her fate when in fact she is not. It is probably better to interpret her point as, she sensed the breakup of the relationship in advance, and if she could see the dissolution coming, she can also endure it. She likely is seeking to convince herself as much as anyone. We may compare Diomedes to the Venulan embassy at 11.275–277 *haec adeo ex illo mihi iam speranda fuerunt | tempore cum ferro caelestia corpora demens | appetii et Veneris violavi vulnere dextram*, where the verb is used in exactly the same sense of anticipation of troubles and hardship.

dolorem: Recalling Aeneas' *dolor* that his disguised mother interrupts at 1.386; also Venus' mention to Cupid of how he had often lamented his mother's sorrow (1.669 ... *et nostro doluisti saepe dolore*). The noun recurs below at 547; 679 and 693, each time in connection with Dido's death. The keyword at line-end, with almost certain reference to the queen's love for Aeneas; to the degree that said love will also lead to her suicide, we find merely an extension of the root *tantus dolor*. Dido's reference to sorrow here comes in marked contrast to the description of the *laeti nautae* of 418. With the *dolor* here cf. 434 *dolere*.

420 *et perferre, soror, potero. miserae hoc tamen unum*

perferre: Of bearing something through to the end—the prefix is intensive. The verb also at 3.583–584, of enduring a night in the shadow of Etna; cf. 5.617 and 769 (with reference to enduring seemingly endless labor and sea journeying on the way to Italy); 9.289 (of Euryalus being unable to endure his mother's worry and anxiety); the parallel 9.425–426 *conclamat Nisus, nec se celare tenebris | amplius aut tantum potuit perferre dolorem* (at the climax of the fatal night raid); also 12.177 *quam propter tantos potui perferre labores* (in Aeneas' invocation to *haec ... terra* at the Latin treaty ratification). The start of marked *r*-alliteration in *perferre | soror | potero | miserae*. An ominous image if one thinks of the queen's ultimate decision to commit suicide.

soror: Cf. on 9 *Anna soror*.

potero: Balancing 419 *potui*. The future indicative of dramatic resolve is prominent at the middle of the line.

miseræ: Also in an expression of self-pity by Dido at 315; the language here will be echoed soon after at 429. Note also 697, of Dido in her death agonies. Alliterative with 421 *mihi*; the hyperbaton enacts the degree of misery. See Maclennan on the elision with *hoc* and the unusual rhythm of the line-end (three words in two feet), which he takes as enactment of the difficulty of the queen in enunciating her request; note also Austin here. Emphatic after the expression of ability to endure great sorrow through to the end. At 315 the order was *mihi ... miseræ*; here it is reversed. Mezentius will echo this language in his lament over the dead Lausus: 10.849–850 ... *heu, nunc misero mihi demum / exitium infelix, nunc alte vulnus adactum!* (where see Harrison); there is also a reminiscence of the liar Sinon at 2.70 ... *aut quid iam misero mihi denique restat.*

hoc tamen unum: The language of desperate appeal, manipulative or not. Cf. Plautus' *hoc unum tamen cogitato* (*Poen.* 237); Terence, *Phorm.* 903–904; Ovid, *Am.* 2.5.59 *nec tamen hoc unum doleo ...*; *Ep.* 3.1.83 *sed tamen hoc factis adiunge prioribus unum*; Seneca, *Thyest.* 488; Martial, *Ep.* 5.19.7; 12.55.11. The demonstrative echoes 419 *hunc*. The language will be recalled at 429, and again at the close of Dido's address (435 *extremam hanc oro veniam ...*), where the emphasis will be even more strongly placed on how this is Dido's last request. "One" request also made by Euryalus with respect to his poor mother at 9.284–286; cf. Aeneas' request of the Sibyl at 6.106; Mezentius' (unanswered) appeal for burial at 10.903; Latinus' appeal to Turnus at 12.60.

421 **exsequere, Anna, mihi: solam nam perfidus ille**

The verse brings together Anna, Dido, and Aeneas.

exsequere: Echoing 396 (of Aeneas' execution of the mandates of the gods); we may compare too especially 381 *i, sequere Italiam*. The prefix follows on 420 *perferre*, again with an emphasis on carrying something through to the end.

Anna: Juxtaposed with *mihi*. The connection between the sisters is close, though in the present passage there is a clear indication of Dido's jealous resentment.

solam: Cf. 423 *sola*. Very different is Anna's question to her sister at 32 *solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa*.

nam: Epexegetical. The sound effect after *solam* has been criticized (Pease thinks unjustly); any "cacophony" serves only to draw attention to the bitterness of the sister's words.

perfidus: Recalling Dido's insults at 305 and 366. Here the adjective refers not only to the substance of the queen's previous charges against Aeneas, but also allusively to the question of Aeneas' relationship with Anna.

Virgil nowhere else makes any mention of the issue of Aeneas and Anna and any possible relationship between them. “Is this fantasy? Or did Aeneas, needing someone to talk to, perhaps find it easier to talk to a woman with no designs on him? But had she no designs on him? Ovid’s Lavinia certainly thought she had ... Such things happen. Tolstoy nearly married his eventual wife’s sister” (Newman and Newman 2005, 193–194). The Servian tradition preserves the detail that in Varro, it was Anna and not Dido who committed self-immolation out of love for Aeneas; vid. DServ. *ad A.* 4.682 “Varro ait non Didonem sed Annam amore Aeneae impulsam se super rogam interemisse”; cf. Servius *ad A.* 5.4 “sane sciendum Varronem dicere Aenean ab Anna amatum.” The tantalizing Varronian reference does not permit much in the way of analysis in the absence of corroborating surviving citation; see further Wigodsky 1972, 29–30. “The reader is forced beyond the text of the *Aeneid*, into other traditions of Aeneas, Dido, and Anna, for an answer.” (R.F. Thomas, “A Trope by Any Other Name: ‘Polysemy,’ Ambiguity, and *Significatio* in Virgil,” in *HSCPh* 100 (2000), 381–407, 402). On Anna and Aeneas note also S. Casali, “*Ecce amphibolikos dixit: allusioni ‘irrazionali’ alle varianti scartate della storia di Didone e Anna secondo Servio*,” in Casali and Stok 2008, 24–37. Butler considers the allusion here to something not elsewhere mentioned in the poem to be of a piece with the references of 345–346, etc. to messages Aeneas alleges to have received.

The paltry remains of Naevius’ *Bellum Poenicum* do not permit much of anything in the way of speculation on how Dido’s sister was depicted. Cf. C. Murgia, “Dido’s Puns,” in *CPh* 82.1 (1987), 50–59, 58: “We are told by Servius Auctus (on *Aen.* 4.9) that Naevius used the words “*cuius filiae fuerint Anna et Dido.*” ... Naevius too therefore presented Anna and Dido as sisters ...”; “The scholium is a comment on Vergil’s use of *soror* as an appellation of Anna and means that even Naevius presented Anna as Dido’s sister” (58 n. 13). Sound, sober analysis is to be found at Goldschmidt 2013, 104–105; note also Buchheit 1963, 23 ff. We may recall that there is no mention of Anna in Justin 18.4–6. Cf. also Schiesaro 2008, 96–98; Reed 2007, 97 n. 64. Heinze 1915, 135, n. 1 connects *solam*, etc. with the idea that Dido realized that she did not have Aeneas’ confidence; this true enough point does not explain why Anna should be expected to do better. It is a mark of the lovesick queen’s desperation that she employs exactly the person whose advice earlier in the book had arguably worsened the situation.

The beginning of a tricolon of ironic, bitter blandishment by which Dido seems to employ Anna as intermediary. Austin takes the more discreet view that Anna must already have been working in such a capacity, at her sister’s behest (so also Pease). Maclennan recalls *omnia tuta timens* and sees evidence of Dido’s irrationality.

We would argue that verses 421–424 do indeed preserve evidence of the tradition that Aeneas was involved with Anna; Dido bitterly reproaches both her former lover and her sister for treachery. While Antony may not have been involved with Arsinoe, Cleopatra was no devotee of her sister and in fact ordered her assassination; in Virgil's account, Dido is perhaps resentful of Anna's encouragement of the affair with Aeneas, and suspicious of the closeness between her sister and her lover. It matters little whether or not there was a second affair; the tradition existed that the lover was actually Anna and not Elissa, and the queen—irrational or not—speaks here in jealous, thinly veiled bitterness. Irvine's analysis cited above, then, is worthy of strong consideration. The school commentators on the whole simply pass over the implications of these verses in silence; it is apparently one thing to have an affair between Aeneas and Dido, and another to contemplate a second affair, or even a variant tradition of one with the other sister.

ille: See Pease for the use of this demonstrative in amatory, elegiac language.

422 te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus;

te ... tibi: In balanced alliteration, with emphasis on Aeneas' relationship with Anna that her sister now uses as a manipulative means of coercion blended with passive aggressive confrontation.

colere: Alliterative with *credere*; the verbs in second and penultimate position anchor the verse. Cf. 343 *reliquias colerem* (Aeneas' description of what he would be doing if he had free will); cf. 458 below. Infinitives "of repeated or characteristic actions" (Austin); Maixner 1877 remains foundational for the study of the Virgilian infinitive. A strong verb, juxtaposed with the even stronger *arcanos*: Aeneas is conceived of as cultivating and cherishing Anna, and of entrusting his innermost secrets to her.

arcanos: The adjective is rare in Virgil; we may compare 1.262 *longius et volvens fatorum arcana movebo* (Jupiter to Venus); 6.72–73 *hic ego namque tuas sortes arcanaque fata / dicta meae genti ponam lectosque sacrabo* (Aeneas to Deiphobe); 7.123 (*nunc repeto*) *Anchises fatorum arcana reliquit* (Aeneas with respect to the fulfillment of the eating of the tables). What is striking is how the *comparanda* are all serious, solemn contexts; Dido's reference here to Aeneas' *arcanos ... sensus* is especially strong and bespeaks the exaggerated language of elegy. Only here in Virgil is the term applied to the private musings of an individual (as opposed to the dictates and secrets of destiny). These are Aeneas' innermost thoughts. "... describing feelings so deeply hidden as to be in the inmost recesses of his heart, like mysteries carefully guarded" (Tilly)—mysteries into which Dido was not "initiated" (Austin). An old word (Plautus); note Horace, c. 1.29.9; 3.2.27; 3.21.15; *ep.* 5.52; 11.14; 15.21; *Serm.* 2.1.30; *Ep.* 1.18.37;

Propertius, c. 4.7.37; 4.8.19; Ps.-V, *Aetna* 557; Germanicus, *Arat.* 444; etc. The hyperbaton further highlights the gravity of the sister's thinly veiled accusations.

etiam: Further underscoring the seriousness of what is implied by *arcanos*.
credere: For the verb see on 34.

sensus: Poignantly echoing 408 *quis tibi tum, Dido, cernenti talis sensus*—the implication being that Aeneas has Anna with whom he may share his arcane feelings, while Dido has been reduced to having only the sister whom she suspects of infidelity with her beloved. For *sensus* vid. Negri 1984, 188, 287.

423 *sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noris.*

Subject and verb frame the verse. Again, the poignant emphasis—tinged with hints of bitter reproach—on how Anna is better able to approach Aeneas.

sola: Echoing 421 *solam*, and in juxtaposition with *viri* of Aeneas.

viri: The next reference to Aeneas after 421 *perfidus ille*; in the following verse he will be the *hostis superbus*. She does not name him in this address.

mollis aditus et tempora: A close reminiscence of 293–294 *temptaturum aditus et quae mollissima fandi | tempora ...*, of Aeneas' plan to find the “softest” time in which to approach Dido about his need to leave Carthage. That effort had resulted in failure; Anna's attempt to do the same with Aeneas on her sister's behalf similarly will meet with no success. There is irony in how Dido tries to do exactly what Aeneas had planned (a plan Dido never knew since it had no time to come to fruition).

noris: Or *noras*? A significant textual conundrum, on which the editions and commentaries saw no problem until Emil Baehrens. There is now papyrological evidence for the reading that Baehrens 1887, 817 “had divined” (cf. Conte's “divinaverat”), i.e., for the potential perfect subjunctive *noris* preferred by Courtney 1981, 13; Conte's Teubner; Geymonat; Goold's Loeb; Rivero García et al.; Holzberg's Tusculum; Cussen 2018 vs. the manuscript *noras* preferred by (*inter al.*) DServ. ad 4.293; Nonius Marcellus 346, 35 Lindsay; Ribbeck; Conington; Page; Götte's Tusculum; Williams; Perret's Budé; Paratore; Binder and Binder's Reclam/Binder 2019; Heuzé's Pléiade; Mackail; Pease; Mynors' OCT; MacLennan—in other words, a mix of older and more recent editors, including those publishing after both Baehrens and his confirming papyrus. On the papyrological evidence of the reading *noris* see M.C. Scappaticcio, “*Noris e noras* (Verg. *Aen.* IV 423),” in *Vichiana* 10 (2008), 171–175; M. Fressura, “Verg. *Aen.* 4, 423 in P.Colt II 1,” in *MD* 70 (2013), 157–171; cf. Conte 2021, 103. Conte's extended Teubner apparatus note explains the basic problem: the potential perfect is needed so that the point will be that Anna will know the right time to try to confer with Aeneas on her sister's behalf (“Bene *noris*: occasionem scite poteris

invenire ut blando sermone Aeneae animum mollias”). The past tense would mean that Anna has already been in a state of familiarity with Aeneas—true enough, as 422 makes amply clear—but this will not accord with *mollis aditus et tempora*, which demands a reference to the future. Pease does not note Baehrens’ conjecture; neither does Buscaroli.

P. Ness. II 2 (fifth-sixth century) provides the only papyrus evidence to date of a reading considered to be Virgilian by recent editors in preference to that attested by manuscript consensus; see Scappaticcio 2013 for a detailed catalogue and edition of such papyri. It is a testament to the acumen of Baehrens that he anticipated its evidence. “... the man who can make conjectures which subsequently turn up on papyrus must not be denied our respectful acknowledgment” (Courtney 1981, 13).

Williams argues for *noveras* as a possible, subtle reference to Dido already relegating Aeneas to the past; this seems like an ingenious attempt to explain an incorrect reading. We may wonder how *noras* entered the tradition; paleographically it is easily enough confused with *noris* (and corruption from *noris* to *noras* is likelier than the reverse), and further the context may have suggested to a copyist that there was a reference here to a past state, not one concerning the future (after all, Aeneas is now leaving—without Anna, or Dido)—and so it may well have seemed more logical to transpose the sentiments of 422–423 to the past. As Courtney notes, either reading makes respectable sense; the potential perfect is simply better, and allows the infinitives of 422 to stand for original presents and not imperfects.

Noris is to be preferred for another reason. The form recalls 33 *nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris?*, amid Anna’s rhetorical questioning of her sister as to why she should resist succumbing to her passion for Aeneas. The present reminiscence draws together those two passages; there it was Anna who did the talking, while here it is Dido, and in a very different context. The similarity of form for the perfect subjunctive and the future perfect indicative (different only in final vowel quantity) serves to secure the reminiscence.

Austin observes here: “How groping these two were: Aeneas would have done far better to go in person to Dido immediately after his decision to leave, instead of looking for ways and means to tell her; and if Dido had gone in person to him now, she might yet have won him back.” We would concur.

424 i, soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum.

ABAB chiasmus: *soror* / *hostem* / *supplex* / *superbum*.

i: As at 381 *i, sequere Italiam*, etc., to Aeneas: the imperative is identical, and *soror* even echoes *sequere*, especially after 422 *exsequere*. Pease and others note that there is no sarcasm here as there was before—but the queen is irritated

with Anna, and it is a sign of her isolation that she must all the same rely on her as a virtual messenger from Greek drama (see Newman and Newman 2005, 121 for the evocation of Menandrian New Comedy).

soror: Introducing hissing, sibilant alliteration (*soror* / *supplex* / *superbum*) that may reflect bitterness toward both sister and former lover.

atque: “And, what is more ...”: introducing a new element in Dido’s condemnation of the man she still wishes to reconcile.

hostem: Another word of insult and reproach: Aeneas is now a public enemy, not merely a personal one. The noun is juxtaposed however with *supplex*, in deliberate paradox to reflect the situation as Dido sees it: Aeneas may be an enemy (of Carthage and its queen), but Anna is to go as a suppliant to speak to the arrogant foe. The image will be recalled in Dido’s attack on Anna at 548–549 *tu lacrimis evicta meis, tu prima furem / his, germana, malis oneras atque obicis hosti*. Some commentators have attempted to interpret *hostis* as an archaic form of *hospes*—a good example of trying to make Virgil not say what one does not like.

supplex: Echoing 414. MacLennan connects the repetition to the poet’s point that one could hardly believe that the Dido of Book 1 would so abase herself. Dido was compelled to submit to her passion, and now she sends her sister as a suppliant to her beloved. It is not surprising that immediately after the mention of enemies and suppliants Dido proceeds to speak of events connected with war (425–426).

adfare: The verb also at 632 (Dido to Barce). Probably a conscious poetic archaism.

superbum: Cf. on 540. “Postquam ex aperto denegavit se Carthagini esse mansurum” (Servius). A favorite adjective of Virgil (vid. A. Traina in *EV* IV, 1072–1076); cf. Gillis 1985, 138–139; R.B. Lloyd, “*Superbus* in the *Aeneid*,” in *AJPh* 93.1 (1972), 125–132. It is associated with Turnus (cf. Schenk 1984, 406); also Mezentius (8.481); Anchises’ shade advises the Roman *debellare superbos* (6.853). Allecto speaks to Juno with a haughty voice in language that recalls this passage (7.544 *Iunonem victrix adfatur voce superba*). Emphasis by position on the haughtiness of Aeneas in Dido’s estimation.

The punctuation after this key adjective has been debated. The Teubner prints a full stop (so also Geymonat; Paratore; Goold’s Loeb; Götte’s and Holzberg’s Tusculums); compare the colon of, e.g., the *Pléiade*; Mynors’ OCT; Rivero García et al.; Mackail; Pease; Austin (following Hirtzel’s OCT); Williams; the semicolon of Perret’s Budé; Buscaroli. The issue is whether or not the rhetorical *aversio* (cited by Quintilian 9.2.39) that follows is part of Dido’s intended message for Aeneas or not. Presumably, however, Anna is to report whatever Dido says—after all, the queen could expect no less from someone who is allegedly

privity to Aeneas' *arcanus sensus*—and so certainly everything that follows on *adfatur*, etc., is to be conveyed—period, colon, or semicolon notwithstanding.

“These are measured and chilling words” (Williams).

425 non ego cum Danais Troianam excindere gentem

non: Correlating with 427 *nec*.

ego: Following on 419. Pease argues that direct discourse is used here to avoid “the cumbersome character” of the indirect; there may also be a vivid imagining on the queen’s part of what she would say to Aeneas herself, were she not to be employing an intermediary.

Danais: Juxtaposed with the Trojans they defeated. Aeneas on his first appearance to Dido addressed her with lavish praise as *o sola infandos Troiae miserata labores, / quae nos, reliquias Danaum ...*, etc. (1.597–598). 45× of the Greeks (borrowed from Homer); only here in Book 4. Vid. further R. Uccellini in *VE* 11, 577–578. Dido begins by noting that she was not involved in the ruin of Troy; there may be a hint of reference here to how even Achaemenides was received in friendship by the Trojan exiles (3.588 ff.; the present verse is essentially opposite in its sentiments to 3.602–603, as DServ. notes). The first verse of the two that Dido devotes to Troy is rooted in Aeneas’ story in terms of its general sentiments about the sacking of the city; the second with its specific mention of the oath at Aulis (unmentioned by Aeneas) is based on Troy lore that the queen must be assumed to have learned from other sources (cf. the cyclic source for the pictures in Juno’s temple).

Troianam ... gentem: Framing the infinitive. For the adjective see on 124.

excindere: In sound echo not long after 421 *exsequere*. Dido here echoes a verb she heard Aeneas use in his tale of Troy: cf. 2.177 *nec posse Argolicis excindi Pergama telis*, where the speaker was Sinon. Cf. 6.6553–6554 ... *non ipsi excindere bello / caelicolae valeant ...* (of the gate of Tartarus); 7.316 *at licet amborum populos excindere regum* (Juno before she summons Allecto); 9.136–138 ... *sunt et mea contra / fata mihi, ferro sceleratam excindere gentem / coniuge praerepta ...* (of Turnus); 12.643–644 *excindine domos (id rebus defuit unum) / perpetiar ...* (Turnus to Juturna). The metaphor is from tearing something up, roots and all.

gentem: Cf. on 4 *gentis honos*; it had been a significant part of Aeneas’ attraction to Dido that he was from the storied race of Troy. A subtle undertone in the Dido story is the disjunction between the infatuated queen’s being impressed with Aeneas’ lineage, and the fact that her patroness Juno hates the Trojans. This undertone is present especially at 1.453 ff., where Aeneas marvels at the pictures in the queen’s temple to Juno: surely those images were set up to celebrate the defeat of Juno’s enemies, not out of any sense of sympathy or compas-

sion for the vanquished Trojans. Aeneas arguably completely misunderstands the significance and import of the artwork.

The sight of the Trojans at work on the departure was cast in the language of invasion and degradation; from the foreshadowing of the eventual ruin of Carthage by Rome we move to the memory of Troy's last night, the tale of which had so captivated the queen. Dido continues to live principally in the past.

426 *Aulide iuravi classemve ad Pergama misi,*

Aulide: Anchoring the verse with *Pergama*, as Dido imagines the journey from Aulis to Troy.

iuravi: Balanced by *misi*; ABAB chiastic arrangement of places and first-person perfects. Aulis could be considered a starting point of the Trojan War cycle; the storied locale (vid. C. Prato in *EV* I, 411–412; *Barrington* 59 B1; 55 F4; 57 B3; P. Roesch in *PECS* 126–127; cf. Homer, *Il.* 2.303) in prominent position. *Aulide* here balances 425 *Danais*, as *Pergama* balances *Troianam*. Aulis cited only here in Virgil.

iuravi: Not a common verb in the poet; cf. 6.324 *di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen* (of the Styx); 351–352 ... *maria aspera iuro | non ullum pro me tantum cepisse timorem* (of Palinurus' shade); 458–460 ... *per sidera iuro, | per superos et si qua fides tellure sub imo est, | invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi* (Aeneas to Dido's shade); 7.234 *fata per Aeneae iuro dextramque potentem* (Ilioneus at Latinus' court); 9.300 *per caput hoc iuro ...* (Ascanius to Euryalus); 12.197 *haec eadem, Aenea, terram, mare, sidera iuro* (of Latinus). For Virgilian oaths see B. Gladhill in *VE* II, 923. Dido never swore an oath with the Danaans to destroy Troy, but she did pledge to remain faithful to Sychaeus' memory (cf. 24 ff.).

classemve: Another fleet (cf. the one Dido has just seen in her harbor), prominent at midverse.

Pergama: Citadel for city. Recalling Aeneas' words at 344 *et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis*. Dido's point here is that Aeneas—whose stated fondest wish is to be restoring Troy for his defeated comrades—should not blame her for the loss of his beloved city.

misi: The verb with *classem* or other nouns denoting naval ships can be cited in prose.

427 *nec patris Anchisae cineres manesve revelli:*

An allusion to a story that is otherwise unattested. Aeneas had told of Anchises' death at 3.707 ff. in his epic rendition to Dido's court, with minimal embellishment and localization of the loss at the harbor of Drepanum (i.e., the place of the sickle that would harvest his father, as it were; cf. 5.55–57; 759–761). Servius

attributes the desecration of the grave to Diomedes, in a passage that deserves to be quoted in full due to the paucity of other extant citations of the lore: “quod dicitur ex oraculo fecisse Diomedes et secum eius ossa portasse, quae postea reddidit Aeneae, cum multa adversa perferret; hinc est *salvete recepti nequiquam cineres* [5.80]. sciendum sane Varronem dicere Diomedem eruta Anchisae ossa filio reddidisse, Catonem autem adfirmare quod Anchises ad Italiam venit. tanta est inter ipsos varietas et historiarum confusio.” Some cite here Ovid, *Her.* 7.161–162 *Ascaniusque suos feliciter impleat annos, / et senis Anchisae molliter ossa cubent*, which may allude to the same story—or just as easily be a generic reference to eternal rest for the dead. See further Cornell on Cato, F6d and e (= Chassignet I, F9); A. Raymond, “What was Anchises’ Ghost to Dido? (Virgil’s *Aeneid* 4.427),” in *Phoenix* 6.2 (1952), 66–68 (he assumes a reference back to 351–353, rightly). Naevius, fr. 3 Morel (on a temple of Anchises) is not much help here, at least not without imagining that the shrine is in Latium and other guesswork.

The easiest explanation for this verse is that it illustrates the unrevised nature of the poem; Diomedes’ story is not alluded to at all in Book 3 (though if it were, it is not at all clear how the chronology would have allowed time for the desecration of the grave and the return of the remains, etc.). Some have preferred to argue that Dido is in such a heightened emotional state that she is merely asserting that she was not guilty of doing two things that she knows would be eminently unforgivable in Aeneas’ eyes: aid in the destruction of Troy (though even Achaemenides could be forgiven for that, a minor figure admittedly), or desecration of Anchises’ grave. It is likeliest that the queen is alluding back to 351–353, where Aeneas noted that every night the shade of his father was haunting him; *patris Anchisae* here echoes that previous passage, in which Aeneas reported an angry ghost (353 ... *turbida terret imago*), presumably upset because his son was tarrying in Carthage, but perhaps—Dido may misinterpret—because he is a ghost whose place of rest has been disturbed by some tomb raider. Page thinks that this is an “imaginary crime” for which Dido acquits herself (cf. Williams’ “imaginary and heinous crimes”); it is likely that she misunderstood Aeneas’ reference to his nocturnal haunting. For how Anchises continues “to spoil Dido’s happiness,” see Newman and Newman 2005, 152. In all this there may be a hint of the later Carthaginian imperial expansion in the Mediterranean, in particular into Sicily; from a Roman point of view, areas that were “traditionally” Roman had been taken over by the Carthaginians, and anachronistically Dido may be referencing the image of invading Carthaginians ravaging sacred Trojan, proto-Roman sites. In any case there is no question that the queen could not have been guilty of the crimes alleged in 425–427, though her innocence is irrelevant to the matter

of her involvement with Aeneas. She mentions Troy and Anchises because Aeneas had mentioned them; he had also referenced his son, but Dido cannot be accused of any wrongdoing against him. The advantage of the correlation with 351–353 is that it clarifies (in Dido's mind, at least) why Anchises' shade should be so upset.

cineres: The Medicean among other witnesses reads *cinerem*, which may be a reminiscence of 34 *id cinerem aut manis credere curare sepultos?*; cf. 5.55 *cineres* of these same ashes. Ribbeck noted that Virgil uses the singular only before a vowel. Poetic plural (so Binder, following Austin and Conte). Mynors prefers to read *cinerem* in his OCT; so also Sabbadini; Geymonat; Götte's Tusculum; Heuzé's *Pléiade*; Rivero García et al.; Conington; Tilly; Paratore. The plural is given by Conte's Teubner; Perret's Budé; Holzberg's Tusculum; Goold's Loeb; Buscaroli; Pease; Mackail; MacLennan. There is no appreciable difference in meaning with either choice; see further Unterharnscheidt 1911, 36.

manesve: Cf. on 34, etc. Juxtaposed with the ashes. Some have interpreted the reference here to the corpse of Anchises, so that Dido thus mentions the twin possibilities of cremation and inhumation—Aeneas had not specified the mode of burial, and the queen would have no way of knowing. Taking *manes* of the corpse avoids what some have considered a harsh zeugma of *revelli* with *manes*, since one may tear up ashes but not ghosts.

revelli: For the verb cf. on 515 and 545 below. Perhaps borrowed from Lucretius (*DRN* 1.608, in a metaphorical use); cf. Lucan, *BC* 2.301; 3.115–116; also Ovid, *Am.* 3.10.14; *Her.* 6.104; *Ars* 2.100; *Rem.* 87; etc. The finite verb occurs in the epic also at 9.562 (in the account of Turnus' attack on Lycus); significantly at 12.787 of Venus' intervention to retrieve Aeneas' spear from Faunus' *oleaster*. Cf. also participial forms at 8.691 (in the hyperbolic description of the Cyclades at Actium on the shield); 5.858 and 6.349 (of Palinurus' rudder, wrenched off in the wake of Somnus' assault). *Revelli* at line-end balances *misi* at 426.

The punctuation after the verb has been questioned since DServ.; colons, semicolons, and commas may be found in modern editions. In any case the following question is more of a complaint than an interrogation.

428 *cur mea dicta negat duras demittere in auris?*

Marked dental alliteration, as if the verse were spoken with gritted teeth: *dicta* / *duras* / *demittere*.

mea dicta: Aeneas refuses to admit Dido's *dicta* into his ears because of the *dicta* of Jupiter: cf. 226 *adloquere et celeris defer mea dicta per auras*.

negat: The indicative is more vivid than the variant reading *neget*. The verb recalls 334, where Aeneas did not deny all that Dido had done for him; note also 380, where Dido says that she will not refute Aeneas' *dicta*. For the verb with an infinitive cf. *G.* 2.215–216; 3.207–208.

duras: We recall Dido's insult about Aeneas' place of birth on the *duris cautibus* (366) of the Caucasus. The adjective is prominent by position, emphasizing the quality that is most frustrating to the queen.

demittere: The same verb at 268, where Mercury announced that he had been sent down by Jupiter; cf. 263. For the use of *demittere* with a part of the body see Briscoe on Livy 34.50.2. The prefix has occasioned a not surprising confusion in the manuscripts; *dimittere* has good attestation and offers little difference in meaning.

auris: The very ears that the god will block below at 440 so that he may not hear Dido's appeal—perhaps not so *duras* on their own. Cf. 359 *his auribus*, of Aeneas' deictic note about how he had taken in Mercury's words; 183 with reference to the action of Rumor. Aeneas refuses even to listen to Dido (not a fair charge as yet, but anticipatory of 441 ff.). See J. González-Vázquez, "Las *duras ... auris* de Eneas (*Aen.*, IV, 428)," in *Latomus* 41.3 (1982), 577–583 for a close analysis of this image, especially in conjunction with 438–440 below.

429 *quo ruit? extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti*:

Interlocking word order in ABAB chiasmus: *extremum* / *miserae* / *munus* / *amanti*.

quo ruit: And yet not swiftly enough to satisfy Mercury (565). Cf. Anna at 674, as she rushes through the city in the wake of the discovery of her sister's suicide; 132 and 164 for the verb in different contexts. Dido's rhetorical question is balanced by 581 ... *rapiuntque ruuntque*, as the Trojans finally rush to depart. Cf. 314 *mene fugis?*, when Dido was imagining that the hazards of winter travel must mean that Aeneas was in a hurry to abandon *her*. Indicative *ruit* correlates with subjunctive *det*. MacLennan parses the (deliberately) ambiguous wording; Aeneas has made clear that he is departing under divine mandate for Italy, and so *quo* has more of a sense here of "to what purpose"—that is, why is he departing now, at the worst of seasons for sea travel. *Ruit* can imply disaster, and in this case the ruin would be a shipwreck.

extremum ... munus: This reference correlates closely with 435 *extremam ... veniam*; cf. also 420 *hoc tamen unum*. For *munus* note also 217; 263; 624. Naturally enough in light of her suicide the "extreme" language here and below has been taken as ominous; *extremum* here in prominent position. Ultimately these passages derive from *E.* 8.60 ... *extremum hoc munus morientis habeto*, at the close of Damon's song, and certainly with a hint via the intratext of Dido as *moritura*. Virgil plays throughout the queen's story with the question of the imagined death of certain pastoral/elegiac figures, and the all too real suicide at the climax of this book.

hoc: Deictic again, as at 420 and 435 *hanc*. The repeated demonstratives serve to try to downplay the request: Dido is asking for only this one thing, which surely he will grant.

miseræ: Echoing 420. Alliterative with *munus*; cf. the *m* sounds in *extremum* and *amanti*.

det: The verb of giving is juxtaposed with the desired boon. A short word, and yet weighty in its implications. *Det* here will be echoed at 436 *dederit*; see below on the textual crux there, for which *det* here of Aeneas lends some support in favor of reading *dederit* and not *dederis* in the final line of the queen's appeal.

amanti: She loves her *hostis* (424), something that is not a surprise to anyone familiar with the vicissitudes of adolescent and young adult passions. The participle mostly refers to her love in general, but it may have specific import in context with regard to her concern for travel during winter (as also at 309 ff.).

There is a dark echo of this passage at 6.526–527 *scilicet id magnum sperans fore munus amanti / et famam extinguere veterum sic posse malorum*, where the shade of Deiphobus recalls what Helen hoped to obtain for herself from Menelaus.

“Perhaps ... to a lover in her state the two sorts of considerations—the safety of Aeneas and her own hopes—are one and inseparable; disunited, perhaps, by philologists but not by the poet” (Pease).

430 *exspectet facilemque fugam ventosque ferentis.*

A markedly fricative verse: *facilem / fugam / ferentis*.

exspectet: The verb also at 134, as the *primi Poenorum* wait for Dido at the hunt; cf. the textually troubled 225. Correlative with 429 *det*: the gift that he may give is to wait for a better season to sail.

facilem: The adjective also at 1.445 ... *facilem victu per saecula gentem*, of the Carthaginians. The exit from the underworld via the gate of horn is called *facilis* (6.894); cf. the descent to Avernus (6.126) and how the Bough will follow *facilis* for the one who is fated to descend and return (146); also the *facilis trames* in Elysium referenced by Musaeus (676). The present usage recalls the prayer of Anchises at 3.528–529, just after the glimpsing of Italy: *di maris et terrae tempestatumque potentes, / ferte viam vento facilem et spirate secundi*. Aeneas' eyes are *facilis* as they gaze at the site of the future Rome with Evander. The term is thus connected closely with the eventual settlement in Italy, and especially with the underworld journey to visit Anchises (whose ghost haunts this book, and notably this passage).

-que ... -que: The repeated enclitics (as at 83), in Homeric imitation, and with a hint of the safe speed Dido imagines would accompany a proper spring voyage. For the same effect see below on 439.

fugam: For the noun note 72; 155; 281; 328; 338; 430; 543; 575. Dido refers to Aeneas' departure as a flight; this is what she considers it to be, and even here in her appeal the language of bitter regret seeps through. She seems to recognize that the *fato profugus* hero's respite in Carthage is at an end and that he must return to his mission, the origins of which were rooted in flight from fallen and burning Troy and now from Carthage—or, really, rather from her.

ventosque ferentis: We may recall 417 ... *vocat iam carbasus auras*. Theme and variation. Cf. *G.* 3.211; *Aen.* 3.473; also Ovid's Dido at *Her.* 7.8 *atque idem venti vela fidemque ferent?*; *Am.* 3.11b.51; *Her.* 16.127; *Trist.* 1.2.73; Lucan, *BC* 1.412–413; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.266; 6.327. At 4.310 Dido was concerned about the north wind, which would obviously impede a journey from Carthage to Italy; we recall also that at 418 the Trojans were so happy to be leaving that they evinced no concern about the season or the winds. As it is, there will be a storm not long after the departure (5.8 ff.); that tempest will motivate the Sicilian sojourn, with its strong emphasis on Anchises.

431 non iam coniugium antiquum, quod prodidit, oro,

non iam: Also at 5.194, during the regatta; cf. 3.192 and 260. This is the quasi-formal repudiation of any claim of nuptial union; it may be taken as seriously or not as the queen's action at 172. "Dido has now torn away the last shreds of her self-pretence" (Austin). The negative is coordinate with 432 *non iam*.

coniugium: Cf. 172; also 48. Anna had spoken of how a marriage union between Dido and Aeneas would result in Punic glory; Dido had concealed her fault by the name of marriage.

antiquum: A significant description. At 312 Dido had applied the same adjective to Troy; cf. 633 below. Mackail highlights how the word can refer to that which is honorable; some critics have objected to Dido's use of a term that would seem to indicate that the "marriage" has been of long duration (though we may remember that to the lovesick young, time is relative). What is most on the queen's mind here is that now the very *coniugium* that she had used as a term of *de facto* convenience to cover her *culpa* has been transformed by her into something venerable and worthy of the same adjective as Aeneas' beloved Troy (which without question was *antiqua*). This is rhetorical exaggeration, though it reflects what the emotionally distraught Dido actually thinks; it is meant to worsen the import of *quod prodidit*: Aeneas betrayed something that was *antiquus*.

At 458 *coniugis antiqui* the reference is to Sychaeus; there the adjective is the poet-narrator's description: a possible authorial comment on what Dido says here. This is the same woman who made her strongly worded vow about

preserving the memory of Sychaeus and her *univira* loyalty at 24 ff.; calling the union with Aeneas a *coniugium antiquum* is a virtual repudiation of that promise.

prodidit: A strong hint of bitter resentment creeps through the prayer here. This is the essence of why Aeneas is given the appellation *perfidus* ten lines before. The verb occurs in a very different sense at 230–231 ... *genus alto a sanguine Teucris / proderet* ..., in Jupiter's address to Mercury. Dido may have been innocent of crimes against Troy and Anchises, but Aeneas is a guilty party, a *proditor* as well as a *hostis*. This status does not preclude the queen's protestations here that she is worried about the safety at sea of her lover (430 *amanti*). Possibly a reminiscence of Ariadne *prodit*a at Catullus, c. 64.190, though the sentiment is commonplace enough. Aeneas had betrayed the marriage at 338–339 ... *nec coniugis umquam / praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni*; Dido asserts here the existence of a *coniugium antiquum* that has existed only in her own mind. If there are passive aggressive hints of suspected infidelity at 422–423, then the notion of betrayal is even more biting.

oro: Cf. 319.

432 *nec pulchro ut Latio careat regnumque relinquat*;

Marked *r* alliteration: *pulchro* / *careat* / *regnumque* / *relinquat*: this is the sound enactment of her bitter indignation.

nec: Following on 431 *non iam*.

pulchro: A key adjective in this book (see on 141; 192, etc.), here applied to Latium in sarcastic derision. Prominent by position (especially with postpositive *ut*); of Rome at *G.* 2.534. The implicit point made here by the jealous queen is that Aeneas has rejected the beautiful Elissa for the beautiful Latium. Dido does not realize that she is echoing exactly what Mercury had said indignantly at 266–267 *fundamenta locas pulchramque uxorius urbem / exstruis?*, of Aeneas' work on the city of Carthage. Pease finds “no other trace of sarcasm in the speech”; we may find more than a hint of bitter reproach (not to say sarcasm) in Dido's references to Anna's closeness to Aeneas at 422–424.

careat: The verb also at 5.173 *nec lacrimis caruere genae* (of Gyas during the boat race); 651–652 ... *indignantem tali quod sola careret / munere nec meritos Anchisae inferret honores* (of Beroe); 6.333 *cernit ibi maestos et mortis honore carentis* (of the shades of Aeneas' lost companions); 9.540 *in partem quae peste caret* (of the fire in the camp tower); also 2.44 and 12.209.

Latium: We may recall Ilioneus' words at Dido's court at 1.554 ... *ut Italiam laeti Latiumque petamus*; this was the only mention of Latium that the queen had heard (and it is mentioned nowhere else in this book). For Latium and the Latini vid. E. Dench in *VE* II, 731–732; cf. R. Peroni in *EV* III, 159–164. Because

of the evidence of Ilioneus' speech, there is no need to assume inconsistency here as some critics do; what is telling is that the queen has a long memory for details about Aeneas and the Trojans, and she remembers here a remark made by Aeneas' spokesman before she had even seen his boss. Pease notes that Aeneas and Dido have had plenty of time in which to share other conversations than those reported by the poet.

regnumque: Cf. 381, etc.

relinquat: Cf. 415. Dido thinks of relinquishing her life; in her disordered mind, Aeneas is envisioned as relinquishing his future kingdom in Italy.

433 *tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori,*

tempus inane: For the adjective see on 210; 218; and especially 449. Dido essentially wants to stop time: she does not want Aeneas to leave just now, because 1) it is dangerous to depart in winter and 2) his actual leaving will bring her to another level of grief and sorrow. The dictates of the gods press on her; the happy rush of the Trojans to leave adds to the urgency. A void is requested, time in which nothing new happens. Manipulatively, of course, the queen might wish that any such bequest of time would increase her chances of seducing Aeneas into staying. There is a reminiscence of Virgil's *tempus inane* at Seneca, *Ep.* 58.22 *Sextum genus eorum, quae quasi sunt: tamquam inane, tamquam tempus*: void and time are those things that have a fictitious existence, as it were. Williams argues that time is *inane* because it would be useless for Dido except for the working out of her passion. Dido is depicted as asking for something paradoxical: void (*inane*) exists in and of itself, like matter—but *tempus* has no such independent existence (cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 1.459–463).

requiem: Cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 6.93–94, where Calliope is the *requies hominum*; for the noun see Fratantuono and Smith on 8.46.

spatiumque: 16× in the epic, only here in Book 4. The collocation of “space” and “rest” is problematic; Dido essentially presents a tricolon of descriptions of what she wants: *tempus inane requiem; spatium*—with *furori* taken either with *spatium* alone or with *requiem spatiumque*. Literally, Dido asks for room for her madness: space, as it were, in which her *furor* may rage for a bit (for the winter, e.g.); events have been moving too quickly for her, and so she seeks *requiem*. There is thus a deliberate paradox: she wants rest, but she also wants room for her anger to burn itself out, as we might say. The *spatium* she seeks is equivalent to the *tempus inane*; there is also a paradox in that the void (*inane*) will be filled with her madness (*furori*). *Furori* comes as a surprise after the calm language of the rest of the verse; it reflects an honest self-appraisal of the queen's state of mind.

furori: Cf. 91; 101; 501. Emphatic at line-end. We do well to note here that *dolori* would be unobjectionable (see on 434 *dolere*), and yet that is not what Virgil wrote: the queen references her fury and madness, not her sorrow and grief. Lurking here is a reminiscence of the request of Euripides' Medea for a day's respite from her sentence of exile (340; 355)—the day that will allow her time to kill Jason's new bride and her own two children. Cf. Seneca, *Med.* 285–296, with Boyle's notes. The *tempus* will be *inane* on the one hand because there will be no love; on the other hand, there is the threat that it will be anything but *inane*, if there is a working out of a revenge plan.

Irvine draws attention here to Gray's letter to Walpole of 1 March, 1747, on the fate of his cat that drowned in pursuit of a goldfish, where the present verse is misquoted: "I would rather seem to mistake, and imagine to be sure it must be the tabby one that had met with this sad accident. Till this affair is a little better determined, you will excuse me if I do not begin to cry: *Tempus inane peto, requiem, spatiumque doloris ...*"

434 *dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere.*

dum: Introducing more dental alliteration (*doceat; dolere*).

mea: Alliteratively juxtaposed with *me*. Pronounced hyperbaton to draw attention to the queen's reference to her fortune.

victam: Recalling the language of a proud enemy and suppliant from 424. Dido also again reuses a word from Aeneas' speech; at 344 *victis* he referred to his defeated people, for whom he wished that he could be rebuilding Troy. *Victam* is prominent at midpoint.

doceat: Of Dido's fortune as her teacher. The verb also at 116, in Juno's address to Venus about her plans for Aeneas and Dido.

fortuna: See on 109 *si modo quod memoras factum fortuna sequatur?* (Venus to Juno).

dolere: Echoing 419 *dolorem*. The verb here directly responds to 433 *furori*, also at line-end: Dido is asking for time to advance from *furor* to *dolor*, a respite in which her madness may be exchanged, one might say, for her grief. Of course both *furor* and *dolor* have been coexistent in her for some time now; the pathetic appeal is for a bit of time—presumably the rest of the winter—with the more than possible, optimistic idea that in such a *tempus inane* she might be able to convince Aeneas to remain indefinitely. For the infinitive *dolere* the original reading of the Medicean is the ablative *dolore*; this has other attestation, including papyrological. It is an easy enough error after *furori* in the preceding line; Conington rightly notes that such a reading "could scarcely be reduced to sense." The error also reflects the striking expression Virgil has given to Dido; her fortune will teach her how to grieve,

if only she is given a respite of time in which to allow her fury to dissipate. She wavers constantly between different extremes of emotion; she is capable of violence (cf. 589 ff.), as Mercury realizes (554 ff.), both self-inflicted and against others.

“A terrible line, when we remember Dido’s recent happiness ...” (Austin). Sorrow as an improvement on madness.

435 extremam hanc oro veniam (miserere sororis),

extremam: Echoing 429 *extremum munus*. Again the language is ominous, whether or not the suicide is already in mind; likely it has been countenanced, with room for respite before the final resolve.

oro: Here a plea to Aeneas via Anna; at 431 the same verb described an appeal to Aeneas expressed directly. The verb is framed by the prominently highlighted favor Dido requests.

veniam: Recalling 50 *tu modo posce deos veniam ...*, where Anna made her fateful suggestion to Dido.

miserere: Anna is invited to take pity on the one who is, after all, *misera* (420; 429). The verb also at 318–319 ... *miserere domus labentis et istam, / oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem* (Dido to Aeneas). What is ironic is that at 437 it will be Anna who is *miserrima* as she goes off on this mission of mercy for her sister.

sororis: The sisterly image, as at 420 and 424.

The present expression will be echoed at 478 *gratare sorori*, in an even grimmer context. Verse 435 represents a blended expression of request for favor and pity. She is asking the *tempus inane* of Aeneas, but the request will be conveyed by her sister as intermediary; she will have other requests of her sister, but this is the last favor she will ask of the one she considered to be her husband (she has come to believe her own delusion).

“For sisterhood, for sense of my distress, / Let me this last boon, ere I die, obtain” (Fanshawe).

436 quam mihi cum dederit, cumulatam morte remittam.”

The final verse of Dido’s appeal to Anna has been considered one of the most, if not the most difficult (so Conington) verses in Virgil (Sabbadini conceded its crown only to verses of the *Aeneid*). “An outstanding example of Virgilian mystery” (Austin, who notes that the line is difficult even to read aloud). “The meaning of Dido’s statement is obscure, perhaps intentionally so” (Pharr ad loc.). Peerklamp was exasperated by 435–436, and asserted that no one ever understood or will understand these verses; he doubted that they were authentic. Others have argued that 436 is a private aside of Dido, not heard by Anna

(an ingenious way to solve at least some problems). Hight 1972, 137 notes that there are a dozen *m* sounds in 435–436, which he takes as enactment of evident sobbing by the queen—if so (and see on 437 *talisque ... fletus*), we have the added problem of an emotionally overwrought woman whose words may not lend themselves to critical analysis. One of the main problems of interpretation here is the question of when exactly Dido resolves to commit suicide (sc., either already, or after Aeneas rejects this petition)—with *morte* here being seen as a harbinger of her end.

For the argument that the queen is not being entirely honest with her sister here, and that she has already settled on death, see especially S. Casali, “Staring at the Pun: *Aeneid* 4.435–436 Reconsidered,” in *CJ* 95.2 (1999–2000), 103–118. Schmitz 1960, 163 reminds us that the poem was, after all, left unrevised. “The line is perhaps intentionally obscure” (Tilly, following Servius). A good summary of the manifold, “aporetic” difficulties of 435–436 can be found at Conte 2021, 82–85.

Interpretive problems here are not aided by the serious textual difficulties, themselves probably evidence of early question as to Virgil’s meaning. The two problematic words textually are the juxtaposed *dederit* and *cumulatam*. For the verb, the question is whether Dido is addressing Aeneas or Anna. *Dederit* is the reading with the greater manuscript attestation; it is preferred here by Ribbeck; Sabbadini; Mackail (who thought, however, that alternative readings existed even for Virgil, and that the poet had not yet settled on a final choice); Buscaroli; Pease; Mynors’ OCT; Paratore; Götte’s *Tusculum*; Dolç; Geymonat; Perret’s *Budé*; Goold’s *Loeb*; Heuzé’s *Pléiade*; Holzberg’s *Tusculum*; Conte’s *Teubner*; Rivero García et al.; Casali 1999–2000; among moderns *dederis* is notably favored by (e.g.) Butler, and Murgia 1987. Some have argued that the point is that if Anna grants the favor, then it will be repaid with interest at Dido’s death precisely because Anna will then become ruler. Henry reads *dederis* and argues that Dido’s point to Anna is “‘Do this for me, and my spirit when I die will be your guardian angel.’ No payment for a favour could be more in conformity with the Roman ways of thinking.” The usually charitable Austin says simply “Nonsense” in reply.

Most critics, then, accept that the queen’s reference is to Aeneas’ granting of the favor; we would thus proceed from 420–421 ... *miseræ hoc tamen unum | exsequere, Anna, mihi*—an appeal to her sister—to 429 ... *extremum hoc miseræ det munus amanti*—the request to Aeneas that she is to convey—to 435–436 *extremam hanc veniam ... | quam mihi cum dederit ...*, again of Aeneas. One problem with this sequence—we would argue a critical one—is the presence of 435 *miserere sororis*, which would seem to argue in favor of reading 436 *dederis*, with reference to Anna; Murgia raises this point as

part of his support for *dederis*. Reading *dederit* requires taking *miserere sororis* parenthetically—certainly not an impossibility, especially given the queen’s overwrought state.

With *dederis* there is thus a ring back to 420–421: Dido is making an appeal to Anna to go and secure a *tempus inane* from Aeneas; *miserere sororis* points to a final appeal to Anna to go on her behalf to the one with whom she has had historically close ties, indeed to Dido’s jealousy and indignation (421–424). Murgia accepts this argument (so also Page; Stephenson) and reads *dederis cumulatam*. Sidgwick notes that “the sense runs more smoothly” with *dederis*; he thinks the indirect address to Aeneas ends at 434 *dolere*. Irvine accepts *dederis*, invoking the authority of La Cerda; Conington; and Postgate; he argues for deliberate vagueness, and notes that the fact that Anna is later asked for something else is irrelevant (and, after all, this *extremam veniam* was not obtained, and so the queen might have felt more than justified in asking for alternate favors).

Servius claimed that this version of the text—*dederis* followed by *cumulatam*—was that adopted by Virgil’s *post mortem* editors Varius and Tucca. The other ancient version known to Servius was *dederit cumulata* (on which see below). The commonly adopted *dederit cumulatam*, found in all of our modern texts as in the Palatine, is as Murgia calls it “a conflation of the two [versions attested in Servius].”

Cumulata has weighty manuscript and papyrological attestation, though the accusative *cumulatam* is the reading of the Palatine and has respectable pedigree as well. While *dederis* / *dederit* poses only the problem of whether Dido is speaking of Anna or Aeneas, *cumulatam* / *cumulata* is more difficult to construe.

We would argue that *dederis/t cumulata* may be the correct reading, and that Dido here is indeed Euripides’ Medea reincarnated. She imagines that if she is given a temporal respite, there will be time in which to kill Aeneas and his son; she will literally pay back the favor by a “death heaped up,” that is, by the same sort of slaughter that Medea envisaged inflicting on her perceived enemies. It may well be that this is a hollow threat, one which the queen has no intention of carrying out. She vacillates between *furor* and *dolor*, and she stated plainly that she needed a respite to recover from the former and to learn how to live with the latter. Thoughts of Medea-like violence are perfectly appropriate for her maddened state, and may be paralleled with her later threats and curses. This interpretation of *cumulata* works with *dederit* as well—and in both cases, there is a hint that the queen is granting her sister a favor in that Aeneas has abandoned *her* as well as Dido: the queen had spoken bitterly of Anna’s closeness to Aeneas, but to the extent that this was true, the Trojan has left behind both women.

This interpretation may give more meaning to the description of Anna as *miserrima* at 437; what she is said to bring and bring back to Aeneas at 437–438 are *talis fletus*—such groans and laments, weeping and sobbing (the sobbing is underscored by the repetition of *fletibus* at 439). She is insistent (*fertque refertque*) because the situation is dire, and not because she fears for her sister's suicide. She recognizes Dido's irrationality, and she fears that there will be an explosion of violence. She does not know what to do, and she goes back and forth between Aeneas—the man on whom she may be on quite friendly terms—and her aggrieved and potentially violent sister. The queen cannot seriously threaten Aeneas or his son unless they return to the palace; her people will not now help her in any attack on the Trojans, we might think (note at 593 ff. how she madly makes a call for Aeneas' fleet to be attacked with fire, with no response or even mention of a reaction from anyone). Michael McOsker *per litt.* wonders if there is precise arithmetic at work here: repayment would = Aeneas' death; adding one (i.e., *cumulata*) would = Ascanius'. How many deaths are required for a heap would be a macabre version of the *sorites* paradox, but a good question in context.

What Dido needs above all is for Aeneas to come back, and this he will not do; he will not even send any words to her. That is what ruins all of her plans—both the romantic and manipulative, and the potentially violent and destructive. Aeneas is not moved by the sobs of either Dido or her sister, and while he is tremendously sympathetic to the woman he loves and wants to go back to her (cf. on 440 *placidus auris*), he is prevented from granting her anything by virtue of divine intervention (the *deus* of 440).

Butler considers *cumulata morte* to be “strange, though it might mean ‘with death as a climax.’” Mackail realized that it could mean only an accumulation of deaths, which he correctly noted is exactly what Dido envisions at 600–606—but he does not see the connection to Euripides' *Medea*, and in any case he thinks that threats of violence would be out of place at the close of this address.

Reading *dederit* and not *dederis*—with Aeneas and not Anna as the giver of the benefit—and *cumulatam* and not *cumulata*—the point would seem to be that if Aeneas will grant this benefit, Dido will repay it, and handsomely so (“with interest,” as it were), at the time of (or by means of) her death. Some have seen here a positive sentiment of Dido's willingness to retract her past imprecations against Aeneas from 384–387. The benefit conferred on Aeneas will be the annulment of her curses. Dido had promised to haunt Aeneas as if she were destined to be a spectral horror (4.385–386 *et, cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus, / omnibus umbra locis adero* ...); if he grants her the benefit for which Anna will make an appeal, then her death will be a chance to bestow a benefit in return: she will not be a vengeful ghost. Cf. 4.590 ff., where the impre-

cations uttered by Dido will be worse than ever in light of Aeneas' refusal of her request—*cumulatam morte* takes on a rather different meaning by then in the wake of Aeneas' departure and at the time of Dido's suicide. Irvine argues "She feels, as twice before, that she is going to die, but there is still no threat of suicide." Any premonition of death could well be the lovesick elegiac complaint of the unrequited or abandoned lover who anticipates wasting away in death.

quam mihi cum dederit, etc.: Dido anticipates the granting to her of a benefit (by Aeneas with this reading, by Anna with *dederis*).

cumulatam: The verb also at 5.532, of the heaping of rewards on Acestes after his signal achievement in the archery contest; 8.284 as altars are heaped with plates at Pallanteum; 11.50 of Evander's vain offerings for the safe return of Pallas. If Fratantuono 2010 is correct to interpret the miraculous arrow shot of Acestes as a harbinger of the death of Pallas, then we might wonder if *all* of the uses of the verb in Virgil in some way link to the ultimate doom of Pallas, whose requiem will be haunted by Dido's ghost (11.74 ff.; note also that the Dido-deer simile of this book occurs at exactly the same verses (68–73) as the Pallas-cut flower simile of 11.68–71). Pallas dies, after all, instead of Ascanius.

morte: The construing of the ablative *morte* is another difficult syntactical/interpretive problem of the verse. The ablative is surely polyvalent, fluctuating between means, cause and time. Dido's language may hint (even strongly so) at her impending suicide; the favor is, after all, identified as the "last" favor (*extremam veniam*; cf. the *extremum munus* of 429). Aeneas is leaving Carthage, and so this would be his last favor to Dido even if she were resolved to live; the *double entendre* is deliberately deceptive. "Her meaning appears to be that she will regard this 'last grace', when given, as a lifelong and increasing debt, only to be extinguished at her own death" (Mackail). There is a certain fantasy pleasure in willing away problems by conjecture; Schrader offered *cumulata sorte* to remove the difficulties of *morte*. Pease considered Ribbeck's conjecture of *monte* "one of the worst ever made by a classical scholar." While recognizing Pease's comment as hyperbolic, we are nonetheless inclined to concur. There have been other attempts to alter the text radically, none of them remotely felicitous.

Conington notes that Sophocles' Ajax speaks freely of death, only to conceal his suicidal intentions once his resolve is certain; Dido affords a parallel of the same sort of concealment of that which had previously been a commonplace.

The queen may be willing to try again, though she likely has little expectation of success; she hovers between fury and sorrow, and death comes easily enough in either state.

remittam: There is an echo here of *G.* 4.536 *namque dabant veniam votis, irasque remittent*, of Cyrene's promise to Aristaeus about the nymphs who are

aggrieved because of the death of Eurydice. The verb also occurs of nature's echoing of the groans of the Rutulians after the wounding of Turnus, just before he makes his appeal for his life (12.929 *mons circum et vocem late nemora alta remittunt*); cf. Jupiter's powerful concession to Juno at 12.833 *do quod vis, et me victusque volensque remitto*; Iapex' *maior agit deus atque opera ad maiora remittit* (12.429); Aeneas with the dead Lausus at 10.827–828 ... *teque parentum / manibus et cineri, si qua est ea cura, remitto* (and note Mezentius at 10.839–840); Turnus to the Arcadians concerning the dead Pallas at 10.492 ... *qualem meruit, Pallanta remitto*; 9.818 *et laetum sociis abluta caede remisit* (of the Tiber's reception of Turnus after the battle in the Trojan camp); 2.543 of Priam's remembrance of Achilles' mercy to him. Few verbs are used by Virgil so consistently in passages of the deepest emotional import, and the present use is no different. The reading *relinquam* of the *deteriores* is likely due to confusion after *morte*, and cannot be right.

“Geldmetapher, ‘mit Zinsen zurückstatten’ ...” (Binder 2019, comparing Cicero, *Phil.* 14.30 *quae promissimus ... cumulata reddemus*).

See Fratantuono 2020b for an argument connecting Dido here to Rabirius' Mark Antony before his suicide. The disgraced triumvir muses *hoc habeo, quodcumque dedi*. “Antony holds whatever he has given away—in particular, as we have noted, whatever he has given to his lover Cleopatra ... Dido's remarks, in contrast, anticipate the granting of a benefit to her by Aeneas (*quam mihi cum dederit*); once granted, the queen will repay the favor handsomely in death. Dido will discharge the obligations incurred by Aeneas' benefit, and with interest; in death, she will be fixed forever in the superior position in the benefit economy of the onetime lovers. According to the logic of Rabirius' Antony, you possess what you have given to another; Dido's offer to Aeneas works on the same logic, and more: if Aeneas grants Dido his favor, he will possess (implicitly) not only that benefit, but interest on the payment as well (*cumulatam*) ... Dido has gone beyond what was attributed to Rabirius' Antony, and by the mechanism of her self-imposed death she will forever render Aeneas *ingratus*, an ingrate who is unable to repay the striking benefits he received at the hands of the young queen and scorned lover ... Death is an effective interjection in the calculus of benefits; Virgil's Dido will outdo Rabirius' Antony ...” (180).

MacLennan notes the marked lack of enjambment in the speech that now closes on such a mysterious note (only at 421–422 and 425–426). Virgil thereby enacts the halting vocal patterns of the disturbed queen.

Versus maxime luxatus (Ruaeus). Since antiquity, surgery both interpretive (e.g., taking *cumulatam* to refer to Anna) and emendative (reading *cumulatum*, sc. of Aeneas) has met with less than happy results. Our patient's condition remains uncertain.

In fine, Austin is correct that any “solution” to this tortured (see Paratore) verse is bound to be subjective. The line ends on a note of death, regardless of whether we imagine the death to be Dido’s suicide; her eventual death by other causes; or those slain in a fantasized or intended violent eruption of jealous, vengeful rage. It will be echoed below at 479 *quae mihi reddat eum vel eo me solvat amantem*, as Dido announces a new plan either to win back Aeneas, or to exorcise him from her heart forever. Suicide may not be the queen’s determined plan yet any more than murder is—but Anna leaves in a state of great misery (437 *miserrima*) for good reason, as she proceeds on her hopeless mission to Aeneas on behalf of her deeply disturbed sister.

437–449 Anna carries out her sister’s plea, but Aeneas remains unmoved, as if he were an Alpine oak. He is sympathetic and endures suffering, but he remains unmoved through the help of a god.

437 *Talibus orabat, talisque miserrima fletus*

Pease notes that Anna makes no reply to Dido, comparing 500 below and Barce at 641. But here there may be a sense of extra urgency occasioned by the disturbing words of her sister; Anna may be imagined as rushing out to Aeneas and then back again, only to be sent on repeated missions by her obsessive sister. Chiasitic arrangement, as we move from *Talibus* (of words) to *fletus*, and then in 439 to *fletibus* and *voces*. With the opening of this verse cf. 219 *Talibus orantem* (of Iarbas).

Talibus: Echoed at once by *talis* in polyptoton. We must understand a *dictis* here, though Virgil at once makes clear that the queen spoke in tears and sobs as much as by word. The repetition underscores the shocking nature of what has preceded: Dido’s three addresses (two to Aeneas, one to Anna) have been progressively more unstable.

orabat: Cf. Dido’s *oro* at 435; 431; etc. The imperfect is frequentative and durative, with reference to the unceasing appeals to Anna.

talisque ... fletus: Her sister’s incessant tears literally surround *miserrima* Anna. The same appellation was used of Dido at 117, as she proceeded to the hunt. *Fletus* will be repeated at once (439); cf. 369 *num fletu ingemuit nostro?* (of the queen’s indignant rhetorical question); the eerie 463 below.

Anna’s status as *miserrima* is most simply understood as arising from extreme sympathy and fear for her sister; if there is a threat of violence in 436, then *miserrima* takes on greater meaning and import. It has been speculated that Anna might have some inkling of the coming disaster (i.e., the suicide); if Dido’s words were tinged with the threat of violence (either self-inflicted or against the Trojans), then that alone would justify the superlative epithet.

We may note here that Virgil works an effective play on words in 437–438: the sisters Dido and Anna almost shade into one as messages are brought and brought back. This is especially poignant given that Aeneas makes no address in response to Anna's appeals on behalf of her sister. The *miserrima soror* of these lines is Anna, but the appellation had earlier been applied to Dido, and she too is a “most wretched sister” in this poignant interlude. For how the efforts of the sisters here evoke the hazard of the Homeric Sirens, see Burbridge 2009.

438 *fertque refertque soror. sed nullis ille movetur*

The verse is framed by verbs describing the active Anna and the passive Aeneas; Anna brings and brings back messages, and Aeneas is moved by no laments (with effective enjambment of *fletibus* to highlight the intensity of emotion).

fertque refertque: The double enclitic as at 430, and again with an air of speed and urgency. There is little time, and Anna conveys reports back and forth. Virgil will echo this language in the eerie portrait of the Dira that torments Turnus at 12.865–866 *hanc versa in faciem Turni se pestis ab ora | fertque refertque sonans clipeumque everberat alis*. The comparison casts a dark reading on the present passage; Anna—who may or may not have been a romantic interest of Aeneas in some version of Carthaginian lore—comes as a temptress to Aeneas, not on her own behalf, but for her sister. She is a baleful presence, calling Aeneas back to the winter decadence in Carthage. It will take a god (440) to impede her success. If Dido were capable of violence, then the point is even grimmer: Anna is inviting Aeneas into a risky situation with her disturbed sister. For the collocation cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 6.334; Lucan, *BC* 2.13; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 7.112. Dental is replaced by fricative alliteration, especially after 437 *fletus*; this sound pattern continues with 439 *fletibus*.

Aeneas does not speak, and so the only message that can be brought back to Dido is his continued silence. Dido sends Anna back and back again with every rejected attempt.

soror: As at 424, etc., and prominent at the middle of the line. Alliterative with the following *sed*.

nullis: A powerful negative after an adversative conjunction to underscore how Aeneas is not moved by any appeal.

ille: Cf. 421.

movetur: The verb at line-end of Aeneas balanced by 439 *audit*.

439 *fletibus aut voces ullas tractabilis audit*:

fletibus: Prominent by position and enjambment. The tears keep flowing as Dido sends Anna on repeated visits. Anna may be crying herself, but she is principally reporting the copious tears shed by her sister. In this sense both tears

and voices combine into an auditory effect; Virgil plays with the notion of how Aeneas cannot see Dido, such that Anna becomes her avatar, and whatever sad, dejected or anxious emotions the messenger displays are reflective of the one who sent her. See on 440 *deus* for how Dido here takes on the Jovian role, with Anna as quasi-Mercurian herald.

aut: No need for another negative, since 438 *nullis* was so strong.

voces ullas: The adjective is parallel to 438 *nullis*. The “voices” here correspond to 437 *Talibus* (with implied *dictis vel sim.*); the reference is to the miniature speech of Dido, and to any further, unreported words that were conveyed for Anna’s repeated missions. See Buscaroli for the use of *voces* to describe a prayer; he compares Ovid, *Fast.* 4.827.

tractabilis: The adjective elsewhere in Virgil only at 53. Here the reminiscence is significant: Anna had urged Dido to take advantage of excuses for a winter’s delay in Aeneas’ sailing, *dum non tractabile caelum*; the season may still be hazardous for sailing, but now what is not *tractabilis* is Aeneas: he will not be moved by any words or tears. “It suggests almost physical handling, as if an animal had to be tamed” (Austin). The negative version of the adjective is found once in the first georgic to describe weather (211), and also occurs in *Aen.* 1 where Venus, (disguised as a huntress) referred to the nearby Libyans as a *genus intractabile bello* (339). Its application to Aeneas suggests the strength of his resolve: he is to some extent like the natural phenomenon of weather, or he has the same sort of characteristic that describes a stubborn people. *Tractabilis* here looks ahead to 440 *placidus*, of Aeneas’ ears: they are peaceful precisely because the hero is not malleable. The language (*aut tractabilis*) plays with the idea that perhaps Aeneas *is*, after all, able to be moved—but the next verse shatters any such hopes.

audit: The verb at the end of the line is mirrored at 440 ... *auris*, of the hero’s ears that are stopped up by the god.

440 *fata obstant placidasque viri deus obstruit auris.*

fata: Fate and destiny in prominent first place. Cf. on 14; 20; 110; 225; 340; 450; 519; 678; 696 for the noun in different senses.

obstant: Coordinate in sound and meaning with *obstruit*. The verb occurred at 1.746 ... *vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet*, of one of the subjects of Iopas’ song; cf. 91 above, where Juno saw that no concern for *fama* was an obstacle to the queen’s *furor*.

6.438—nearly the same point in the book—opens with *fas obstat*, where there is some citation for *fata obstant*. The context there is the description of those who would rather endure poverty on earth than continue in the wretched underworld existence reserved for suicides—like Dido.

placidusque: For the adjective see on 5 and the related 522; at 578 Aeneas will use the same descriptor to acknowledge the divine herald Mercury and to call for his guidance as the fleet prepares to depart.

The meaning of the adjective is disputed, again because of the poet's usual practice of deliberate ambiguity. *Placidus* refers principally to how peaceful Aeneas' ears are—they do not hear Anna's pleadings, because the god has blocked them. The adjective is thus proleptic: placid because of the action of fate and divine force. But simultaneously there may also be a hint that Aeneas would have been sympathetic to the entreaties. For the argument that the main point is that Aeneas is kindly and well disposed to Dido, see T.E.V. Pearce, "Virgil, *Aeneid* iv. 440," in *CR* 18.1 (1968), 13–14; cf. Stephenson, who considers *placidus* a reference to the "general characteristic of the man."

If 436 above is read as a frightening expression of intended violence and death, then the action of the god here is even more pointed: Aeneas is immune from hearing the entreaties, and so his ears are peaceful. He can see Anna—and of course the deep emotion and disquiet he already felt is still present (cf. 448 ... *et magno persensit pectore curas*). For the question of whether or not Anna is crying see below on 449.

viri: Man and god are juxtaposed.

deus: We may wonder if this is Jupiter (so Servius; DServ. notes "vel certe Mercurius"—there is, after all, a parallelism between Mercury/Anna and Jupiter/Dido); Aeneas will at once be compared to an oak tree, which was sacred to the god, and Jupiter is often enough synonymous with fate because of his constant submission to its dictates. Austin interprets the phrase generally, following Heyne's "voluntas deorum." Pease agrees, arguing that it is "unwise" to try to identify the god; he raises the idea that perhaps the god is actually Aeneas' conscience.

obstruit: The verb occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at *G.* 4.300–301 ... *huic geminae nares et spiritus oris / multa reluctanti obstruitur* ..., of the bull to be slain for the Bugonia—itself a ritual of regeneration and renewal. The present scene describes something of the purification of Aeneas (cf. 6.705ff.); it is significant that the localization of the simile that will now commence is in Italy.

The image of the god blocking the hero's ears here is of Odysseus with the Sirens (Homer, *Od.* 12.39–54; 158–200); Anna and Dido are like noonday succubi that must not distract the vulnerable hero. According to some traditions, the Sirens committed suicide after Odysseus successfully escaped their allure (vid. Lycophron, *Alex.* 712–737, with Hornblower; cf. Hyginus, *Fab.* 141). Fate and destiny would not have it that Aeneas would return to Dido (let alone to his doom); and so the god blocks the ears that might otherwise have listened

to what Anna was saying. Seductive and blandishing behavior masquerades to cover the potentially fatal, at the very least the perilous.

“This line gives Aeneas’ justification for his abandonment of Dido” (Tilly).

441 ac velut annoso validam cum robore quercum

The start of the book’s sixth simile (vid. Hornsby 1970, 26, 80–81, 84; Briggs 1980, 35–39; Hardie 1986, 280–281; Clausen 2002, 94–96; the comparison cited at Macrobius, *Sat.* 5.6.13). Interlocking word order: *annoso* / *validam* / *robore* / *quercu*. All the force of the first verse is on age and strength: this is an aged oak tree, in contrast to the alleged *coniugium* of the queen with Aeneas that was not, after all, so *antiquum*. One tree here; there is a poignant reminiscence of Apollonius’ Jason and Medea, who were like oaks or pines that stand together despite buffeting (*Arg.* 3.967–972). Newman and Newman 2005, 149–150 offer a compelling argument that connects this simile to other images in the book, including the tracing of a path of associations that leads to Dido’s complicity in Aeneas’ moral unraveling and the climactic slaying of Turnus. For an association between this tree and the forces of Hannibal assaulting Italy, see V. Simpson, “The Annalistic Tradition in Vergil’s *Aeneid*,” in *Vergilius* 21 (1975), 22–32, 24–25.

This tree simile harks back to 2.624–631, where the destruction and ruin of Troy was compared to that of an ash tree felled by farmers; on this association see B. Fenik, “Parallelism of Theme and Imagery in *Aeneid* II and IV,” in *AJPh* 80.1 (1959), 1–24, 23–24 (who notes that the reader of Book 2 will remember that trees like the present one can, indeed, be taken down). The Cyclopes on the shore at 3.677–681 were eerily associated with cypress trees (an arbor emblematic of death; in a sense that simile heralds the death of Anchises). Entellus is like a hollow pine tree as he is pummeled by the younger Dares at the boxing match (5.446–449). The doomed Pandarus and Bitias are like twin oaks as they stand in the Trojan camp (9.677–682). These last two comparisons reveal opposite outcomes: The aged Entellus is like a hollow pine, but he is true to his name and ultimately proves all too rooted in the earth to be felled by Dares, who barely escapes with his life; the giant brothers, in contrast, though oaken nevertheless will be cut down by Turnus.

Theseus’ vanquishing of the Minotaur is compared to an oak on Taurus that is torn up by the force of a storm (Catullus, c. 64.105 ff.); we may note Homeric antecedents at *Il.* 12.131 ff. (Polypoetes and Leonteus are like oaks buffeted by wind and rain as they guard the ships); and 16.765 ff. (the east and south winds contending to topple a beech and a cornel describe the fighting of Trojans and Danaans); Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.1680 ff. (of the death of Talos).

ac velut: Answered by 447 *haud secus*. Cf. 2.379–382 (of Androgeos stepping on the serpent); 11.809–815 (Arruns compared to a wolf). We may compare too 402, where the comparison inaugurated by *ac velut* was never finished: the scurrying here and there of ants could not be more different from the present image of immobility. Page notes how this simile prepares for what will be described, while the former followed on the narrative of the action.

annoso: Cf. 6.282, in the description of the great elm tree at the entrance to Tartarus; 10.766, where Mezentius is compared to an ash tree as he advances. The first of three adjectives to describe this tree of incredible fortitude, the emphasis on age is underscored by noting it first of all.

validam: The strength is enacted by the hyperbaton; *validam ... quercum* frames *cum robore*. Cf. *G.* 3.332, where the great oak of Jove was marked by *antiquus robor*. Sound effect, since in *annoso* we hear *nodo*, as if of the strong knots of an oak.

robore: Here the word connotes strength and endurance, though it is also another Virgilian word for oak—and so the two botanical names are juxtaposed at line-end, with a forceful anchoring or grounding for the close of the verse. As Armstrong 2019, 124 et al. have noted, there is no explicit connection of this tree and its power to Jupiter, though the god of 440 would seem to serve as a reminder of the inherent divine associations. The ablative (of respect) is one of those considered by Mackail in his “Appendix A” on the Virgilian use of the case.

quercum: For the oak in Virgil see Maggiulli 1995, 420–424; Armstrong 2019, 115–131; Sargeaunt 1920, 107–110; H. Parker in *VE* III, 1291–1293. The oak tree that is described as being assailed by the winds is hypermetrically juxtaposed with the Alpine blast.

“The fine simile invites admiration but not comment” (Irvine, who notes that this description of his response to Anna’s visits is the final time that Aeneas will hear anything of Dido until the underworld). Irvine’s dismissive comment is in part motivated by the excesses of Servius, who in his analysis of the comparison of Aeneas to an oak went so far as to compare the falling leaves to Aeneas’ tears; see further on 449 below.

442 *Alpini Boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc*

Alpini: For Virgilian references to the Alps see M. Pavan in *EV* I, 117–119; S. Harrison in *VE* I, 57; vid. *Barrington* 1 E2; 18 D4; 19 B3. The localization reminds us of the blasts of Hannibal’s forces on the Alps that protect Italy; the powerful *Alpini* at the start of the verse describes the winds that assail the Aeneas-tree, but they also remind us of the mountains that protect Italy—mountains that Dido’s avenger Hannibal managed to cross, as Jupiter will announce in his ren-

dition of the future struggle between Carthage and Italy that he heralds at the divine council (10.11–14). Very different is Gallus' reminiscence of Lycoris, somewhere off in Alpine snows (*E.* 10.46–48), though again those lovers are separated. Tumult in the Alps is associated with the portents that foreshadowed the death of Caesar (*G.* 1.475); the Alps are also connected to the landscape of the Noric cattle plague (*G.* 3.474–477). At *Aen.* 6.829–831 in the *Heldenschau*, we are reminded that Caesar commenced his invasion of Italy from the Alps—an uncomfortable, perhaps, shared feature of the military careers of both Hannibal and Caesar; cf. too the Alpine reference at 8.657–662, in the description of the Gauls on the shield. Note also the mention of Vesulus in the Cottian Alps (the source of the Po) at 10.708, where Mezentius is compared to a boar; this is the only name of a particular Alpine peak in Virgil.

Boreae: Cf. the reference to Aquilo at 310. This is specifically “Alpine” Boreas, again for the sake of evoking Hannibal; see D.M. Possanza in *VE* 1, 200 on the typically Thracian associations of this wind (Hesiod, *Op.* 553; cf. *Aen.* 10.350; 12.365). The winter associations of the north wind are reminiscent of the season and Dido's fear of Aeneas departing at a perilous time. But now the wintry hazards that the queen wanted to invoke as a reason for Aeneas to delay (an idea she had received from her sister) are transformed into the force of these seductive sirens as they seek to detain Aeneas: in reality, the crying and pleading girls are like Alpine Boreas, or, if one will, like Hannibal seeking to devastate Italy. For Boreas note also 3.687; 10.350; 12.365; in this last occurrence, the advance of Turnus across the battlefield is like that of the Edonian Boreas as it sweeps over the Aegean.

Already La Cerda realized that the unique occurrence of plural *Boreae* here referred to the twin sororial peril (plural also at Catullus, c. 26.3 *nec saevi Boreae aut Apheliotae*). The winds of personal observation: Virgil would have known exactly what he was describing given his natal place. Conington notes that the import of the simile is that the Aeneas-tree is also imagined as being in Italy: arboreal prolepsis to underscore how the hero will leave Carthage and proceed to his Italian destiny (Pease is less convinced). But the Hannibalic winds that assail him presage the queen's curse at 625 ff.

nunc hinc nunc ... illinc: Inspired by Lucretius, *DRN* 2.214; 6.199. The referents of *hinc* and *illinc* are the two sisters, as Servius notes; not every critic has been impressed with the comparison of the crying girls to storm blasts. There may be a hint of how cold northern winds can make one's eyes tear up involuntarily. The Lucretian *nunc hinc nunc illinc* pattern is in Virgil literally interrupted by the blasts (*flatibus*). Some have attempted to particularize the reference to the northeast and the northwest winds, but Virgil is principally concerned with Anna and Dido; Henry gives his own personal testament to the winds of that

region, asserting that they are more noteworthy for their quality than their provenance. The language here will be echoed below at 447 *hinc atque hinc vocibus*, where the blasts are replaced by the voices of the narrative.

flatibus: A brilliant metamorphosis of the *fletus/fletibus* of 437 and 439 into the blasts that assail the tree. The sobs of Dido (and perhaps Anna) are akin to the force of the Alpine north winds. See further here O'Hara 2017, 157–158.

443 *eruer* inter se certant; it stridor, et altae

The spondees of 443–444 enact the effort of the winds to topple the oak.

eruer: The verb is not particularly common in Virgil. At 2.612 it occurs (in powerful enjambment) of the work of Neptune in destroying Troy (note also 2.5 *eruerint Danai*, of the same action); cf. 6.838 in the *Heldenschau* of Lucius Aemilius Paulus and his destructive presence in Greece. Aeneas threatens to ruin Laurentum (12.569 *eruam*) in language that evokes the horror of Troy's fall. Cf. 5.449 *aut Ida in magna radicibus eruta pinus* (in the comparison of Entellus); 11.279–280 in Diomedes' reminiscence of *eruta / Pergama*.

But the principal echo here is of 2.628 *eruer agricolae certatim*, of the farmers who compete with each other to bring down the aged ash that = *Neptunia Troia*. The verb is thus almost a technical term in the epic for the fall of Troy; this adds a particularly vicious import to Aeneas' similar, unfulfilled intention (inspired by Venus) to do the same to the city of Latinus and Lavinia. This particular Trojan tree will *not* be felled, precisely because it is quasi-localized in Italy.

inter se: With reference to the sisters, the point of comparison with the Alpine blasts.

certant: An interesting verb in context. The Alpine northern winds compete with each other to bring down the aged oak: this is Anna and Dido in competition with each other. We may think of the possible implicit accusations of infidelity leveled against her sister by the queen; we may wonder at what Anna is reporting to Aeneas about her sister. The verb occurs only here in Book 4. The verb of the winds is Ennian (*Ann. fr.* 17.434 Skutsch, cited by Macrobius, *Sat.* 6.2.28). For the use of the present tense in similes (with analysis of this passage), see Adema 2019, 83–84.

Certant inaugurates another alliterative pattern with 444 *consternunt* and *concusso*, of the greatest success the competing winds achieve in their effort to bring down the mighty oak.

it: Juxtaposed with *certant*, as one action leads to another.

stridor: Cf. 1.87 *insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum* (during the storm); 6.557–558 *hinc exaudiri gemitus et saeva sonare / verbera, tum stridor ferri tractaeque catenae* (of the sounds of torment emitted from Tartarus); 7.65

stridore ingenti (of the hum of the bees that come to alight on Latinus' laurel); 11.863 of the *teli stridorem* of Opis' arrow shot that Arruns hears just before he is slain; 12.590 *discurrunt magnisque acuunt stridoribus iras* (of the bees the shepherd attempts to smoke out in the comparison of Aeneas' attempt to destroy Laurentum); 869 of the *Dirae stridorem* that Juturna hears. Not a noun of positive associations; even the bees of Book 7 will become angry by the time of the framing reference to them in Book 12 (a precursor to the revelation that Rome will be Italian and not Trojan, with the symbolic failed action of Aeneas to smoke out the Italian bees serving as a symbol of the ultimate suppression of Trojan *sermo* and *mores* in the reconciliation of Juno).

The source of the noise here is deliberately ambiguous: it refers both to the howl of the wind and to the creaking of the tree; the poet presents an omnibus auditory effect with economy of expression, and it is better not to particularize the *stridor*.

altae: Of course the falling leaves from the height of the tree must be enacted, and so there is maximum hyperbaton together with enjambment; cf. 444 *frondes* at line-end. The hyperbaton was too marked for some, apparently: cf. the variant reading *alte*. Tilly notes that the force of the wind is most keenly felt at the top of the tree. Word painting: the high leaves literally fall down from the ends of verses 443 and 444.

444 *consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes*;

Subject and verb frame the verse.

consternunt: The prefix emphasizes the tremendous number of leaves that fall from the tree as it endures its assault; if 443 *alte* is the correct reading (doubtful), it would mean that the leaves are deep on the ground (less likely that the adverb would be taken with *concusso*). The verb occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at 12.543 ... *et late terram consternere tergo* (of the fall of the Trojan Aeolus, who is noted as having been a survivor of the Greeks, indeed of Achilles—a brilliant shared use of the verb, since here the description is of how the winds bring down only leaves, while later it will be a Trojan named after the very god of the winds who is slain, in a framing reference in Book 12 to the description of the work of the other Aeolus in Book 1). The verb is hypermetrically juxtaposed with 443 *altae*, and in deliberate contrast: the lofty leaves are now strewn on the ground. The clash of ictus and accent enacts the blasts against the tree; cf. the different sound pattern of *concusso*: we might have expected the reverse, but the very defiance of expectation also serves to mimic the unpredictable winds.

concusso: In alliterative sound pattern and with shared prefix after *consternunt*. Here the prefix emphasizes the shock to the trunk of the tree; the oak is

shaken yet not felled. Again a reminiscence of the aged ash that represented Troy: cf. 2.629 *et tremefacta comam concusso vertice nutat*, just before that tree is successfully brought down.

stipite: Trunk and leaves are juxtaposed. Elsewhere in Virgil the noun occurs only at 3.43; 7.507; 524; 11.894.

Silius has *fluctuat infelix concusso stipite turba* (*Pun.* 5.503), where the Carthaginian warrior Sychaeus cuts down a tree in which some hapless Romans have taken refuge.

frondes: For the noun cf. 148, where Apollo had a frond in his hair; the *frondes* of the Aeneas-tree, in contrast, are shaken down. The great hyperbaton with 443 *altae* closes here with something of a diminution of expectation: for all their effort, the sisters can manage to bring down only leaves. Cf. here *G.* 2.55–56 *nunc altae frondes et rami matris opacant | crescentique adimunt fetus uruntque ferentem*.

At nearly the same point in Book 5 (439–442), the boxer Dares as he fights Entellus will be compared to one who besieges a city, looking here and there for an opening.

445 *ipsa haeret scopulis et quantum vertice ad auras*

ipsa: DServ. *ad* 449 and Macrobius both read *illa* here (possibly under the influence of Catullus, c. 105 ff.). The intensive is more vivid, as Virgil now contrasts the stalwart tree with its fragile leaves.

haeret scopulis: For the use of active verbs of the tree's action to withstand the winds see Henry 1989, 79. The resilient clinging of the aged oak to the crags is cast in language that deliberately recalls Dido's curse at 382–384 *spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt, | supplicia hausurum scopulis et nomine Dido | saepe vocaturum ...*, where *hausurum scopulis* is here echoed in *haeret scopulis*. In one sense, Dido's imprecation has come true: Aeneas—the oak tree of the simile—is indeed clinging to the crags; the future participle of the queen's fantasy is now the all too present indicative of the buffeted tree, standing fast under the relentless pressure of the sisters' appeals. Dido's sadistic wish has been fulfilled, but not remotely in the manner she anticipated. Surprisingly unappreciated in the commentary tradition as an implicit comment on Dido's dreams of vengeance. These are mountain crags and not rocks in the middle of the sea; the tree that will not be dislodged from its stony foundation is emblematic of the endurance of Rome in the face of Hannibal's assault.

Cf. 5.864 for *scopulos* with connection to the Sirens; Dido and Anna are akin to those quasi-succubi in this passage, and the image of the queen's threat is not without a reminiscence of their rocky marine lair and fatal allure.

The description of the oak whose roots reach down as far as its crown rises to the heaven from 445b–446 is copied verbatim from *G.* 2.291b–292 ... *quae quantum vertice in auras / aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit*. In context the description is of how deep the supporting tree for a vine in a trench should be planted. Virgil notes that the deeply rooted tree will withstand winter storms: *ergo non hiemes illam, non flabra neque imbres / convellunt; immota manet, multos nepotes, / multa virum volvens durando saecula vincit.* (*G.* 2.293–295). Page was not impressed with the borrowing; he found the image appropriate enough for the trenching context of the *Georgics*, but “unnatural” here. The point is more appreciated if one takes the oak as rooted in Italian soil, as a symbol of Italy that will withstand the buffets and blasts of Carthaginians from this pair of sisters now through to Hannibal in the Second Punic War.

The idea that the underworld is as far below earth as the heaven is above it is a familiar one, with Homeric and Hesiodic antecedents (cf. *Il.* 8.16; *Theog.* 722). Virgil echoes the present image at 6.577–579 ... *tum Tartarus ipse / bis patet in praeceps tantum tenditque sub umbras / quantus ad aetherium caeli suspectus Olympon*, with something of an effort to outdo his previous comparison.

vertice: At 152 the noun described the heights from which the *caprae* descended at the hunt; cf. 168 ... *summoque ulularunt vertice Nymphae* at the union of Aeneas and Dido in the cave; 698 below of the crown of Dido’s head whence the fateful lock will be snipped. The ablative is instrumental.

auras: In hypermetric, assonant juxtaposition with 446 *aetherias*.

446 *aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit*:

Dentally alliterative (*tantum / Tartara / tendit*).

aetherias: The verse proceeds from the ethereal to the infernal (*Tartara*). The adjective only here in Book 4; on references to the *aether* in Virgil see L. Fratantuono in *VE* 1, 32–33. The upper air of the immortals, in contrast to the air breathed by mortals—or the latter from the vantage point of the underworld. The *aether* was associated with Jupiter, which is especially appropriate in context; at 574 below Mercury will be referenced as having been sent down from the *aether* by the supreme god on his final mission to Aeneas. The *aether* will resound at Dido’s suicide (668), just as cries reach the *aether* when Aeneas’ arrow wound cannot be healed at 12.409. The adjective *aetherius* refers generally to the heavens and all they contain (cf. 5.517–518; 6.536; 579; 7.557; 768; 8.68; 137; 319). We may recall here Aeneas’ reference at 1.379 to his *fama super aethera notus*; Helenus urges him to bring Troy there (3.462), an exhortation that merits consideration in light of 12.806–842. The bees of *G.* 4.219–221 drink of the heavenly ether; cf. the *largior aether* of Elysium at 6.640. The heavenly ether was the ultimate locus of the purified soul for the Stoics; the present image of

the battered Aeneas-tree is a quasi-purgatorial one. See further here G. Zanker, “*Paremus ovantes*: Stoicism and Human Responsibility in *Aeneid* 4,” in *CQ* 66.2 (2016), 580–597

Aetherias has been criticized by some scholars on the grounds that *aurae* do not exist in the ether, a consideration that likely did not occur to Virgil the poet. Emendations of *auras* to *oras* or of *aetherias* to *aërias* satisfy pedantry at the expense of the artist.

radice: Here and at *G.* 2.292 there is a textual crux; *radice* or *radicem*? This is one of those variant reading problems where there is essentially equal manuscript attestation for both forms, with papyrological evidence now securing the ablative, which is better after 445 *vertice*, in coordinating pattern (*verticem* is not attested, but then again there is no finite verb at the end of 445 to encourage an accusative, as here). As Pease and others have noted, there is no question that grammatically either case would have been good Latin. Most modern editors (Geymonat a curious exception) prefer the ablative here.

Tartara: For Tartarus see on 243.

tendit: The verb is a favorite of the poet (vid. G.S. Abbolito in *EV*, 95–97); only here in Book 4. Manilius imitates this line-end at *Ast.* 2.794 *unde fugit mundus praecepsque in Tartara tendit*.

Servius offers the scientific note here: “secundum physicos, qui dicunt parem esse altitudinem radicum et arborum.”

447 *haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros*

haud secus: Cf. 2.382; 3.236; 8.414; 11.436; 814; 12.9; 124.

adsiduis: We may compare here 5.866 *tum rauca adsiduo longe sale saxa sonabant*, in the Sirens passage from the Palinurus episode; cf. 7.11–12 *dives incessos ubi Solis filia lucos / adsiduo resonat cantu ...*, of the Sirenic Circe. We may note also 9.808–809 *... strepit adsiduo cava tempora circum / tinnitu galea ...*, of Turnus being buffeted as he makes his way out of the Trojan camp (a similar image to Aeneas’ battering here). The only other occurrence of the adjective in the epic is at 9.245, with reference to Nisus’ hunting. The incessant voices frame the expression of how they come from one side and another.

hinc atque hinc: Echoing 442 *nunc hinc nunc ... illinc*. Again with reference to the sisters, one of whom delivers the messages of the other, perhaps laced with her own words.

vocibus: As at 439. The voices that assail the hero are fittingly juxtaposed.

heros: For this key appellation see Fratantuono and Smith on 5.289; it comes first of Acestes at 1.196. The occurrences of *heros* in the poem reveal a deliberate pattern. In Book 5 it is applied a striking three times in connection to the valiant boxer Entellus, including twice in close succession (389; 453; 459); Entellus has

affinities with the image of Aeneas as the pummeled tree. Aeneas is *heros* first here in the epic; cf. 5.289 as he proceeds to the viewing of the foot race (almost certainly of Aeneas and not of Acestes); 6.103. At 6.192 he is *maximus heros* as he recognizes his mother's doves; at 6.451 he is the *Troius heros* in his encounter with the shade of Dido; at 8.18 he is the *Laomedontius heros*; at 8.530 *Troius heros* again before he receives the divine arms; at 10.584 *Troius heros* a third time as he fights Liger; a fourth time at 10.886 as he faces Mezentius; a fifth and final time at 12.502. Significantly, in Book 12 Turnus is also accorded the title: at 12.723 as the *Daunius heros*, and at 12.902. Cf. 3.345 of Helenus; 6.169 of Misenus as *fortissimus heros*; 6.672 of Musaeus; 8.464 of Evander. Aeneas is never cited as a hero in the second half of the epic except in association with his Trojan identity; Turnus is first the Daunian hero, and then simply a hero. Here a conventional enough epithet, some might say; there may also be a reminder that while the god may be blocking his ears, Aeneas is also resisting on his own, heroic strength—the poet often blurs the distinction between what gods and mortals are individually responsible for ensuring. Aeneas is thus the preeminent *heros* of the epic, as we might expect—though the last two occurrences of the appellation are of Turnus. This is unquestionably his moment of greatest heroism in the present book; see Pease on the idea of an association between the quasi-divine hero and the work of the god in ensuring his devotion to duty and resistance to temptation.

448 *tunditur et magno persentit pectore curas;*

Interlocking word order: *tunditur* / *magno* / *persentit* / *pectore*.

tunditur: Continuing the pattern of dental alliteration from 446. Cf. 5.125, of the battered rock that serves as the goal in the regatta; 10.731 *tundit humum exspirans infractaque tela cruentat* (of Acron). The verb occurs participially of the Trojan women who beat themselves in lament and mourning in the temple picture at 1.481 ... *tristes et tunsae pectora palmis*; cf. the *Iliades* of 11.37–38 ... *tunsis ad sidera tollunt* / *pectoribus* ..., as Aeneas enters the presence of Pallas' bier. A final blast, as it were, with the verb in prominent position.

magno: The heart of a hero is appropriately *magnum*. Austin notes that the descriptor would be “banal” were it not for the heroic context; there is nobility here, and capacity for understanding suffering. With the image of Aeneas here one might recall the reaction of the hero to the pictures on the walls of Dido's temple—a reaction justifiable or not—where comfort was taken in the notion that the creators of the art were capable of appreciating human suffering (462 *sunt lacrimae rerum*, etc.).

persentit: Alliterative with *pectore*. The prefix is intensive; Aeneas knows exactly what is going on in Carthage, and he has the sense of visual perception

if not auditory. The verb recalls 90 above, where it described Juno's awareness of how far gone Dido was in her passion for Aeneas; these are the only occurrences in Virgil. The verb is framed by *magno ... pectore*. The present is more vivid than the weakly attested *persensit*.

pectore: Vid. Negri 1984, 257–263, with detailed consideration of the contrasting of the *pectus* here and the *mens* of 449. The implication of the verb is that Aeneas did not need Anna's repeated visits to alert him to the situation; he was well aware of how serious matters were.

curas: Juxtaposed with *pectore*. Again the crucial term from the first verse of the book. The commentators exercise their ingenuity on what the exact referent of the *curas* might be; certainly the love that both Dido and he feel; also whatever Anna may be contributing on her own to increase the anxiety and grief.

449 *mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes.*

mens: Alliterative with *manet*. The rational mind is contrasted with the heart from 448.

immota: Echoing Aeneas' unmoving eyes from 331–332; we recall again also 15–16 *si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet | ne cui me vinclo vellem sociare iugali*, of the queen's asserted intention to remain faithful to Sychaeus.

lacrimae volvuntur inanes: A notorious mystery: whose tears? *Inanes* echoes Dido's request at 433 for *tempus inane* in which, as it were, to transform *furor* into *dolor*; the *lacrimae* would seem in the immediate context to recall the *fletus* of 437 and 439, from the beginning of the description of Anna's repeated visits to Aeneas.

This passage is cited by Augustine at *De Civ. Dei* 9.4: *Ita mens ubi fixa est ista sententia nullas perturbationes, etiamsi accidunt inferioribus animi partibus, in se contra rationem praevalere permittit; quin immo eis ipsa dominatur eisque non consentiendo et potius resistendo regnum virtutis exercet. Talem describit etiam Vergilius Aenean, ubi ait: Mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes*—where it would seem that the tears are Aeneas' (although this conclusion is not, strictly speaking, a certain one); cf. on this passage Desmond 1994, 79. Already in DServ. the question of the tears was a recognized Virgilian crux. The candidates are Aeneas; Dido; Anna—and in different possible combinations. If there is ambiguity, it is likely another of the poet's deliberate tricks. Some have drawn a connection between the falling *frondes* of 444 and the tears here; in this interpretation the *mens* is the firmly rooted trunk of the tree, while the copious tears of Aeneas fall like leaves. Supporters of a crying Aeneas point to 395 *multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore*, a description rather different from the solidly rooted tree to which the hero is compared here—

albeit now with divine assistance, not least in the matter of stopping up his ears (though the tears of Anna could still be seen).

The tears here (in the immediate context of the attempted temptation of Aeneas to return to Carthage) would seem to be those of Anna. We are told that the sister brought and brought back *fletus*; Aeneas cannot see Dido, and his ears have been blocked—so the tears of *miserrima* Anna (437) are what provide a visual impression of the tragedy the hero can already grasp. There is an admittedly attractive picture in imagining that the absent Dido is crying, and that Anna brings news of these tears to Aeneas, who cannot hear the report because his ears have been closed off to appeal—instead, his own tears fall like the leaves, so that the separated lovers are both lachrymose. Further, we may note that wintry blasts of wind and chill can elicit watery eyes. This romantic, sentimental picture has its appeal, but it seems likelier that the poet's point is that while Anna's words were unheard thanks to the intervention of the *deus* of 440, her attractive appearance and visible tears were still able to make an impression. Dido had wanted a *tempus inane*; what she has received are *lacrimae inanes*—tears that are in vain because they do not succeed in luring Aeneas back to Carthage.

Page sees a summing up at the end of the description of the contrast between the resolve of Aeneas and the crying of Dido (so also Tilly); Williams prefers to imagine the tears as being applicable to all three of the characters. Butler thinks it is “less striking” for the tears to be those of Dido; Sidgwick argues that the tears must be Dido's, though “the balance and rhythm of the line” suggest Aeneas. Stephenson says “probably” of Dido; Gould and Whiteley, Dido or Anna. Conington is more certain that they are Dido's, as conveyed by Anna: the tears of Dido are *inanes*, after all, if Aeneas cannot hear Anna tell of them. Henry reads them of Aeneas, though not with one of his more characteristically vitriolic defenses. Pease comments on how Mediterranean folk cry more than northern Europeans. Binder 2019 offers a balanced survey of the problem.

We may compare here 10.464–465 *auditi Alcides iuvenem magnumque sub imo | corde premit gemitum lacrimasque effudit inanes*, where Hercules (a type and prefigurement of Aeneas) hears the prayer of the doomed Pallas as he advances to his inevitable death—another of the several parallels between the Dido story and that of Aeneas' young Arcadian friend. The tears of Hercules are *inanes* because Pallas will die; the tears of Anna/Dido here are *inanes* because Aeneas will not return to Carthage (where he might well have faced a hazardous situation). The typological connection of Aeneas and Hercules admittedly makes attractive a parallel instance of *lacrimas inanes*.

With the tears here cf. 30 (Dido's); 314 (also of the queen); 370 (Dido asking rhetorically/sarcastically if Aeneas cried); 413 (of Dido again); 548 (Dido

noting how Anna was conquered by her sister's tears); 649 ... *lacrimis et mente morata*—of Dido before her suicide, in something of a reversal of the present description. It is certain that at 6.455 Aeneas will cry (*demisit lacrimas*) when he sees the shade of Dido in the underworld; cf. 6.458 and 476—tears are a defining characteristic of Aeneas with Dido's ghost, in an ascending tricolon of grief and sorrow. There is greater pathos if the Trojan hero finally sheds tears only after Dido is dead, and only in the presence of her shade in the Fields of Mourning. Dido cries more than anyone in Book 4, and she makes specific complaint that Aeneas does not share in her lachrymose reaction to her lot.

For a careful argument in favor of the tears being Dido's, with particular reference to the force of *inanes*, see A.L. Keith, "Vergil, *Aeneid* 4.449," in *The Classical Weekly* 21.15 (1928), 113–114; so also A. Hudson-Williams, "*Lacrimae Illae Inanes*," in *G&R* 25 (1978), 16–23; for an opposing view that takes seriously the ancient idea that the leaves are like the tears, note J.R. Wilson, "Action and Emotion in Aeneas," in *G&R* 16.1 (1969), 67–75. Mackie 1988, 91–92 concludes that they are Dido's tears, noting that the other episodes where Aeneas cries in Books 1–3 are on occasions that convey his *pietas*; he sees in the hero's tears for Dido in the underworld "a reversal of his failure to weep whilst in Carthage" (92 n. 1). Horsfall 1995, 125 n. 20 takes the tears to be Aeneas': "his and his alone," with the argument that to take them of Dido requires "an exceptionally awkward change of subject"; he calls Hudson-Williams' paper "one of the least convincing papers on Virgil known to me." But again, Anna is the key figure: she is the one actually visiting Aeneas repeatedly, and she is the one who would be crying in Aeneas' presence—the visual image surpassing the god's successful effort to stop up the hero's ears. The *fletus* of 437–439 provide the decisive ring of tears, tears that are *inanes*, as 449 closes another ring—this one offering a definitive rejection of 433 *tempus inane peto*.

volvuntur: The verb recurs at 670–671 ... *flammaeque furentes | culmina perque hominum volvuntur perque deorum*, in the vivid description of how the reaction to Dido's suicide was like the experience of a city being invaded. Vid. further A. Traina in *EV* v, 624–627. Mackail notes that the expression is unusual; he sees a connection with the whirling of the leaves at 444.

450–473 Dido's final appeal to Aeneas via Anna has been rejected, and now she prays for death. Eerie omens plague her, as she is haunted both by strange sounds that are heard from her husband's tomb, and by nightmares in which she is hounded by Aeneas.

"... a splendid succession of images that whirl about Dido—some actual events, some dream sequences or the product of a disordered mind" (F. Mench,

"*Film Sense in the Aeneid*," in *Arion* 8.3 (1969), 380–397, 393). The poet of the *Roman d'Énéas* omits mention of such supernatural horrors.

"Not half so fix'd the Trojan could remain, / While Anna begg'd and Dido rag'd in vain" (Pope).

450 **Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido**

Tum vero: As at 397, where the Teucrians worked on preparations for the departure from Carthage. "The words mark a crisis": this is the passage in which suicide will be decided upon with resolve, and after which there will be no hint of any wavering in the resolve to die, with the lone exception of 649 *mente morata*. This is the first verse after the utter failure of her sirenic appeal via her sister; the seductive efforts have failed, and now the specter of her own death will dominate the remainder of the book. For a connection of this passage to others in which Aeneas seems to "broadcast death," see Newman and Newman 2005, 161.

infelix: For this appellation of Dido see on 68, where the queen wandered through the city like a wounded deer; it recurs at 529, again of Elissa. *Infelix ... Dido* in framing order around *fatis exterrita*. The adjective is prominent at the middle of the verse.

fatis: Echoing 440 *fata obstant*. She is terrified by the fates, with *fatis* referring both to the idea of her own doom that she now sees no way of avoiding—and by the fate or destiny that is clearly working against her. If she had planned or even simply countenanced any violent act against Aeneas, there is now little hope of securing her wish (cf. 593 ff.), and death is the object of her prayer (451 *mortem orat*). Again the notion of fate up against one's will: we may compare Turnus at 12.894–895 *ille caput quassans: non me tua fervida terrent / dicta, ferox: di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis*. *Fatis* is deliberately balanced between *infelix* and *exterrita*: she is both ill-starred because of destiny, and thoroughly frightened because of her coming doom, and the adverse power of fate that has demanded Aeneas' departure. The meaning of the word is closely analyzed by F. Muecke, "Foreshadowing and Dramatic Irony in the Story of Dido," in *AJPh* 104.2 (1983), 134–155, with the conclusion that the reference is to omens in which the words of the gods seem to verify what Aeneas had said. But the final point for Dido is that Aeneas is clearly leaving, and she can do nothing about it; this fate/destiny is now equivalent to her death.

exterrita: The prefix is intensive. At 672 below the same participle will describe Anna in the aftermath of her sister's suicide; Aeneas will be *exterritus* at 571 after the last apparition of Mercury—the description thus extended to all three of the main mortal characters in the book, a tragic triangle of terror.

Dido: In hypermetric juxtaposition with 451 *mortem*: queen and death will be increasingly inseparable.

451 mortem orat; taedet caeli convexa tueri.

ABBA chiasitic alliteration: *taedet / caeli / convexa / tueri*. Dido exhibits symptoms of what one might diagnose as clinical depression.

mortem: Death as wish in prominent position; dying also frames the verse if one spells out *mo-* and *-ri*.

orat: Echoing 431 and 435. If Dido had fantasized that like Medea she might kill Aeneas rather than lose him, then the prayer for death is now transformed into a wish for her own doom. She will not share the fate of Medea or Ariadne; like Cleopatra in the recent Roman history of the poet's experience, she will take her own life: this literary figure thus follows history and not her poetic antecedents. Some critics have exercised hyperanalysis here, noting that she should not need to pray for that which she has it in her power to secure without divine aid (as opposed to her wish to detain Aeneas). With *mortem orat* here cf. 475 *decrevitque mori*, as prayer is graduated into firm resolve.

Some have also argued that *Mortem* should be capitalized here, such that Dido is to be imagined as making offerings to Death (cf. Orcus; 11.197 *Morti*; Sophocles' Ajax at 854, with Finglass). Dido makes the same wish here as Aeneas did at 2.655 *rursus in arma feror mortemque miserrimus opto*, where Anchises refused to budge despite his son's efforts to secure his escape from Troy (2.654 ... *et sedibus haeret in isdem* is reminiscent of the description of the Aeneas-tree at 445 above). This is Dido's worst crisis, as Aeneas had had his. Servius imagines that there may be a reference here to how Dido was *consecrata* and thus could not die until the consecration was removed; this may be an oversensitive reading occasioned by the end of the book and the necessities there so that Dido's death agony may end.

taedet: Alliterative with what she can no longer endure: gazing (*tueri*) at the heaven. We may compare here 19 *si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset*, of the queen's attitude toward marriage after the loss of Sychaeus. We may note too 5.617 *urbem orant, taedet pelagi perferre laborem* (in the context of being exhausted in Sicily at the prospect of further long journeying in quest of Italy); 10.888–889 ... *tot spicula taedet / vellere ...*, of Aeneas tiring of receiving the many shafts from Mezentius on his spear.

convexa: The principal echo is of 1.607–608 ... *dum montibus umbrae / lustrabunt convexa ...*, in the dramatic assertion by Aeneas of how Dido will always be remembered and honored by him. Cf. 1.310; 6.241 (also of the vault of heaven); 750; the variant reading for *conversa* at 7.543; 10.251; 11.515. Ciceronian (*Arat.* fr. 314 Soubiran). Cf. Seneca, *Thyest.* 993 (with Boyle).

tueri: The visual image again, this time with an air of finality: she now cannot stand to look. "Sight and Light are components of Life; Absence of Sight and Light are components of Death" (Paschalis 1997, 164). With the verb here we may recall 362, where Dido gazed at Aeneas before launching into her attack. *Caeli convexa tueri* is the antonym of the death for which she prays. The phrase at line-end will be paralleled by 452 ... *lucemque relinquat*, of the leaving the light that is the grim consequence of being tired of gazing on the heaven. She is well on her way to becoming an underworld denizen.

452 **quo magis inceptum peragat lucemque relinquat,**

The commencement of an eerie passage that describes the premonitions and omens of death and destruction that now haunt the depressed queen. Sidgwick argues that "the connection is a little strange": once again the poet plays with the often difficult to plot line between preordained destiny and individual action. A "malign destiny" (Maclennan) is clearly enough at work here—though omens and portents of doom are the stock-in-trade of both verse and Livian history. R.G. Nisbet, "*Voluntas Fati* in Latin Syntax," in *AJPh* 44.1 (1923), 27–43, 31 includes this passage among those examples he gathers to illustrate his suggestion that "we have not yet reached the 'final clause of destiny.'" *Magis* implies a certain gilding of the lily, as it were: the queen is set on her course, and the eerie portents merely speed her on her grim way. See further Fratanuono 2007, 117, with consideration of the idea that the gods wanted Dido dead sooner rather than later so that she could not engage in any attack against the Trojan fleet.

inceptum: Cf. on 6.384 below. At 8.90 *ergo iter inceptum celerant rumore secundo* it is applied to the journey on the Tiber; cf. 5.678 and 714 of the great undertaking of the quest for Italy that has so tired some of Aeneas' people. Also of battle preparations at 9.694 (Turnus') and 12.566 (Aeneas'). A key word: Dido is now unquestionably at the start of her resolution to commit suicide; the commentators have no further need to ask whether the intention is there.

peragat: Of carrying something through to its conclusion. The verb will recur at 653 *vixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi*, where Dido reflects on her life just before she takes it; cf. Aeneas at 6.105 *omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi*. The verb occurs in a less solemn context at 5.362. The subjunctive is coordinate with *relinquat*, with a paradoxical air: theme and variation in that carrying out what has been commenced will result in leaving the light. The subjunctives after 453 *vidit* are present for the sake of added vividness; this seems likelier than imagining the influence of the present tense *orat* and *taedet* (so Pease).

The language here is echoed at 6.384 *Ergo iter inceptum peragunt fluvioque propinquant*, of Aeneas and Deiphobe as they approach the Styx; we may note too Aeneas' farewell to the Trojans at Buthrotum at 3.493–494 *vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peractis / iam sua ...* Cf. also 6.136 and 9.242, of what must be done before the descent to Avernus, and of the promised slaughter of the night raid.

lucemque relinquit: We recall Anna's vocative *o luce magis dilecta sorori* at 30 above; the sister who was dearer to her than light (i.e., life) now wishes to relinquish the light by suicide. Mezentius expresses similar sentiments in the wake of the death of Lausus at 10.855–856 *nunc vivo neque adhuc homines lucemque relinquo. / sed linquam ...* The only other similar use of this image in the epic is of Dido's royal *comparanda* Amata, who notes ominously to Turnus ... *simul haec invisa relinquam / lumina nec generum Aenean captiva videbo* (12.62–63). The language is Ennian (*Ann. fr.* 3.137 Skutsch *Postquam lumina sis oculis bonus Ancus reliquit*, quoted nearly verbatim by Lucretius, *DRN* 3.1025 *lumina sis oculis etiam bonus Ancus reliquit*). We may compare the description of the dying Camilla at 11.818–819 *labitur exsanguis, labuntur frigida leto / lumina, purpureus quondam color ora reliquit*. The archaic echo here secures the solemn tone as the queen advances inexorably toward her grave.

Virgil will recall this verse in his depiction of Aeneas and Dido in the underworld at 6.470 *nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur*, where the queen's shade is not moved by the start of Aeneas' speech; cf. 5.94 *hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores*, of the renewed rites at Anchises' *tumulus* in the wake of the serpent portent.

453 *vidit, turicremis cum dona imponeret aris,*

We are reminded here of Dido and Anna at 54 ff., as they proceeded to the observance of sacrificial and religious rites.

vidit: The main verb, one of sight soon after 451 *tueri*, in effective counterbalance: Dido tires of seeing the heaven, but by which the more she may carry out her intention to commit suicide, she saw portents of doom. The spondaic rhythm underscores the shocking effect of what the queen saw.

turicremis: Only here in Virgil. The compound is borrowed from Lucretius (*DRN* 2.352–354 *nam saepe ante deum vitulus delubra decora / turicremas propter mactatus concidit aras / sanguinis exspirans calidum de pectore flumen*), of the calf that falls in sacrifice while its pathetic mother searches for her offspring in vain. Cf. Ovid, *Her.* 2.18; *Ars* 3.393; Lucan, *BC* 9.989. *Turicremis* here evokes the Lucretian parallel, as *delubra* does at 56. "One of the quite small group of picturesque compound adjectives that gained Virgilian sanction" (Austin). Tilly argues that the archaism may reflect the traditional nature of liturgical obser-

vances. The incense-burning altars frame the placement of the gifts, with the notable hyperbaton enacting the wafting of the smoke. The recollection of the sorrowful mother of the calf from Lucretius may connect to the image of the abandoned Anna that will emerge as Dido put her suicide plan into action; there are obvious differences, but the rare compound adjective deliberately recalls the famous vignette of the sacrificial calf. Dido will be the ultimate offering now, self-immolated.

dona: For the semantic connection between Dido and gift-giving see Paschalis 1997, 164 (with commentary on how these offerings will be rejected). The noun also at 63 *instauratque diem donis*, from the description of Dido's previous rituals. *Déjà vu*, as events from earlier in the book are recalled as the queen proceeds to her fate.

imponeret: The sequence of tenses now regularized after the main verb in prominent first *sedes*. "... the imperfect subjunctive is not used often in the *Aeneid* in a temporal *cum*-clause. Furthermore, these *cum*-clauses never indicate the main reference time, but always refer to another time ..." (Adema 2019, 197 n. 25). "The very act of making offerings was at once the *occasion* and the *cause* of the sight which she saw, hence the subjunctive ..." (Tilly). For *imponere* cf. on 418; 639.

aris: Poetic plural. We may recall Iarbas' hundred altars referenced at 200 above (and cf. 204 and 219). His prayer more successful than Dido's, we might think—at least after a fashion.

Why was Dido making offerings? "Possibly even now she is trying to sway Aeneas back to her, or perhaps she is seeking to make peace with heaven before she ends her life. Whatever the motivation, the rites do not console" (Fratantuono 2007, 117). At 56 ff. the rationale was clear; here it comes after 451 *mortem orat*, and may be connected to the queen's wish to engage in religious rites before her suicide. Far less likely is that this is a normal ritual of the state-cult; Dido cannot be imagined as being particularly worried about the customary observances of the liturgical calendar when she is in such a state of despondence. Anachronism, some have argued, and with reference to the daily offerings in every Roman house to the Lares, who were honored with incense and wine: but do we know if incense and wine (conventional enough offerings) were employed in archaic Carthaginian rituals? To whom was she making her prayers? We may recall here Juno's indignant ... *et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat / praeterea aut supplex aris imponet honorem?* (1.48–49). In context it seems best to connect the present, solitary rituals of the queen with her aforementioned prayer to die; the mere presence of an incense reference followed by wine (455) likely mingled with water (454) is hardly sufficient to turn Dido into an anachronistic venerator of the Lares.

454 (*horrendum dictu*) *latices nigrescere sacros*

Interlocking word order to highlight the horror: *horrendum* / *latices* / *nigrescere* / *sacros*. On the ominous portents that are now described see Grassman-Fischer 1966, 100 ff. (on the signs that portend the deaths of Dido and Turnus).

horrendum dictu: So at 3.26 in the wake of the grim portents at Polydorus' *tumulus*; 8.565 of the monster Erulus' three bodies; cf. also above at 182 for Rumor as a *monstrum horrendum* (like the Cyclops). *Horrendum dictu* correlates closely with 456 *hoc visum nulli, non ipsa effata sorori*; the omens that were fearful to relate are not, in fact, related by Dido to anyone, not even to her sister (we are reminded that these were indeed private and not public rituals—no one except the queen saw any of this). Tilly and others have taken what Dido sees to be a hallucination, which may well be true: certainly by this point her sanity is in serious question.

latices ... sacros: The identity of the sacred liquid has vexed the commentators since Servius (who took it of wine). This is likely the water that was customarily mingled with wine (so Williams, e.g.); certainly for water to turn black would be a more ominous portent than for already dark wine to do so. The noun recurs at 512, in another baleful context; cf. 1.685–686 *ut, cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido | regalis inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum*, in Venus' instructions to Cupid about the seduction of Dido: a happier time in one sense compared to now, but another passage tinged with the stirrings of disaster. We may compare the scene at Dido's banquet where she makes her libation: 1.736–737 *dixit et in mensam laticum libavit honorem | primaque, libato, summo tenus attigit ore*; 6.218–219 of the offerings at the Misenus requiem; 6.715 of the *securus latices* of Lethe that bring oblivion; 7.464 *exsultantque aestu latices ...*, in the simile describing the reaction of Turnus to Allecto's dastardly work: not a happy set of parallels on the whole. Those who take the *latices* to refer to wine sometimes assume a hendiadys with 455 *vina* (theme and variation). Pease is right to highlight that *latices* of water would provide a double portent, and this is stronger and thus likely better. But the more decisive matter is that water turning black is scarier than wine. Water and wine are commonly mingled, in contexts both convivial and ritual (the two categories often overlapping); cf. the theological symbolism imparted to the common action in most Christian liturgical rites (Roman, Byzantine, etc.). The plural is of repeated sacrifices, as of *vina* at 455.

nigrescere: The chromatic verb (vid. Edgeworth 1992, 141) is inchoative. This is the first appearance of this word in extant Latin; it may be a Virgilian coinage. It recurs in the epic only at 11.824 ... *et tenebris nigrescunt omnia circum*, in the dying Camilla's last words to Acca—one of the many verbal connections between the Carthaginian and the Volscian. The verb is framed by the sacred waters that become black. An obvious enough association with death, regard-

less of the exact shade or hue envisioned here. The verb recurs in Columella and often in Pliny Maior; note also Germanicus, *Arat.* 617; Ovid, *Ars* 3.503 ... *nigrescunt sanguine venae*; *Met.* 2.581 *bracchia coeperunt levibus nigrescere pen- nis*; 3.671–672; *Fast.* 5.323; *Trist.* 1.4.5; Statius, *Theb.* 4.171; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.260; Martial, *Ep.* 8.77.5; 11.39.3. One of the possible neologisms of the poet that was rather avidly taken up by his readers across a variety of genres.

sacros: The adjective also at 50; 301; 485; 500; 638; 703; vid. H. Fugier in *EV* IV, 629–630.

455 *fusaque in obscenum se vertere vina cruorem*;

More interlocking word order: *fusaque* / *obscenum* / *vina* / *cruorem*. Either a new portent, or an explanation of the previous (taking 454 *latices* of wine and not water).

fusaque: Hyperbaton to express the pouring of the wine in libation; so also with the *obscenum* ... *cruorem* into which it ominously morphs. For the verb cf. 61 above.

obscenum: The adjective also at 3.241 and. 262, of the Harpies; cf. 367 of the *obscena fames* that Celaeno threatened; 7.417 *et frontem obscenam rugis arat* ... (of Allecto's disguise as Calybe); 12.876 *obscenae volucres* (Juturna of the Dirae); cf. *G.* 1.470 (of the howling dogs that were among the several portents of the assassination of Caesar). The connotation is of that which is foul and disgusting. "One of the very strongest words available" (Williams). "The word is probably from root SKAV 'cover' and means 'covered over', 'dark,' and so 'ill-omened,' 'foul.'" (so Sidgwick; yet also cf. Pokorny 1957/1969 s.v., **k̑ei-*, **k̑ei-no-*, "Schlamm, Kot, beschmutzen"). In either case, the sound effect of the adjective with the ominous *obscura* at 461 is striking.

vertere vina: Alliterative. For the plural *vina* see Austin: metrical convenience is certainly a factor, and the plural works well especially in contexts like this where we imagine copious wine pouring over the altar. Virgil never has *vinum*. Löfstedt I, 44 thought that neuter plurals of this sort were originally thought to be feminine collective nouns, but there can be no certainty that Virgil did or did not think this. The wine is juxtaposed with the gore into which it becomes.

For pouring wine over altars or the heads of sacrificial victims (or more simply in libation absent either cult site or animal) cf. 6.243–244, and note also 5.235–238; 774–776; 8.273–279. See Pease for associations of the color red with death.

cruorem: At line-end contrasting with 454 ... *sacros*. The noun also at 201, of the gore from the many sacrificial victims offered to Jupiter by Iarbas. Columella imitates Virgil's image of "obscene gore" at *DRR* 10.1.1.360, of menstrual blood.

The most famous example of this particular portent that is attested concerns Xerxes; see Valerius Maximus 1.6, ext. 1b, with Wardle. If this prior occurrence were on the poet's mind, then there is a connection between the storied invader of Greece and the Carthaginian queen who will soon curse the future Rome with nothing less than a Hannibal. For the omen, claims appertaining to the Eucharistic miracle, like those of Lanciano (eighth century) or Bolsena (thirteenth century) may be cited as parallels, in which the mystery of transubstantiation takes on a rather vivid reality.

456 *hoc visum nulli, non ipsi effata sorori.*

The verse is balanced between the visual and the auditory: No one saw the portent, and Anna would not hear of it.

hoc: Deictic.

visum: The noun also at 277 above. Cf. 2.212 *diffugimus visu exsanguis*, of the reaction to the serpents approaching Laocoön; 382 *visu tremefactus*, of Androgeos' reaction to being caught amid Trojans; 3.308 *deriguat visu in medio*, of Aeneas' shock at seeing Andromache and the toy Troy; 5.90 *obstipuit visu Aeneas*, after the appearance of the serpent on the tomb of Anchises; 6.710 *horrescit visu subito*, of Aeneas in Elysium; 8.109 *terrentur visu subito*, of the Arcadians except Pallas at the sudden appearance of the Trojans on the Tiber; 10.447 ... *obitque truci procul omnia visu*, of Pallas with Turnus; 11.271 *nunc etiam horribili visu portenta sequuntur*, of Diomedes in his story about the avian metamorphosis of his companions. Cf. also 2.605 *mortalis hebetat visus tibi ...* (Venus to Aeneas during Troy's fall); 3.36 *rite secundarent visus ...* (at Polydorus' grave). Often then of portentous things (not necessarily baleful); the omens Dido has seen so far have been visual, though at 460 ff. she will begin to experience auditory horrors too.

nulli: Those who have preferred to imagine that Dido is merely hallucinating these dire omens have taken the first half of the verse to be a true, authorial statement: this was seen by no one. This verse in any case marks a change from the more loquacious world of the sisters from the opening of the book. Alliterative with *non*.

ipsi: Particularizing *nulli*.

effata: For the verb cf. 30; 76; 499. Here it is framed by words referencing Dido and Anna. MacLennan notes that Dido never blames her sister for anything to her face; 548–549 is the only occasion, and that reflects the queen's private thoughts.

sorori: There is some attestation for adding an unnecessary *est* after the noun in an attempt to “regularize” the syntax. The two datives provide an anchor to the verse. DServ. thought that Dido was afraid that her sister might also commit

suicide if she were to learn of these ominous occurrences. There is papyrological citation for reading *es effata sorori*, which would introduce another apostrophe to Dido. Cf. 30 *sic effata sinum lacrimis implevit obortis*, where Dido's words to Anna are choked off by tears just as she speaks of her dead husband.

457 *praeterea fuit in tectis de marmore templum*

We may recall here Anna's comment at 34 *id cinerem aut manis credere sepultos?*, itself prompted by the closing words of Dido's address to her before she was dissolved in tears: 28–29 *ille meos, primos qui me sibi iunxit, amores / abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulchro*. Strong reminiscence of the previous passage, as Dido experiences phenomena that provide an eerie answer to her sister's question.

praeterea: As if the first omens were not enough. 20× in the epic; it recurs at 464 as the miniature catalogue of doom continues.

fuit: A little word, easily passed over: here it may convey a hint that the temple has been neglected (cf. on 458 *colebat*).

tectis: Alliterative with *templum*. Dido does not need to leave her palace in order to be close to the shrine. For the noun cf. 164; 186; 260; 343; 403; 494; 668.

marmore: Echoing 391–392 ... *suscipiunt famulae conlapsaque membris / marmoreo referent thalamo stratisque reponunt*, of the safekeeping of Dido in her chamber by her handmaidens after she fainted. That passage is laden with hints of burial and omens of death; here the portents that Dido experiences after the failure of her plans with Aeneas include eerie sounds emitting from Sychaeus' shrine.

templum: "A cenotaph in the form of a temple" (Butler). For the noun cf. on 199. At 484 it will recur in yet another context. Balanced at line-end with 458 *colebat*, of its upkeep; 459 *revinctum*, of its decoration. Tilly offers a note that imagines Dido's palace as being designed not dissimilarly to the plan of dwellings excavated at Pompeii; the commentators have seen in *templum* another anachronistic reference, sc. to the altars dedicated in Roman homes to the *di manes* ("Virgil here transfers to Carthage a custom familiar at Rome" (Pease)). Cf. Cicero, *Verr.* 2.4.4 (with the Cupid of Praxiteles the governor coveted). Virgil recalls here 3.302–304 *ante urbem in luco falsi Simoentis ad undam / libabat cineri Andromache manisque vocabat / Hectoreum ad tumulum, viridi quem caespite inanem / et geminas, causam lacrimis, sacraverat aras*. No marble in Buthrotum, but a cenotaph for another murdered husband.

Ovid's Dido echoes this passage at *Her.* 7.99–102 *est mihi marmorea sacratus in aede Sychaeus*, etc.

458 coniugis antiqui, miro quod honore colebat,

The verse is alliteratively framed by *coniugis* / *colebat*, words that reference Dido's *primus amor* and how she cherished his memory before the advent of Aeneas.

coniugis antiqui: Sychaeus returns prominently to the narrative, in first position. The phrase is especially striking after Dido's reference to Anna about Aeneas at 431 *non iam coniugium antiquum, quod prodidit oro*: there the queen complained that her Trojan lover had betrayed their "ancient marriage," and here the queen is reminded by the sounds that are heard to come from the cold marble of her husband's cenotaph that it is she who has betrayed a *coniugium antiquum*. If there is a guilty conscience here that is the source of the auditory terrors, it is what to a Roman audience would be considered a just reaction to Dido's abandonment of her *univira* status. Servius notes that *antiquus* refers either to Sychaeus' status as the former husband, or to the fact that he was *carus* to Dido. Both senses are here, with the main point being the contrast with how the queen had characterized her relationship with Aeneas.

miro: The adjective is not particularly common in the epic. At 1.353–354 *ipsa sed in somnis inhumati venit imago / coniugis ora modis attollens pallida miris* it occurs of the ghostly apparition of Sychaeus that warns Dido to leave Tyre—the reminiscence that Virgil wishes to conjure here as Dido is haunted by her dead spouse. Cf. 3.298 ... *miroque incensum pectus amore*, where it describes Aeneas as he eagerly seeks to speak to Helenus, just before the mention of Andromache bringing her offerings to Hector's cenotaph; 6.737–738 ... *penitusque necesse est / multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris*, in the description of the process of the purification of souls; 7.56–57 ... *quem regia coniunx / adiungi generum miro properabat amore*, of Amata's attitude toward Turnus' marrying Lavinia; 89 *multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris*, of the visions summoned by Lavinia's incubation rituals; 9.304 ... *mira quem dederat arte Lycaon*, of the sword that Ascanius presents to Euryalus; 10.267–268 *at Rutulo regi ducibusque ea mira videri / Ausoniis ...*, of the appearance of Aeneas and his Etruscan allies, etc.; 821–822 *At vero ut vultum vidit morientis et ora, / ora modis Anchisiades pal-lentia miris* (of Lausus). The emphasis is on how the honor that Dido once paid to the shrine was a marvel; this was no perfunctory remembering of the dead, but a wondrous devotion. See further on 459 for what is particularly noteworthy about the honor.

honore: Juxtaposed with *colebat*. For the noun on 4 *gentis honos* (of Aeneas). *Miro honore* is Lucretian (*DRN* 5.1279–1280 *inque dies magis adpetitur floretque repertum / laudibus et miro est mortalis inter honore*); cf. Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 12.230.

colebat: The verb recalls 422 *te colere*, where Dido made her remark about Aeneas' relationship with her sister; cf. 343 *reliquias colerem* of Aeneas' wishes regarding Troy. The imperfect is a true use of the tense: she used to cultivate and maintain the temple, before she was distracted by another love.

459 velleribus niveis et festa fronde revinctum:

velleribus: In sound pattern with *revinctum* at line-end; also *niveis*. Fleeces are referenced also at 6.249, where Aeneas makes his offerings before the descent to Avernus; and at 7.94–95, of the bed for Latinus' incubation ritual. *Anachronismus*: new Roman brides on arrival at the house of the groom would anoint the doors with oil or fat, and crown them with woolen fillets (see Treggiari 1991, 167–168). The temple to Sychaeus is decorated as if Dido had just married him; this has been taken by some critics as the point of 458 *miro honore* (i.e., taking the present line as epexegetical). In context it makes the tragedy all the more pointed: Dido has been unfaithful to the memory of the man in whose honor every day was a wedding day, as it were.

niveis: Vid. Edgeworth 1992, 142–143; for snow and snow imagery in the poet, E. Zaffagno in *EV* 111, 743–746. The color adjective also at 1.469–470, of the snow-white tents of Rhesus' camp in the pictures in Dido's temple; 3.126 of Paros, snow-white because of its celebrated marble; 6.665 of the bands on the brow worn by all in Elysium; 7.669 of the swans to whom the Faliscan contingent in the catalogue of heroes is compared; 8.387 of the pale arms of Venus that embrace Vulcan; 720 of the threshold of the temple of Apollo on the shield; 11.39 of the face of Pallas, snow-white in death. The color palette displays effective contrast: 454 *nigrescere*; 459 *niveis*.

festa fronde: Alliterative. *Fronde* recalls the leaves that fell from the Aeneas-tree at 444. The adjective *festus* occurs only 3× in the epic: parallel to the present use is 2.248–244 *nos delubra deum miseri, quibus ultimus esset | ille dies, festa velamus fronde per urbem* (of the celebration on the admission of the Wooden Horse); cf. 6.69–70 *tum Phoebo et Triviae solido de marmore templum | instituum festosque dies de nomine Phoebi*, of Aeneas' vow to the Sibyl. As with *niveis*—which at the Pallas requiem (a scene haunted by Dido's ghost) was associated with death, so *festa fronde* recalls the fall of Troy even as it describes the happy day of the nuptials of Dido and Sychaeus. The memory of the dead husband was cherished before the arrival of Aeneas; there may also be a hint that such decorations as these ward off any ill-omened or baleful occurrence. If so, the queen's recent behavior has rendered the snow-white fleeces and festal frond ineffectual.

There is papyrological evidence for *sacra*, which may have been read from a reminiscence of 454 *sacros*; *festa* is far better, not least for the allusion back

to Troy's last day. It is also possible that from an early date there was a sense that this temple should not be decorated festively; even *fésta* has been taken by some to refer to funereal adornment (and cf. Fanshawe's "sad dark yew-tree": "simply wrong" as Irvine notes). The present description will be echoed at 506–507 *intenditque locum sertis et fronde coronat / funerea ...*, in the adornment of the queen's pyre.

revinctum: The same form at line-end in the description of the bound Sinon at 2.57; cf. 3.76 and the grim 12.847. Whether nominative (with *templum*) or accusative (with *quod*) has been a subject of debate; probably the latter, though Virgil may not have thought much about it.

The description of the festal decorations contrasts with the altars erected at the tomb of Polydorus: ... *stant Manibus arae / caeruleis maestae vittis atra cupresso*, another locus whence voices from beyond the grave had been heard.

460 *hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis*

A verse of memorable sound repetition (*voces / verba / vocantis*), which continues at 461 (*visa viri*): "... intended to convey an eerie effect" (Irvine).

hinc: Cf. 253; 483; 565.

exaudiri: Cf. 1.218–219 ... *seu vivere credant / sive extrema pati nec iam exaudire vocatos* (of the Trojan companions believed to have been lost at sea); 6.557–558 *hinc exaudiri gemitus et saeva sonare / verbera* (of the sounds that are heard from Tartarus); 7.156 *hinc exaudiri gemitus iraeque leonum / vincla recusantum* (of the lions in Circe's lair); 11.157–158 *dura rudimenta et nulli exaudita deorum / vota precesque meae!* (Evander at Pallas' bier); cf. *G.* 1.476–477 *vox quoque per lucos vulgo exaudita silentis / ingens* (of the portents of the assassination of Caesar).

voces: Not only in auditory pattern with the following *verba vocantis*, but also with all three words essentially conveying the same thing. First the "voices," and then the "words": Dido hears a sound and cannot at first distinguish what it says; soon enough she is able to understand its no doubt exceedingly disturbing message. Probably because of a reminiscence of parallel passages, Servius *ad* 12.638 read *gemitus* here. *Voces* is repeated at 463, of the cry of the eagle-owl.

voces et verba: The collocation may be inspired by Lucretius, *DRN* 4.533–534 *haud igitur dubiumst quin voces verbaque constent / corporeis e principiis ...*; cf. *Aen.* 12.318 *has inter voces, media inter talia verba* just before Aeneas is shot with an arrow; also Horace, *Serm.* 1.3.103–104 *donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent, / nominaque invenere ...* (with Gowers); *Ep.* 1.18.12 *sic iterat voces et verba cadentia tollit*; Ovid, *Am.* 3.14.25 *illuc nec voces nec verba iuvantia cessant*; *Ars* 1.464 *Effugiant voces verba molesta tuae*; *Met.* 3.369 *ingeminat*

voces auditaque verba reportat; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 17.563 *accipio gemitus voces-que ac verba vocantum.*

verba vocantis: Juxtaposition of the related words. Enjambment enacts the call from the cenotaph. Ovid's Dido (*Her.* 7.99 ff.) is of course allowed to hear exactly what Sychaeus uttered; Virgil knew that less is more. Sychaeus is finally given a voice in this book; this is a companion piece to the report of his ghostly visitation at 1.353 ff.; once upon a time Dido would have welcomed the voice of her lost husband, but here it is a nightmare. Tilly comments that this is the most believable and understandable of all the portents that Dido imagines.

"By a reversal of the rite by which his survivors summon the spirit of the deceased to the tomb, Sychaeus' ghost seems to summon the living Dido to death." (A.R. Dyck, "Sychaeus," in *Phoenix* 37.3 (1983), 239–244, 243).

461 *visa viri, nox cum terras obscura teneret,*

visa: Following on 460 *exaudiri*: the voices and words seemed to be heard. The participle effects a mingling of the image of the visual and the auditory; the sounds that seemed to be emitted from Sychaeus' grave were heard and not seen, but the language denotes that which is "not strictly apposite" (Austin). *Visa* may imply again that all of this was in Dido's imagination, though O'Hara rightly cautions against taking such a reading too far; as he notes, Virgil is describing what the queen seemed to hear, and no verdict is given on whether it was real. Cf. 467 *videtur*.

viri: Here in its sense of husband: this is the voice of the one the queen had forsaken for another. The vision of Sychaeus in Tyre had urged that his widow flee; now it is Aeneas who is fleeing, and Sychaeus would seem to be summoning Dido to a different sort of journey.

nox: The dark night envelops the *terras*. Roman weddings were held at night; this is the last night of Dido's life, we might think—though the exact reference here is uncertain, both to the type of portent and to the hour. It would seem likeliest that this is a nocturnal vision; certainly at 465 ff. she is suffering from a nightmare of Aeneas—which would mean that this terrible evening is clouded by ominous portents relating to both men. There is a strong reminiscence in all this of Dido's remark to her sister at 9 *Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent!* Formally the model is Apollonius' description of Medea's troubled dreams at *Arg.* 3.616–635; see further on this Nelis 2001, 179. "The hectic events of the fifth day in Carthage," as he does well to describe it: the elaborately described night of 522 ff. is certainly Dido's last (cf. 584 ff. of the last dawn); at 416 ff. it seemed—at least in Dido's estimation as she addressed Anna—that the Trojan departure was imminent. Pease comments

on the chronological difficulties occasioned by the present verse, which he attributes to a possible lack of revision of the poem, or to the poet's deliberate effort to be obscure. In a passage about frightening portents, nocturnal visitations are part of the stock-in-trade; there needs to be a night here because that is not only an hour suitable for ghostly voices, but also to evoke Roman marital rituals (cf. on 459). We may compare 351–353, where Aeneas warned Dido about the nightly visits from Anchises' shade that were haunting him. Are we to imagine another night intervening here? If so, it is a sleepless and troubled one, and the next day is spent in the elaborate preparations for the suicide.

The indefatigable Mandra (1934, 124) concludes: "... now she keeps awake because of the despair within her heart as Aeneas is leaving. She has a vision of herself and of cohorts of furies ... If Vergil's language and Dido's mortally wounded pride are taken into consideration, all this takes place in the same night." We cannot be certain, though we may be assured that the poet was not marking pages on a calendar or hours on a clock.

Austin comments on the "funereal spondees" of these verses.

terras: Alliterative with *teneret*.

obscura: Cf. the *obscura luna* of 80–81. For the adjective applied to night cf. Seneca, *Ag.* 726–727.

462 *solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo*

Cf. here *G.* 1.402–403 *solis et occasum servans de culmine summo | nequiquam seros exercet noctua cantu*. Gowers 2016, 107–130 is exemplary on the rich soundplay of this description, with the long vowels that mimic the owl's ominous hoots.

solaque: Framing the verse with *bubo*. The solitary bird of ill omen will be recalled below at 467 *sola sibi*, of Dido in her nightmare; the lonely owl is an image of the isolated queen, and its cry both warns her of coming destruction, and mimics her own solitary sobbing. Nonius 194, 3 Lindsay read *seraque*, possibly in remembrance of *G.* 1.403.

culminibus: Alliterative with *carmine*. We may recall the perch of the bird-like Rumor at 186 ... *summi culmine tecti*; this is another avian horror. Whatever terrible end is presaged here may find its fulfillment at 670–671 below.

ferali: The adjective of the cypress at 6.216, during the Misenus requiem; otherwise not in Virgil.

carmine: The noun recurs at 487; vid. E. Montanari in *EV* 1, 665–666.

bubo: Only here in Virgil. Pease has a massive note on owls and owl allusions; cf. Pliny, *NH* 10.34–35. See Mynott 2018, 257 ff. for owls that portend death and doom; Meyer 2020, 255–256. Ornithological precision is probably possible

here: *Bubo maximus* (i.e., *Bubo bubo*), the Eurasian eagle-owl. The female can be especially large, and that may account for the perhaps surprising gender here that is highlighted by *sola* in first position (see below). An apex predator; for nocturnal raptors in Virgil see F. Capponi in *EV* v, 351.

“Superstitions about owls are natural and universal” (Page). Austin comments on the many *u* sounds of 461–463 that enact the peculiar sound. Very different from the birds that are silent at 525 below, where nature’s slumber contrasts with the queen’s restlessness. Bird and song are juxtaposed. We may compare the *importunae volucres* that were part of the omens before Caesar’s stabbing (*G.* 1.470–471). The eagle-owl whose *ferale carmen* haunts the queen will find its avian match in the nocturnal bird (probably also an owl) whose form the Dira assumes to torment Turnus (12.861–868, where see Tarrant). *Bubo* also ominously at Ovid, *Am.* 1.12.19 (*raucis bubonibus*); *Met.* 5.550; 6.432; 10.453; *funereus bubo letali carmine fecit* (in imitation of the present passage); 15.791; *Ibis* 223; Calpurnius Siculus, *E.* 6.8; Lucan, *BC* 5.396; 6.689; Seneca, *HF* 687; *Med.* 733; Statius, *Theb.* 3.511; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 8.634; 13.598. Servius comments on how Virgil makes the noun feminine (“contra genus posuit”); Pease wonders if there is any significance to the fact that this is a story about a female character.

Columella imitates this verse at *DRR* 10.1.1.350 *nocturnas crucibus volucres suspendit et altis | culminibus vetuit feralia carmina flere*. Elsewhere in the book bird imagery figures in the comparison of Mercury to a diver at 253–255.

463 *saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces*;

Two infinitives anchor the verse; they may be considered historical, or as dependent on 460 (like 459 *exaudiri*; this is Wagner’s preference, followed with caution by Conington). MacLennan notes that owls are commonly heard in the night, and thus represent a “public” portent unlike the voices Dido seemed to hear from the temple; *saepe* nicely describes how owls make repeated hoots.

saepe: Also at 384, in Dido’s fantasy of the shipwrecked Aeneas calling often on her name in vain. Here it is the owl that cries often in the night to the torment of the queen.

queri: The verb will be echoed at 677 *quid primum deserta querar?*. Cf. 1.385 ... *nec plura querentem* (of Aeneas with his mother); also *G.* 4.512 *amissos queritur fetus*, in the description of the *philomela* to which Orpheus is compared; also 4.520 of the same depressed lover of Eurydice.

longas: The hyperbaton enacts the extended sound. Austin has a note here on the description of the “drawn out” cry of the owl; the solitary bird seems to be mourning—just as Dido herself is. The *fletus* of the bird is thus indicative of

the queen's sorrow for her lost love, and also of her coming doom. *Longas voces* also at Ps.-V., *Aetna* 295; Manilius, *Ast.* 4.199; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.602. We may compare 3.344–345 *talia fundebat lacrimans longosque ciebat / incassum fletus ...* (of Andromache). The adjective recurs soon after, at 467–468 *longam / viam*, in the description of Dido's dream.

fletum: Alliterative after 462 *ferali*. The noun echoes 369 *num fletu ingemuit nostro?* The present verse recalls not one but two rhetorical questions Dido poses elsewhere in the book. This is the *ferale carmen* of 462. Servius notes that owls are of good omen until they start to make sounds—which of course they often do.

ducere voces: The line-end also at Horace, *Ars* 318. *Voces* here reminds us of the sounds that were heard from Sychaeus' temple at 460.

464 *multaque praeterea vatum praedicta priorum*

multaque: More hyperbaton. There were not only *praedicta*, but there were many of them, all grasped too late. *Multaque praeterea* is Lucretian (*DRN* 2.109; 3.358; 5.943; 6.588; 797; 903; 1182). Cf. *Aen.* 6.285 *multaque praeterea variarum monstra ferarum* (at the threshold of the underworld); 7.183 *multaque praeterea sacris in postibus arma* (in Latinus' palace); 11.78–79 *multaque praeterea Laurentis praemia pugnae / aggerat ...* (at Pallas' requiem).

praeterea: Echoing 457. In addition to the omens, now Dido realizes the meaning of earlier, hitherto mysterious warnings.

vatum: For the noun see on 65 and cf. below on *priorum*. Ellen Oliensis considers the *vates* here to be Virgil's own "poetic precursors" ("Freud's *Aeneid*," in *Vergilius* 47 (2001), 39–63, 45 ff.), with reference to the forthcoming imagery from the world of the tragic theater.

praedicta: Only here in Virgil as a substantive; for the verb note 3.252 and 436. Most on the poet's mind here is 3.713–714 *nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret, / hos mihi praedixit luctus, non dira Celaeno*, of Aeneas' lament that no one had alerted him to the forthcoming loss of Anchises.

priorum: Alliterative after *praeterea* and *praedicta*. An interesting textual crux (cf. the same problem at 8.312): the Medicean reads *piorum* here, which invites comparison with 6.662 *quique pii vates et Phoebos digna locuti*. Servius knew both readings; Mackail (following Page, not to mention Burmann, Heyne, Gossrau, Forbiger, Ribbeck, Güthling, and Ladewig) prefers *piorum*, though with little in the way of commentary. No editor since that bimillenary Virgil has concurred; note that Gould and Whiteley print *piorum* without comment. Sidgwick is sympathetic to both readings, though he finds *piorum* somewhat better to avoid the repeated prefix *prae-* (which may, after all, be Virgil's point); Stephenson too thinks that *piorum* is better, though he concludes

that the meaning is basically the same either way. “Friget in hoc loco “piorum” lectio” (Wakefield).

Henry has a long note defending *priorum* as the more appropriate reading; Page’s main objection to *priorum* (which he concedes is better attested) is that the alliterative effect would be a bit too elaborated. “Prophets ‘of long ago’ are more picturesque than ‘pious’ seers, who are merely what all prophets should be” (Butler). The best defense of *piorum* would be MacLennan’s note that the *vates* would be *pii* in that they would be urging Dido to remain loyal to Sychaeus; he argues that even so, *priorum* gives a better sense, especially because like all good omens and warnings it is suitably vague and ambiguous. The idea of remembering things too late goes back in Virgil all the way to Meliboeus at *E.* 1.16–17.

The present allusion will be recalled at 5.523–524 ... *docuit post exitus ingens / seraque terrifici cecinerunt omnia vates*, of the interpretation of the portent of Acestes’ miraculous flaming arrow shot (see Fratantuono 2010 for a connection of that omen with the death of Pallas). Here the emphasis is on how *vates* had made prior grim forecasts; we may recall 65 *heu vatum ignarae mentes!* (the association noted already by Servius). In the previous passage Dido and Anna were ignorant of the bards and what was being presaged; now the queen remembers those *praedicta*, at an hour far too late. *Pii vates* also at Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 6.288, probably in imitation of Virgil’s Elysian bards.

465 **terribili monitu horrificant. agit ipse furem**

terribili: Prominent by position. The adjective occurs at 8.266 of Cacus’ eyes; at 620 of the divine *galea* bestowed on Aeneas; note also 6.277 *terribiles visu* of the monstrous apparitions at the narthex of the underworld; 299 *terribili squalore* of Charon; 7.667 of Aventinus’ lion mane; 9.503 *At tuba terribilem sonitum ...*; 12.498 and 947 of Aeneas, in the latter case just before he kills Turnus. A third of the occurrences of the adjective are thus connected to Dido’s former love, who in this line is already heralded at *agit ipse*. The adjective frames the verse with *furem* in dreadful envelopment.

monitu: Recalling 282 *attonitus tanto monitu*, where Aeneas was thunderstruck and roused to action by the epiphany of Mercury.

horrificant: The verb occurs only here in Virgil; we may compare 12.851 *letum horrificum* in connection to the Dirae; also 3.225 of the *horrificus lapsus* of the (bird-like) Harpies; 571 of the *horrificae ruinae* of Etna. We recall here again 5.524 *seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina vates*. “The pause after *horrificant* precedes the climax of horror” (Austin).

agit ipse: A briefly held mystery, as the dream Aeneas makes his eerie appearance. The verb literally means that the dream Aeneas is pursuing and driving

on Dido; it also heralds the theatrical action from the simile of 469 ff.: *agit* of Aeneas as a character in a tragic play. With *ipse* cf. 445 *ipsa*, of the tree to which he was compared.

The dream of Aeneas' pursuit of the queen appears dramatically and unexpectedly, in something of an enactment of the suddenness of the apparition in her sleep. The *praedicta* of the *vates* terrify her, and so do the nocturnal visions that fill her night.

furem: "Das Furor-Motiv" again, this time with particular reference back to 65–66 *heu vatum ignarae mentes! quid vota furem, | quid delubra iuvant?* *Furem* here coordinates with 466 *ferus* of Aeneas, the dreamworld stalker. Some have assumed that *furem* is proleptic, reflecting the result of Aeneas' oneiric pursuit. But the poet already has made it quite clear that the queen is *furens*.

466 in somnis ferus Aeneas, semperque relinquit

in somnis: On this dream vid. Steiner 1952, 48–51. A sibilant alliteration commences for the dream description (*somnis | semperque | 467 sola sibi, semper*). Aeneas will have his own dream vision at 556 *obtulit in somnis* etc., where Mercury makes his final visit to demand the Trojans' immediate departure. We recall 1.353 ff. *ipsa sed in somnis inhumati venit imago*, etc., of the Sychaeus dream; her former husband makes no appearance in this restless sleep, but rather the figure of a savage Aeneas in pursuit of her.

How many dreams? Servius thought many in the course of many nights; the question connects to the problem of the chronology of the book. Pease perceptively notes that dreams may seem interminable to the dreamer. Dido's dream here will be echoed in the simile that compares Turnus to a man in a dream at 12.908–912. No prophecy or prediction in this dream. Difficult to find any parallel for Dido's dream in Artemidorus' catalogue of weird and disturbing nocturnal visions in *Oneir.* 5. Note Valerius' Medea at *Arg.* 7.141–152 (with Davis ad loc.), who *inter al.* imagines that she has Jason on one side and her father on the other.

L.T. Percy in *VE* I, 384 notes that nobody in the epic dreams more than Aeneas; "Otherwise only Dido, Latinus ... and Turnus dream." He observes that Aeneas and Dido share the experience of having a "dead, mutilated relative" appear to them in dreams (Hector, Sychaeus). Cf. also here M. Weidhorn, "The Anxiety Dream in Literature from Homer to Milton," in *Studies in Philology* 64.1 (1967), 65–82. Again, earlier events are repeating themselves (cf. Nelis 2001, 178), though with greater clarity; certainly the sacrificial rites of 54 ff. may be interpreted in a new light. Dreams were commonly thought to be of divine origin; Virgil does not specify any provenance for this nightmare. Some since

Servius have wondered if this is even a dream at all, preferring to consider it an insomniac's crazed vision (i.e., *in somnis* for *insomniis*); either way the context is nocturnal (461), and a dream seems better as the locus for these visions than some bizarre waking hallucination.

ferus Aeneas: *Ferus* only here of Aeneas. Panthus applies it to Jupiter on Troy's last night at 2.326; these are the only two individuals in the epic who are accorded the appellation. We may compare Turnus' address to Aeneas at 12.894–895 *ille caput quassans: 'non me tua fervida terrent / dicta, ferox: di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis'*, where the two figures who are called *ferus* are united in one comment of the doomed antagonist. Aeneas here becomes what Dido had threatened to be for him at 384–386. Tilly underscores how Aeneas is envisaged as if he were a wild animal; he is recognizable as Aeneas, but he has taken on the terrifying countenance and manner of some ferocious beast. The lack of specification contributes to the mood of horror. Cf. below on 551 *more ferae*. Williams draws attention to Dido's characterization of Aeneas as a *hostis superbus* at 424. Shades of the eventual Roman conquest of Carthage may be present. "This hallucination is a complete reversal of her former attitude, a mockery of all her former hopes" (Tilly). The name of the hero is prominent at midpoint, just as it is the key name on the mind of the lovesick woman.

The present description of Aeneas surpasses that of the hunter of the Dido-deer simile: "The shepherd/hunter of the simile was unknowing, but now Aeneas is called fierce (*ferus*), because he is fully aware now of everything" (Fratantuono 2007, 117). For the noun/form cf. 168. On the etymological word-play of *ferus* after 465 *agit ipse* (i.e., with Dido who *fertur*), see N. Adkin, "The Etymology of *ferus/fera* in Virgil," in *Commentaria Classica* 6 (2019), 19–43, 26.

semperque: Repeated at once for effect: what matters most in the end for Dido is that she always seems to be left alone.

relinqui: An interesting verb after 465 *agit*. The wild Aeneas is driving Dido on, but she is always left alone. The nightmare reflects on her state: she wants Aeneas to come to her, and in his divinely mandated decision to depart he has abandoned her. In the dream he chases her—something one would think he would not need to do given her obsessive passion for him. He pursues her like some wild animal, however, and yet he does not catch his quarry—she is always left alone, exactly the state in which she finds herself waking or sleeping. We may recall here the hunting simile of 68–73; note especially 69 *furens* of Dido, which is parallel to 465 *furentem*. Others imagine that there are multiple dreams, in one of which Aeneas pursues her, while in the second she imagines herself left alone, searching for her Tyrians. It seems better to imagine one horrific vision, which in her sick state corresponds to how she perceives events

since Aeneas arrived: he pursued her; she was then left alone; now she cannot find her people, who seem to her to have abandoned their queen, when in fact it is she who has abandoned them. Servius interpreted *semperque relinqui* as meaning “per omnes noctes navigare videbatur Aeneas, quasi eam semper desereret”; it seems more frightening to imagine a dream in which the wild Aeneas pursues her, only for her to realize that she is now alone in the desert.

“Dido is evidently an actress. In her sick fantasy, horror is piled on horror. *Ferus / furem*: a madman chases a mad woman ... We are already in a dream, but this dream somehow contains a stage, another sort of dream.” (Newman and Newman 2005, 170).

Austin comments on how “the rhythm well illustrates the remorselessness of Aeneas’ pursuit”; Dido’s nightmare advances from the fright at being pursued by a former lover who has been transformed into a wild animal, to the terror of realizing that one is completely alone and unable to find her companions.

467 *sola sibi, semper longam incommitata videtur*

sola sibi: *Sola* echoes 462 *sola*, of the solitary owl whose cries portended doom. Alliterative juxtaposition with *sibi*, with all the emphasis on the isolation of the queen (strengthened further by *incommitata*). *Sibi* correlates grammatically with 466 *videtur*, but the word order places the emphasis on its connection with *sola*: Dido envisions herself as alone for herself, as it were, utterly abandoned and desolate.

longam: Once again the hyperbaton enacts the length of the seemingly endless road that Dido traverses alone. There is an image here of what would be familiar to anyone living in Carthage: the desert is not so far off, and its trackless wastes are in mind here. Some have seen the “long way” as an allusion to the ultimate journey toward death; others have seen an anticipation of 537ff., where the queen imagines the possibility of following the Trojans.

incommitata: Significantly, the only other occurrence of the word in Virgil is at 2.456–457 *saepius Andromache ferre incommitata solebat | ad soceros et avo puerum Astyanacta trahebat*, again linking the two women, one who had lost a child, the other who would never have one.

“Quod ferale, id est, mortiferum omen est, et praecipue regibus” (Servius). Royalty is rarely left alone. Lucretian: cf. *DRN* 6.1225–1226 *incommitata rapi certabant funera vasta | nec ratio remedii communis certa dabatur*, in the terrifying description of the plague at Athens. Cf. Ovid, *Rem.* 592; *Met.* 7.185; *Fast.* 4.514; *Trist.* 2.1.480; *Ep.* 2.3.36; Statius, *Theb.* 2.343; 5.495; *Silv.* 5.1.206; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 9.101. The participle is particularly effective after *longam*: she is unaccompanied on what is already a long road.

videtur: Cf. 461 *visa*.

The commentators here see a possible evocation of the dream of Ilia at Ennius, *Ann. fr.* 1.34–50 Skutsch, where the heroine relates her encounter with Mars (vid. Steiner 1952, 20–22; 50; N. Krevans, “Ilia’s Dream: Ennius, Virgil, and the Mythology of Seduction,” in *HSCPh* 95 (1993), 257–271); cf. especially 39–42 ... *ita sola | postilla, germana soror, errare videbar | tardaue vestigare et quaerere te neque posse | corde capessere: semita nulla pedem stabilibat*. Irvine: “Dido’s dream bears a dim yet discernible atmospheric resemblance to the dream of the Vestal Ilia ... a passage with a strange beauty of its own.” For the present dream as a reversal of the “fruitful” vision of Ilia, see Newman and Newman 2005, 171. We would of course have many other parallels if we had access to lost works, and it is perhaps wise not to dwell too much on a connection here that may be more tenuous than not.

There is something of a happy ending (if it can be called that) to all this at 6.473–474 ... *coniunx ubi pristinus illi | respondet curis aequatque Sychaeus amorem*, where the lawfully married couple, we might say, is reunited in the Fields of Mourning: the queen alone no longer.

468 *ire viam et Tyrios deserta quaerere terra,*

The language harks back to fears about the possible invasion of Carthage by its hostile neighbors, and looks forward powerfully to the eventual destruction of the city and its empire by Rome. There is an echo here of Aeneas’ words at 3.4–5 *diversa exsilia et desertas quaerere terras | auguriis agimur divum*; note also above at 350 ... *et nos fas extera quaerere regna*. For how Dido begins increasingly to do things alone after her early depiction in concert with Anna, see V. Castellani, “Anna and Juturna in the *Aeneid*,” in *Vergilius* 33 (1987), 49–57. In an important sense the isolated Dido of the dream recalls, however, the similarly lonely, sleepless queen of the opening of the book—the queen who could not wait to meet with her sister at dawn.

ire viam: For the idiom see Horsfall on 6.122; cf. *G.* 3.77; Antoine 1882, 42. For the verb in expressions involving great distance see R. Lesueur, “*ITER et IRE dans l’Énéide. Quelques réflexions sur la représentation du mouvement*,” in *Palas* 28 (1981), 15–29, 24. Sychaeus’ ghost had sent Dido off on a long journey; now Aeneas plans a similar voyage away from her.

Tyrios: Alliterative with *terra*. For “Tyrian/Tyrians” cf. 104; 111; 224; 262; 321; 544. The queen’s people cannot be found; in her dream she has lost both lover and subjects. We may compare here 669–671 *non aliter quam si immisissis ruat hostibus omnis | Karthago aut antiqua Tyros, flammaeque furentes | culmina perque hominum volvantur perque deorum*, of the effect of the suicide of Dido on her city.

Schrader oddly saw the need to emend *Tyrios* to *Teucros*. But the point is Dido's self-crafted divorce from her own people.

deserta: With obvious enough reference to the desert landscape around Carthage. The echo here is of 42–43 *hinc deserta siti regio lateque furentes / Barcae*, where Anna recalled to her sister how dangerous the environs were. *Deserta ... terra* is in frame around the verb of seeking. We note also 330 *non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer*, at the conclusion of Dido's first speech to Aeneas; at 677 *quid primum deserta querar?* it will be Anna who complains of desertion.

Some critics compare 6.451, where the shade of Dido is wandering *silva in magna*—that is, in another vast place. But there the queen will be reunited with Sychaeus. DServ. comments on how those soon to die customarily desire to see their loved ones.

469 *Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus*

The commencement of perhaps the most extraordinary simile in the epic (the seventh in the book), a remarkable double comparison from the world of tragedy (both Greek and Latin) as well as the realm of the visual arts. The verse is framed by two prominent names from that world of the stage, just as its successor will be nearly bookended by two more. There may be an influence here from Pacuvius, fr. *sed. inc.* 422–423 Ribbeck *Flexanima tamquam lumpata aut Bacchi sacris / Commota, in tumultis Teucrum commemorans suum* (see further on this N. Horsfall, “Virgil and the Theatre: A Melodramatic Note,” in *SCI* xxvi (2007), 67–71, 70).

Eumenidum: On the Furies in Virgil see S. Farron in *EV* 11, 620–622; V. Panousi in *VE* 11, 514–515; on “Dido's tragic furies” in particular note Cullick 2016, 142 ff. The “Eumenides” are named at 6.250; 280; and 375; cf. *G.* 1.278 and 4.483. Servius on 4.609 localizes the Eumenides as underworld denizens; the Furies as terrestrial; and the Dirae as celestial—but likely Virgil would not have made such distinctions. As the commentators have long observed, the Furies are not a fixture of extant Pentheus lore; Servius here notes “Pentheus autem secundum tragoediam Pacuvii furuit etiam ipse,” but we have no other knowledge of such a republican tragedy by that poet (vid. Dangel 1995, 340–344 on the surviving fragments of the Accian treatment of the story, with no reference to the Furies). There is a celebrated Pompeian wall painting from the east wall of the *triclinium* of the House of the Vettii (c. A.D. 65) that shows Pentheus, presumably Agave, and the maenads; there are two figures in the background who may be identified as Furies. On this famous fresco see Cohen 2000, 126–127 (Figure 4.10); cf. Schefold 1952, 42 with Plate 44. Some have argued that the figures in the background are also maenads; see below on how the Furies and the mae-

nads are often conflated in Greek tragedy and elsewhere. On the question of the identity of these mystery mad women of the painting, see Goldberg 2005, 118; cf. Griffiths 1991, 339.

The absence of the Eumenides from surviving attestations of the Pentheus story accounts for the conjecture of Allen, sc. *Euhadum*, which in turn accounts for the *Euiadum* read by Goold's Loeb; Allen's suggestion appears in Tyrrell's 1871 commentary on Euripides' *Bacchae* (biographical information on Samuel Allen may be found in Kraggerud 2017, 187). The spelling *Euhiadum* is printed in Rivero García et al., in accord with the orthography found at Horace, c. 3.25.9—the only other place in extant Latin where *Euhias* is found. Courtney 1981, 22 defends *Euiadum* here, arguing that the wall painting shows the Furies because they are preparing to avenge Pentheus' death on Agave and the maenads. Holzberg's *Tusculum* also prints *Euhiadum*; among more recent commentators neither Maclennan nor O'Hara address the issue (and both print *Eumenidum*). No note on the nineteenth-century conjecture in Buscaroli, or in Pease. Thomas' *VE* article assumes *Euhiadum*; cf. Secci's on Thebes, where *Eumenidum* is read and Servius' Pacuvian ascription noted. Courtney sees little merit in Servius' reference to Pacuvius; as elsewhere in such early Latin ascriptions and allusions, we make judgments at great peril in the absence of more information. *Euiadum* is undeniably easier.

This is then another difficult crux, one which may have been ingeniously, indeed brilliantly solved by Allen, his shining moment of Virgilian textual glory sadly hidden in an obscure note discovered only by sympathetic, observant critics. We have preferred to read *Eumenidum* here because we think it works better in the immediate context. The passage is framed by references to the Furies, with the Greek name at 469 and the Latin *Dirae* referenced at 473 (and if we read *Furiis* for *scaenis* at 471, then all three names for Virgil's Furies appear in order, one in every other verse). The *Dirae* will figure prominently in the doom of Turnus, who has numerous affinities with Dido (see below on 473). At 300–303, Dido was like a maenad, like a crazed Bacchant of the sort who would kill and dismember Pentheus; now she is like the victim of the maenads, the doomed Pentheus. But what of his seeing the Eumenides? This balances the description of Orestes that immediately follows, where at 472–473 he is fleeing from his mother, who is armed with torches and black serpents—in other words, Clytemnestra is like a Fury. Two verses are devoted to Pentheus; two more are devoted to Orestes, with a hypermetric mention of his flight that serves to enact his attempt to escape. Crowning the double simile is the eerie mention of how the avenging *Dirae* sit on the threshold: in other words, his mother is like a Fury, *and* the *Dirae* wait for him, since they will torment him after he kills her. Pentheus does not see the Furies in Euripides, etc. But the remains of tragedy do not show Clytemnestra as a Fury either.

Two strange mythological references, then, one for each *comparandum*. It would seem that Servius lights the way here, and that lost republican tragedy would reveal the antecedents. There is also the possibility of Virgilian innovation in one or both instances. The ultimate point for all this Fury association is to be found in Dido's threat to Aeneas at 384–386 ... *sequar ignibus absens / et, cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus, / omnibus umbra locis adero*. Dido had envisioned herself as a veritable Fury pursuing Aeneas; now she is the one who flees in terror from the Furies. Virgil's Pentheus saw the Furies, and so did his Orestes. As Panoussi 2009, 134 ff. notes, the simile casts Aeneas—the *ferus Aeneas* who pursued Dido in a nightmare at 466—in the role of the Fury; she who planned to pursue him like an avenging demon is now herself pursued. “Furies themselves are often depicted as maenads in Greek tragedy” (Panoussi 2009, 125 n. 19). Maenads imply a community (as do the Furies)—a perverse community to be sure, but still a group. Dido is now like Pentheus or Orestes—alone. Dido has become the victim of that which she had threatened to be for Aeneas.

Venus at the divine council has no problem, we might note, mingling Furies and Bacchantes: cf. 10.41 *Allecto, medias Italum bacchata per urbes*, as she complains about what Juno has been doing.

demens: As Dido was described at 78; cf. 374 in self-accusation; 107 as Venus attempts to toy with Juno. Prominent at the middle of the verse: she is now as insane as Pentheus.

videt: More of the visual metaphor, this time to particularly horrible effect. “This typically Virgilian, subjective *videt*, not so much looking ‘out there’ as looking into the disordered imagination within, may be called the “Gyges perspective” (cf. Plato, *Rep.* II 359d)” (Newman and Newman 2005, 56 n. 2).

agmina: Exactly parallel is 6.572, where of Tisiphone the poet has *vocat agmina saeva sororum*. The plural may be poetic; or it may reinforce the idea that there are multiple Furies (and Pentheus is also *demens*). If there can be a twin sun and two Thebes at 470 (after Euripides), there can be *agmina* of Eumenides. D.Serv. has the perceptive observation that *videt* perfectly captures the madness of Pentheus: he sees the Furies, as opposed to thinking he sees them—this is a vision of a lunatic. The idea that the *agmina* refer to the coils of the Furies' serpents (while ancient) is a good example of hyperprecise analysis and disregard for conventional enough poetic plurals. A more serious attempt to dissect *agmina* was made by J.H. Waszink, “*Agmina Furiarum*,” in *Harvard Theological Review* 56 (1963), 7–11, who suggests that there is an allusion here to the name Agmentis, attested late as one of the Furies. See further O'Hara 2017, 158. This analysis requires that one read *Eumenidum*; in a passage that is overflowing with allusions, we may wonder if an obscure name of a Fury (even if

there is Varronian attestation) would be found as an additional gift for seekers of verbal presents.

Pentheus: Vid. C. Corbato in *EV* IV, 17–18; R.F. Thomas in *VE* 11, 986–987. This is the only mention of Pentheus in Virgil; he does not figure in the description of the Bacchic behavior of Amata at 7.385 ff., though the same lore is of course at play there. The name of the doomed monarch is juxtaposed with the *agmina* that pursue him.

470 et solem geminum et duplicis se ostendere Thebas,

An image borrowed directly from Euripides, *Bacch.* 918–919. “This is perhaps the most famous instance of Vergilian allusion to the *Bacchae*” (Panoussi 2009, 134). It adds to the appropriateness of the reminiscence that the tragic Pentheus was dressed as a maenad when he saw his two sons and two cities; we are reminded of how Dido herself had been compared to a maenad: the consummate actress will audition for every role in the Bacchic horror show: maenad; fury; Pentheus. ABBA chiasmus: *solem* / *geminum* / *duplicis* / *Thebas*. A veritable quote from Euripides, which paves the way for the direct allusion to the world of the theater in the next verse.

et ... et: Coordinating conjunctions to add to the doubling effect.

solem: Dido will invoke the sun at 607 below; for solar imagery in the book vid. note ad loc. Cf. also on the setting sun of 480.

geminum: Linked by conjunction with the related *duplicis*. Only here in Book 4. For “seeing double in hysterical cases” see Dodds on *Bacch.* 918–919. In this case the hallucination is especially fitting: Dido is like the double-seeing Pentheus because she has created a double situation for herself with respect to Sychaeus and Aeneas. A symptom of drunkenness or, as in the present case, of a disturbed mind.

ostendere: The verb occurs a dozen times in the epic; for the infinitive cf. 6.716, of Anchises showing Anchises the Parade of Heroes.

Thebas: At line-end, balancing the name of its doomed king from the close of 469. For Thebes see G. D’Anna in *EV* v, 63–64; D.A. Secci in *VE* III, 1259–1260. The storied Boeotian city of mythological fame (*Barrington* 55 E4; 1 H3; 57 B3; 58 E1), mentioned here only in Virgil.

471 aut Agamemnonius scaenis agitatus Orestes,

The second mythological *comparandum*: the matricide Orestes. Killers of members of one’s own family: a reminiscence of Medea (and of Cleopatra’s demand for Arsinoe’s death), even if Dido is innocent of such a crime.

Agamemnonius: Of the hero as father of his avenger Orestes; the names virtually frame the line (quasi-patronymic and proper). For Virgil’s Agamemnon

see G.G. Belloni in *EV* I, 50; P. O'Connell in *VE* I, 36. His murder at the hands of his wife is recalled by Diomedes to the Latin emissaries at 11.267–268; the title *Agamemnonius* recurs at 7.723 of the hero Halaesus; cf. 3.54 and 6.489. A suitably sonorous adjective to commence the theatrical verse; “rushing dactyls” (Austin) to enact Orestes’ flight. Alliterative with both *aut* and *agitatus*.

scaenis: Another textual problem. The noun occurs elsewhere at 1.429 ... *scaenis decora alta futuris*, in the description of the nascent city of Carthage; cf. 1.164–165 ... *tum silvis scaena coruscis / desuper*, of the safe harbor where Aeneas’ ships find refuge from the storm; also *G.* 3.24–25 *vel scaena ut versis discedat frontibus utque / purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni* (of revolving stage sets, with the Britons raising crimson curtains). The nascent Carthage has had time for the arts and the world of the stage: the mention of the theater construction in Book 1 is a harbinger of the tragedy that Dido will play a starring role in later. Indeed, even from the very landing in north Africa, there is a theatrical element: Virgil employs a word proper to the (anachronistic, some would say) world of the (Roman) stage to the natural landscape of the Carthaginian harbor. Here, amid Dido’s fevered nightmares, those theatrical touches come to vivid life, as Dido is compared both to Pentheus and Orestes. *Scaena* can refer both to a “stage”—that is, to the platform on which the actors perform (*OLD* s.v. 2), or to the background against which the play is performed (*OLD* s.v. 1). Kraggerud 2017, 189 takes *scaenis* here in the later sense, with reference to Agamemnon’s palace at Argos and the opening of Euripides’ *Orestes*.

Some of the *recentiores* read *furiis* here, in apparent reminiscence of 3.331 *coniugis et scelerum furiis agitatus Orestes*, in Andromache’s description to Aeneas of Orestes’ slaying of Neoptolemus (itself a story taken from Euripides’ *Andromache*). *Furiis* would be conventional enough—certainly less striking than *scaenis*—and may be commended for but one detail: it would yield a careful arrangement of references to the 1) *Eumenidum* (469); 2) *Furiis* (471); and 3) *Dirae* (473), three names for the Furies, one every other verse, and in different grammatical cases. Markland *ad* Statius, *Silv.* 3.3.15 conjectured *Poenis* (i.e., personified Punishment), which Kraggerud 2017, 187 rightly calls “a radical decision indeed”; it has the one clever advantage of providing a brilliant bit of humor when one considers the play on the words *poenis/Poenis* (of Carthaginians). Wakefield (Conington *seq.*) found *poenis* a good idea here, especially because of Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 7.147–148 *turbidus ut Poenis caecisque pavoribus ense / corripit et saevae ferit agmina matris Orestes* (where see Davis). *Saevis* has also been suggested (Hildebrandt), again out of a desire to remove Virgil’s striking allusion to the stage; it has the virtue of being more paleographically plausible than *poenis*. Page thought he knew better than Virgil here: he concedes that *scaenis* must be the true reading, but observes that

“the introduction of the word ... is an error; it suggests unreality and weakens rather than intensifies the idea of terror which the comparison is intended to convey.” Butler in contrast has a long note defending Virgil. *Scaenis* prominent in the middle.

Dido is not compared here to the mythological Orestes, but to the Orestes performed on the tragic stage (both Greek and Latin). It is a metaliterary reference, where the eminently theatrical queen is likened to a figure from literature: the Dido of epic, if one will, compared to notorious figures from tragic drama. Tragic Orestes is all the more appropriate given the signal role of his sister Electra in his story; she is absent here, as is Dido's Anna. “... mad, liminal parts, flirting with laughter, of the kind that attracted the pantomimists” (Newman and Newman 2005, 121). O'Hara notes 1.337, where part of Venus' masquerade included hunting boots, specifically the *cothurnus* that was associated with tragic actors: from the start, Dido's story has been one borrowed from the Greek and Roman stage.

Virgil may have had in mind here Cicero, *In Pison*. 20 *Nolite enim ita putare, patres conscripti, ut in scaena videtis, homines consceleratos impulsu deorum terreri furialibus taedis ardentibus ... Ego te non vaecordem, non furiosum, non mente captum, non tragico illo Oreste aut Athamante dementiorem putem* (with Nisbet).

agitatus: Matching 465 *agit*. A play on words: Orestes is certainly driven by the Furies, but he is also being acted on stage. *Agitatur* is an unsurprising variant. Significantly, the same participle will be applied to Turnus; cf. 12.668 *et furiis agitatus amor at conscia virtus*, in the description of the hero after the news of the suicide of Amata—a weighty parallel (the verse = 10.872, of Mezentius before he faces Aeneas, where it may be an interpolation). Servius notes that there were many plays about Orestes, such that he was “frequenter actus.” Henry has a long note here defending the use of *agitatus* to mean “acted on the stage”; Pease is correct that there may be a *double entendre* of the pursued Orestes and the Orestes performed as a theater role.

Orestes: Vid. F. Caviglia in *EV* 111, 880–882; P. O'Connell in *VE* 11, 942. He is mentioned in Virgil only here and at 3.325–352.

472 *armatam facibus matrem et serpentibus atris*

A verse devoted to the *de facto* Fury Clytemnestra, who is not named. *Armatam* and *atris* frame the verse in balanced sound pattern; *matrem* is prominent at mid-line. ABBA chiastic arrangement: *armatam* | *facibus* | *serpentibus* | *atris*. A description that is difficult to parallel; Dracontius, *Orest*. 821–822 is certainly an imitation, but Virgil may be an innovator here. “Vergil is perhaps following some poet other than Aeschylus” (Sidgwick): we are reminded often in this

simile that more tragedy is lost than extant. Clytemnestra's ghost in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* makes references to offerings she made to the Furies (106–107), but there is nothing like Virgil's image in that play, where the Furies of the slain mother and the mother are conflated. Meyer 2020, 66–67 sees possible influence here from Euripides, *IT* 285–290.

armatam: Prominent by position, and in framing sound pattern with *atris*: Orestes is infamous for killing his mother, but in this simile he is depicted as fleeing from his mother, who is armed with the accoutrements of the Furies. For the verb cf. 299.

facibus: The noun recurs at 567, as Mercury warns Aeneas of the threat to his fleet if he remains any longer; 604, where Dido fantasizes about violence against the Trojans; 626, as she curses them with Hannibal: every remaining use will be about Carthaginian threats to the proto-Romans. We may compare 9.74 *atque omnis facibus pubes accingitur atris*, of Turnus' plan to burn the Trojan ships (a parallel with Dido). Balanced with *serpentibus* in second and penultimate position.

matrem: Prominent at midverse.

serpentibus: On snakes in Virgil see S. Rocca in *EV* IV, 798–801; R. Uccellini in *VE* III, 1182–1183; Hawtree 2011, 166–197; Meyer 2020, 66 ff. on this scene. Conventional in descriptions of the Furies. Allecto's serpents are *hydri* at 7.447; the Furies have *angues* at 7.450; the serpents of the Laocoön episode are first called both *angues* and *serpentes* (with Servius noting *ad* 2.204 and 214 that the former refers to water snakes, the latter to land), and finally *dracones* (2.225) when they arrive at the temple (but Virgil may have been more concerned with varying his reptilian vocabulary). Amata is infected with the *serpentis furiale malum* (7.375) of Allecto. Cleopatra on the shield does not see the *geminos angues* (8.697) that threaten her. In similes the wounded snake (= Sergestus' damaged ship) is a *serpens* (5.273); cf. also the wounded snake (= Venulus) at 11.753. The Hydra is girt with *serpentes* on Aventinus' shield (7.658); cf. 8.436 of the snakes on the aegis being worked on in Vulcan's forge; 12.848 with reference to the Dirae.

atris: For the color see Edgeworth 1992, 74–86; this is the third of six occurrences in the book (cf. 248; 384; 570; 633; 687—rather neatly distributed). For the black serpents cf. *G.* 1.129 *ille malum virus serpentibus addidit atris*. The “ghastly” (Austin) word at line-end. The main echo here is of 384 ... *sequar atris ignibus absens*, of Dido's threat to Aeneas. Now she is the one being pursued by a Fury, with Dirae (473) guarding against her escape.

473 cum fugit ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae.

cum fugit: Dido-Orestes is fleeing; cf. 465–466. The queen who had complained that Aeneas was fleeing from her (314) has a nightmare vision of being pursued by Aeneas, who now takes on the characteristics of the Fury she had threatened to be for him. The verb is juxtaposed with the announcement of the vengeance that lies in wait.

ultrices: Cf. 610 (again of the Dirae); 6.274 ... *et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae* (of the horrors at the threshold of the underworld); 11.590 *haec cape et ultricem pharetra depono sagittam* (Diana to Opis, who will serve as an avenging fury of sorts in slaying Arruns after his killing of Camilla); also the highly problematic 2.587 in the Helen episode (in which at 573 she is referred to as the *communis Erinys* of Troy and Greece). The adjective and its referent frame *sedent in limine*.

sedent: The verb elsewhere in the book only at 186, of Rumor (another ghastly horror). The sedentary Dirae contrast with the fleeing Orestes. One horror pursues, while others lie in wait to pounce.

limine: The noun also at 133; 202; 645. The implicit reference to a building is not clarified, though the commentators from antiquity have not failed to exercise ingenuity based on other (especially tragic) descriptions of the Furies; what has not been noted is the parallel to 133–134, where the queen hesitated while the *primi Poenorum* waited for her *ad limina*. “The peculiar and proper seat of the Furies” (Conington, following Henry, who has a long note specifying that the Dirae are not on the threshold, but rather around the door or in the vestibule of Apollo’s temple, citing Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 46–47). Servius offers an explanation from republican tragedy: “a Pacuvio Orestes inducitur Pyladis admonitu propter vitandas furias ingressus Apollonis templum; unde cum vellet exire, invadebatur a furiis; hinc ergo est *sedent in limine*.” The absence of the Pacuvian text should not deter us from believing Servius.

Dirae: A dramatic name to close the stunning simile. Vid. F. Della Corte in *EV* 11, 91–94; Fratantuono 2011 (with the argument that the Jovian use of the Dirae in Book 12 balances Juno’s machinations with Allecto in 7, with the employment of only one of the Dirae who were summoned indicating a partial failure of Jupiter’s wishes and the ultimate, Junonian victory Turnus and the Italians win over Aeneas’ Troy in the final disposition of ethnic affairs for the future Rome); also Hübner 1970; 1994; R. Edgeworth, “The *Dirae* of *Aeneid* x11,” in *Eranos* 84 (1986), 133–143; C. Mackie, “Vergil’s *Dirae*, South Italy, and Etruria,” in *Phoenix* 46 (1992), 352–361 (he takes the Dirae to be Allecto and Tisiphone, together with Megaera). Note also S. Donaldson, “‘Direness’ and Its Place in the *Aeneid*,” in *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 13 (1988), 100–101; Paschalis 1997, 400–401 on semantic associations. Horsfall 1995, 211 n. 129 notes that the Dirae are not the same as the Furies (with whom they have obvious enough affinities,

not least familial). The Dirae recur prominently in the closing movements of Book 12 (845 ff.), in connection with the warding off of Juturna from aiding her brother, and the terrorizing of Turnus before he meets Aeneas. They are identified at 12.845–848 as the children of Nox, born with their sister Megaera in one and the same grim birth. The Dirae in Book 12 are agents of the Jovian will, summoned by him to carry out the demands of destiny; cf. Dion 1993, 426 ff. Jupiter uses one of the two (12.853 *harum unam*) to go to Juturna; the phrase recalls 11.76 *harum unam* from the Pallas requiem, of one of the robes that Dido had woven that is later used for the Arcadian's shroud. Dido will invoke the *Dirae ultrices* below at 610; cf. 7.324 *Allecto dirarum ab sede dearum*. The Dirae appear on the shield of Aeneas (8.701 ... *tristesque ex aethere Dirae*) in the depiction of Actium; *dīvae* is attested there (apparently with reference to the following mention of Discordia and Bellona), and also here. Note too the important detail that when Turnus finds his strength deserting him—as if he were a man in a dream—the poet remarks *successum dea dira negat* (12.914), a fine example of Virgilian ambiguity (for the identify of the mysterious “dire goddess” see Fratantuono 2011, 528–529, with consideration of the Dirae and Juno).

Dracontius was inspired by this verse at *Orest.* 825 *terruerant haec monstra virum, fugit atria lustrans*.

Another interesting acrostic may begin here: CEDE (473–476), just as Dido does just that.

474–503 Dido has resolved to die. She tells her sister that she has found a way via the magical arts either to win Aeneas back or to be rid of her passion for him. She indicates that a pyre will be needed, and her naïve sister agrees to see to its preparation.

474 **Ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore**

Ergo ubi: Also at *G.* 4.77; *Aen.* 3.238. The logical analysis of the poet-narrator in the face of the insanity of his character.

concepit: Echoing 452 *inceptum*, as Dido makes her inexorable progress toward suicide. Cf. 502 below (in a different sense); also 11.368–369 (of *concupere robur*, more or less parallel); 519; 12.13; participial uses at 5.38; 8.139; 12.158. The prefix here is intensive, just as at 452 the emphasis was on inception. Maclennan draws attention to the appropriateness of the verb for the work of the Furies: “... suggesting the sort of demonic possession which the Furies inflict.” For the argument that “her pregnancy is with the Furies,” see Newman and Newman 2005, 51–52: a frightening expansion on the theme of the childless Dido; cf. 141–142 for Dido as “a bitterly frustrated mother ... much worse than

anything in Apollonius ... what Roman folklore and satire knew as a child-devouring *lamia*"; 166 for the conclusion of their argument, whereby "In the end therefore, Dido got her man," with the rage of Aeneas (cf. 12.946) on account of Pallas being viewed as a possession of the hero by the same madness that Dido had conceived. "If only I could have a child who would remind me of his father ..." Catullus, c. 64.92 probably lurks here.

furias ... dolore: Echoing the similar juxtaposition of madness and sorrow at 433–434 *tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori, | dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere* (where *victam* is paralleled here by *evicta*—the queen is now "thoroughly conquered" and not merely "conquered"). *Furias* follows on the prominent place of the Furies in the preceding double simile. Cf. 376 *heu furiis incensa feror!*, in a moment of introspection for Dido. *Dolor* recurs powerfully at 679, in Anna's words to the dying Dido; cf. 419. The medical metaphor is lightly felt: thoroughly conquered by her grief, she has now fully taken on madness: *furias* as symptom of *dolor* as the disease.

evicta: Also below at 548 *tu lacrimis evicta meis*, where Dido comes the closest ever to upbraiding Anna in person for being responsible for the tragedy; cf. 2.630–631 *vulneribus donec paulatim evicta supremum | congemuit ...*, of the ancient ash that is felled in the simile describing the fall of Troy. The participle is framed by the words of fury and grief.

475 *decrevitque mori, tempus secum ipsa modumque*

decrevitque mori: Again, the advancement of resolution: cf. 451 *mortem orat*. The language there is echoed here in reverse: Dido prayed for death, and by which the more she would carry out the intention she had commenced (452 *quo magis inceptum peragat*, etc.), there were omens. Here the notion of that which was begun comes first (474 *concepit*), followed by the now firm decision to die. At 7.525 *sed ferro ancipiti decernunt ...* the verb recurs in a battle context; cf. 11.218 *ipsum armis ipsumque iubent decernere ferro* (of the mutterings against Turnus); 12.282 *sic omnis amor unus habet decernere ferro* (in the wake of the breaking of the truce); 694–695 ... *me verius unum | pro vobis foedus luere et decernere ferro* (Turnus to the Rutulians and Latins). The verb of resolution in first position; it coordinates closely with 476 *exigit*.

For Virgilian suicide see L. Kronenberg in *VE* 111, 1227–1228; Pease's extended note here; and cf. Grisé 1982. There are but three in the epic (in reality or allusion), and all of queens: Dido; Cleopatra on the shield (8.696–697; 709); Amata (12.595–603). The principal historical comparison is to Egypt's storied monarch; the main literary parallel is the suicide of Ajax, whose memory Dido's shade will evoke in her silence with Aeneas in the underworld (on Dido as Ajax and Camilla as Achilles, see Fratantuono 2014). Both Dido and Camilla

share affinities with Cleopatra; see further R.J. Edgeworth, “The Death of Dido,” in *CJ* 72.2 (1976–1977), 129–133; cf. the appearances of Camilla at the close of Book 7 and Cleopatra near the end of 8. Certain aspects of Dido’s suicide will have affinities with the suicide of Mark Antony; Aeneas has now abandoned the Antony model that he had followed until his decision to leave (note on this S. Bertman, “Cleopatra and Antony as Models for Dido and Aeneas,” in *EMC* N.S. 19 (2000), 395–398). Other aspects of the queen’s suicide will be revealed as the narrative progresses, from Stoic models to sacrificial offerings to the shade of Sychaeus; looming above all, however, is Alexandria at the end of August in 30 B.C. Theatrical suicides were not immune from comic mockery (cf. Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 522–523, with Biles and Olson ad loc.).

tempus: Very different from the *tempus inane* she had sought at 433.

secum: Juxtaposed with *ipsa*. The emphasis here is on the secret decisions and preparations of the queen, as opposed to what she will tell her sister.

modumque: For the noun cf. 98; 294. Alliterative after *mori*. MacLennan has a long note here analyzing what exactly Dido intends to do, and what *in fine* she carries out. Dido intends to have control over the time and the manner of her death. *Tempus* and *modus* also in close correlation at 12.156–157, as Juno urges Juturna to assist her brother.

476 *exigit, et maestam dictis adgressa sororem*

Sibilant alliteration: *maestam adgressa sororem*. The queen must lull her sister into a sense of security so as to conceal the suicide plans.

exigit: The verb 11× in the poem, only here in Book 4. Of “the perfecting of a detailed plan” (Austin). The verb in first place balancing 475 *decrevitque*, with conjunctions following both.

et: The Medicean reads *ac*, probably because the copyist’s eye slipped down to the following verse.

maestam ... sororem: Framing word order, with the key adjective highlighted. *Maestam* here echoes 437–438 *miserrima / soror*. The adjective occurs only here in the book; vid. A. Fo in *EV* III, 307–309. Anna was already most miserable; she will soon have even greater reason for sorrow, and will in fact be a dupe for her sister’s elaborate undertaking.

adgressa: Cf. on 92. Any notion of aggression or conflict here is rooted in the deceptive nature of Dido’s plan; in a sense this is the commencement of a parallel to the scene that opened with the same verb above, where Juno approached Venus: now the queen of the Carthaginians for whom Juno was patroness will engage in her own trickery, this time with the sister who had encouraged the affair, just as Venus had helped to engender it.

dictis: In marked contrast to 475 *secum ipsa*: there is on the one hand what the queen keeps concealed in her heart, and on the other what she will now tell her sister.

sororem: Echoing 420, 424, etc.; cf. 478 *sorori*, also at line-end.

477 consilium vultu tegit ac spem fronte serenat:

We may compare the action of Aeneas at 1.208–209 *Talia voce refert curisque ingentibus aeger / spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem*, of the hero seeking to calm his men after the arrival in Africa.

consilium: The verb only here in Book 4; cf. 7.407, of how Allecto overturned every *consilium* of Latinus. The *consilium* is both the suicide and its attendant circumstances, which include the curse on the Trojans.

vultu: Coordinate with *fronte*, in second and penultimate positions. The noun also at 4 and 556.

tegit: For verb cf. 123; 164; 186; 250; 260; 403; 494; 637.

spem: More sibilant alliteration with *serenat*.

fronte: The noun also at 515, in a very different context. The collocation of *vultus* and *frons* is Ciceronian; cf. 7.416–417 of the terrifying revelation of Allecto's true appearance; also Manilius, *Ast.* 1.265; Ovid, *Am.* 1.7.49–51; 1.11.17–18; *Met.* 2.857–858; Seneca, *Med.* 751; *Phaed.* 432–433; *Oed.* 920–921; Statius, *Theb.* 4.106–107; *Silv.* 2.2.149–150; 3.5.11; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.38–39; Juvenal, s. 9.2–3; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 2.414–415; 3.298.

serenat: The verb elsewhere in Virgil only at 1.255 ... *quo caelum tempestatesque serenat*, in the description of Jupiter before his soothing address to his daughter. The meteorological metaphor at the end of the line comes as a surprise; it is literally as if Dido's bright face (cf. 5.571 *candida Dido*) removes the clouds and brings forth the sun. "An imaginative phrase" (Austin), indeed a bold experiment very much in the Virgilian style. By means of her visage and appearance, Dido removes the clouds from Anna's grim expectation; *spem* here follows on 476 *maestam*. Her sister expects the worst; Dido appears unusually happy, claiming now that she has found a way to solve all problems. *Serenat* correlates closely with *tegit*, to which it is an antonym: the image in the first verb is of covering something (e.g., of creating an overcast, clouded sky)—while at the end of the line the clouds are removed. The *consilium* is Dido's; the *spem* Anna's: the one will be hidden, and the other brightened. Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 11.367 affords a good example of an attempt at imitating a master. "Perhaps a piece of rather artificial stylism" is Mackail's verdict on Virgil's wordplay; for the enallage see O'Hara (with reference to Conte 2007, 91). "Anyone else would have said *spe frontem serenat*" (Sidgwick). The verb at line-end comes between the alliterative *sororem* and *sorori* of 476 and 478. We may compare Cicero's

frontis nubeculam at *In Pison*. 9. Another case of theme and variation (Henry), though here the variation is particularly elaborated.

478 “*inveni, germana, viam (gratare sorori)*”

inveni: The verb only here in Book in 4. For a literal understanding of what Dido now announces, see Newman and Newman 2005, 159. Her language is imitated by Juno in her angry speech at 7.296–297 ... *medias acies mediosque per ignis / invenere viam* ..., where the goddess ruefully remarks on the success the Trojans have enjoyed. Statius has *inveni viam* at *Theb.* 5.109; there may be a reminiscence of 3.395 *fata viam invenient* ..., in Helenus’ predictions to Aeneas.

germana: Alliterative with *gratare*, and coordinate with *sorori*. Dido opens her address with a strong emphasis on the sororial bond. The appellation is repeated at 492 and 549, both times again of Dido to Anna; cf. 675 of the reverse. Cf. 501 and 686 (of Dido in indirect discourse); 9.594 of Turnus’ younger sister, married to Numanus Remulus; 44 above (and 1.346) of Pygmalion; 1.351 of Dido as his sister. Jupiter addresses Juno *es germana Iovis Saturnique altera proles* at 12.830, just before he grants her request at the reconciliation scene (cf. the rather different 9.804). Juturna is *germana* at 12.872.

viam: Eerily echoing the *longa via* of Dido’s nightmare at 467–468. The *ratio* (so Servius) that Dido has found is prominent at the middle. A perverse response to the dream: there *ferus* Aeneas was chasing her, and she found herself alone, searching in vain for her Tyrians; her options were either to allow herself to be captured by the wild Aeneas, or to be severed from him (along with everyone else).

gratare: The verb elsewhere in Virgil only at 5.39–40 ... *veterum non immemor ille parentum / gratatur reduces* ..., of Acestes. Dido here echoes her own words at 435 ... *miserere sororis*; a “ghastly” reminiscence, as Austin observes. Ovid has *gratare ambobus, Iason* at *Her.* 6.119. DServ. comments on the obvious: “et bene a gratulatione incipit quae vult suum dissimulare consilium.”

479 *quae mihi reddat eum vel eo me solvat amantem.*

A heavy emphasis on the couple: *mihi / me* referring to Dido; *eum* and *eo* at mid-verse referring to Aeneas; *amantem* at the end coordinating with the verbs to refer both to Aeneas and Dido. Framing word order, with *mihi ... me* enveloping *eum ... eo*. “This is a curious line, of deliberate near-prose” (Austin, following Buscaroli’s long note; the main evidence for the claim is the use of oblique forms of *is*). Dido is acting deceptively, and she is also insane; her words are carefully chosen, but also awkwardly expressed. Irvine and Pease remark on the noteworthy double use of the inflected cases of *is* in terms of Dido’s studied avoidance of mentioning the name of Aeneas; Austin comments on how

she uses his name only at 1.576; 617; and 329 (the last time indirectly). He concludes (following Page) that the queen is deliberately trying to appear calm and casual by a seemingly careless use of the pronouns, as if she were content with either option envisaged in this verse. We would note that after verse 477, we cannot trust what Dido says to Anna: she knows that she cannot win Aeneas back, and there is no serious hope here of regaining him. She also knows that death alone will enact the sentiments of *solvere amantem*, and suicide is what she intends. There will be time before the blade, however, for curses on the one who has abandoned her, and on his lineage. Williams sees contempt for Aeneas here; Tilly notes that every reference to a man from Dido would be of Aeneas. The deception of Anna does allow time for the suicide and its preparations (cf. Sophocles' Ajax with Tecmessa and the chorus at 646–692, with Finglass ad loc.)—but the queen could have killed herself at any time, and she has other plans beyond mere theatrical stage-setting. For the alleged “studied casualness” see Newman and Newman 2005, 117. This verse contains the lie as to what Dido is seeking to achieve; 480ff. describe the *viam* she has found to incarnate the (fake) plan.

mihī: With *eum* in frame around *reddat*. Interestingly, the verb that expresses the possibility of having Aeneas returned to Dido separates the two, while the verb that describes the severing of ties comes after the juxtaposed *eo me*.

reddat: We recall G. 4.486 *redditaque Eurydice superas veniebat ad auras*. The verb *deest* in *EV*.

eum: “Aeneam, quem ut notum noluit dicere” (Servius).

me solvat: Echoed below at 703 ... *teque isto corpore solvo*, of Iris with the dying Dido. There is a reminiscence here of 55 *spemque dedit dubiae menti solvitque pudorem*, of Anna's action with her sister. For the verb vid. C. Formicola in *EV* IV, 934–937. Pease notes here: “Professor A.D. Nock tells me that he knows no parallel in the magical papyri for the expression *eo me solvat*.”

amantem: Cf. 429 ... *det munus amanti*; also 370 ... *aut miseratus amantem est*? As Mackail highlights, the participle refers both to the possibility of having Aeneas restored “as a lover,” or of Dido the lover being freed—an effect impossible to render fully in smooth English translation. The participle at line-end correlates with 480 ... *cadentem*; the setting sun is an image of the dying Dido.

Anna's first encounter with Dido was successful: she persuaded her sister to surrender to her infatuation. The second meeting was a failure; Anna was unable to negotiate anything with Aeneas on her sister's behalf. The third exchange represents a terrible sort of victory for Dido; the queen is able to trick her sister into cooperating in Dido's own destruction. “Dido's confidante, Anna, figures consistently in each section; around her, everything else changes in the rise and fall of action and passion” (Di Cesare 1974, 19).

480 *Oceani finem iuxta solemque cadentem*

Theme and variation: the end of the Ocean is the locus of the setting sun, in the distant West. Here Virgil introduces imagery that relates both to Hesperia—the destined home of Aeneas' Trojans as they leave Dido's Carthage—and to the queen's own death, of which the falling sun is an image.

Oceani: Cf. on 129. Oceanus at the opening of the verse correlates with Atlas at the end of 481. Virgil commences a reminiscence of the Atlas passage from Mercury's flight at 246 ff. We may recall that Aurora left the Ocean on the morning of the fateful hunt. *Oceani finem* also at Statius, *Silv.* 4.2.53; cf. *Aen.* 7.225–226.

finem: An almost philosophical musing from Servius here: “finem oceani nullus novit, sed initium; quod et ipsum potest finis videri, aliunde sumpto principio.” This is the western edge of the world, at least in the Roman conception. The noun also at 639, in a grim context. *Finem* here coordinates with 481 *ultimus ... locus*.

iuxta: Postpositive, as at 256 *terras inter*.

solemque cadentem: Echoing *G.* 2.298 *neve tibi ad solem vergant vineta cadentem*; 3.401 ... *quod iam tenebris et sole cadente*; cf. the *cadentia sidera* of 4.81–82 above. There may be a borrowing here from Lucretius' image of the sun god coming to take up the light of the world from his falling son Phaëthon at *DRN* 5.401–402 ... *Solque cadenti / obuius*. The mention of the sun recalls the twin suns seen by Pentheus-Dido (470), and looks forward to the queen's invocation of Sol at 607. A nice balancing of images at successive line-ends: the sun falls, while “greatest Atlas” (481) is the famous balancer of the vault of the heaven, the one who holds up the sky.

“References to the beauty of the sunset seem in ancient writers conspicuously lacking as compared with those to sunrise” (Pease); here there is a connection not only between the setting sun and Atlas (the Titanic order giving away before the Jovian), but also to the queen's own end, which will be marked by a quest for immortality in the form of a lasting curse: a more terrible imprecation than what she threatened at 384 ff.

The locus is one of eerie, ominous import. “Standing together, at the edge of the world”

481 *ultimus Aethiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlas*

A balanced pair: *ultimus* / *maximus*, with mention of first the Aethiopes and then of Atlas.

ultimus ... locus: Correlating with 480 *Oceani finem*. *Ultimus* also at 2.248–249, of Troy's last day (cf. 2.446); cf. 6.478–479 of the *arva ultima* in the underworld held by those who were famous in war; 7.49 of Saturn as the *ultimus*

auctor of the Latins; 8.687–688 of the forces of *ultima Bactra* that Antony brings to Actium; 9.759 of what would have been the last day for the Trojans had Turnus let his men into the camp; 11.476 ... *vocat labor ultimus omnis* of the preparations for battle after the resumption of Trojan military operations in the wake of the burial truce. Cf. also below on 537–538 *ultima / iussa*; 5.218–219; 317; 346–347 (all during the games). *Locus* in different senses occurs elsewhere in the book at 4.319; 386; 506. A most distant locale is here associated with the queen's last plan.

Aethiopum: Vid. V. La Bua in *EV* 11, 404–406; L. Grillo in *VE* 1, 33–34. On their localization cf. *E.* 10.67–68 *nec si, cum moriens alta liber aret in ulmo, / Aethiopum versemus ovis sub sidere Cancrī* (“... the constellation of the Crab, which the sun enters at midsummer in the northern hemisphere ... marks the northernmost point of the ecliptic, and the circle through it parallel to the equator, the Tropic of Cancer, defines one boundary of the Tropical zone”—Coleman ad loc.); *G.* 4.287–293 (where the Aethiopes—not named in the imprecise description of Egypt's borders—live beyond the zodiac, if they are to be conflated with the *Indī*, which is by no means certain). At *G.* 2.120–121 *quid nemora Aethiopum molli canentia lana, / velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres?* the poet describes the cotton-plant. Mentioned once each, then, in each of Virgil's works. There is probably an allusion here to the “burned face” etymology of the name after the mention of the sun in 480; cf. also Homer, *Od.* 1.22–25, where two groups of Ethiopians are cited, one facing the rising and one the setting sun (this occasioned part of Servius' note “Aethiopiae duae sunt, una circa unum solis, altera circa occasum in Mauritania, quam nunc dicit, et dicta Aethiopia a colore populorum, quos solis vicinitas terret”); *Il.* 1.423 (the storied visits of the gods to Ethiopia as a place of banqueting and luxury). Apollonius (*Arg.* 3.1191–1192) has Helios sinking beyond the furthest peaks of the Ethiopians. The Atlas mountains easily enough came to be associated with the western Ethiopians (as opposed to lore about those who lived near the storied source of the Nile). See on 206 above for the idea that the Mauretians are to be conflated with the Aethiopes.

Virgil does not precisely locate the Aethiopes; they are vaguely thought of as extending from east to west across the southern boundary of Roman Africa. Dido here is concerned with the far west; the far east bordered on India, which accounts for any possible conflation of Ethiopia/India. MacLennan is right that there is an “indiscriminate” reference here: Virgil places the Hesperides (484) near the boundary of Ocean and the realm of the setting sun, where one finds the “last of lands” as it were, Ethiopia. Dido thus gives a relatively precise locale for the Hesperides; for her, Ethiopia is significant as the place of the storied dragon, etc. associated with Herculean labor.

maximus Atlas: Reintroduced from 246 ff. *Maximus* of Atlas also at 1.740–741 in the description of Iopas' education; 8.136 in Aeneas' mention of the Atlantid lineage. The Titan factored in the dramatic account of Mercury's mission to sever Aeneas' ties to Dido; now he is recalled as Dido essentially invokes a reverse direction—east to west as opposed to Mercury's flight west to east—for her description of her planned magical rites. A conventional enough epithet, though with a hint that so powerful a divine figure is being associated with the queen's plans. Interestingly, the superlative is applied 3× each in the poem to Atlas; Juno; and Aeneas; cf. 2× of Ilioneus and once each of Jupiter; Hercules; Latinus; Pallas; Hector; and a few others of less significance.

The spelling of "Atlas" here varies in the manuscripts; the Medicean and the Palatine have *Atlans*; Servius notes "nullum nomen Graecum 'ns' terminatur." The name is in sound pattern with 482 ... *aptum*.

482 *axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum*:

This verse is repeated at 6.795–797 ... *iacet extra sidera tellus, | extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas | axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum*, in the famous description from the *Heldenschau* of the work of Augustus Caesar in spreading Roman *imperium* (for the repetition see Sparrow 1931, 100). Macrobius (*Sat.* 6.1.9) is our evidence for how Virgil has here imitated Ennius (*Ann. fr.* 3.145 Skutsch), where the archaic poet seems to have had *caelum prospexit stellis fulgentibus aptum* and *hinc nox processit stellis ardentibus apta*; Lucretius plays his part in the intertextual game at *DRN* 6.357–358 *Autumnoque magis stellis fulgentibus apta | concutitur caeli domus undique totaque tellus*.

The Atlas image here will thus be taken over in the glorious vision of the future Augustan conquest: "... mythological fancy has received historical approbation" (Fratantuono 2007, 191). In the present passage, Dido is clearly thinking of the far west because of the Hesperides; in Book 6, there have been many attempts at precise geographical identification of the Augustan conquests that are envisaged; Horsfall notes ad loc.: "Au. argues warmly ... that V. is thinking of the 'Ethiopians' (cf. 4.481, etc.). But such a degree of (relative) geogr. precision is equally absent from the rather similar 7.223–227 ..." Cf. Butler on the same passage: "... the connexion of thought is not too clear, and the language is vague. The position of the passage forbids our regarding it as alluding to the Far North, or to expeditions such as that of C. Petronius in Ethiopia (22 B.C.);" cf. Mackail's conclusion that the whole passage displays evidence of unrevised writing that may date from the last months of the poet's life. Austin's conclusion about Ethiopia works well enough if one remembers that they lived from west

to east, in two frequently distinguished polities; he argues rather unsatisfactorily that Atlas refers to the giant and not the mountain to avoid the problem that we probably want an eastern and not a western locus for Augustan conquest. There is clear hyperbole in the Book 6 passage (sc., a land that is *extra sidera* and *extra anni solis vias*, where Atlas still manages to wheel on his shoulders a vault studded with stars because he is, after all, outside the vault). We would argue that just possibly there is reference to an Augustan expansion that is so complete that it wraps around literally from east to west. It is noteworthy that at 480–481, Dido's reference to the far west is expressed in language of border and end (*finem; ultimus*); in contrast, the parallel passage in Book 6 will be replete with extraordinary, indeed seemingly extra-astronomical expansion.

Here we must note Housman's famous criticism of Virgil in his "Astronomical Appendix" to his Lucan (328–329): "Virgil ... absurdly puts Atlas south of the zodiac ... conceiving the zodiac as coincident, not with the equator, but, by a graver blunder, with the tropic of Cancer." We would add that arguably it might be even more absurd to imagine a place beyond the stars where there are, after all, still stars—even if the point simply would be that Atlas is outside the sphere, holding up the *axis* studded with stars. Absurdity and hyperbole travel together.

The present description will be recalled too at the very conclusion of the Trojan/Arcadian requiems at 11.201–202 ... *nox umida donec / invertit caelum stellis ardentibus aptum*, in another verbal link between the Dido and Pallas stories (see note below on *aptum*).

axem: Cf. 2.512 ... *nudoque sub aetheris axe*; 5.820 ... *sub axe tonanti*; 6.789–790 ... *hic Caesar et omnis Iuli / progenies magnum caeli ventura sub axem*; also 6.536 *iam medium aetherio cursu traiecerat axem*; 8.28 ... *sub aetheris axe* again; *G.* 2.271; 3.107; 172; 351; also *Aen.* 12.379–380 (of the *axis* of a chariot). See Pease for the use in Latin writers of *axis* as a virtual synonym for *caelum*.

umero: For Atlas' shoulders see on 250. The sky revolves on Atlas' shoulders; there were different conceptions of exactly what the rebellious giant turned heavenly balancer was doing with the sky.

torquet: Cf. 208; 220; 269; 583. 9.93 *torquet qui sidera mundi* echoes this verse. Note the verb's central position to suggest that the movement of the universe comes from a balanced position.

ardentibus: With *stellis* also at Manilius, *Ast.* 1.306.

aptum: The vault of heaven is literally "fitted with" burning stars (following Page's interpretation, and understanding the *axem* of the whole sky). The burning stars here presage Dido's pyre, as at 11.201–202 they reflect the fires at the funerals of the war dead (reading *ardentibus* there and not the far weaker

fulgentibus, though both are venerably Ennian borrowings; the same textual confusion can be noted in Servius *ad* 1.108, where the present verse is cited with *fulgentibus*, while *ad* 1.552 and 2.512 he reads *ardentibus*—such things happen when relying on memory).

Axem ... aptum frames the verse; note also the effective sound pattern commencing with the close of the previous verse: *Atlas / axem ... ardentibus aptum*.

483 *hinc mihi Massylae gentis monstrata sacerdos*,

hinc: I.e., from the land of the far west and the setting sun (480). The commentators note that we do not learn definitely until 509 ff. that the priestess is actually at Carthage, though it is reasonably obvious from the start that she must be. *Hinc* introduces an ephrasis.

mihi: Alliterative with *Massyli* and *monstrata*.

Massylae: Cf. the *Massyli equites* who rush out of Carthage at the hunt at 132, just before the mention of the queen tarrying in her chamber. “Massylian” is used very loosely here, given that the Numidian Massyli were located nowhere near Atlas or the Atlantic Ocean; the geographical description is deliberately vague, and Virgil wishes mostly to draw our attention back to the hunt as he continues to rework scenes from earlier in the book.

Silius has *ad magicas etiam fallax atque improba gentis / Massylae levitas descendere compulit artes* (*Pun.* 8.98–99).

monstrata sacerdos: Echoed closely below at 498 ... *monstratque sacerdos*. The plan Dido outlines to her sister was introduced with the active *inveni* (478); there is no indication here of who pointed out the priestess to Dido, or when. For *sacerdos* vid. H. Fugier in *EV* IV, 630–632; L. Kronenberg in *VE* III, 1038. The noun 27× in Virgil; the other priestesses include Ilia (1.273–274); Deiphobe (6.35–36); Calybe (7.419).

484 *Hesperidum templi custos, epulasque draconi*

Hesperidum: Prominent in position, with the famous dragon helping to frame the verse. For the Hesperides vid. R. Rocca in *EV* II, 391–392; V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* II, 614; Fratantuono 2015c. One of the subjects of the song of Silenus at *E.* 6.61 is the celebrated story of Atalanta and the quest for the golden apples (*tum canit Hesperidum miratam mala puellam*). The Hesperides are cited first in extant literature at Hesiod, *Theog.* 215–216, where the “paradise-maidens” (so West *ad loc.*) are the daughters of Night (cf. the *Dirae*); the First Vatican Mythographer (1.38) identifies them as *Atlantis filiae*. Virgil’s Hesperides are given no lineage, though they are localized near the border of Oceanus, in the *ultimus locus* of the Aethiopes. Servius also identifies them as daughters of Atlas; DServ. notes that they may have been the daughters of Hesperus. Likely the Hesiodic ascrip-

tion is earliest (and note that the land of the setting sun would be a fitting place for the daughters of Night). Virgil neither names them nor identifies their number.

The apples of the Hesperides as cited in the song of Silenus were what secured Atalanta for her would-be lover in the famous race; the Hesperidean reference here is also amatory, in that the Massylian priestess is able to join and sever hearts (487–488). The mention of the Hesperides is evocative of the ultimate Hesperian goal of Aeneas; cf. as early in the journey as 2.801–802, where Lucifer was seen to lead forth the day as it rose over Ida—Lucifer = Hesperus = the planet Venus (cf. Catullus, c. 62.35). Hesperia is first mentioned in the epic when Ilioneus identifies it to Dido as the destination of the Trojans (1.530–534). At 8.76–77, the Tiber is addressed by Aeneas as the lord of the Hesperidean waters: *semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis | corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum*; see Fratantuono and Smith ad loc. for the connection of the epithet to Herculean stories and the idea that Aeneas has now found his own distant west and version of the fabled Hesperides. Evidence from the visual arts attests that Atlas was associated with the canonical Herculean labor of retrieving the apples as early as the mid-sixth century (vid. Gantz 1993, 411); in Diodorus (4.26–27) the apples are rationalized as flocks of sheep, and the dragon guardian is merely a shepherd who happens to be named Dracon.

templi: Of a sacred precinct rather than a building *per se*; for the noun see on 457, etc.

custos: For the noun cf. 186, of Rumor. *Templi custos* occurs at Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 2.150.

epulasque: Treats for the monstrous serpent, a detail that will be expanded at 486. The noun elsewhere in the poem at 1.79; 216; 723; 5.63; 6.599; 604; 7.110; 146; 175; 8.283, in a variety of contexts.

draconi: The traditional dragon of the story is mentioned by Apollonius in his allusion to the myth at *Arg.* 3.1393 ff., with the name Ladon; in his epic the locus of the Hesperides is at Euhesperides/Berenice and not in the farthest west (see here Hunter ad loc.)—Virgil uses Atlas to highlight a connection between the Hesperides and Hesperia, i.e., making them as western as geographically possible. Cf. the description of Euripides at *Her.* 394–402. Butler reminds us that “dragon” is not strictly correct; the term however has become commonplace. In Apollonius (*Arg.* 4.1406 ff.) the Hesperides meet a grim fate: at the arrival of the Argonauts they turn to dust and earth. See Pease for the etymological connection of the name *δράκων* = *δέρκομαι*; dragons are classic guardians of sacred and special sites. In Virgil, because of the slaying of this dragon by Apollonius’ Heracles, the priestess is “redundant,” as Nelis 2001, 142 puts it; the

present scene recalls both the Apollonian telling of Heracles' heroic feat, and the help that Medea lent to Jason by drugging the serpentine guardian of the Golden Fleece at *Arg.* 4.156–159: the two “golden” labors are, after all, parallel.

The feeding of the dragon is done in order to induce the monster to guard the tree; Mackail's comment in response to those who have criticized Virgil for verses 485–486 (from Servius forward) has become celebrated in the scholarly tradition: “Even a dragon had to be kept in good temper.” The Massylian priestess has an impressive résumé. Paschalis 1997, 166–167 offers semantic reasons why this witch is said to lull the dragon to sleep; for him the main point is to show how she has power over even the usually sleepless serpentine sentinel. “Virgil has drawn a fascinating, mysterious picture of magic powers: why destroy the illusion?” (Austin).

485 *quae dabat et sacros servabat in arbore ramos,*

quae, etc.: The grammar has caused sufficient consternation so as to prompt such emendations as Sabbadini's *ut* for *et*, e.g.; see Mackail for the “normal Virgilian coupling.” *Quae* here correlates with 487 *haec*.

dabat: Coordinate with *servabat*: the imperfects are a reminder that the dragon has, after all, been slain, and the apples won by Heracles—hence the Massylian *sacerdos* may seek other employment with Dido in Carthage. The priestess both gave away and preserved. The dragon is logically the guardian, but since the serpent was minded, the minder can be said to be the one who used to preserve the sacred branches—again, the emphasis is on the power of the *sacerdos* in Dido's estimation (or at least what she claims to her sister as part of her mendacious scheme).

sacros: In juxtaposed alliteration with *servabat*. In framing hyperbaton with *ramos*, enacting the spreading branches of the sacred tree. For the adjective cf. especially on 702–703; note also 50; 301; 454; 500; 521; 638. MacLennan argues that it is “not clear” why the imperfects are employed, but surely the reason is that the labors of heroes have deprived her of an occupation.

The *sacros ... ramos* here that bear the golden apples are a prefiguration of the Golden Bough of 6.140–148; 204–201, at the very least with vague associations with immortality and the conquest of death (the subject of the labors of Hercules both in the far west and with the retrieval of Cerberus, on which see on 486). Branches for apples by metonymy.

Sacros to whom? D*Serv.* cites Venus and Juno, the former obvious enough since the apples these branches bore are associated in the lore with love; Ps.-Apollodorus 2.5.1 identifies them as a wedding gift at the nuptials of Zeus and Hera. Less likely they were sacred to Tellus/Terra.

servabat: For the verb see A. Aragosti in *EV* IV, 814–815; elsewhere in this book only at 552.

arbore: Without identification of the type of tree. *Arbore* is juxtaposed with *ramos*. No taxonomic help here for what the fruit was, either; probably quinces; likely not oranges, though one might have wished it so.

The end of this verse is cited at Cornelius Severus, fr. 9 Morel/Courtney/215 Hollis *pomosa lentos servabat in arbore ramos*, where it has generally been assumed that the subject is the serpent.

486 *spargens umida mella soporiferumque papaver.*

“This is a very sleepy line, without any main caesura and with total coincidence of ictus and accent” (Williams). This verse is echoed at 6.420–421 *melle soporitam et medicatis frugibus offam | obicit ...*, where the Sibyl feeds a tasty treat to Cerberus. Virgil brings together via these parallel passages a rich connection between Apollonius’ Medea and her lulling of the dragon at *Arg.* 4.156–159, and the two peculiarly death-defying labors of Hercules in pursuit of the golden apples and the hound of hell. Dido’s account of the Massylian priestess is specific as to dragon treats; the Sibyl’s diet for Cerberus is less specified (see Horsfall ad loc.; Henry’s classic note on how he enjoyed honey and poppy in the Tyrol). Honey in both; presumably a magical element in the *medicatis frugibus*. Pease’s account of his experience in the “Snake-Temple” at Penang in Malaya is not to be missed, though if Henry had made it to southeast Asia the account would no doubt be unforgettable.

Many scholars have objected to the idea of feeding soporifics to a sentinel dragon. Ribbeck transposed this line after 517; Kvičala 1881, 136–138 preferred to delete it together with 485; others devote commentary notes to condemning the poet, following Servius as captain of the carping (“incongrue videtur positum”). Williams joins those of the view that the honey and poppy have nothing to do with the *epulas* of 484, but rather point to some other magical use or rite; others worry about where exactly the priestess sprinkled these sweet-meats: on the ground or on some other food. Stephenson argues that the action here was designed to guard against animals that might elude the dragon, since it would be an “unaccountable slip” to imagine that the dragon was being given an opiate. De la Ville de Mirmont 1894, 153 n. 1 sees a need to protect the branches against a potentially violent serpent; the beast must be alert enough to kill would-be thieves and intruders, but not so alert as to threaten the precious fruit; this is similar to the theory of Trannoy 1928, 136 ff., where the point is to sprinkle the offerings as libations to the invisible spirits of the air to ward off harm to the branches. Austin speculates that perhaps the concoction was medicinal, for a sick serpent.

This tree comes relatively soon after the Aeneas-tree that was so battered and shaken by the winds at 441 ff.

spargens: For the verb note 21 and 584; at 512 *sparserat* it recurs in the description of the rites the priestess performs at the pyre. Servius thought that here it might mean “miscens,” but there is no need to imagine this.

umida: Also at 2.8; 3.198; 5.738; 835; and 11.201 of night; 2.605, with *nubes*; 5.594, with *maria*; 12.476–477, with *stagna*. “Oozy” (Austin).

mella: Cf. 1.432 *liquentia mella*; 436 *fragrantia mella*, both times in the Carthaginians-bees simile; honey nowhere else in the epic. Honey with poppy was medicinal (cited in Celsus; note Serenus, *Lib. Med.* 15.269 *Attico melli iunges agreste papaver*); for the collocation cf. Horace, *Ars* 375; Ovid, *Fast.* 4.151–152. Usually in the plural in Virgil.

soporiferumque: First here in extant Latin; it was taken over by Ovid (*Met.* 11.586; *Fast.* 4.531; *Trist.* 4.1.47; 5.2.24); Lucan (*BC* 3.8); Petronius (*Sat.* 126.6.1); Statius, *Theb.* 10.107; 326; 12.291; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.295; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 7.287; also in Pliny Maior and Apuleius. Sibilant alliteration after *spargens*.

papaver: Vid. G. Maggiulli in *EV* 111, 963–964; Maggiulli 1995, 390–394; Sargeant 1920, 96–98; also Edgeworth 1992, 146; Fabbri 2017. Poppy is also referenced at 9.436–437 ... *lassove papavera collo / demisere caput pluvia cum forte gravantur*, in the cut flower simile that describes the death of Euryalus; cf. *E.* 2.47; *G.* 1.78; 212; 4.131. At *G.* 4.545–546 *inferias Orphei Lethaea papavera mittes / et nigram mactabis ovem lucumque revises*, the shade of Orpheus is to be appeased with poppy; see further Thomas ad loc. The honey was specified as liquid; the preparation (if any) of the poppy is not described.

The queen’s real motive in all of these rites is death (her own suicide + an eternal curse on the Trojans); the red poppy is a chromatic indicator of coming doom (so Edgeworth 1992, 26 ff.). It is not surprising that the imagery employed finds echo and resonance in the Virgilian underworld. “This line is unique in the *Aeneid* for its sensuous beauty” (Irvine, who compares 7.711 *Ereti manus omnis oliveriferaeque Mutuscae* before criticizing Servius’ complaints here, especially his argument that since different foods have diverse effects on creatures, perhaps this treat did not put the dragon to sleep at all). Armstrong 2019, 169–170 does well to remind us that any “inconcinnity” may be Dido’s own—after all it can be easy sometimes even for commentators to forget that the current speaker is insane.

There may be some allusion here too to the lore of Demeter and Persephone, indeed we may think of the mysterious “Poppy Goddess” in thirteenth-century terra cotta relief as one may see in the Heraklion Museum; on this see further Fratantuono 2007, 119–120. Cf. *G.* 1.208 ff. on the autumnal sowing of the poppy,

at exactly the season when Persephone left for the underworld; in *Aen.* 2 (713–714; 742 ff.) Ceres is linked closely to the loss of Creïsa (and there are obvious affinities with the myth of the attempted underworld harrowing of Orpheus' Eurydice). The poppy here is referenced with respect to an employment that is no longer in existence given that the dragon has been slain; the magical rites that the Hesperidean witch will preside over for Dido will be concerned not with anything like resurrection or return from the grave in the manner of Persephone's spring rebirth to the upper air, but will concern union in death, in a sort of shared destruction.

487 *haec se carminibus promittit solvere mentes*

haec: Cf. 479 *quae*.

se: Juxtaposed with the demonstrative. *Se* and *solvere* are alliterative in the second and penultimate positions.

carminibus: Amatory spells. For erotic magic binding and loosing songs in Virgil, see A. Pitts in *VE* II, 780–781; cf. S. Ingallina in *EV* III, 311–316; M.W. Dickie, "Who Practised Love-Magic in Classical Antiquity and in the Roman World?," in *CQ* 50.2 (2000), 563–583. The *locus classicus* is Theocritus, *Id.* 2 (where see Gow). In Virgil cf. *E.* 8 (68; 72; 76; 79; 84; 90; 94; 100; 104). Note also Tibullus, c. 1.2.59–62, with the commentaries of Smith; Murgatroyd; Maltby.

promittit: The verb also at 228; 552. Here the Massylian witch takes on her new, post-serpentine employment option. "Professes," as the English commentators note—not "promises." The present tense has occasioned comment; it contrasts with the imperfects that described her former work.

solvere: Directly echoing 479 ... *vel eo me solvat amantem*. The order of the stated promises reverses Dido's earlier introduction to her plan; here we hear first of the priestess' ability to loosen, and then of her power to bind. Coordinate with 488 *immittere*, of the dual action of the mage. The first of several infinitives to describe what she professes to do: 488 *immittere*; 489 *sistere*; *vertere*. The construction changes at 490 *movet*, before two more infinitives conclude the magical description.

mentes: Vid. Negri 1984, 171; 286; 307. We may recall Aeneas' *mens immota* at 449; also 55 *spemque dedit dubiae menti solvitque pudorem* (Anna's action with Dido); 319 ... *exue mentem* (Dido pleading with Aeneas); 595 ... *quae mentem insania mutat?* (Dido to herself); also 501–502; 649 ... *mente morata* (Dido just before her suicide). Enjambment to describe what the *sacerdos* can do as she wills.

488 quas velit, ast aliis duras immittere curas,

quas velit: Emphasizing the power of the witch. “One of the formulae of magic” (Pease). *Quas* and *curas* in framing pattern, as Virgil moves from *mentes* to the anxiety that can plague one’s reason.

ast: In sound pattern with *aliis*, as the contrast is heralded. 18× in the epic, not least in the penultimate line as Turnus dies; only here in Book 4. See Pease for its use instead of *at* where a long syllable is needed before a vowel. In this book, the triple *at regina* formula accounts for a third of the nine occurrences of *at*. Any solemnity in the conjunction is especially fitting here: what Dido has craved for some time now is Aeneas’ love, and *ast* announces the power of the witch to bring him to the lovesick queen.

aliis: Some minds are loosed and others are bound. This assumes that *aliis* refers to *mentibus*, as most editors take it; *carminibus* is another possible though less likely referent, especially after *quas* of *mentes*.

duras: Also at 247 and 366, in the context of crags and mountains. Of a passionate love that will be difficult to endure. We may be reminded both of the Atlas mountain of the *sacerdos*’ native land, and of the hardness associated by Dido with Aeneas (366–367; 441ff.). Since Dido is already hopelessly in love, the reference here would be to the power of the witch to make Aeneas lose his mind for the queen.

immittere: For the verb cf. 669. The infinitive is framed by the *duras ... curas*.

curas: As at 4.1, etc. The key term at line-end, balancing 487 *mentes*.

Equivalency: it is Dido who has been experiencing the *duras curas*, and perhaps the priestess can send them to Aeneas as well.

489 sistere aquam fluviis et vertere sidera retro,

Classic *adynata* (on Virgilian examples thereof see M.R. and M.V. Sánchez in Moya del Baño 1984, 511–518). The main poetic reference is to Argus’ remarks about the powers of the Apollonian Medea’s magic at *Arg.* 3.528–533, where these same wonders are credited to a witch. ABAB chiastic arrangement: *sistere / aquam / vertere / sidera*. Note also Murgatroyd on Tibullus, c. 1.2.43–52; McKeown on Ovid, *Am.* 2.1.23–26. Servius comments on the witch’s power: “quanto magis poterit Aenean ab incepto retorquere.”

sistere: The verb also below at 634 ... *huc siste sororem* (Dido’s instructions to Barce). Alliterative with *sidera*. Virgil probably has in mind here Euripides, *Med.* 410 (where see Page); cf. *E.* 8.4 *et mutata suos requierunt flumina cursus*. Here the water is stopped in its course; sometimes it is made to flow backwards; cf. *Ps.* 113 *Mare vidit et fugit, Jordanis vertit se retrorsum ... Quid est tibi, mare, quod fugis? Jordanis, quod vertis te retrorsum?*

aquam: Juxtaposed with *fluviis*.

fluviis: The noun 25× in the epic, only here in Book 4. The case has been disputed; if it is dative, then this is the only dative plural use of the noun in Virgil; locative ablative is perhaps better (Austin et al. offer the possibility), though the distinction is a slight one. “Doubtless dative” says Conington with assurance; “probably dative,” the more cautious Pease; Buscaroli concurs; Stephenson silent. The correlation after 488 *aliis* is the best argument for the dative.

vertere: Recalling 455, where the wine portentously turned into gore. The Atlas of 481–482 wheeled on his shoulder the axis that was studded with stars; the witch is able to turn back heavenly bodies in their course.

sidera: Cf. 309; 322; 520; 578.

retro: 16× in the epic; twice in the *Georgics* (1.200; 4.495, of the *crudelia fata* calling Eurydice back to the underworld).

The line-end here is echoed at Manilius, *Ast.* 3.18–19 ... *conversaue sidera retro / ereptumque diem* ..., of the reaction in nature to the ghastly feast of Thyestes in the poet’s catalogue of the tales he will not sing. Cf. Seneca, *Phaed.* 676–677 *ac versa retro sidera obliquos agant / retorta cursus*.

No doubt Dido remembers the words of Aeneas at 1.607–610 *in freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbrae / lustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascet, / semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt, / quae me cumque vocant terrae* ...

490 **nocturnosque movet Manis: mugire videbis**

nocturnosque: For the adjective cf. 303 (of Cithaeron). With *Manis* in frame around the verb. The exact force of the (transferred?) epithet of the ghosts has been debated: is the witch envisaged as working at night, or is this a reference to ghostly visitations by night (likelier, though these are not mutually exclusive possibilities).

movet: Strikingly alliterative with *Manis* and *mugire*, as the language enacts the auditory effect of what is described. Vivid: from the infinitives dependent on 487 *promittit*, Dido proceeds to a new construction: the witch rouses nocturnal ghosts, dream visitations and ghostly apparitions: she can summon the dead. Here we may recall 460–461, of the voices that were heard to come from Sychaeus’ *templum*.

Here we find another textual variation of some significance. While the *movit* of F offers a relatively simple tense change, *ciet* is also respectably attested (cf. 122). Mackail suspects that there was a sense that the alliteration was too strong with *movet*. Others have noted that *movet* implies a potentially sacrilegious act, as opposed to *ciet*; this may be part of the poet’s point in what he has Dido say here. Conington prefers *ciet*, arguing that while “intrinsically

the two words seem on a par," *ciet* enjoys somewhat better external attestation (Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* 21.6; Isidore). But decisive here is 10.39–41 *nunc etiam manis* (*haec intemptata manebat / sors rerum*) *movet et superis immissa repente / Allecto, medias Italum bacchata per urbes*, where Venus complains at the divine council about Juno's behavior in Book 7 in inciting the Italian war (cf. 7.312 ... *Acheronta movebo*). On the parallel see Newman and Newman 2005, 170–171. A line is drawn here between what the mage professes, and what she actually does; she has not yet joined or loosed lovers (487–488), and certainly she has not worked signs in the world of nature (489)—but she raises the dead, as it were, and you, Anna, will see the earth groan, etc. (491).

Manis: Cf. on 34; 387; 427. Pease notes that the witch is a necromancer and not a "grave-robber"; i.e., she summons ghosts and does not animate corpses. She is not, in other words, Lucan's *Erichtho*. Virgil does not dwell for long on something that will not be mentioned again; in context (cf. 9; 460–461; also 1.353 ff.) we think of *Sychaeus* here. Even if tomb desecration is not imagined, the image lurks in the background; we recall too that the dead have been leaving their graves already in *Dido's* experience, at least in her own dream experience of *Sychaeus* in Tyre, and probably in the disturbing dreams she has endured in this book.

mugire: The verb also of the eerie sounds that emitted from Delos (3.91–92); cf. 6.256–257 *sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga coepta moveri / silvarum ...*, at the sacrificial rites before the descent to *Avernus*; 8.215 and 218 of the lowing of the cattle of *Hercules* that gives away the theft of *Cacus*; 361 *Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis*, of the pastoral conditions of the future site of Rome; 526 *Tyrrhenusque tubae mugire per aethera clangor*, of the ominous sound of the *Tyrrhenian* trumpet that summons *Aeneas* to war (an extraordinary 4× in the book). *Mugitus* occurs at 2.223 in the simile of *Laocoön* as a sacrificial bull; cf. 12.103, in the related *Turnus* taurine comparison. The sounds accompany the opening of the earth to allow the ghosts to rise up from the underworld.

Cf. here Ovid, *Met.* 7.204–206 *vivaque saxa sua convulsaque robora terra / et silvas moveo iubeoque tremescere montis / et mugire solum manesque exire sepulcris* (in the self-description of *Medea's* magical abilities). Seneca notes: *Nec enim aliter posset, ut ait noster Vergilius, Sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga celsa moveri, nisi hoc esset ventorum opus* (6.13.5.5).

videbis: The visual metaphor, here vividly employed to remind us that *Dido* is, after all, addressing her sister; this is a frightening word in context, as the raving queen continues to describe the magical powers of the witch. Mackail notes: "In strictness *videbis* applies only to the second half of the clause. But here as in iii. 92 and vi. 256, the sound and the movement are thought of

as a single phenomenon.” It is especially effective to speak of seeing ominous things in the dark of night, if we are to assume that these are nocturnal manifestations of the dead. Page tries to lessen the sense of the verb by taking it to mean “you may see,” i.e., should you wish to come with me to see this *sacerdos*.

Pease offers the possibility that the referent of the second-person verb could be “indefinite” (following Servius’ “quis”)—but it is very much in the poet’s style to offer reminders *en passant* in the course of an extended address that someone is actually talking to someone else; also there is more intense fright if the queen directly speaks to her sister as the one who will see the ground gape open, etc. The enjambment adds to the suspenseful effect. Dido as employer of a master mage will show her sister portentous sights, just as she herself saw when she was subjected to ghastly omens and premonitions of coming horror.

491 *sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos.*

A balanced verse: *pedibus* echoed by *montibus*; *terram* by *ornos*.

sub pedibus: Recalling 2.227, where the same verse opening described the return of the serpents to Tritonis’ *arx* after the death of Laocoön and his sons; cf. 6.256 (parallel to the present passage). A Lucretian borrowing: *DRN* 3.27; 5.1139; cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 1.239; 5.100; Ovid, *Met.* 14.490; Lucan, *BC* 9.878; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.258;

descendere: With the trees descending from the mountains at the behest of the witch we may compare the wild animals that ran down from the mountain heights during the hunt at 151 ff. The infinitive recalls 159 ... *aut fulvum descendere monte leonem*, of Ascanius’ wish for serious game.

ornos: On the manna-ash (*Fraxinus ornus*) see Maggiulli 1995, 382–384; Armstrong 2019, 296–297; also Sargeaunt 1920, 93. The descent of ash trees from the mountains recalls the image of the *antiquum in montibus ornum* from 2.626 in the comparison of the destruction of Troy to the work of farmers in competition to chop down an aged ash. The verbal echo (*montibus ornum* / *montibus ornos*) helps to secure the parallel. What Dido says that Anna will see is the opposite of the image of the Aeneas-tree at 445 *ipsa haeret scopulis*, etc.—the tree that was being buffeted by the visits of Anna to relate her sister’s entreaties. That image recalled the Troy-ash from the city’s last night; now Dido names the type of tree from the simile (which occurred, of course, in the course of a tale that Aeneas had told at her court). There are funereal connections here, filtered from Ennius (*Ann.* fr. 6.175–177 Skutsch): cf. 6.182 ... *advolvunt ingentis montibus ornos*, in the preparations for the Misenus requiem (where in a sense the Trojan lumberjacks do something akin to the magical craft of the

witch); 11.138 *nec plaustis cessant vectare gementibus ornos*, in the similar work for the requiems during the truce.

The death of Troy; Dido's mage; two funerals on Italian soil. The language harks back to Book 2 and looks forward to Book 6, and it spells doom for the Trojans; the localization of the ash trees on the mountains makes this an act of particular revenge for the stony, mountain-like resistance of Aeneas to the appeals of Dido as brought by Anna. We may compare 10.766–767 *aut summis referens annosam montibus ornum | ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit*, in the comparison of the giant Mezentius to Orion; there a repeated line recalls Rumor (10.767 = 4.177), and Orion too makes his appearance in Book 4 (52); the Etruscan demon harks back to the fall of Troy (he will, after all, be felled), but like Rumor and stormy Orion (cf. 1.535) he will do significant harm to the Trojans before he is destroyed.

There is also an allusion here to the Hesiodic detail at *E.* 6. 69–71 ... *hos tibi dant calamos, Musae, | Ascraeo quos ante seni, quibus ille solebat | cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos*, with the same line-end as here. There Hesiod was credited with the Orphic ability to move nature by the power of song (cf. Horace, c. 1.12.11, with Nisbet and Hubbard, and Mayer). Page argues that Virgil does not have the pastoral image in mind here, since the context is malignant (cf. *E.* 8.99).

For *ornos* as a metrical convenience in place of such an intractable word as *arbores*, see Austin; the poet's main concern here, however, is to highlight the connections between all of his manna-ash passages, as Dido's magic looks to the ruin of the Trojans. Manna-ash and not a mountain ash, "as we give that name to the red-berried rowan, which is not an ash at all. The *ornus* is the manna-ash, a beautiful tree, not indigenous in England" (Butler).

Tilly comments on how the whole sequence from 480–491 underscores the "strangeness" of Dido's mind.

492 *testor, cara, deos, et te, germana, tuumque*

A verse with many little words, where the deranged liar begins to make an oath that will be as meaningless as the one at 24–27. Maclennan sees real grief here on Dido's part, occasioned by her distaste for deceiving her sister. But she has reasons to be irritated with Anna (the encouragement about Aeneas; the alleged overfamiliarity between husband and sister-in-law, as it were)—and deceit rules this passage (477). The commentators note the influence of the swearing of the lock of Berenice at Catullus, c. 66.40 *adiuro teque tuumque caput*, which translates Callimachus, *Aetia* fr. 110.40 Harder, with *κάρην* for head ("as if from first-declension *κάρη* ... first attested in Callimachus and then also in other Hellenistic poets ..." —Harder ad loc.). D. Konstan, "A Pun in Virgil's

Aeneid: 4.492–493?,” in *CPh* 95.1 (2000), 74–76 sees in Virgil’s *cara* an echo of Callimachus’ *κάρην*: different case, but close enough sound to be a reasonable argument, especially with 493 *caput* directly underneath *cara*. The allusion here to the Berenician lock looks forward to the severing of Dido’s own lock at the close of the book, and to 6.460.

testor: Alliterative with *te* and *tuum*. At 357 *testor utrumque caput* the verb was used in Aeneas’ own calling to witness about the veracity of his divine visitation; cf. 519 below. The verb prominent by position; for the first person form cf. 478 *inveni, germana, viam (gratare sorori)*, a verse that has affinities with the present line.

deos: All the gods. “quia, cum multa sacra Romani suscipere, semper magica damnarunt; ideo excusat” (Servius).

cara: The affectionate vocative follows after the more intimidating *videbis* (490). Cf. 91 of Juno as the *cara Iovis coniunx*; 354 in Aeneas’ reference to the *capitisque iniuria cari* (sc., of Ascanius); 634 *cara mihi nutrix* (of Barce). *Cara* and *germana* in second and penultimate positions. Pease notes that *carus* is never used of the relationship between Aeneas and Dido.

te: Juxtaposed with *germana*, which in turn is followed by *tuumque*.

germana: See on 478; the repetition is effective as Dido seeks to express both closeness by sororial relationship and by affection (*cara*).

tuumque: The enjambment enacts the dramatic sense of the oath.

493 dulce caput, magicas invitam accingier artis.

dulce caput: Cf. Sophocles, *Ant.* 1. The adjective recalls 33 (Anna speaking of *dulcis natos*); 185 (Rumor not succumbing to sweet sleep); 281 (of the *dulcis terras* Aeneas wishes to leave after the visit of Mercury); 317–318 (Dido rhetorically asking if there was any sweet experience of her for Aeneas); 342–343 (of the *dulcis reliquias* of his people); cf. 651 below. Emphatic in the first position. Newman and Newman 2005, 120; 206 cf. 12.882–883, of Juturna musing if there is any sweetness for her in her family apart from Turnus. Propertius has *nec te, dulce caput, mater Scribonia, laesi* (c. 4.11.55).

magicas: In framing order with *artis*. This is the only occurrence of the (mostly poetic) adjective in the epic; cf. *E.* 8.66–67 *coniugis ut magicis sanos avertere sacris / experiar sensus ...* In effective sound pattern after *dulce caput* and before *accingier*.

invitam: Cf. Aeneas to the shade of Dido at 6.460 *invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi*. At 2.402 *Heu nihil invitis fas quemquam fidere divis!* the adjective appears in Aeneas’ comment on the changing fortunes of the final battle for Troy; cf. Venus’ *si sine pace tua atque invito numine Troes / Italiam petiere ...* (10.31–32, at the divine council); Cymodocea’s *rupimus invitae tua vincula teque per aequor*

/ *quaerimus* ... (10.233–234); Juno's ... *et Turnum et terras invita reliqui* (12.809). Here there is no good reason to believe Dido's assertion. *Me* is omitted because all the focus of 492–493 is on *te*.

This then is Dido's response to the image of Aeneas at 361 *Italiam non sponte sequor*; the Trojan hero is proceeding to Italy against his will, and Carthage's queen will pursue magical arts against hers—at least according to her claim to her sister. The irrationality associated in the Roman imagination with magic evokes the Cleopatra image, at least in the view of Augustan propaganda.

accingier: The verb 11× in the poem. The archaic present infinitive passive occurs also at 7.70; 8.493; 11.242; *G.* 1.454. Metrical convenience is not the only or even principal reason for the mannerism; the form lends a solemn, stately air to the passage. Here it is part of Dido's effort to deceive Anna: not only does she call the gods and her sister to witness, but the action that she insists is taken against her will is stated in the most venerable, old-fashioned and noble of ways. The sound pattern with *artis* gives the line a melodic close.

artis: With *magicas* also at Ovid, *Am.* 3.7.35; *Ars* 2.425; *Rem.* 250.

494 tu secreta pyram tecto interiore sub auras

tu: Following on the many second person references of 492, as Dido moves from calling her sister to witness to giving instructions. Austin comments on the solemnity of the pronoun here. Prominent by position, and balanced by the imperative at 495 *erige*. See below on 503ff. for the question of who actually carries out the work assigned here. One final building project at Dido's Carthage.

secreta: Anna is to work secretly, though of course the one with the real secrets is Dido. "Although *secreta* agrees with Anna and describes how she must act, it seems to suggest too the seclusion of this part of the house" (Tilly). Attempts to find anachronistic *comparanda* in Rome, Pompeii, etc. are probably ill-advised. Conington reminds us that there were other people around besides Anna, and that they may not have been as naïve.

pyram: Cf. on 504; the noun recurs elsewhere in the epic in the funereal contexts of 6.215; 11.185; 204. The pyre figures in the suicide account in Justin's epitome of Trogus (18.6): ... *pyra in ultima parte urbis instructa, velut placatura viri manes inferiasque ante nuptias missura multas hostias caedit et sumpto gladio pyram conscendit atque ita ad populum respiciens ituram se ad virum, sicut praeceperint, dixit vitamque gladio finivit* (with reference to the attempted forced marriage with Acharbas/Iarbas).

Maclennan notes that the word can refer to a "structured-fire." But the gullibility of Anna remains striking, even in the face of the idea of a pyre for use in

sympathetic magic rituals, and notwithstanding the elaborate introduction of the Massylian *sacerdos* and the extended description of her awesome powers. “sub specie sacrificii praeparat mortis exequias” (Servius).

interiore: Anna is to work *secreta*; in *tecto interiore* there is an added note of concealment. The reminiscence here is haunting: cf. 1.637–638 *at domus interior regali splendida luxu / instruitur, medique parant convivia tectis*, before the great banquet.

sub auras: Effective after *tecto interiore*; cf. 504 ... *pyra penetrali in sede sub auras*. The reference is apparently to an open air courtyard/peristyle or garden. See Pease for the view of some that the reference here is not to where the pyre was, but to its great height; of course it was in the open air, regardless of how high it was erected. With the noun cf. also 176; 226; 270; 278; 357; 378; 388; 417; 445.

D.P. Kubiak, “Cornelia and Dido (Lucan 9.173–179),” in *CQ* 40.2 (1990), 577–578 sees a connection between Dido’s orders about the burning of items connected with Aeneas and how Pompey’s wife must be content to place what remains of her husband on a pyre. “Cornelia possesses only the hollow emblems of Pompey’s military glory: again Lucan glances sardonically at his great predecessor in recalling him.”

Fire imagery figures prominently in Virgil’s depiction of the suicide of Dido; for a sensitive reading of how the poet evokes not only Medea in his Dido lore, but also her ill-fated royal victim Glaucus, see Y. Baraz, “Euripides’ Corinthian Princess in the *Aeneid*,” in *CPh* 104.3 (2009), 317–330.

495 *erige et arma viri thalamo quae fixa reliquit*

The verbs frame the line.

erige: Cf. 3.422–423, the language of which the present scene echoes: *sorbet in abruptum fluctus rursusque sub auras / erigit alternos et sidera verberat unda*, of Charybdis: *sub auras / erigit* and *sub auras / erige*; also 8.245 *omnia pervolitat late loca iamque sub auras / erigitur summique ferit laquearia tecti*, in the Apollonian simile describing Aeneas’ confused thoughts. At 3.576, *erigit* ... is used of Etna (8.416–417 is related); cf. 5.488 of the setting up of the mast on the ship of Serestus for the archery contest; 7.529–530 *paulatim sese tollit mare et altius undas / erigit* ..., in a storm simile as a comparison for war; 9.239–240 of smoke. The pyre will be erected at 505 *erecta*, closing a ring with the present use.

arma viri: Recalling 1.1; the hyperbaton allows for emphasis to be placed on what Aeneas will not be—a husband—and the *thalamus* that will not be a bridal bower. With *viri* cf. below on 498. Pease comments that again the queen avoids using his name (cf. 497 *nefandi*). *Arma* could be a poetic plural; the only weapon that will matter is the sword that Elissa will use to kill herself (507; 646).

Suspense builds until 497 *super imponas*, where we learn what is to be done with the arms. We may recall here the sword cited at 261–262 together with the *laena* that may be the referent of the *exuvias* of 496; those were presents of Dido to Aeneas that Mercury found the hero wearing as he worked on the construction projects in the city. Those presents may well have been as much returned as left behind.

thalamo: Cf. on 133, as the queen hesitated before leaving her *thalamus* for the hunt; 392, as the handmaidens place Dido in her marble chamber after she faints; also 18. The noun is juxtaposed with the word that can mean husband. Here the reference is almost certainly to the bed chamber, as opposed to a general reference to the quarters the women occupied.

fixa reliquit: The weapons had been fixed to the wall of the chamber. The key question here is why they would still be there: evidently the tremendous haste of the departure preparations, and the fact that at 391–392 Aeneas saw Dido's servants carry her off to the *thalamus* after her swoon accounts for why the arms could not be retrieved (“Aeneas had hung up this weapon there, and would naturally not care to reclaim it under the circumstances”—Conington).

MacLennan perceptively emphasizes how the image of the *arma fixa* would be one of conquest, in this case of the queen (cf. the imagery of 474 *evicta*), but with a hint of the eventual defeat of Carthage by Rome. Pease wonders if the arms were hung as a symbol of the end of his life of violence and the start of one of love.

Henry compares the Montserrat vigil of Ignatius of Loyola and the offering of arms as a chivalric act. The commentators note that the *arma* could also have been presents (see here Paschalis 1997, 165); the simplest explanation is that when not in use, they had to be stored somewhere. *Reliquit*: Aeneas left the weapons behind, and of course in the process he also left Dido. With the verb at line-end cf. 415 *ne quid inexpertum frustra moritura relinquat*.

Fixa recalls 15–16 *si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet / ne cui me vinclo vellem sociare iugali*. But likely the poet's main point in using the participle is to recall the *defixiones* or curse tablets of Roman magic. There are three notable curses in the epic, all in this book (vid. here L.C. Watson in *VE* 1, 323): Dido's threat to herself at 24–27 if she breaks faith with Sychaeus; her imprecations against Aeneas at 381–387; and her most serious threats at 607–629. The objects handled and worn by Aeneas will be a necessary element in the magic rites by which she seeks ultimately to curse him.

496 impius exuviasque omnis lectumque iugalem,

Balanced objects linked by the repeated enclitics.

impius: In the first position for emphasis and maximum shock value. We recall Jupiter's reference at 1.294 to *Furor impius*, who will be chained (cf. the binding rituals commonly done in magic rites with dolls); Pygmalion the killer of Sychaeus at 1.348–349 (and note that *furor* plays a role in the scene); *impia Fama* at 298 above (where her name is juxtaposed with *furenti* of Dido); Diomedes at 2.163–164 (because of the theft of the Palladium). The reversal of Aeneas' signal quality.

The basic meaning for the epithet is to be found in the queen's core complaint of abandonment; Servius was creative: "qui gladium reliquit furenti"; perceptively, he also notes the sword given to Ajax by Hector (*Il.* 7.303–312), which like Aeneas' for Dido will be the instrument of suicide; we recall that in Book 6 Dido will be associated with the Ajax from the Odyssean underworld. The noun describing Aeneas is juxtaposed with what he has left behind. *Impius* is coordinate with 497 ... *nefandi*. Aeneas is principally *impius* because he has forsaken Dido; there is also a reminiscence of how Ilioneus had described him to Dido's court as ... *quo iustior alter / nec pietate fuit nec bello maior et armis* (1.544–545), exactly after he had mentioned the gods as 543 *memores fandi atque nefandi* (cf. 497 *nefandi*; the order of the references from the Book 1 passage has been reversed here).

exuviasque: Echoed below at 651 *dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebat*. The main reference is to *E.* 8.91 *has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit*.

There is no specification of what these *exuviae* are (clearly enough some articles of clothing), but the commentators' workshop has not been closed; Bowie 1998 is the most extensive study. At 11.577 the word is used of the adolescent Camilla's tiger pelt; the principal echo here is probably of 2.274–275 ... *quantum mutatus ab illo / Hectore qui redit exuvias indutus Achilli*, of the dream apparition of Hector; cf. Anchises' ... *miserebitur hostis / exuviasque petet* ... (2.645–646); 9.306–307 of the lion pelt given to Nisus; 10.423 *haec arma exuviasque viri tua quercus habebit* (Pallas before his encounter with Turnus, unaware of how the river had received him in cleansing rescue at 9.815 ff.); 11.7 of the spoils of Mezentius; 790 of the *exuvias* that Arruns tells Apollo he is not seeking from Camilla (he is hunting no tiger pelt, as it were); the fateful ... *saevi monumenta doloris / exuviasque* ... of Pallas that prompt Aeneas' rage at the close of the poem (12.945–946); see below on 498 *monumenta* for how the present description of a magical rite paves the way for that climactic scene of the epic.

Dido here in a sense has the spoils of a warrior she never conquered; she possesses the *arma* and *exuviae* of Aeneas as if she had conquered him (cf. also how from her perspective at least he is fleeing away). The *thalamus* (or per-

haps the *pyra*) becomes the locus of *tropaeum*, but the victory is an imaginary, hollow one that will be destroyed by fire.

omnis: The angry queen claims that she plans to burn everything in the rite of sympathetic magic. Cf. 498 *cuncta*.

lectumque: The only such bed in Virgil. Cf. Ovid, *Her.* 2.57–58 *turpiter hospitium cumulasse iugali / paenitet ...* (Phyllis to Demophoon).

iugalem: Cf. 16; 59. Another reference to the queen's insistence that the relationship with Aeneas was a legitimate marriage. For Dido's use of a "tissue of ill-omened words" see Newman and Newman 2005, 123. As DServ. realized, this marriage bed will be the scene of a perverse union for all time, as Dido and Aeneas (symbolically in his case) are burned together. Cf. on 648 and above on 82. Pease reminds us of 172 *coniugium vocat*. By now Dido may believe her own deception about the legality of the nuptials. At any rate the bed in which he slept is another useful item in the magic ritual.

Some have seen an anachronistic reference here to the *lectus genialis* (following La Cerda), but this is unnecessary. What matters to Dido is that she consistently insists on identifying her union as a marriage.

One might note that while the Massylian *sacerdos* is allegedly gifted both in binding and in loosening love (487–488), all the focus of Dido's actual plan is voiced in words that speak of dissolution and not restoration.

497 **quo perii, super imponas: abolere nefandi**

perii: Powerfully echoed below at 696 in the queen's death scene. Dido identifies the marriage bed as the mechanism of her destruction. Another harbinger of her quickly approaching death. Alliterative with *imponas*. Servius says here "propter extinctum pudorem"; Pease argues that the verb can be used of "infatuation." Certainly there is an elegiac sense in the present instance of "dying for love"—but the queen is now resolved on suicide, and all mentions of death and destruction point toward that outcome. She says that she perished by the bed; it will be the *arma viri* that take her life.

The second and penultimate words of the verse are focused on the destruction of 1) Dido and 2) Aeneas.

imponas: Anna is to place the *arma* and the *exuviae* on the summit of the pyre, together with the *lectum iugalem*. For the verb cf. 418; 453; and especially 639–640. This is the reading of the Palatine; the third person plural *imponant* has good attestation, and would refer to the servants (as DServ. realized). Conington prefers the plural, as does Page; Dolç is a rare modern editor to agree. Pease prefers to read *superimponas* (following Mackail; so also Rivero García et al.; Götte and Paratore read *superinponas*), noting that the verb may be a neologism, and commenting on the poet's love for compounds with *super*.

This “subjunctive for imperative” (Maclennan) balances 495 *erige* (Sidgwick thinks the desire for balance was the source of what he considers to be the second person error), and it is better to imagine the vivid commands from sister to sister than the mundane stage direction of thinking that Anna would (obviously) need help. *Super* and *imponas* may remain separate: while the present use of *super* is not exactly akin to 233, there is no need to imagine a coinage (so Nettleship), though explicating the difference between *superimponas* and *super imponas* can become an exercise in pedantry. With *super* here cf. 507 *super*, in fulfillment of what is anticipated here.

abolere: A deliberate and powerful reminiscence of 1.719–721 ... *at memor ille | matris Acidaliae paulatim abolere Sychaeum | incipit ...*, of the action of the disguised Cupid with Dido at her banquet. Significantly, other than these two Didonian contexts—the one concerned with the obliteration of Sychaeus’ memory, the other of Aeneas’—the only other use of the verb in the poem comes at 11.789 *da, pater, hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis*, of Arruns’ prayer that he might be allowed to destroy Camilla. At *G.* 3.559–560 ... *nec viscera quisquam | aut undis abolere potest aut vincere flamma*, the verb is used in the ghastly description of the Noric cattle plague.

nefandi: Balancing 496 *impius* in a mighty frame of contempt. The key term is juxtaposed with *abolere*. We may compare 1.543 *at sperate deos memores fandi atque nefandi* (Ilioneus to Dido regarding the ill-treatment of the Trojans in Carthage); 3.653 ... *satis est gentem effugere nefandam* (Achaemenides of the Cyclopes); 5.785–786 *non media de gente Phrygum exedissee nefandis | urbem odiis satis est ...* (Venus’ complaint to Neptune about Juno); 6.26 ... *Veneris monumenta nefandae* (of the Minotaur that Pasiphae bore); 10.84 *nos aliquid Rutulos contra iuvisse nefandum est?* (Juno at the divine council); 12.572 *hoc caput, o cives, haec belli summa nefandi* (Aeneas to his men regarding his plan to burn Laurentum). Cf. the monstrous, *nefandus partus* of the Furies at *G.* 1.278. A grim set of *comparanda*, and a reminder that the queen refuses to speak Aeneas’ name; the enjambment leads to 498 *viri*.

498 *cuncta viri monumenta iuvat, monstratque sacerdos.*”

cuncta: Following on 496 *omnis*, with the emphasis on removing the totality of memory. *Cunctus* here only in Book 4.

viri: Framed by quite all in Dido’s possession that reminds her of the man. The echo is of the *arma viri* of 495; whether we think of man or husband is a subjective matter, since both meanings are present in both places.

monumenta: Alliterative with *monstratque*. We may compare 3.102 *tum genitor veterum volvens monumenta virorum*, of Anchises; 486–487 *accipe et haec, manuum tibi quae monumenta mearum | sint, puer, et longum Andromachae tes-*

tantur amorem; of Andromache's wishes for Iulus with respect to her presents; 6.26 *Minotaurus inest, Veneris monumenta nefandae*; 6.511–512 *sed me fata mea et scelus exitiale Lacaenae | his mersere malis; illa haec monumenta reliquit*; 8.312 *exquiratque auditque virum monumenta priorum*; 356 *reliquias veterumque vides monumenta virorum*, of Aeneas with Evander at the site of the future Rome; 12.945–946 *ille, oculis postquam saevi monumenta doloris | exuviasque haesit ...*, of Aeneas with Turnus just before he kills him.

The spelling of this noun sometimes varies in its occurrences in the manuscripts; *monumenta* is the older form, *monimenta* the latter; *contra* our previous editorial choices in Books 5 and 8, we prefer to read the older form with F, M, and many editors including Conte and Holzberg's *Tusculum* (cf. *monimenta* of Ribbeck; Mackail; Mynors; Dolç; Perret's Budé; Heuzé's *Pléiade*), though noting that Virgil himself may not have been consistent in his orthography. Certainly any archaic echo is appropriate in most any context for this noun; it may be especially fitting after 493 *accingier*, and in any case this young queen is not unwilling to employ slightly old-fashioned, archaizing speech.

Here the poet prepares the way for the ultimate action of the Aeneas who will be *furiis accensus et ira* (12.946) when he sees the *monumenta* of Pallas (cf. 7.392–393 ... *furiisque accensas pectore matres | idem omnis simul ardor agit ...*, of the Latin matrons with the crazed Amata; and especially 4.376 *heu furiis incensa feror*, of Dido). Newman and Newman 2005, 166 conveniently catalogue the verbal echoes between the description of Aeneas' decision to kill Turnus and the Dido episode: 4.498 *monumenta; dolor* from 419; 474; 547; 679; 693; *exuviae* from 651 (add 496); *haurire* from 661.

iuvat: A curious textual crux, as even a cursory glance at any apparatus will reveal. *Iubet; iubat; iuvat*. Modern editors consistently favor the far better and more vivid *iuvat*; it is reasonably clear that *iubet* arose from an attempt to "correct" the syntax, so that the priestess is said both to have given an order and to show how to carry it out—a sort of hendiadys that attempts surgery on the perceived awkwardness of *monstratque sacerdos* (cf. Sparrow 1931, 50; 145, for whom the phrase may well be the work of someone trying to finish a hemistich).

The verb that describes Dido's pleasure is prominent at the middle of the line; cf. below on 538–539. Significantly, this will be one of the last verbs that Dido utters in this life: 4.660 *sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras*—a fact that alone should secure its reading here. We may also compare above at 66 *quid delubra iuvant?*; 578 in Aeneas' address to Mercury.

monstratque sacerdos: Echoing 483 ... *monstrata sacerdos*. The priestess who was shown to Dido there is now the one who is credited with showing her the way to achieve her ends. For those who have had a problem with the

line-end here (seeing it either as repetitive after *iubet*, or as a diminution of the force and vigor of the verse after *iuvat*), we may compare 11.892 *monstrat amor verus patriae*, a rather different case that shows the range of the poet's use of this verb. Here the main point is to close a ring with 483; Dido asserts that she takes pleasure (*iuvat*) in the abolition of the memory of the man and the destruction of items associated with him, and the Massylian priestess shows her how to carry out the rites whereby (allegedly) she will be freed of the haunting presence of this unrequited love. Dido invokes the *sacerdos* as authority at the end of the address, as part of her effort to convince Anna to carry out instructions that might well seem suspicious. The last word of the long address thus gives the seal of authority for what Dido is asking.

Mackail italicizes *monstratque sacerdos*, following Sparrow's theory of possible interpolation; he notes "In any case this whole speech is rather overloaded by the ornamental amplifications of ll. 484–486 and 489–491." But this is precisely the point; the queen is in a seriously disturbed mental state, and she is attempting deception while already suffering from insanity. If *monstratque sacerdos* seems to offer a diminution of tension after the emotional, lyrical heights of what preceded it, that too may be deliberate: the queen needs an emphasis on both the mage's suggestion, and the practical details that need to be executed to carry it out.

499 *haec effata silet, pallor simul occupat ora.*

effata: The verb of speech juxtaposed with the verb of silence. We may compare 30 *sic effata sinum lacrimis implevit obortis*, of Dido after her first address to Anna: tears there, pallor here.

silet: The queen has no more words, but *silet* is followed at once by a word that indicates the revelation of at least some aspect of her state by the blanch that comes over her face. For the verb cf. 527; on silence in Virgil, vid. Nurtantio 2014. Dido's silence here invites comparison with 76 *incipit effari mediaque in voce resistit*; 363–364 ... *totumque pererrat / luminibus tacitis et sic accensa profatur*; also her *tacitum vulnus* that lives *sub pectore* (67); see further Newman and Newman 2005, 114. Alliterative with *simul*.

pallor: Vid. here M.T. Chersoni in *EV* 111, 945–946; L. Fratantuono in *VE* 11, 961. Paleness is associated with death and the lower world (4.26; 242–243; 8.243–246 at almost the same place in the book). Pale ghosts are among the omens before the death of Caesar (*G.* 1.477–478). Significantly, the noun *pallor* occurs but twice in Virgil, once of Dido and once of Turnus: cf. 12.220–221 *suppliciter venerans demisso lumine Turnus / pubentesque genae et iuvenali in corpore pallor*. Cleopatra has a similar paleness in the face of her doom in her

depiction on the shield at 8.709 *illam inter caedes pallentem morte futuram*. The very name of the Arcadian Pallas makes one think of pallor, and indeed he will be snow-white in death (11.39, where the color is reflective both of death and of virginal purity); Lausus' face is pale in death (10.821–822); cf. 11.819 ... *purpureus quondam color ora reliquit*, where the paleness of the dying Camilla is described by how the “purple” color has left her face.

The related adjective *pallidus* is not common either in the poem; cf. 8.197 *ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo*, of the ghastly decoration outside Cacus' lair; 244–245 with reference to the kingdom of the underworld. We note also the *pallida ora* of the shade of Sychaeus (1.354); 3.217–218 of the pale countenance of the famished Harpies; 10.761 of Tisiphone (cf. *G.* 3.552); and especially 644 below, where Dido is *pallida* in the face of her *mors futura*. She is already becoming a ghost.

simul: An important element of the revelation of the queen's mental state: the pallor comes over her simultaneously with the close of her address.

occupat: In sound pattern with *ora*. Not dissimilar is the reaction of Turnus to the Sibyl at 7.446 *at iuveni oranti subitus tremor occupat artus*. For the verb note also 3.294 *Hic incredibilis rerum fama occupat auris* (of the report about the toy Troy at Buthrotum, etc.); 6.424 *occupat Aeneas aditum custode sepulto* (the hero passing by Cerberus after the Sibyl administered her soporific treats); the parallel 635–636 *occupat Aeneas aditum ...*, etc., of Aeneas as he enters Elysium; 9.770; 10.384; 699 in battle scenes; 11.424 ... *cur ante tubam tremor occupat artus?* (Turnus at the war council); the grisly 12.300 *occupat os flammis*.

ora: Cf. 659 ... *et os impressa toro*, just before she stabs herself; also 62; 195; 499; 511; 673.

500 non tamen Anna novis praetexere funera sacris

non tamen: The transition from Dido's speech to Anna's carrying out of her sister's wishes commences with a negative. But Anna will not deny anything that her sister asks; the adverb instead refers to how she did not believe that her sister was seeking to conceal a suicide attempt (*funera*). *Non* here coordinates with 501 *nec*. *Tamen* (as Conington realized) refers to the telltale paleness: even if Anna had been fooled by Dido's elaborate words, the pallor that came over her face should have been an indicator that all was not well. Pease compares Aeneas' similar “insensibility” at 6.463–464 ... *nec credere quivi | hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem*—Anna and Aeneas think alike.

On *tamen* Tilly notes: “A peculiarly Vergilian usage of this word, implying a hidden thought ... *Tamen* carries a strong, pathetic force: if only Anna had realised, perhaps she might also have saved her sister.”

novis: Novel, in the sense that conservative Roman religion would find suspicious and worthy of condemnation. Alliterative after *non*. For the adjective cf. 10; 584; 650; vid. L. Nosarti in *EV* III, 768–770.

praetexere: “Praelolare, abscondere” (Servius). Cf. 477 *consilium vultu tegit*. Significantly, this is the same verb that was used at 172 *coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam*, of Dido’s active effort to conceal her fault in the wake of her union with Aeneas in the cave. Virgil draws a direct connection between the queen’s actions here and her ruse with respect to her suicide and whatever other ominous plans she hopes to veil by means of these dark rites. The verb and its object are framed by *novis ... sacris*. The original Medicean reading *pro-texere* was mercifully corrected.

funera: For the noun see on 308; 618. “Virgil uses this plural form of a single death only here” (Austin). Part of the point may be that with Dido, all is dramatic. Possibly merely a poetic plural. But lurking here is the idea that the present magical rites are connected not only to the concealment of Dido’s intended suicide, but also to the deadly harm she wishes to wreak on Aeneas and his Trojans.

sacris: Cf. the *sacros ... ramos* of the tree of the Hesperides at 485; also on 50; 301; 454; 638; 703.

MacLennan remarks that “Lines 500–503 are unadventurous in vocabulary and rhythm” (noting the “heavy third-foot caesura in 500, 501, 503,” and how *praetexere* constitutes “the nearest thing to figurative language”). Certainly the poet does fancy diminution of tension after passages of great emotional force; here the point is to emphasize Anna’s naïve reaction to Dido’s stated plans.

501 *germanam credit, nec tantos mente furores*

The verse is framed by the sister and her madness—the two key elements in the present sequence. Cf. the previous verse, which is bookended by *non Anna* and *sacris*.

germanam: As at 478 and 492, where the *germana* was Anna; cf. 549 and 675 below. There may be a hint here that Anna should know her sister better; cf. 8 *cum sic unaniam adloquitur male sana sororem*.

credit: For the verb note 12; 34; and especially 421–422 ... *solam nam perfidus ille | te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus* (Dido’s characterization of the relationship between Aeneas and her sister). *Credit* in alliterative coordination with 502 *concipit*: on the one hand Anna cannot believe certain things about her sister; on the other, she is incapable of conceiving madness of the sort that characterizes her sister here.

tantos ... furores: Coordinate with 500 *novis ... sacris*.

mente: Vid. Negri 1984, 175, 306. Juxtaposed with *furores*, with the image of the rational mind beset by frenzy. The *mens* here may refer either to Dido or to Anna, though it points more to the former: the point is that Anna cannot conceive of this level of insanity, either in her own mind or in that of her sister. “Anna, more innocent, cannot “conceive” the extent of her sister’s madness” (Newman and Newman 2005, 151).

furores: We recall 91; 101; 433; also 42; 69; 474; 670; 5.6; Amata’s *furores* under the influence of Allecto at 7.406. Effective enjambment before the key verb 502 *concipit*. There is a neat play on words, as we move from the plural *funera* of 500 to the *furores* of 501—death and madness as the defining images of the last act of the tragic drama.

The present passage is a direct response to 474–475 *Ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore / decrevitque mori ...*, of the queen just before she approached her sister. Dido conceived madness; Anna cannot manage to imagine such great *furores*. The innocence of Anna may connect also to her eventual consecrated role in Roman religion as Anna Perenna: Virgil is at pains here to emphasize that Dido’s sister was not remotely complicit in any plan to bring harm to Aeneas and the *Aeneadae*; she is not a partner in any plan to wish ill, or to bring down imprecations and curses on the Trojans or the Romans.

502 *concipit aut graviora timet quam morte Sychaei*.

This line begins with a verb that makes one think of Dido’s childlessness; it closes with the name of her lost husband, as we move from the image of birth to that of death.

concipit: Ovid imitates this use in his passage about the nymph Chariclo at *Met.* 2.640–641 *ergo ubi vaticinos concepit mente furores / incaluitque deo ...* The verb is coordinate with *timet*.

graviora: An interesting detail: Anna fears nothing more serious than what happened at the death of Sychaeus. But that tragedy had been a monumental one. “The matter-of-fact, rather coarse nature of Anna is seen nowhere more clearly than in this line” (Pease, following the view expressed in a letter of Charles James Fox to Wakefield, cited by Henry in a passage redolent with the acerbity of that critic: “... Your objection was not to the thing itself, to the two loves, to the woman’s passing out of the arms of the one man into those of the other; your objection was to all comparison between the two griefs, and you left it to the Hindoo, to the Roman, to the very Virgil whom you accuse of want of sentiment, and to his barbarian Dido, to look upon the thing itself, the second love, with horror ...”). The point would seem to be that Dido had survived that past crisis, and so in Anna’s estimation she would survive this one. Is there a hint here that Anna considered her sister to be prone to overdramatization?

For Sidgwick Anna's fault is "shallowness" and not "coarseness." We may note too that Dido's sister was not sympathetic to the notion of *univira*-like devotion to the memory of a dead man (31 ff.); she is eminently practical.

In all of this we see something of Irvine's point that Anna might have been a better match for Aeneas. Indeed, we may compare 1.198–199 *O socii (neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum), / o passi graviora, dabit deus his quoque finem*, where Aeneas addressed his men in the wake of the shipwreck and landing at Carthage. This parallel passage expresses the same sort of sentiment as in the report of Anna's thoughts here; cf. also 6.83–84 *o tandem magnis pelagi defuncte periclis, / sed terrae graviora manent ...*, in the Sibyl's prediction to Aeneas; these are the only occurrences in the epic of comparative forms of *gravis*. For the adjective vid. A.M. Milazzo in *EV* II, 794–796.

timet: For the verb cf. 298 *omnia tuta timens*, of Dido.

morte: Juxtaposed with the name of Sychaeus. Cf. 17 *postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit* (Dido to Anna about Sychaeus' death). *Mors* occurs in this book at 385; 436; 451; and 662 of Dido's death; note also 375 in the queen's recollection of how she saved Aeneas' companions from death; 244 *dat somnos adimitque et lumina morte resignat* (of Mercury). *Morte* here in the penultimate position balances *funera* in the same place at 500.

Sychaei: The mention here of Sychaeus recalls 457 ff., of the strange sounds and voices that Dido heard coming from the marble *templum* in honor of her dead husband.

503 *ergo iussa parat*.

For this hemistich see Sparrow 1931, 33. This one comes on the cusp of the great opening of the third and final act of the book's triple tragedy. It offers a close of deliberately deceptive simplicity, as Anna is said to prepare to attend to that which her sister had ordered. "This short line is one which carries great dramatic force, the pause between it and the next line is more effective than any words could be." (Tilly).

Such is the view of those commentators who come close to saying that the half-line is a deliberate, stylistic experiment of the poet; conversely Cartault 1926, 357 thinks that on reviewing this section of his work, Virgil realized that he had never actually said that Anna obeyed Dido's command: "A une lecture postérieure ... Virgile a sans doute ajouté ces mots à la marge en s'apercevant que le texte ne disait pas que les ordres de Didon eussent été exécutés. C'est donc un repentir causé par le souci de la précision. En réalité la chose allait sans dire et l'addition n'est pas nécessaire." Austin agrees ("The broken line is perhaps a note, to remind Virgil that an insertion was needed").

Verses 504–521 have been criticized as displaying evidence of lack of revision (cf. Conte’s assessment “totus hic locus extrema manu videtur carere”); the half-line here has been taken as evidence of the want of the *ultima manus* (and cf. 516).

ergo: As at 474–475 *Ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore / decretumque mori* ..., of Dido; the present use of the word of that which follows logically is exactly parallel. The previous passage came right after the terrifying image of the Furies and the Dirae in the simile describing the queen’s nightmarish state; the present *ergo* is in reaction to the mad, fury-like Dido.

iussa: Cf. 295, of the Trojans happily carrying out the *iussa* of Aeneas to prepare for the departure; 378 and 396 with reference to the orders of the gods for Aeneas to leave; also 537–538 *Iliacas igitur classes atque ultima Teucrum / iussa sequar?*. In those uses, *iussa* is clearly a substantive. Here it may be as well, though Conington is probably right in seeing more of a participial sense. We may compare below at 702–703 ... *hunc ego Diti / sacrum iussa fero teque isto corpore solvo*, of Iris’ carrying out of Juno’s orders with respect to releasing the queen from her death agonies. Cf. 3.323 *iussa mori*, in Andromache’s sorrowful recollection at Buthrotum of the fate of Polyxena.

parat: The verb occurs elsewhere in this book at 88; 118; 238; 299; 390; 555; 638; 676. Of studied and stark brevity and simplicity. Cf. 498 *monstrat*, of the mage.

504–521 The pyre is erected, and the magical rites commence. “Didos Todesritual” (Binder). For detailed literary criticism see Setaioli 1998, 55–73.

504 At regina, pyra penetrali in sede sub auras

At regina: The commencement of the third and final act in the queen’s tragedy; cf. 4.1 and 296, as we move from love to deceit to death (Newman and Newman 2005, 121). The adversative conjunction once again highlights a very different state of mind, and follows after 500 *tamen* of the difference between Anna and her sister.

pyra: As at 494. *Pyra* is alliterative with *penetrali*. The title “queen” is juxtaposed with the word that evokes fire. The inspiration for “And our love become a funeral pyre ...” by the classically versed Morrison.

penetrali: For the *interiore* of 494. Cf. *G.* 1.379. The echo here is of 2.484 *apparent Priami et veterum penetralia regum* and 507–508 *urbis uti captae casum convulsaque vidit / limina tectorum et medium in penetralibus hostem*, in Aeneas’ story of the horrors that would unfold in Priam’s inner sanctum. Cf. also 2.296–297 *sic ait et manibus vittas Vestamque potentem / aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem*, at the close of the ghostly visitation of Hector to Aeneas;

665–667 ... *ut mediis hostem in penetralibus utque / Ascanium patremque meum iuxtaque Creüsam / alterum in alterius mactatos sanguine cernam*, of Aeneas wondering what his mother saved him to see, 5.660 *conclamant rapiuntque focus penetralibus ignem*, of the Trojan women as they seek to burn the ships under the influence of Iris (where the fire used against the ships recalls the Greek destruction of the city); 744–745 *Pergameumque Larem et canae penetralia Vestae / farre pio et plena supplex veneratur acerra*, of Aeneas after the dream epiphany of Anchises in the wake of the distress occasioned by the damage to the ships; 6.71 *te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris*, in Aeneas' promises to the Sibyl; 7.59 *laurus erat tecti medio in penetralibus altis*, of the laurel in Latinus' palace; 9.258–259 ... *per magnos, Nise, penates / Assaracique larem et canae penetralia Vestae*, of Ascanius' oath to Nisus before the night raid. Dramatic events transpire in inner sancta; the present passage resonates with other scenes in the poem that involve fire and destruction.

sede: Alliterative with *sub*. After *regina*, of the royal seat of power in Dido's palace. We may recall here 10 *quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes*. For the collocation of *sedes* with *penetralis* cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.574–575; 15.34–35; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6.478.

sub auras: Echoing 494 ... *sub auras*, in the parallel description.

Servius was not impressed with Virgil's art here: "notatus est hic versus; vitiosa enim est elocutio quae habet exitus similes, licet sit casuum dissimilitudo." See Conington on the "morbidly fine ears of the grammarians"; Pease's "somewhat captious" verdict on Servius. The long and short vowels would have been distinct sounds for Virgil.

As at 494, there is an effective contrast between the pyre at the very heart of the queen's palace (in a secluded and private inner sanctum), and the open air by which the smoke will escape.

505 *erecta ingenti taedis atque ilice secta*,

Participles frame the verse. "Curious assonance" (Austin).

erecta: Echoing Dido's imperative *erige* at 495. Everything happens here with epic haste, as Virgil moves toward Dido's end game.

ingenti: See on 89; 181; 365; 402 for this classic favorite from the Virgilian adjectival repertoire. As MacLennan notes, *ingenti* describes the *pyra erecta*, and then *taedis ... sectis* is expegetical of *ingenti*. "A complicated set of ablatives" (Austin), though the meaning is clear. A huge pyre, as befitting a regal suicide; the Misenus requiem will feature the same detail: 6.215–217 *ingentem struxere pyram, cui frondibus atris / intexunt latera et feralis ante cupressos / constituunt decorantque super fulgentibus armis*, with exactly the same accompaniment as here: the funereal flowers, and the weapons.

taedis: A perversion of the *taedae* associated with nuptial rites (cf. Dido's sentiment at 18 *si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset*; Aeneas' ... *nec coniugis umquam / praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni* at 338–339). A metonymy for pine, a wood widely appreciated for burning easily and strongly. "Pieces of resinous pine wood" (Pease). But the main point is to continue to emphasize the would-be marriage of Dido and Aeneas; the pyre that will burn with *taedae* will in a sense bring the lovers together for all time, as Dido's corpse will be burned and her ashes mingled with those of Aeneas' *arma* and *exuviae*.

ilice: For the *illex* or holm-oak see Abbe 1965, 86–88; Maggiulli 1995, 319–322; Armstrong 2019, 117, etc. An evergreen (appropriate enough then as a symbol of Italy; see below), with leaves similar to a holly bush. The *illex* is associated in the epic with the *meta* that Aeneas sets up for the regatta (5.129)—itself a symbol of the destined arrival of the Trojans in Italy; the trees that are cut down for the requiem for Misenus (6.180); the site of the Golden Bough (6.208–209); the location of the portentous sow and her piglets (8.43); the dark wood where Nisus and Euryalus are slain (9.381); the tomb of Dercennus where Arruns is killed by Opis (11.851); the trees on Eryx in the comparison of Aeneas to great mountains (12.702).

A multivalent arboreal symbol: the holm-oak is associated with Italy, where it is a common enough tree (cf. H. Parker in *VE* III, 1292: "The holm oak marks Italy"), but also with death and funereal preparations. Already at Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 6.175–177 Skutsch as a tree used for requiem pyres. The elision enacts the cutting of the wood. One significant tree that brings together the notion of death and rebirth, of requiems and Rome.

secta: The verb here presages 704, of Iris' cutting of the lock of Dido's hair; cf. the figurative use at 257. There may be an echo here of 2.16 *aedificans sectaque intexunt abiete costas*, of the construction of the Wooden Horse. With the preparations for Dido's funeral pyre we may compare the similar and yet quite different work of the Trojans on the refurbishing of the ships and oars at 399 ff. Pease notes that *secta* implies that there was deliberate preparation of the wood for use on the pyre: there is haste, but what was done was done with the care befitting a solemn liturgy of the black arts, and the death locus of so noble a queen.

506 *intenditque locum sertis et fronde coronat*

The verbs frame the verse. Others fashioned and erected the pyre; now Dido will decorate it as for a funeral, since it has been constructed both to service her own death, and to bring doom and destruction on Aeneas and his lineage. In the context of the ruse, the funereal decorations are meant to mark the abolition

of erotic passion, real flames in a magical rite to extinguish the metaphorical flames of passion from 4.2, etc.

intenditque: Recalling 2.235–237 *accingunt omnes operi pedibusque rotarum / subiciunt lapsus et stuppea vincula collo | intendunt ...*, of the Trojans with the Wooden Horse. The verb in a different sense occurs at 8.704–705 *Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo | desuper ...*, of the depiction of the Actian god on the shield.

Logical inversion, not to say hypallage (Servius), enallage, or “a bold inversion of the Gallan type” to quote Newman and Newman 2005, 178 n. 29: the object of *intendere* would naturally be the *serta*. The same experimental extension of the use of the verb occurs at 5.402–403 ... *quibus acer Eryx in proelia suetus | ferre manum duroque intendere brachia tergo*; cf. 829 ... *intendi brachia velis*. As Sidgwick observes, the process is 1) the verb acquires a secondary meaning; 2) the construction is modified to suit the new sense.

For the enclitic followed by *et* see Pease.

sertis: The noun as at 202 ... *et variis florentia limina sertis*, of the temples Iarbas had erected to Jupiter, the thresholds of which were strewn with floral offerings.

fronde: In fricative alliteration with the enjambed, framing *funerea* of 507. The recollection here is of 459 *velleribus niveis et festa fronde revinctum*, in the opposite sort of decoration on the temple of Sychaeus: marital and funereal floral tributes.

coronat: The verb echoes 1.724 *crateras magnos statuunt et vina coronant*, in the much happier context of the banquet; otherwise it occurs in the epic only in the echo of that line at 7.124 *crateras laeti statuunt et vina coronant*, after the arrival of the Trojans in Latium; and at 9.380 *hinc atque hinc omnemque abitum custode coronant*, during the night raid.

Theme and variation, as Dido decorates her own pyre.

The line-end here is probably borrowed from Lucretius, *DRN* 1.117–118 *Ennius ut noster cecinit, qui primus amoeno | detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam, | per gentis Italas hominum quae clara clueret*; cf. Horace, *Ep.* 1.18.63–64 ... *donec | alterutrum velox Victoria fronde coronet*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.336 ... *refer frondes cumque hac freta curre corona*.

507 *funerea*; *super exuvias ensemque relictum*

The verse is framed by words that evoke death and abandonment. Pease reminds us that the rites described here were probably nocturnal, though the exact chronology, as we have seen, cannot be determined with precision.

funerea: The adjective occurs first here in extant Latin; it is prominent in enjambment and by position. It recurs at 11.142–143 *Arcades ad portas ruere et*

de more vetusto / *funereas rapuere faces* ..., during the dramatic rites of the Pallas requiem; cf. also 7.336–337 ... *tu verbera tectis* / *funereasque inferre faces* ..., in Juno's address to the Fury Allecto, with prefiguration of the loss of the young Arcadian. A close connection, then, between Dido and Pallas, with resultant significance for the very end of the epic.

The tree is not particularized; it was probably though not certainly the funereal cypress (so Servius and his successors). Cypress figures in the Misenus requiem (6.216); note also 3.64 in the description of the rites at Polydorus' grave; 3.680 ... *coniferae cyparissi* in the comparison of the Cyclopes on the shore to oaks and cypresses as they stand in eerie silhouette; and especially the *antiqua cupressus* of 2.714 that marks the site of the temple of Ceres that will be the locus for the assembly of the Trojan exiles as they prepare to flee from the captured city. For the funerary associations of the cypress cf. G. Ateius Capito, supp. fr. 39 Strzelecki (= Paul. 63 M, 56 L).

The cypress is thus connected with the losses of Polydorus and Misenus; the disappearance of Creüsa; and—with the lone occurrence in the poem of the Greek *cyparissus* instead of the Latin *cupressus*—at the close of the Achaemenides passage, where any funereal associations of the cypress probably presage the loss of Anchises less than thirty lines later; we may note that Virgil specifically associates the *quercus* and the *cyparissus* of that comparison with Jove and Diana (3.681 ... *silva alta Iovis lucusve Dianae*); see Dyson 2001, 178–180 on the connection of the cult sites of Jupiter Latiaris and Diana Nemorensis on the Alban Mount.

See further Armstrong 2019, 155–157; Sargeant 1920, 38–39; Horsfall on 3.64; C. Connors, “Seeing Cypresses in Virgil,” in *CJ* 88.1 (1992), 1–17, an important article that examines all of the Virgilian cypress passages, including the possible evocation of the story of Cyparissus in the account of Ascanius' shooting of Silvia's stag, i.e. the proximate cause of the war in Italy (7.481–482).

The cypress is at best referred to here only allusively (Butler notes that the *taxus* could also be meant); again, *cupressi* figure only in contexts referring to the loss of Creüsa/the fall of Troy; the Polydorus episode soon after; the Misenus funeral that is a precondition for the descent to Avernus. *Cyparissi* are cited only in a poetic comparison, literary cypresses, i.e., rather than narrative flowers.

The unique reference to *cyparissus* in the description of the Cyclopes (the sole simile of Book 3, we might note—637 notwithstanding, though it too occurs of the same monster) comes in a scene of safe escape from horror, even as it presages the loss of Anchises; the association of *cyparissus* and Diana heralds too the evocation of Cyparissus lore in the Silvia episode, with obvious enough connection of Diana to the world of the hunt and the beloved deer.

Austin notes that Virgil is not clear as to whether or not Anna is present for the ritual that now commences; he argues that she would have been highly suspicious when she saw the *frons funerea*, though again the alleged purpose was for a sympathetic magic rite to kill the love, not the queen.

super: Echoing *super imponas* from 497.

exuvias: As at 496, and in sound pattern with *ensem*. Cf. 651, just before the suicide. For a sensitive reading of the two *exuviae* passages, see Henry 1989, 36–37.

ensemque relictum: The *arma viri ... thalamo ... fixa* of 495. Notice how Virgil repeats himself in reverse order, after his usual practice. This is perhaps the same sword (the word with grand poetic resonance) from 261–262 *atque illi stellatus iaspide fulva / ensis erat ...*, which Mercury found Aeneas wearing as he was supervising Carthaginian building projects (did the hero hang it up in consequence of the divine visitation?). See further however on 646–647. The enclitic is a “true connective,” as Austin notes—in contrast to that of 508.

With *relictum* we may compare the *stratis* that were *relictis* at 82, where the queen cast herself down in grief; note also 466–467 *relinqui / sola*, where in her nightmare Dido seemed to be deserted. Again, a reminder of the abandonment theme.

508 *effigiemque toro locat haud ignara futuri.*

effigiemque: Another key term in prominent position, to draw attention to the creepy, scary image of the death puppet. Bowie 2002 is the most extensive study, with attention to the psychological aspects of the queen’s action more than anything; he focuses on the question of the relationship of Dido to the body of Aeneas; see also T.E. Goud and J.C. Yardley, “Dido’s Burning Effigy: *Aeneid* 4.580,” in *RhMus* 131.3/4 (1988), 386–388, with connection of the *effigies* of Aeneas to wax images of the deceased at Roman funerals (“In this symbolic funeral of Aeneas the body is not available and so an image, presumably wax, is placed on the couch on the pyre” (388)). In the epic the noun *effigies* is used at 2.167 of the Palladium; cf. 2.184, of the Horse that is set up in atonement *pro Palladio, pro numine laeso*; 3.148 *effigies sacrae divum Phrygiique penates*, of Aeneas’ nocturnal vision of the Penates; 497 ... *effigiem Xanthi Troiamque videtis*, of the “toy Troy” at Buthrotum; 7.177–178 *quin etiam veterum effigies ex ordine avorum / antiqua e cedro ...*, of the images in Latinus’ palace; 443 *cura tibi divum effigies et templa tueri*, in Turnus’ dismissive remark to Allecto in her disguise as Calybe. But the Virgilian parallel to the present use of the noun is in the description of similar magical rites at *E.* 8.75 (where see Clausen, and Coleman).

No “Aeneas effigy” was cited in Dido’s remarks about these rites to Anna. This is a puppet or quasi-*vooodoo* doll, an image that may have been fashioned of wax, here so as to allow its melting after it has been stabbed (cf. Horace, *Serm.* 1.8.30, with Gowers; Ovid, *Am.* 3.7.29; *Her.* 6.91–92, where Medea employs needles on a Jason-puppet; also Theocritus 2, where Simaetha melts a wax doll). In context, this is a puppet for use in sympathetic magic to bring harm or a curse on an individual; Dido is employing this effigy of the man who has abandoned her as a key element of the magical rites designed principally to bring death both to herself (voluntarily) and to Aeneas and his people (quite against their will).

Austin and others note that the image is not mentioned at 651; this need not be of particular importance in and of itself; some have argued that the Aeneas-puppet is part of the ruse, i.e., that it is designed for use in a love ritual that is really a magic rite focused on the queen’s suicide. But again, suicide does not require black magic, and the rites—complete with the doll—are connected more to the working of harm on the Trojans than to either the amatory question or the impending suicide.

The *effigies* is a puppet; there is no connection to the pictures on the walls of Dido’s temple at 1.455 ff. (images that do, admittedly, include Aeneas). Again, much has been prepared for this ritual because it is what both poet and crazed queen require. Further, cf. C. Faraone, “The Agonistic Context of Early Greek Binding Spells,” in Faraone and Obbink 1991, 4–7.

toro: This is the *lectus iugalis* of 496; the bed that has not proven to be a marriage bed is now placed on the pyre. The noun will recur in a powerful three-fold repetition of uses at 650; 654; and 661. Very different is the occurrence at 207 above. We may recall 2.2 *inde toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto*, as Aeneas commenced his grand, two-book epic rendition from another couch; cf. 1.708. Another word that will be echoed at the Misenus funeral (6.220 ... *tum membra toro defleta reponunt*).

locat: For the verb cf. on 266; 374.

haud ignara futuri: Litotes. Significantly, so of the ant at Horace, *Serm.* 1.1.34–35 *ore trahit quodcumque potest atque addit acervo | quem struit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri*; cf. 401 ff. above. The phrase is imitated by Ovid, *Met.* 15.815; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 7.192.

This phrase has occasioned significant critical commentary, mostly because it presents a Dido who is resolute in her knowledge of the future, though at 534 below she will be hesitant again. Pease and others are surely right here to attribute changing moods and inconsistency to the frenzied, indeed insane mind of the queen on the verge of suicide; there may also be a certainty in the efficacy of the magic rites to inflict harm on the targets of her curse (cf. on 622).

With *ignara* here we may compare 65 *heu vatum ignarae mentes!*. The language here will be reversed at 8.580 *dum curae ambiguae, dum spes incerta futuri*, as Evander prepares to say farewell to the doomed Pallas. For the substantive use cf. also 6.12.

Servius glosses “suae dispositionis,” i.e., Dido knew exactly what she was setting into motion by the magical rituals, and the litotic reference to her knowledge of the future is associated in particular with the magical doll that is referenced only here. Sidgwick glosses “a phrase pathetic from its simplicity”; cf. Stephenson’s “The words suggest very briefly the picture of Dido in calm despair preparing, unknown to those around her, her own funeral”—but Dido is determined not only to take her own life, but to curse others to join her in ruin.

509 *stant arae circum, et crinis effusa sacerdos*

The line is balanced alliteratively: *stant* and *sacerdos* in framing order, *circum* and *crinis* at the center.

stant arae circum: Altars surround the huge pyre. There is a grim echo here of 3.63–65 ... *stant Manibus arae | caeruleis maestae vittis atraque cupresso, | et circum Iliades crinem de more solutae* (of the rites in Thrace for Polydorus). For *arae* cf. 56; 62; 200; 204; 219; 453; 676. *Circum* also at 416. Altars have been erected because the ritual required them; again we are reminded that a lot has been done in a short time, in parallel to the more practical and less otherworldly busy preparations of Aeneas and his men.

The number of altars has occasioned comment; it may well be a poetic plural, though some have argued that it reflects the royal status of the queen (see further Pease). *Stant* in first position emphasizes the solemn setting up of the individual altars that ring the pyre.

crinis: For the noun see on 138. Parallel is *G.* 4.337 *caesariem effusae nitidam per candida colla*, of Cyrene’s nymphs. Hair will of course play a key element in the final movement of the book, of Dido’s fateful blond lock.

effusa: So of the crowd in the underworld at 6.305 *huc omnis turba ad ripas effusa ruebat*; cf. e.g. of a tempest at 7.222–223; of the youth pouring forth to see Camilla at 7.812. The loosening of the hair is part of the rubrical precision required for the performance of the magical rites; the emphasis throughout is on the image of unraveling and of binding up again. Cf. Horace’s Canidia at *Serm.* 1.8.24 (with Gowers); Ovid’s Medea at *Met.* 7.183 (with Bömer); Seneca, *Med.* 752–753 (with Boyle). The same sort of gesture is described at 3.370–371 *exorat pacem divum vittasque resolvit | sacrati capitis ...*, of Helenus. Rather different is what Apollo is described as doing at 148 *fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro*.

sacerdos: Echoing 483 and 498. The line between priestess and sorceress/witch is not clearly delineated.

Pease compares the line-end here to. Ps.-V., *Ciris* 147 ... *lympa perfusa sacerdos*, where see Lyne.

510 *ter centum tonat ore deos, Erebumque Chaosque*

ter: Alliterative with *tonat*. The first of three references to the number three (cf. 511 *tergeminamque* and *tria*). *Ter centum*: “A vague large number” (Stephenson). “Three hundred” gods are summoned as representative of any large number; the magical number “three” is used thrice as part of the description of the liturgical action, with obvious connection to the goddess Hecate’s association with the magical number; see Tilly especially for the significance of the repetition of the number, three times three as it were to make for a triply efficacious spell.

Are there three hundred gods? Servius says no, glossing here “non ‘tercentum deos’ sed ‘tonat ter centum numina Hecates’; unde Hecate dicta est, *ἐκατόν*, id est, centum potestates habens. *tonat* autem perite dixit; in aliquibus enim sacris imitabantur tonitrua.” Nettleship thinks that *ter centum* represents “a very old corruption” occasioning from *tergeminamque* in the following verse.

Ter centum occurs elsewhere in the poem at 8.716 *maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem*; 9.370 *ter centum, scutati omnes, Volcente magistro* 10.182 *ter centum adiciunt (mens omnibus una sequendi)*; cf. G. 1.15 *ter centum nivei tondent dumeta iuveni*. Certainly three hundred, then, and not some awkwardly expressed reference to Hecate; there are three hundred gods (and not, say, a hundred who are invoked three times). The point is to be obsessive: if you name three hundred gods, there is a good chance no deity will be omitted. For the question of whether in Hecate there is a notion of “hundred,” see O’Hara 2017, 158.

tonat: The verb occurs also at 3.571 ... *sed horrificis iuxta tonat Aetna ruinis*; cf. the parallel 8.419 *antra Aetnaea tonant ...*; 8.529 of the thunder that accompanies the granting of the arms; 9.540–541 ... *tum pondere turris | procubuit subito et caelum tonat omne fragore*; 11.383 *proinde tona eloquio ...* (Turnus to Drances); 12.757 ... *et caelum tonat omne tumultu*. Denizens of the lower regions and practitioners of magic thunder because it creates terror and fear; Jupiter, of course, is lord of the thunderbolt.

With *tonat ore* cf. Propertius, c. 3.17.40 *qualis Pindarico spiritus ore tonat*; cf. Virgil’s *exsurgitque facem attollens atque insonat ore*, of the *Furiarum maxima* (echoed at Ps.-V., *Culex* 179 *ardet mente, furit stridoribus, insonat ore*, of a serpent; see Seelentag ad loc.). Of Jupiter at Ps.-V., *Aetna* 56 *hinc magno tonat ore pater ...*

Erebumque: “Inferorum profunditatem” (Servius). See on 26 *pallentis umbras Erebo noctemque profundam*, in the oath of Dido concerning the breaking of Pudor, to which the present invocation comes as something of a pendant: the queen has broken her oath, and now the prayer of the Massylian mage is of a quite different nature. The son is named before the father: at Hesiod, *Theog.* 123 (where see West), Erebus is the son of Chaos—though whether we imagine that the priestess is calling on a god of the underworld, or simply the underworld makes little difference. “Darkness” in Greek, and so easily enough used not only for the underworld, but properly for the bleakest realms thereof (synecdoche); here only in the poem in the individualized sense of a primordial deity to be invoked. “The witch summons the powers of the underworld, that is, of hell; they suggest horror and terror” (Tilly). Fittingly, there are three named deities: Erebus and Chaos here, and then Hecate with her own verse—and Hecate herself has a triple aspect.

Chaosque: Vid. R. Gargiulo in *EV* I, 650; S. Wheeler in *VE* I, 255. Elsewhere in the epic only at 6.264–265 *Di, quibus imperium est animarum, umbraeque silentes / et Chaos et Phlegethon, loca nocte tacentia late*, in the great invocation of the poet before the descent of Aeneas and the Sibyl into the underworld. At *G.* 4.345–347 *inter quas curam Clymene narrabat inanem / Volcani Martisque dolos et dulcia furta, / aque Chao densos divum numerabat amores*, Clymene sings of the loves of the immortals from the creation of the cosmos, as it were. For Erebus and Chaos on magical papyri see conveniently Austin’s note here.

Ovid imitates this line at *Met.* 14.404 *et Noctem Noctisque deos Ereboque Chaoque*, where see Bömer, and Mack.

511 *tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.*

tergeminamque: The adjective in the poem only here and at 8.202, where it describes Geryon. Relatively rare in extant literature, at least until the Silver Age; cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 5.28 (also of Geryon); Propertius, c. 4.7.52; Ovid, *Ars* 3.322; *Trist.* 4.7.16 (of Cerberus). Only here of Hecate. The triple manifestation of the goddess refers to the three realms of 1) the earth (where Diana is the huntress), 2) the sky (where she is Luna/Phoebe/Selene, i.e. the moon), and 3) the lower regions, where she is Hecate. The Carthaginian Dido is at various points in the *Aeneid* associated (more or less appropriately) with all three of these realms of Diana: cf. 1.294–504 (Dido as Diana the huntress); 6.450–454 (Dido in association with the moon, where she is also, of course, a shade). The Massylians are mentioned in connection with the hunt where Dido-Diana and Aeneas-Apollo are united (132 above); Massylians are also mentioned at 6.58–60, in Aeneas’ invocation to Apollo, and in a passage where he promises a temple to the divine twins—a careful set of associations that link the refer-

ences to Dido's affinities with the triform goddess, affinities that are not without problems (starting with the fact that she is inappropriately linked to Diana the huntress in Book 1; cf. how in the underworld, her lunar connection is cast in curious language: 6.453–454 *obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense / aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam*; see further above on 80–83).

Camilla, in contrast, does fit the image of the three-form goddess: she is indisputably a huntress, and she has underworld associations by virtue of her own death and her psychopompic role in bringing her enemies to early graves. Her lunar connection comes via the lunate shields of the Amazons to which she and her retinue of female heroines are compared (11.663)—a veritable avatar of the moon goddess. We might also note the shout that hyperbolically strikes the *aurea sidera* at the moment of her death (11.832–883); *sidera* can include the sun and the moon as well as the stars. We might interpret the *aurea sidera* as being a final, deliberate reference to the twins Apollo and Diana, the Sun and Moon who in diverse ways play significant roles in the Camilla drama.

Hecaten: The first of five references to her in the poem; see also below on 609–610 (where Hecate will be linked to both Dido and the Dira in a powerful address that concerns both death and vengeance); 6.116–117; 247 (where she is *caeloque Ereboque potentem*; cf. the preceding invocation of Erebus here); 562–565. On the Virgilian references to this goddess note especially I.C. Colombo in *EV* 11, 161–163; J.D. Hejduk, “Diana,” in *VE* 1, 355–356; Fratantuono 2020d; also Bailey 1935, 160–162. For the goddess in general cf. the reliable Kraus 1960. Unknown to Homer. She appears in a dramatic sequence at Hesiod, *Theog.* 404–452 (see West ad loc.), where she is the granddaughter of the Titans Coeus and Phoebe, and a goddess of significant power. In Hesiod there is nothing of her later, much attested association with the underworld, the moon, or the world of magic and sorcery—nothing, in short, of the ominous qualities for which she is better known in later authors. The goddess' history is impossible to disentangle definitively. By Aeschylus there is already clear syncretism of Hecate and the huntress/moon goddess Artemis; see further Friis Johansen and Whittle *ad Supp.* 676—“the earliest direct evidence for the identification of Hecate with Artemis.” For other relatively early testimonies to the syncretism note Sophocles, fr. 535 Jebb-Headlam-Pearson (Hecate linked with Helios); Euripides, *Med.* 395–337. Hecate (like Diana) had associations with marriage, probably by extension because of Diana's patronage of young women; cf. Euripides, *Troad.* 320–322, with Kovacs. “She was always a goddess of private rather than public cult, and this is sufficient to account for her absence from the Homeric pantheon ...” (West 1966, 277).

Hecate is cited here not only because of her obvious enough connection with magic and the underworld, but because of Apollonius' depiction of the

encounter between Jason and Medea in the temple of Hecate at *Arg.* 3.876–886 (vid. Nelis 2001, 89 ff.). Pease does well to note that whatever was said to the underworld deities, it remains secret from us.

tria, etc.: Interlocking word order; *ora* here after 510 *ore*. This is the only mention of Diana by name in Book 4; other than the Dido-Diana simile of Book 1, she is named only in Books 7 (in connection to Hippolytus-Virbius) and 11 (= the *Camilliad*), besides the aforementioned reference at 3.681 in connection to the cypress. Vid. I.C. Colombo in *EV* 11, 40–43; Fratantuono 2006.

“The three faces of the virgin Diana” is essentially = *tergeminam*; Virgil wants to maximize the reference to triples, and the name of Di-ana at the end of the verse reminds us of the problematic comparison of Di-do to the goddess in Book 1. The connection between Diana and Hecate is underscored by the balanced line-ends 511 *Dianae*; 512 *Averni*. A sort of theme and variation, but one designed deliberately to highlight the “virgin Diana” in the Didonian context.

virginis: A defining characteristic of the goddess of the hunt, and a good reminder of a key difference between Diana and Dido. The preeminent *virgo* of the epic is the heroine Camilla (= 13×); cf. 5× of the Sibyl; 4× of Lavinia; 2× each of Diana; Panopea; Allecto; Cassandra; once each of Minerva; Iris; Larina; Opis; Penthesilea; Polyxena.

Hecate is firmly associated with Dido; the first two allusions to the goddess, and the only mentions of her in the first third of the epic, come as part of Dido’s preparations for suicide and her curse on Aeneas’ Trojans. From the Trojan point of view, the goddess is a grim deity of death and vengeance, of underworld associations and the lasting enmity between Rome and Carthage.

Diana was associated with the sudden death of young women; in this capacity Dido will find the goddess to be reliable: she will become like Diana in this regard by virtue of her suicide, though even then she will require the assistance of Juno/Iris to speed her on her way—a final note, one might argue, that she is a failed Diana.

512 *sparserat et latices simulatos fontis Averni,*

sparserat: Cf. 486 *spargens*, of the mage when she was still in charge of the Hesperidean serpent. Alliterative with *simulatos*.

latices: The use here recalls 454 ... *latices nigrescere sacros*, where water or wine began to turn black among the baleful omens Dido experienced.

simulatos: The participle is repeated from 105, where it referred to the *simulata mente* of Juno. There is no hint here of deceit or fraud; it was standard enough magical practice to attempt to replicate, as it were, what one could not obtain (*teste Servio*: “*quae exhiberi non poterant simulabantur, et errant pro veris*”; cf. Sidgwick: “there is a good deal of make-believe in old superstitious

rites which is hardly to be called deceit, but rather conscious and permitted illusion"). The Massylian witch had traveled from Atlas, but (unlike Aeneas) would never see the famous lake near Naples. It is noteworthy that the mage comes from the land of the Hesperides, while Aeneas will journey to the underworld after his arrival in Hesperia: the Trojan hero will experience the reality, while Dido's sorceress must rely on fake waters. Pease and other commentators have noted that there is also a "fake Aeneas" (i.e., the *effigies* of 508), but the comparison should probably not be pushed too far.

Butler has a different view, arguing "A curious detail—relevant only if the rites are regarded as a pretence, the genuineness of the water being therefore a matter of indifference." But the pretence is about the alleged rationale of binding or loosing love (though even there, the death planned for both Dido and Aeneas will in the queen's frenzied mind be a means of perversely reuniting them forever—a fact that makes 6.473–474 all the more poignant).

fontis: A spring can stand in for a lake (especially, one might think, in a passage where the waters are counterfeit anyway). This use will be echoed at 12.816 *adiuro Stygii caput implacabile fontis*, of Juno's solemn oath to Jupiter. Cf. 12.119 ... *alii fontemque ignemque ferebant*; also Aeneas' oath at 181 *fontisque fluviosque voco*; also 1.244; 2.686; 7.150; 242; 517.

Averni: Recalling G. 4.491–493 ... *ibi omnis | effusus labor atque immitis rupta tyranni | foedera, terque fragor stagnus auditus Avernis* (where *Averni* has respectable attestation); *Aen.* 3.441–442 *huc ubi delatus Cumaeam accesseris urbem | divinosque lacus et Averno sonantia silvis*, in Helenus' announcement about Aeneas' future travels; 5.731–733 ... *Ditis tamen ante | infernas accede domos et Averno per alta | congressus pete, nate, meos ...*, in the visitation of Anchises in Sicily; 5.813 *tutus, quod optas, portus accedet Averni*, of Neptune to Venus regarding Aeneas (though with eerie hints of what will also happen in some regards to Palinurus); 7.89–91 *multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris | et varias audit voces fruiturque deorum | conloquio atque imis Acheronta adfatur Avernis*, of Latinus' incubation rituals; and of course the underworld passages at the celebrated 6.126 ... *facilis descensus Averno*; 6.117–118 *alma, precor, miserere (potes namque omnia, nec te | nequiquam lucis Hecate praefecit Avernis)*, of Aeneas to the Sibyl; the related *sed me cum lucis Hecate praefecit Avernis, | ipsa deum poenas docuit perque omnia duxit* at 6.564–565.

Avernus (vid. F. Sbordone in *EV* 1, 430–432; J.D. Hejduk in *VE* 1, 161; Lucretius, *DRN* 6.739–847, with Bailey) was a volcanic lake and storied entry point to the lower regions; by extension it could thus refer to the underworld in general (as with 510 *Erebus*). No hint here of the traditional/folk etymology from "birdless" (cf. the problematic 6.242). Horace has *ep.* 5.25 *at expedita Sagana per totam domum | spargens Avernalis aquas* (where see Watson, and Mankin).

It is inexplicable how the Massylian mage was made to be aware of the waters of Avernus, though the commentators sometimes forget 3.441–442, a key part of Aeneas' story to Dido about his future—she knew that he would be visiting the Avernus lake, the *divinosque lacus*, etc.—and again, the connection between the Hesperides and Hesperia is crucial to understanding the full import of this magical passage. There will be a journey to the underworld before the end of the epic that is again portended by the ominous use of Avernus water (fake or not) in the magic rites; the (substitute) infernal water also works as part of the queen's wish to doom as many of Aeneas' followers as possible.

513 *falcibus et messae ad lunam quaeruntur aënis*

The brazen sickles frame the verse.

falcibus: Sickles recur at 7.178–179 ... *Italusque pater Sabinus | vitisator curvam servans sub imagine falcem*; 635–636 *vomeris huc et falcis honos, huc omnis aratri | cessit amor; recoquunt patrios fornacibus ensis* (with neat play between sickles and the swords from the forges). White 1970, 182–183 details the use of the *falx messoria* as a Roman farming implement.

lunam: The necessary *herbae* for the magical rites must of course be cut down by moonlight; on lunar imagery see above on 81. It is almost certain that this is a reference to a full moon (so Henry, in another classic note: “Let the reader, who from the scientific eminence of the nineteenth century looks down with a smile of self-satisfaction mingled with pity on the childish magical ceremonies of three thousand years ago ...”). Servius has a different interpretation here: “*herbae enim secundum rationem lunae tolluntur; nec omnes eodem modo: unde perite et aënis falcibus dixit, quia aliae velluntur, aliae inciduntur. et ad lunam non ad noctem, sed ad lunae observationem.*”

messae: The verb recurs but once in the poem; cf. 10.513–515 *proxima quaeque metit gladio latumque per agmen | ardens limitem agit ferro, te, Turne, superbum | caede nova quaerens ...*, of Aeneas as he seeks after the proud (cf. 6.853) Turnus in the wake of Pallas' slaying. The verb is rare even in the *Georgics* (only at 2.410 and 4.54); Virgil here draws a connection between Dido, Turnus, and Pallas (and see below on 514 *pubentes*). Striking hypermetric hyperbaton for dramatic effect.

quaeruntur: Echoed at 515 *quaeritur*. Again, the herbs and other magical items are present because they are needed; Pease assures us that we need not imagine that there were attempts to obtain *herbae* in winter, or that a new *hippomanes* might not be available out of season, as it were. He concludes that the witch already had these items in a magical store; Austin concurs, though wondering why they were not ready yet. Again, we do well to remember that minute analysis of the practical and the logistical is perhaps not high on the poet's list

of priorities. The present tense and resultant concern that the herbs are being fetched now has occasioned such drastic measures as transposing lines—an unnecessary treatment of a nonexistent problem.

We have come very far from 77, where *quaerit* referred to the queen's obsessive wish to relive the first banquet.

aënis: Cf. 1.449 ... *foribus cardo stridebat aënis*, in Dido's temple at Carthage; we may recall also 1.295 *saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aënis* (of *Furor impius*); 11.769–770 ... *quem pellis aënis / in plumam squamis auro conserta tegebat* (of Chloreus). The shield of Aeneas is forged of bronze first of all (8.445), together with gold and then iron (446); later we learn that there is silver too (cf. 626–728). For Virgilian bronze see R. Katz in *VE* 11, 818. Heroic detail, of the sort that would be preserved anachronistically in a magical rite, where everything followed an obsessive ritual: brazen sickles because the grim liturgy was always performed with such implements. Ovid similarly has his Medea use a bronze sickle (*Met.* 7.227). Those interested in citations of brazen knives, etc. will find more than enough to satisfy in both Pease and Munro *ad* Lucretius, *DRN* 5.1294.

Macrobius (*Sat.* 5.19.6 ff.) discusses the *falces* cited here in a note about Virgil's tragic borrowings, citing Sophocles' Medea in his *Herbalists* as the source (Jebb-Headlam-Pearson 11, 172–175, with extensive commentary on the possible context and more generally on the play's contents). Macrobius also has a note about how bronze was traditionally used in sacrifice rituals: *et in his maxime sacris quibus delinire aliquos aut devovere aut denique exigere morbos volebant*, etc. (continuing with obscure details about Etruscan customs and lore surrounding the founding of cities, and of the Sabines in the performance of religious rites—but the Medea parallel is more than sufficient to occasion the reminiscence here, and cf. Apollonius' Medea gathering what is needed to assist Jason with the dragon at *Arg.* 3.844–857, with Nelis 2001, 143). Bronze evokes the heroic age; the metallic progression of the decline of the ages makes it obvious enough that bronze would be favored over the iron that was often considered taboo in a matter where rubrical precision and superstition held sway.

514 *pubentes herbae nigri cum lacte veneni;*

The verse is framed by words that evoke the contrasting images of vigorous new life and black death.

pubentes: Cf. 12.221–222 *suppliciter venerans demisso lumine Turnus / pubentesque genae et iuvenali corpore pallor*. Two participles, then, in successive verses (*messae / pubentes*), each of which will recur but one time more, the first in connection to the hunting down of Turnus in vengeance for the death

of Pallas; the second of Turnus at the prospect of single combat with Aeneas. A marvelous association yet again of Dido and Turnus, with an eye to the ultimate transfer of Dido's fury to Aeneas; the virtual mortal avatar of Juno (Carthage's patroness) will—like her divine counterpart—pass on madness to the hero.

Excluding the question of the textual variant at *G.* 1.326, this is the first citation of *pubentes* in extant Latin (vid. *TLL* x 2 coll. 2431–2432). We may compare 12.413 *puberibus caulem foliis*, of the dittany that Venus secures for the healing of Aeneas. The rare word has occasioned predictable controversy. Servius glosses: “autem quia aliae siccae, aliae viridiores leguntur. et sciendum inter homines et herbas esse reciprocam translationem; sic enim ‘pubentem herbam’ dicimus quemadmodum ‘florem aetatis.’” The association of downiness with wool (cf. the modern botanical meaning of *pubens*) has led some commentators (e.g., Buscaroli) to imagine wool here. The *herbae* were “rank” or “vigorous” (so Page) with the milk of black poison. Another problem for some given the season, with explanation that in Tunisia the grasses would be *pubentes* in winter as opposed to their parched state in summer; cf. Pease's wise admonition “... we cannot be sure that Virgil is attempting to describe realistically conditions in Tunisia.” With *pubentes* here cf. the coordinate 515 *nascentis*.

nigri: Coordinate with the (white) milk, and prominently ominous and oxymoronic at the midpoint. For the color vid. Edgeworth 1992, 138–141, and cf. on 404 above. At 12.473–474 Juturna is compared to a black swallow, a chromatic premonition of her brother's death; cf. 11.596, of the black whirlwind in which Opis descends for the avenging of Camilla. *Nigri ... veneni* in framing word order around the milk.

lacte: See here Edgeworth 1992, 135–136. The Gauls on the shield have milk-white necks (8.660); so also Ascanius at 10.137–138 (where see Harrison: “The whiteness of the neck is often mentioned in Latin poetry”). We may compare here the offerings at Polydorus' *tumulus*: 3.66–67 *inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte / sanguinis et sacri pateras ...*; the parallel 5.78 ... *duo lacte novo, duo sanguine sacro* for the rites at the grave of Anchises; 11.571–572 *armentalis equae mammis et lacte ferino / nutribat teneris immulgens ubera labris*, of the wild diet of the young Camilla. The plants look innocent enough, but are deadly poison. Botanical precision is impossible, though since Servius ingenuity has been exercised.

veneni: That is, having something to do with Venus, as if for a love potion; for the semantic reference to the goddess at line-end cf. 511 ... *Dianae*, of her opposite. The echo here is of 1.688 *occultum inspiris ignem fallasque veneno*, in Venus' instructions to Cupid about what to do with Dido. *Venena* associated also with the serpents that slay Laocoön and his sons (2.221); the sorceress Circe (7.190–

191); the Fury *Allecto* (7.341); poison for arrows (cf. 9.773; 10.140; and especially 12.857, of the Parthian practice that is mentioned as a *comparandum* for the descent of the *Dira*).

Servius notes here: “‘nigri’ aut ‘noxii,’ quia nigri fiunt homines post venenum, aut certe illud est, quia sunt herbae nigri lactis, id est, suci. dicunt autem per periphrasin agreste papaver significari.”

515 *quaeritur et nascentis equi de fronte revulsus*

quaeritur: Cf. 513 *quaeruntur*.

nascentis equi: The start of the reference to the magical *hippomanes*, obtained from the forehead of a newborn foal; cf. Pliny, *NH* 8.165; Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* 572a19–21; 577a8–10. “This is the grisliest of all the witch’s gatherings” (Austin). Mackail was highly critical of this passage and its suspicious hemistich at 516; he argues that there is no subject, and that 516 stands in “loose apposition” to the missing subject (he does not accept *amor* as = a love charm). For the *hippomanes* see Coutelle on Propertius, c. 4.5.18; Murgatroyd on Tibullus, c. 2.2.4.58; Braund on Juvenal, c. 6.616–617; R.F. Thomas in *VE* 11, 618; Meyer 2020, 30–33; this is the only reference to it in the epic (cf. *G.* 2.366–383, with Thomas, and Mynors; in that passage, he actually uses the name *hippomanes*). “Properly, sediments that form in the allantoic fluid (connected to the umbilical cord and the placenta) during the pregnancy of some animals, chiefly mares, and appear as masses in the foreheads of foals” (618).

Some commentators have wondered if the witch is to be imagined as keeping a dried store of such cauls for future use; others have focused on the issue of how exactly a traditional ingredient of love philtres was to be administered to Aeneas as he was sailing away (in other words, possible evidence of poetic inconsistency). But the point is to burn everything on the pyre, in a perverse ritual whereby 1) Dido will be united with her love *post mortem*, at least after a dark fashion; and 2) Dido will curse her love’s descendants. See Newman and Newman 2005, 166 for how she achieves the first goal.

At Theocritus, *Id.* 2.48–49 (where see Gow), *ἵππομανές* occurs as a plant that would seem to have a milky sap, of which horses are madly enamored, or which renders them mad. Coupled with the fact that the present passage shows evidence that would lead some to harbor understandable suspicions about incompleteness/lack of revision, the Theocritean detail about a plant rather than a foal’s *hippomanes* has occasioned the speculation that the poet has commenced a passage in which he may have intended to reconcile the botanical and the zoological lore. Likelier is that the mention of the poisonous herbs itself refers to the Theocritean *hippomanes*, followed by the Aristotelian excrescence of the newborn horse.

At 11.492–497, Turnus is compared to a horse that seeks the open plain or a noted river. “A simile that deserves a monograph” (Horsfall ad loc.). It comes immediately before the appearance of Camilla and her retinue of heroines in preparation for the cavalry battle; 11.493 *aut ille in pastus armentaque tendit equarum* depicts the Turnus-stallion amid mares. This is the only simile in the epic where someone is actually compared to a horse; the mares of the simile correspond to Camilla (with Larina, Tarpeia, etc.); any erotic associations of the image are left unfulfilled, since in contrast to the passionate affair of Aeneas and Dido, any emotional sentiment between Turnus and Camilla will remain unconsummated—though *in fine*, Turnus’ feelings toward the heroine will be central to his fateful decision to abandon his planned ambush (cf. 11.901–902, with Fratantuono ad loc.). The sexualized imagery of the stallion/mares in connection to Turnus/Camilla serves in part to highlight once again the dangers of erotic passion. One should recall, too, that just as here Dido’s personal end is associated with a love charm taken from a horse’s head, so Carthage’s beginning is associated with the discovery of a horse’s head. Cf. R.B. Egan, “The Signs of the Horse’s Head: *Aeneid* 1.442–445”, in *PVS* 23 (1998), 193–207 and, many years before Egan, E.S. McCartney, “The Omen of the Buried Horse’s Head in Vergil’s *Aeneid*,” in *CJ* 22.9 (1927), 674–676.

fronte: Cf. 477

revulsus: Cf. of Orpheus’ head at *G.* 4.523; Palinurus’ rudder at *Aen.* 5.858 and 6.349; note also 5.270–272 (of Sergestus with his damaged ship); 8.262 (of Hercules’ actions in tearing his way into Cacus’ lair); 691–692 (the hyperbolic description of how you would think that the Cyclades had been torn up during the violent clash at Actium); 12.98 (Turnus’ fantasy about tearing off Aeneas’ *lorica*). The verb is used of Venus as she retrieves Aeneas’ weapon from Faunus’ *oleaster* (12.786–787); compare 9.561–562. Coordinate with 516 *praereptus*. The tearing is enacted hypermetrically; the result of the tearing by the unfinished verse.

For the Virgilian uses of *nascor* vid. Newman and Newman 2005, 31.

516 et matri praereptus amor.

Another intriguing hemistich (cf. 503; this is the last of the five in the book), in this case because we could describe it as a veritable *versus praereptus*. Vid. Sparrow 1931, 33; he (followed by many) thinks that 516–517 was originally a marginal reference to a possible alternative to 513–514. Pease is rightly suspicious, though this is another half-line that bring a smile for its cleverness (intentional or not).

matri: Newman and Newman 2005, 47–48; 190 discuss Virgilian uses of *mater*. The love snatched away from the mother connects yet again to the

image of Dido as childless, without even an Ascanius to remind her of Aeneas: Dido's love has been snatched away from the mother she will never be (Dido as mare).

praereptus: Cf. Plautus, *Casina* 102 *huc mihi venisti sponsam praereptum meam*; Ovid, *Met.* 5.10 ... *en adsum praereptae coniugis ultor*; Statius, *Silv.* 2.6.4–5 *durum et deserti praerepta coniuge partem | conclamare tori*. The only other occurrence of this verb in Virgil is at 9.136–138 ... *sunt et mea contra | fata mihi, ferro sceleratam excindere gentem | coniuge praerepta ...*, of Turnus with reference to how Lavinia was snatched from him (and, we might add, from her mother Amata). Yet another Turnus reference in Dido's magical rites, and this time with direct allusion to another amatory context: the loss of Lavinia to Aeneas. Mother and love surround the participle.

amor: A keyword for the Dido-Aeneas story, and here the source of significant critical debate: can it mean love-charm? No, says Butler; no, says Mackail; Pease is more sympathetic (following Nettleship, Page, et al.); cf. Tilly's "... a very unusual use of *amor* for something which produces love"; Williams' "Virgilian innovation"; Binder's "in der Bedeutung "Liebeszauber" (also '*amor* verursachend') nur hier." As the verses stand, *amor* is juxtaposed with 517 *ipsa*, of Dido—an extraordinary return to the queen as the description of the rites proceeds to detail her role in the magical liturgy. *Amor* at the end of the hemistich, following on 515 ... *revulsus*: again, the spectrum of critical interpretations ranges here from a simple verdict of "unfinished," to a bold innovation whereby *amor* = the *hippomanes*, which because it is *revulsus* leads to the metrical enactment of the *versus praereptus* that is 516. Keeping in mind that the horse's head is representative of Carthage's foundation, the *amor* stolen from a horse's head, soon to be burned on the fire, could be construed as richly symbolic for the final outcome of the love affair of the queen and her *hospes*.

"In any case the chance that has left the lines unfinished has added to their mysterious horror" (Austin).

517 *ipsa mola manibusque piis altaria iuxta*

In another context this could be a praiseworthy, deeply reverential verse. Here it occurs amid the hellish rites of death and imprecation. "The change from the witch-priestess' incantations to Dido's offerings and prayers in the Roman manner brings relief" (Tilly). We would argue that this is a perversion of Roman prayer ritual, designed to highlight the terrible consequences of Dido's rites and curses for the Roman future.

ipsa: A dramatic return to the figure of Dido, after the description of the actions of the *sacerdos* who was cited at 509. We may recall that the queen is

with the mage now, and Anna is nowhere to be found. It is not until 519 *moritura*, one might argue, that there is a definitive indication that the subject is Dido.

mola: Alliterative with *manibusque*. For Virgilian grains see I.C. Colombo in *EV* I, 743–746; H.N. Parker in *VE* II, 571–572. The noun occurs in Virgil only here and at *E.* 8.82–83 *sparge molam et fragilis incende bitumine laurus | Daphnis me malus urit, ego hanc in Daphnide laurus*, in another magical context. We may compare the *far* carried by the ants at 4.402. This is “a cake of ground barley and salt used in the ritual of sacrifice,” (*OLD* s.v. 2); vid. De Melo on Varro, *DLL* 5.104. The case is confused in the textual tradition; the ablative is the reading of F, while the Medicean and the Palatine have the accusative *molam*, which is preferred by Ribbeck; Sabbadini; Mackail; Geymonat; Paratore.

The accusative may be explained by dittography before *manibusque*; others have argued that it would depend on a verb in the incomplete 516 (a perilous assumption), or on some imagined *spargens vel sim.* (easier still if you move verses around—see below), or after 512 *sparserat*, etc.—calisthenics to defend what need not be defended. Since we can explain the corruption and the ablative works without serious problem, there is no reason to read the accusative here despite its weightier manuscript support. The greatest objection to the ablative is that it might seem awkward in conjunction with *manibus*; then again there is an effective image: the hands are, after all, *piis* because they handle the sacrificial barley which is itself *pia*. Pease sees “inconcinnity” but “no serious grammatical difficulty.”

Mackail argued that something is missing before this verse, even if the ablative is correct; cf. Ribbeck, who transposed 486 after this verse.

piis: And not so very long after Dido had described Aeneas as *impius* (496). Her hands may certainly be called *piae* in a religious rite that is offered to the infernal powers; she is now their creature. Cf. the voice of Polydorus’ ghost to Aeneas at 3.42 *parce pias scelerare manus. Manibus piis* is Ciceronian (both in prose and verse); snatching from impious hands can be cited in diverse authors.

altaria: For the noun see on 145, of the very different *altaria* that were imagined as being erected by the worshippers of Apollo. *Altaria* are thus associated in Book 4 with both the bright, diurnal worship of Apollo (who is connected to Aeneas), and the dark, nocturnal liturgies in honor of Hecate-Diana (and with reference to Dido, who has been linked to the goddess). With the *altaria* here cf. the *arae* of 509.

iuxta: Also at line-end at 255.

518 **unum exuta pedem vinclis, in veste recincta,**

This description of the removed shoe and the loosened robe corresponds to 509 ... *crinis effusa sacerdos*. From the queen's "pious" hands we move to her foot, which is uncovered for what may well be a sinister reason. On monosandalism see Henderson on Aristophanes, *Lys.* 667–669.

unum: *Unum ... pedem* in frame around *exuta*. The emphasis is on the fact that Dido took off only one shoe. Servius argued "quia id agitur ut et ista solvatur et implicetur Aeneas"—a clever idea. Irvine refers to this verse as "probably the hardest line in the book," with lament that Henry offers next to nothing. La Cerda was much taken with trying to explicate this verse; based on extensive collection of parallels (a virtual proto-Pease in that regard), he was able to argue persuasively that the left foot was unshod. Irvine concludes that the point of the ritual is probably not to bind Aeneas (we would agree insofar as mortal existence is concerned), but rather to free Dido from her attachment; he concludes that "the bare foot is a sign of one devoted to a desperate enterprise."

Pease assembles evidence relating to the idea that leather was considered taboo in sacred rites (like iron, cf. on 513); that one wanted to keep in contact with the earth and the powers below, and so bare feet were necessary; that once again, knots are bad and loosening good.

Another possibility is that there is a kind of initiation into a chthonic cult here, not unlike the famous frieze from the Villa of the Mysteries where Bacchus with one shoe off is depicted as reclining in the lap of Ariadne. Yet as the interpretation of that frieze is far from certain, the parallel merely bears noting without rabid speculation. The best interpretation seems to us that the real point of the underscoring that Dido took off one sandal is to be found at the very opening of Apollonius' *Arg.* (1.5–11), where we learn from the start that Pelias had been warned about how his doom would come from a man with one sandal. Pelias in consequence contrived to send Jason off on a long voyage. We find the same situation here: Aeneas will go off on a perilous journey, and he and his progeny will be cursed. The Medea-like Dido here usurps the Jason image; knowingly—as opposed to Jason's accidental loss of his sandal—Dido will evoke the memory of the hero who brought disaster because he had but one shoe. See further Braswell on Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.75 (a).

This Jason parallel is further supported if the Sophoclean influence on 513–514 above is indeed from a play that was concerned with the assistance that Medea provided to the unwitting Peliades in the gruesome destruction of their father (and cf. the similarly gory fantasy Dido has at 600–601 below, which has affinities with the fate of the king as worked out by Medea).

exuta: Coordinate with *recincta*. The verb recalls 1.690, where it referred to Cupid taking on the appearance of Ascanius; cf. 319 above *exue mentem*, where Dido pleaded with Aeneas to change his mind about leaving her. For the construction with the accusative cf. 137; 589; 643; 659.

vinclis: Alliterative with *veste*. For the noun of a shoe cf. Tibullus, c. 1.5.66, with Murgatroyd, and Maltby; also Bömer on Ovid, *Met.* 3.168.

veste: The noun also at 139; 648; 687. Clothing in the epic has not been extensively studied in a systematic manner (cf. here Bender 1994; K. Coleman in *VE* 1, 275—an admirable introduction). Coleman notes the Virgilian practice whereby “clothing is subtly employed to underline the irony of the situation, or to foreshadow a character’s fate.”

recincta: The verb here only in Virgil, and first here in extant Latin. With *veste* *recincta* here cf. Ovid, *Met.* 7.182; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.115. The commentators note that Horace’s Canidia is *nigra ... succinctam palla* at *Serm.* 1.8.23 (where see Gowers). In traditional Roman liturgy, the priest crosses the stole (cf. the deacon who has it over the left shoulder, bound cross-wise at the right side), while the bishop (who possesses the fullness of the priesthood) lets the stole hang down on either side.

The present verse will be distantly (not to say dimly) echoed at 11.649 *unum exserta latus pugnae, pharetrata Camilla*, of the dramatic, Amazonian entrance of the Volscian heroine into the cavalry battle before Laurentum. Like Dido with her curses, Camilla will be a banshee for the Trojans, dealing death across the plain.

519 *testatur moritura deos et conscia fati*

testatur: Opening a ring that will close at 521 ... *precatur*. First Dido calls the gods and the stars to witness, and then she makes her prayer to a particular *numen*. With the verb here we may compare 357 *testor utrumque caput* (Aeneas to Dido); and especially the parallel 492 *testor, cura, deos ...*, of Dido to Anna. Elsewhere in Virgil note 7.576 *implorantque deos obtestanturque Latinum*; 593 *multa deos aurasque pater testatus inanis*; 12.580–581 *Aeneas, magnaue incusat voce Latinum | testaturque deos iterum se ad proelia cogi*. Seneca’s *Medea* famously concludes with *Per alta vade spatia sublime aetheris, | testare nullos, qua veheris, deos*—a verse deservedly cited by T.S. Eliot for its reservation of a shock to the last word of the play.

moritura: Cf. 308; 415; 604. The third of the four uses of the key participle (almost a technical appellation for Dido); the occurrences proceed from 1) the queen haranguing Aeneas to 2) her decision to send Anna to Aeneas for a final appeal; to 3) the rites in progress to 4) her musing on what exactly she has to fear if she indulges in violence against the Trojans, since she has already decided to die.

The previous verses had been focused on allusions to the idea of curse and harm for the Trojans; now the queen returns to the other key aspect of her pursuit of magic—her planned suicide, with herself as veritable sacrificial offering to ensure that the other part of her prayer will be granted. As we shall explore below at 693 ff., part of why Juno hastens the death of Dido is to hasten the fulfillment of her curse on the *Aeneadae*.

deos: Coordinate with 520 *numina*. The gods are probably the three hundred cited at 510, since that list no doubt included every conceivable divinity.

conscia: A significant repetition of the adjective from 167–168 ... *et conscius aether / conubiis* ..., during whatever it was that happened in the cave; cf. also below at 608 *tuque harum interpretis curarum et conscia Iuno*. Dido's language here will be echoed by Nisus with reference to Euryalus at 9.428–430 *o Rutuli! mea fraus omnis, nihil iste nec ausus / nec potuit; caelum hoc et conscia sidera testor; / tantum infelicem nimium dilexit amicum*—a grim parallel. This passage was the inspiration for the very opening of Manilius' epic: *Carmine divinas artes et conscia fati / sidera diversos hominum variantia casus* (*Ast.* 1.1–2), with reference to horoscopes and the role of the stars in the destiny of men; cf. Statius, *Theb.* 6.240–241; 12.393.

fati: Cf. on 14; 20; 110; 225; 340; 440; 450; 519; 614; 651; 678; 696. The *sidera* will come in prominent, enjambed relief. *Fati* here is especially effective after *moritura*; in context it refers first and foremost to her death, a suicide by which she intends to accomplish multiple goals with one stroke.

520 *sidera; tum, si quod non aequo foedere amanti*

sidera: According to Servius, the planets: “id est planetas, in quibus fatorum ratio continetur.” At 607 ff., Dido will address Sol (this is after the dawn of 584–585); Juno; Hecate; and the Dirae—in other words, Hecate is still very much present (and brings with her lunar associations); Juno is of course Carthage's patroness; the sun god reflects the hour of the day and how the sun sees all. The *sidera* may well refer to the planets, but there could also be a reference here to either the stars or to the sun and moon; cf. Latinus' invocation at 12.195 ff., where Williams, e.g., takes the *sidera* in such a way. In a Didonian context, an allusion to the sun and moon—with attendant evocation of the divine twins whose image is so important to the Aeneas-Dido story—would be more than fitting. *Sidera* will recur almost at once (524), though in a very different context.

tum: See on 114, etc. The connective introduces the final element of the rite: prayer to whichever divine power may be concerned with the lot of lovers not joined in an equal union.

quod: Introducing a significant hyperbaton. The commentators note that there is something here of the obsessive concern of Roman (and other) litur-

gical traditions that no deity be omitted inadvertently or unknowingly (hence the three hundred gods of 510, etc.). But the main point would seem to be to bring the whole ritual to a close on a note that reminds us of how the tragedy commenced: the plight of the lovers.

aequo: Echoed here is 371–372 ... *iam iam nec maxima Iuno / nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis*, in the queen's rueful complaint. The language here is of political treaties between empires and nations; cf. Cicero, *Pro Balbo* 46.8; Livy 9.4.4.3; 9.20.8.2–9.1; 23.5.9.2; 24.1.9.4; 28.45.20.1–2; 29.37.11.1; 34.57.8.1; 39.37.13.1; 42.25.11.4; Manilius, *Ast.* 2.62; 233; 3.310; note also Silius, *Pun.* 1.107. Elsewhere in Virgil, we may recall Latinus' sentiments at the Latin war council (11.321–322 ... *et foederis aequas / dicamus leges sociosque in regna vocemus*), where the king envisages peace between the Latins and the Trojans.

Certain aspects of the present prayer will be answered at 6.473–474 ... *coniunx ubi pristinus illi / respondet curis aequatque Sychaeus amorem*, in ways that the queen does not envisage here.

foedere: For the noun cf. 112; 339; also 624 below. The present passage harks back mostly to 338–339 ... *nec coniugis unquam / praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni*, of Aeneas' blunt denial that there ever was a marriage; at 624 Dido will have her own chance to evoke the image of alliances or lack thereof, as she solemnly (complete with future imperative) declares ... *nullis amor populis nec foedera sunt*. In other words, the romance is crucial to Rome's future with Carthage; the failure of Dido and Aeneas to remain together will be directly consequential to the experience of the Punic Wars as a result of Dido's curse: the book of romance is really the explanation for the lasting enmity between the two Mediterranean archrivals.

amantis: Certainly we think most particularly here of Dido and Aeneas, though the reference is to the entire class of those who are badly matched in their amatory alliance. The whole passage is redolent with the complaints of nations that feel poorly treated in their dealings with a rival. The words denoting alliance and love are juxtaposed.

The divine power invoked here also relates back to 382–383 ... *si quid pia numina possunt, / supplicia hausurum scopulis et nomine Dido / saepe vocaturum ...*, in the passage where the queen first utilized the language of imprecation and curse.

Again, we are reminded that the affairs of royals are more serious than those of commoners on account of their responsibility for their subjects. The idea that lovers engage in *foedera* like political entities may be traced to Catullus, c. 109.3–6 *di magni, facite ut vere promittere possit, / atque id sincere dicat et ex animo, / ut liceat nobis tota perducere vita / aeternum hoc sanctae foedere amicitiae*. There is a fair amount of anachronism here, too, with respect to the

language of Roman treaty language; the poet's point is to evoke the diplomatic history between Rome and Carthage.

Servius has a note here that the reference is to Anteros—that is, to the Anti-Cupid—whose task was to dissolve rather than to bind lovers. But as often in Virgilian theology, the very imprecision of the expression is important—and not as an occasion to figure out some cipher to identify one or another god.

521 curae numen habet iustumque memorque, precatur.

curae: Another of the defining words of the book (from the first verse), here in the context of the concern of the divine power for fairness. The predicate dative stands in prominent position, juxtaposed with the reference to the god. The verse moves from the subject of concern for the divinity to the prayer occasioned by it.

numen: Cf. on 204; 269; 382; 611. Suitably ambiguous. The same sentiment occurs at Turpilius, fr. 115–116 Ribbeck ... *si quidemst quisquam deus, / Cui ego sim curae*.

ustumque: Echoed at 10.11 ff., where Jupiter at the divine council speaks of the *ustum tempus* that will come at some future point, when Carthage will attack Rome, crossing the Alps, etc. We may also recall the image of Dido the lawgiver at 1.507–508 *iura dabat legesque viris, operumque laborem / patribus aequabat iustis aut sorte trahebat*, the last image of the queen just before Aeneas saw his shipwrecked men enter her presence. For the double enclitic cf. 83 ... *auditque videtque*.

memorque: As at 156; 336; 403; 539. “Yet Dido fights, powerfully and dramatically, against any suggestion that Aeneas remembers or that he ought to be remembered. In her mind, when she thinks of the obligation memory may carry, she hopes for ‘a just and remembering divinity’ that cares for wronged lovers” (Seider 2013, 120–121). Dido’s concern with memory harks back to the similar fixation of the Carthaginian patroness Juno: 1.4 ... *saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram*, the first mention of the goddess in the epic. The reaction of the shade of Dido to Aeneas in the underworld affords ample evidence of the queen’s own unforgetting nature. DServ. glosses that the reference to justice relates to judgment, and that to memory to the punishment that will follow.

precatur: Coordinate with 519 *testatur*. The black magic rituals come to a quiet close on a note of prayerful supplication by the young queen. The verb recurs below at 621; cf. above on 113 and 413; V.M. Warrior in *VE* III, 1035. Again, there is a vagueness about the object of the prayer; some have wondered why the ritual seems to end abruptly, even why the queen does not proceed at once to the lighting of the pyre. Pease is sympathetic to the view that the poet wishes

to depict Dido as wavering in her intention to kill herself. But the queen who is resolved to die has more to do before the irrevocable step is undertaken. See further *ad* 522.

Austin offers here a reflection on Dido's temperament: "The line is most moving in its simplicity; amid all the dark mysteries of magic, Dido is shown at the end as 'saying her prayers' like a puzzled child who has been hurt." A sensitive and certainly plausible line of argument, though it would seem that the poet's point here is to remind us at the very end of the whole episode of how an abandoned, spurned love will be the cause of the great crisis of the Punic Wars, just as in a more recent age the amatory affair of a Roman with another north African queen would lead to the renewed outbreak of civil war.

522–552 It is night, and peace has come to the world of nature. Dido alone cannot sleep, and in her insomniac state she is plagued by more anxiety and uncertainty as to what to do. She delivers a long soliloquy that encapsulates many of the themes that have been explored already in the book, offering a definitive judgment in what for her are now increasingly rare moments of lucidity.

522 *Nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem*

A lovely nocturnal description, with strong resonance back to the very first lines of the book, with its haunting picture of the sleepless queen. Night and sleep envelop the verse. The Apollonian inspiration is *Arg.* 3.744 ff., of the quiet that eludes Medea. "Sustained mastery of alliteration and assonance" (Austin, who comments on how at 522–524 the fourth foot closes with a word-end, thus enacting "something of the monotony of the routine of sleep"). "The hexameters are smooth and unhurried and without harsh sounds" (Tilly). The fifth and final night in Carthage according to the chronology of Nelis 2001, 179–180.

The narrative takes a turn here, from the long description of the magical rites to the nocturnal insomnia and soliloquy of the young queen on her last night alive. It is possible that she expected some nocturnal visitation from a deity, perhaps via an incubation ritual (cf. Aeneas' visitation by Tiberinus at 8.26 ff.); instead she finds that she is utterly alone, lost to her own thoughts. The Mas-sylian mage will not be heard from or mentioned again; Virgil dispenses with his minor characters efficiently once they have fulfilled their roles.

Nox erat: On references to night in this book cf. also at 26; 123; 184; 352; 461; 527; 530; 570. Parallel to 3.147 *Nox erat et terris animalia somnus habebat*, of the night of the dream visitation of the Penates; 8.26–30 (on which see below); 9.224–226 (before the night raid). Pease offers his usual encyclopedic collection of other *comparanda*. "protenditur ista descriptio ad exaggerationem vig-

iliarum Didonis" (Servius)—the rather cold analysis of a grammarian with respect to a passage of surpassing loveliness, one in which the poet indulges in his fondness for contrasting exquisitely gorgeous imagery with grim and dark human sufferings.

Nox here will be rounded off by 527 ... *nocte silenti*, with *silenti* there at line-end correlating with *soporem* and *quierant* at 522 and 523 (see below on how 528 is probably an interpolated verse that should be deleted, though with a defense in its favor that the mention of *curas* there closes a ring with 521 *curae*, such that we have a pattern of care/night/night/care). Night and slumber frame the verse.

placidum ... soporem: Echoing 5 *placidam ... quietem*. At 440 the same adjective described Aeneas' ears, at peace, as it were, because of the action of the god in blocking them. Note especially here 1.691, of the slumber of Ascanius that Venus brings so as to facilitate Cupid's work.

carpebant: Recalling 2 ... *caeco carpitur igni*, with the verb in a very different sense. The imperfect coordinates with *erat* and may be durative. Cf. 7.413–414 ... *tectis hic Turnus in altis | iam mediam nigra carpebat nocte quietem*. The verb also of sleep at *G.* 3.435; cf. 555 below, where it describes Aeneas (*carpebat somnos*—he is after all one of the creatures asleep on this fateful night). This is the first of the three instances in the poem of the imperfect of *carpo* (Newman and Newman 2005, 172); the other two link the image of the slumbering Turnus and Aeneas to the restless Dido.

fessa: Juxtaposed with *soporem*. According to Servius on 8.232, *fessus* refers to mental and not physical fatigue (as opposed to *fatigatus*). Cf. R. Rocca in *EV* 11, 504. This is the only occurrence of the adjective in the book. Hypermetric hyperbaton to enact the languid character of the bodies as they relax in profound peace. The bodies of Aeneas' men would be especially exhausted after the hasty work to prepare for the departure.

soporem: Cf. the *soporiferumque papaver* of 486. *Sopor* describes a particularly deep sleep; cf. 2.252–253 ... *fusi per moenia Teucris | conticuere ...*, of the last sleep before the fall of Troy; also 3.511 *corpora curamus, fessos sopor inrigat artus*, of the Trojan rest near Acrocerania; 8.26–27 *nox erat et terras animalia fessa per omnis | alituum pecudumque genus sopor altus habebat*, of the quiet in the realm of nature when Tiberinus appeared to the sleepless, anxious Aeneas; 406 of the deep sleep that Vulcan enjoys with Venus before working on the arms; note also 3.173. *Sopor* can refer to the sleep of death, though here there is no hint of such an ominous note—at least not for Aeneas and his men. *Soporem* at line-end is balanced by 523 ... *quierant*.

The Servian reading ... *placidam carpebant membra quietem* (*ad* 1.388) is based on a conflation of other similar passages.

MacLennan observes that this is the only time in the epic where there is absolutely no sign whatsoever of how prayers were or were not received. We may note Pease 1935, 543, with citation of evidence from Greek magical papyri about the need for silence in order for magic to be efficacious. If that is on the poet's mind here, then the point would be that while Dido—anxious at least in part, we might think, about the success or failure of the ritual—is unable to sleep, there is silence in nature and thus a good chance that the black magic will work. We note that the anxiety of *Mercury* about the need for Aeneas to depart at once (554 ff.) may relate to the rituals of the dark arts that Dido has likely practiced well into the night. With this interpretation, the rites were being conducted at night, and they ended just before midnight. The Trojans were soundly asleep, as was nature; the queen was all too consumed with stress.

523 *corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva quierant*

corpora: Alliterative with 522 *carpebant*.

per terras: The men were encamped on the coast, ready to board the boats once the command was given.

silvaeque: Sibilantly alliterative with *saeva*. The world of nature is represented by land and sea via the mention of forests and seas. Perhaps a bit of light humor in the detail about the quiet woods: cf. 397 ff., of the preparations for departure that included the cutting down of lumber for oars and ship fittings. The *silvae* are quiet for the same reason as the *saeva aequora*—the winds have died down. We may recall also the Aeneas-tree buffeted by Alpine blasts (441 ff.); Anna and Dido are no longer harassing him. The personification is of the mild and unobtrusive sort; later poets would succumb to excess; cf. Servius' gloss "secundum eos qui dicunt omnia quae crescunt animalia esse." It is likely that both the woods and the animals therein are silent, rather than to imagine that the trees are quiet merely because birds and the like are slumbering; there is a palpable hint in this brief description that the gods have prepared the way for the safe departure of the fleet by calming down wind and sea; cf. further on 554 ff.

saeva: In more hypermetric enjambment, which reflects the vastness of the seas that lie ahead—and, via the significant adjective, we are reminded that this is winter, and the season when Aeneas and his men should not be embarking on a sea journey (especially of this magnitude). Juxtaposed deliberately with *quierant*. There will be a storm soon after departure, as described in the opening lines of Book 5; here with quiet seas we may compare the Neptunian-inspired calm of 5.816 ff. (though see Fratantuono and Smith on 864–866 for the Sirens and the noise of water crashing on the rocks, etc., as Palinurus becomes

a *de facto* sacrifice to them). The adjective recurs at 566 below; cf. 52 *desaevit*; vid. further De Grummond 1968; the same author's "*Saevus dolor: The Opening and Closing of the Aeneid*," in *Vergilius 27* (1981), 48–52; C. Cruca in *EV* IV, 643–645. The adjective also of *aequora* at Statius, *Silv.* 1.2.89–90 ... *minor ille calor quo saeva tepebant / aequora ...*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.404–405 ... *modo saeva quierunt / aequora ...* Probably a reminiscence of the *mare saevom* of Livius Andronicus (imitated by Sallust, *BI* 78.3.1–2); cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 1.275–276 ... *ita perfurit acri / cum fremitus saevitque minaci murmure pontus*; 5.1002–1003 *nam temere in cassum frustra mare saepe coortum / saevibat ...* *Saeva* here is echoed soon below at 532 *saevit*, of the queen's resurgent love: verses 531–532 make effective use of the imagery of storm and tempests at sea to describe her anxious state.

The present description will be echoed at 7.6–7 ... *postquam alta quierunt / aequora ...*, just before the safe sailing past the lair of Circe—another of the epic's sorceresses. Ovid's Leander complains at *Her.* 16.38–39 *quid mecum certa proelia mente geris? / in me, si nescis, Borea, non aequora saevis?*

quierant: For the verb cf. 379. *Quierunt* is weakly attested (cf. 6.102; 328; 7.6; 11.300). The (syncopated) pluperfect comes after the imperfects of the preceding verse; for the "retrospective narrative" see Adema 2019, 183.

524 *aequora, cum medio voluntur sidera lapsu,*

aequora: The enjambed seas, in balanced order at the start of the line after the *corpora* of 523 that will soon be upon them. Coordinate with the *sidera* that complete the description, as Virgil surveys the power of night over the realms of land and sea, before mentioning the heavenly lights of the firmament that continue in their nocturnal course; the next line will then begin an extended description of the sleepy conditions that obtain over the earth, including the rest of the birds. "elementa etiam animalia esse voluerunt" (Servius, continuing his notes on personification). The very extent of the description is part of the poet's enactment of the lulling of nature to sleep. The seas are placed in prominent position to remind us of the importance of that realm for the forthcoming departure; this is also the last of the several references in the book to the difficult conditions attendant on winter sea voyages.

cum: Coordinate with the same conjunction in 525.

medio ... lapsu: In framing word order. Virgil specifies the time for once: it was midnight. *Medio* as usual at the midpoint of the verse. Cf. the Roman Missal's *dum medium silentium tenerent omnia, et nox in suo cursu medium iter haberet*, etc.

Lapsus occurs also at 2.225; 236; 3.225 and 10.750, with different senses and all in rather grim contexts. The noun with respect to heavenly bodies is Cicero-

nian (*De Div.* 1.11). “A fine picture of tranquil movement” (Austin). The noun is a natural enough term to use for the movement of heavenly bodies, given that the related verb *labi* is so often used of them (cf. on 77 *labente die*). The emphasis in all passages of both noun and verb is on the image of smooth and graceful gliding.

volvuntur: For the verb cf. 363; 449; 671. As with the other uses of *lapsus* in the poem, this is the only peaceful occurrence of *volvere* in Book 4. Lucan imitates Virgil at *BC* 2.267–268 ... *sicut caelestia semper / inconcussa suo volvuntur sidera lapsu*; Cicero has *astra volvuntur* (*DND* 2.117.9–10).

sidera: We recall here the *conscia fati / sidera* of 519–520. These are probably the constellations, rather than the fixed stars, though the point should probably not be pressed too far. The *sidera* are the only element that is described as being “in motion,” as it were (*volvuntur*), though of course they are conceived of as fixed; still, together with Dido they represent the only wakeful part of the world in the description.

525 cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque volucres,

The verse is partially modeled on *G.* 3.243 *et genus aquoreum, pecudes pictaeque volucres*, in the description of how all of nature rushes into love: an appropriate parallel for the coming description of Dido (531–532, etc.).

tacet: For the verb cf. 2.94. “The voice of the fields is silent, though by day they are alive with sound” (Austin). The image of the silence of *omnis ager* is often taken as a reference to how the works of agriculture and husbandry are not carried out by night (cf. Servius’ “*ea quae in agris sunt*”). But the picture is a general one: there is no labor in the fields, and the animals that dwell there are also slumbering. Nurtantio 2014, 157–158 has a convenient catalogue of all uses of *tacere/tacitus* in the epic. The verb agrees with the nearest subject (*ager*); there is no need to imagine a new verb like *tacent* if verse 528 is deleted, especially after 527 *tenent* and *positae*, which interrupt as it were, as verbs to govern repeated *quaeque*’s of 526 that expand on the mention of the *pictaeque volucres*. As often in the poet, the description takes on a life of its own, which trumps any logical precision.

omnis ager: Emphasizing the totality of the picture. Cf. *E.* 3.56 *et nunc omnis ager, nunc omnis parturit arbor*; *Aen.* 9.225 *Cetera per terras omnis animalia somno*, etc. Manilius, *Ast.* 3.641 *tunc riget omnis ager ...*; Ovid, *Fast.* 2.660 *omnis erit sine te litigiosus ager*; Statius, *Theb.* 1.654–655; 10.174 *exanimet pavet omnis ager ...*; 12.613; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.122.

pecudes: Alliterative with *pictaeque*. For the noun see on 63; here it is juxtaposed with *ager*, perhaps with particular reference to the works of farming (though again, this need not be pressed too far, and in any case we should

remember both the season and the fact that during the queen's affair many of the works of furthering Carthaginian civilization have been in abeyance).

pictaeque volucres: Cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 2.43 ... *pictas volucres ac bella ferarum*. With *pictaeque* cf. 137; 206. The image (as DServ. realized) is of the stunning chromatic variety in the avian world; the colors are of course truly appreciated only by day, so that there is also a hint here that the birds are asleep and, in consequence, so also their many colors. The mention of color, however, sustains the notion of the gentle *locus amoenus* that will precede the high drama of the suicide scene. It is perhaps worth noting in this regard that Virgil's epic successor Ovid will repeatedly use the *locus amoenus* as a setting for a sinister *volte face*; cf. S.E. Hinds, "Landscape with Figures: Aesthetics of Place in the *Metamorphoses* and its Tradition," in Hardie 2002, 122–149, 125 ff. Lucretius, *DRN* 1.12–16 moves first from the *aëriae volucres* and then to the *ferae pecudes* in his account of the vernal influence of Venus (so also Manilius, *Ast.* 3.654–655 *tum pecudum volucrumque genus per pabula laeta | in Venerem partumque ruit ...*); cf. 1.162–163; 2.343–344; 4.1197–1198; elsewhere in Virgil besides *G.* 3.243, also the haruspicy of Asilas involving *pecudes* and the *linguae volucrum* that is referenced at 10.176–177.

Quintilian cites this passage at 1.5.28.2–3 *Evenit ut metri causa condicio mutet accentum: 'pecudes pictaeque volucres'. Nam 'volucres' media acuta legam, quia etsi natura brevis, tamen positione longa est*, etc. ("Later grammarians seem not to have accepted this"—Colson ad loc.).

526 quaeque lacus late liquidos quaeque aspera dumis

Striking liquid alliteration (*lacus | late | liquidos*) after the plosive and sibilant patterns of the previous verses. The line is also balanced between the contrasting images of the smooth water and the rough brambles of the fields; the very contrast serves to underscore again the totality of the slumber that takes over the world (the queen the noteworthy exception). "Vergil seems to have been particularly fond of birds and to have observed their habits closely" (Tilly). The reference to the birds of water and land is inspired by Lucretius, *DRN* 2.344–346 *et variae volucres, laetantia quae loca aquarum | concelebrant circum ripas fontisque lacusque, | et quae pervolgant nemora avia per-volitantes*.

quaeque ... quaeque: At first, a bit of a surprise: we are not sure that these are the *pictaeque volucres* of the preceding verse until the *positae* (alliterative with *pictae*) of the next.

lacus: Originally the word denoted any sort of pool or natural receptacle for water; there is probably no etymological connection to something that "hides" something (cf. Servius' "latentis" on 8.74). The noun occurs 15× in the poem,

only here in Book 4. With the reference to the lake-birds we may parallel Mercury's descent being compared to that of a shore-bird at 253 ff.

late: The adverb also at 42 (of the Barcaeii) and 409 (with reference to *litora*), both times in passages that reference fire and burning (*furentes; fervere*)—the exact opposite of the present, liquid context.

liquidus: The adjective only here in the book; cf. 7.760 *te liquidi flevere lacus*; the collocation rather surprisingly imitated by none of Virgil's successors. A noteworthy comment in La Cerda may be found here, referencing how the lakes are clear because the animals within them are sleeping and thus not stirring up any mud. MacLennan comments on the "watery onomatopoeia."

aspera: The adjective also only here in 4; vid. E. Zaffagno in *EV* 1, 371–372.

dumis: Juxtaposed with *aspera*. Elsewhere the noun occurs at the important 8.348 *aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis*, in the description of the future site of Rome; cf. 8.657, of the Gauls on the shield who were present *per dumos*; 9.381–382 *silva fuit late dumis atque ilice nigra | horrida ...* (of the place where Euryalus becomes lost and separated from Nisus); 11.570 *hic natam in dumis atque horrentia lustra* (of the wooded haunts of the young Camilla, who was reared in a place not dissimilar to the locus of the future Rome); 843–844 *nec tibi desertae in dumis coluisse Dianam | profuit ...* (Opis' lament for Camilla). The rough fields are enjambed, perhaps to enact how far they spread out. "The reference is doubtless to the shrubby thickets so common in some Mediterranean lands" (Pease).

527 *rura tenent, somno positae sub nocte silenti.*

More sibilant alliteration, to round off the sleepy passage: *somno | sub | silenti*.

rura tenent: Cf. Tibullus, c. 2.3.1 *Rura meam, Cornute, tenent villaeque puellam; | ferreus est, heu, heu, quisquis in urbe manet. Rus* occurs elsewhere in the epic only at 1.430–431 *qualis apes aestate nova per florea rura | exercet sub sole labor ...*, in the description of the work of the Carthaginian bees; cf. 7.712 of the *rosea rura Velini*—a surprisingly small number of occurrences. With *tenent* cf. 90; 219; 308; 331; 461.

somno: Repeated soon hereafter at 530. The noun also at 185, of how Rumor never sleeps; cf. 555 and 572 below, of Aeneas' slumber on this fateful night; also 353; 404; 414; 432; 466; 557. It is striking that in the Odyssean half of the epic, so much of the action of the even-numbered books occurs at night: the fall of Troy; the nights in Carthage; the nocturnal aspects of the gloomy underworld before the entry into the Elysium that has its own sunlight.

positae: Referring back to the *pictaeque volucres* of 525, as Virgil clarifies that he has been describing birds of both water and land.

sub: In the notion of being "under" the silent night there is a vaguely felt personification of night as the goddess Nox; she broods over the world as she

rides her nocturnal chariot, and all creatures are under her implicit, watchful protection as they slumber.

nocte: Echoing 522 *Nox*. The noun recurs at 530–531, where Dido is the only one who does not receive night in her eyes and heart.

silenti: At line-end as the description of nature's slumber comes to a close (if we do not read 528). The close of something of an ABAB chiasmus: *somno* and *nocte* interlocking with *positae* and *silenti*. For forms of *silere* / *silesce* / *silentium* in the poem see Nurtantio 2014, 155–156. With *sub nocte silenti* cf. 7.87–88 ... *et caesarum ovium sub nocte silenti / pellibus incubuit stratis somnosque petivit* (for the Latinus incubation ritual); 102–103 *haec responsa patris Fauni, monitusque silenti / nocte datos non ipse suo premit ore Latinus* (of the news gleaned from said ritual). We may recall here Aeneas' remark at 2.754–755 ... *per noctem et lumine lustrō: / horror ubique animo, simul ipsa silentia terrent* (as he searches for the lost Creüsa).

528 [lenibant curas et corda oblita laborum.]

Cf. 9.223–225 *Cetera per terras omnis animalia somno / laxabant curas et corda oblita laborum*. This verse has quite weak manuscript attestation here, and is not read by Servius (who at any rate does not comment on anything between 525 and 530). Henry and Irvine are among the staunch defenders of its authenticity (so also Papillon and Haigh); Buscaroli and Pease are not without sympathy for retaining it (so also Austin). Conte's Teubner and Mynors' Oxford text are like most modern editions in relegating it to an apparatus (Wagner and Ribbeck paved the way for deleting it); others (e.g., Geymonat; Dolç; Perret's Budé) print it as here, with brackets. A. La Penna, "Virgilio, *Aen.* 4, 528," in *Maia* 5 (1952), 99–101 offers another defense, with which we may compare Paratore's (he prints the verse without brackets *vel sim.* in his text). Mackail italicizes it (so Gould in his Loeb) with the note that it is "pretty certainly an interpolation"; cf. Williams' "should certainly be omitted"; Butler's "perhaps." Conington (who brackets it) notes that the passage would be equally good with or without it. And so the editors argue: Pléiade users will find it in brackets; so also those reading from Götte's Tusculum, though not Holzberg's readers. "Der Vers ... ist extrem schwach bezeugt und wird in nahezu allen Ausgaben eliminiert ..." (Binder). One would never know from Gould and Whiteley that there was a question about this line, though curiously the numeration of the verses in their lemmata becomes erroneous here.

Irvine argues that "It should be noted that it is a feature of the matured Virgilian style to continue a period a line further than where in the hands of a less potent master it would conclude. This is also characteristic of Milton; in both poets it is this over-arching superflux of rhythm which gives their period its

unique richness.” MacLennan, in contrast, thinks that the verse spoils the ring composition and introduces a problematic imperfect. Certainly retaining the verse invites experiment and surgery (not to say havoc) with the punctuation of the passage. Are we really supposed to have thought that there should be a full stop after 525a *cum tacet omnis ager*, just so that the animals and birds of 525b could find a verb they did not need two and a half lines later?

We may begin by considering the question of rings: 522 *Nox erat* does conclude nicely with 527 ... *sub nocte silenti*. If we read 528, then the mention of *curas* harks back to 521 *curae*—another ring, though not as “classic” a one as the nocturnal circle of 522/527. The imperfect *lenibant* would ring back to the imperfections *erat* and *carpebant* from 522. In other words, those rightly concerned with rings and tenses may find some solace, whether more or less convincing. For ultimately the problem here is that interpolation from a parallel passage is easily enough explained by reminiscence, with (as here) or without alteration (vid. R. Tarrant in *VE* II, 658; on interpolations in Virgil note also G. Polara in *EV* II, 996–997). That said, if this verse were indeed interpolated, it happened at an early date; cf. Pease’s citation of Seneca, *Dial.* 4.33.6 and Statius, *Theb.* 1.339–341, both of which passages seem to have some recollection of this line—though again one cannot be sure that what is at play in such citations is not a centonic composition from well-remembered sections of the epic.

Our verdict is that given the significant problem of the lack of manuscript and Servian attestation, the verse is probably an interpolation and deserves to be bracketed; our willingness to print it is both a product of convenience for the reader, and of our sense that it is a verse that does no great discredit to the interpolator or, for that matter, the poet. And, too, it adds a seventh verse to the nocturnal description. And yet in the final analysis, would anyone miss it or complain that something had fallen out were it not here? Certainly James Henry: “I have not thought it necessary to inquire into the MS. authority for this verse, being decided to retain it, first on account of its great beauty; secondly, because the whole passage is lame and truncated without it ...”

lenibant: We may compare here 393–394 *At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem | solando cupit et dictis avertere curas*, a passage that bears more than a passing resemblance to the present verse: this is directly after Dido’s fainting episode. The imperfect is durative. Forbiger thought that the change from *laxabant* (9.225) to *lenibant* was evidence of authenticity; a reasonable argument, though Conington is correct to note that while “‘lenibant’ is a word which Virg. might have written, it is no more than might have occurred by a slip of the memory to an ingenious grammarian.” We might add that someone might have been thinking too of 6.467–468 *talibus Aeneas ardentem et torva tuentem | lenibat dictis animum lacrimasque ciebat*.

curas: A word that needs no defense in this book; here the *curae* come in striking contrast to those of the young queen. The noun recurs at 531. The notion that birds and animals have cares, and hearts that are free from labors, etc. has been criticized by some; if the verse is to be retained the point is simply to highlight the difference between the worry-free nocturnal world of nature and the queen's disturbed state. The brief respite from the book's high drama that this *locus amoenus* provides turns out to be, at least for the animals, an Epicurean one.

corda: Alliterative after *curas*. Vid. Negri 1984, 197.

oblita: For the verb see on 221.

laborum: The noun also at 78; 115; 233; 273; 379. In criticism of this verse, it may be noted that ending the passage on a silent note (527) would seem to work far better than on a note of labor. Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 12.599 *sic ait oblitus bellique viaeque laborum*.

529 at non infelix animi Phoenissa, neque umquam

at non: Cf. 504; the adversative conjunction once again sets up a startling contrast. The negative coordinates with *neque*: second and penultimate words in the verse. For “negations of preceding general ideas instead of negations of specific verbs” see P.R. Murphy, “Variations on a Negative Pattern,” in *CJ* 50.6 (1955), 253–254, 287, with reference to *G.* 3.349 and 4.530.

infelix: Cf. 68; 450; also 1.712; 749. She is *infelix* because her death is now not very far off; also because unlike the rest of the world, she cannot manage to find rest. “The use of *infelix* here marks the last vain effort to resist her inevitable doom” (H.F. Rebert, “The Felicity of *Infelix* in Virgil's *Aeneid*,” in *TAPA* 59 (1928), 57–71, 62). There is an effective sound pattern of *i* and *e* at the start of this line that enacts the sharpness of the queen's emotion.

animi: Vid. Negri 1984, 265; 268–269; 271; 313. With *infelix animi* (where *animi* is either genitive or—likelier—locative), cf. 5.202 *furens animi*, of Sergestus at the regatta. She is *infelix animi*, and so neither her eyes nor her heart will find rest (530)—a tricolon of anatomical, mental references to her state.

Phoenissa: The appellation also used by Aeneas of Dido at 347–348 ... *si te Karthaginis arces / Phoenissam Libycaequae aspectus detinet urbis*; cf. 1.670 and 714. Here it delineates Dido clearly in connection to her Carthaginian identity, thus setting the tone in particular for the curses that she will level against Aeneas and his proto-Roman Trojans. There is no verb, as the commentators have noted (one must in theory go back to 523 *quierant* and change the number); the ellipse however is natural enough, and may even enact something of the restless, disjointed nature of the insomniac queen's state of mind. If we retain 529, then we move from plural *lenibant* to an understood singular

of Dido, in reverse pattern from 525, where singular *tacet* was followed by an implied plural for the beasts and birds.

See Paschalis 1997, 167 on the semantic associations of *Phoenissa* that are at play here: the color red and the notion of fire and burning, this time with reference to her pyre and to her threats against the Trojans.

neque: The Palatine here preserves the correct reading.

umquam: A significant detail: it was not simply that Dido suffered from fitful sleep. She was unable to close her eyes in rest at all. The verb is enjambed, in part to enact the long tedium of the neverending, anxious wakefulness.

“The movement becomes dactylic and more disturbed ...” (Williams).

530 *solvitur in somnos oculisve aut pectore noctem*

solvitur: Alliterative with *somnos*. We may note here that 529–530 ... *neque umquam* / *solvitur* will be echoed at 703 ... *teque isto corpore solvo*, as Iris releases Dido from her body, into the sleep of death. The verb also at 55; 302; 479; 487; 574; here it is coordinate at the opening of the verse with 531 *accipit*—first the passive and then the active description of the queen’s insomnia: the line between where her anxiety keeps her awake despite herself, and her own active role in her own frenzied state is difficult to plot. The point of *solvitur* is both physical and mental (and so *oculis* and *pectore* are both affected): the body relaxes in sleep, but so does the mind that had been troubled by care.

somnos: Coordinate with *noctem*, and recalling the same collocation at 527 ... *somno positae sub nocte silenti*.

oculisve, etc.: Cf. Plautus, *Pseud.* 144 *nisi somnum socordiamque ex pectore oculisque exmouetis*. There is a reminiscence here of 1.717–718 *haec oculis, haec pectore toto / haeret et interdum gremio fovet inscia Dido*, of the queen with the disguised Cupid. Note also 691–693 below, of the description of the wound in the *pectus* that is followed by the mention of her wandering eyes. Precise ordering of the parts of the body, as the progression of sleep is delineated: first the eyes close, and soon the *pectus* relaxes too. “quia potest aliud esse sine alio, ut si quis dormiens mente turbetur” (Servius). Cf. the rather different Ovid, *Met.* 8.356 *emicat ex oculis, spirat quoque pectore flamma* (of the Calydonian boar). The enclitic does not appear in the original Palatine reading; cf. some attestation for *oculisque*. Wakefield’s punctuation (he compares 7.483) after *somnos* is unnecessary.

pectore: Vid. Negri 1984, 259. Note too the fatal sleep of Rhamnes at 9.326 *exstructus toto proflabat pectore somnum*; Statius has ... *quos nunc ego pectore somnos / quosve queam perferre dies?* (Statius, *Silv.* 3.2.82–83). Dido’s *pectus* will also be referenced at the close of this passage (553 *tantos illa suo rumpebat pectore questus*).

We may compare Dido here to Palinurus in the closing movements of Book 5; note especially 835–837 *iamque fere mediam caeli Nox umida metam / contigerat, placida laxabant membra quiete / sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nautae*, where everyone else on Aeneas' flagship is asleep while Palinurus mans his rudder in vigilant sentinel; Somnus' repeated efforts to seek the helmsman's surrender into slumber fail, and finally the god hurls him overboard (see Fratanuono and Smith on 5.854 ff.).

531 **accipit: ingeminant curae, rursusque resurgens**

accipit: Coordinate with 530 *solvitur*. Dido literally does not accept night with either her eyes or her heart. An expansion of sorts on the slight personification felt at 527 ... *sub nocte silenti*. Cf. 1.303–304 ... *in primis regina quietum / accipit in Teucros animum mentemque benignam*, of the reaction of the queen to the work of Mercury in soothing violent Carthaginian hearts. The verb is repeated soon after at 541; cf. 611 and 652. Many English commentators cite Tennyson's *She found no rest, and ever fail'd to draw / The quiet night into her blood* (*The Marriage of Geraint* 531–532, of Enid).

ingeminant: The verb is not particularly common in the epic; at 1.747 *ingeminant plausu Tyrii, Troesque sequuntur* it occurs of the response of Tyrians and Trojans to the song of Iopas; cf. 3.199 ... *ingeminant abruptis nubibus ignes*, of the storm after the departure from Crete; 5.227 *tum vero ingeminat clamor ...*, at the regatta; 434–435 *multa cavo lateri ingeminant et pectore vastos / dant sonitus ...* and 457 *nunc dextra ingeminans ictus ...*, during the boxing match; 9.811–812 ... *ingeminant hastis et Troes et ipse / fulmineus Mnestheus ...*, of the attack on Turnus in the Trojan camp; also 2.769–770 *implevi clamore vias maestusque Creüsam / nequiquam ingeminans iterumque iterumque vocavi*; 7.577–578 *Turnus adest medioque in crimine caedis et igni / terrorem ingeminat ...* At G. 1.333 ... *ingeminant Austri et densissimus imber*, the verb is used of a storm; that is the imagery that now commences as a metaphor for the queen's anxiety. Dido—in accord with the advice of Anna—had urged that there be a delay in departure at least for the duration of the risk of winter storms; now the world of nature—including the *saeva aequora* of the winter seas (523–524) are at rest, and it is the queen who nurses a storm within herself. The verb is poetic; the emperor Nero did not consider it unworthy of his verse (fr. 3.4 Morel).

curae: In close repetition after 528, if that verse be read. This time the key word is prominent at the middle of the verse. With or without that line, it reveals that for all Dido's attempts to practice some form of “proto-Epicureanism,” she has failed. The contrast to the recent description of the calm state that the resting animals enjoyed is poignant.

rursusque: Alliterative with *resurgens*. Repeated soon after at 534, in yet another reminder that the ancients were not as bothered by such things as many moderns. “Poetic pressure bears down too in the alliteration ...” (M.C. Covi, “Dido in Vergil’s *Aeneid*,” in *CJ* 60.2 (1964), 57–60, 59).

resurgens: The prefix coordinates closely with the preceding adverb; Virgil knew that the expression was pleonastic, and he did not care. The verb occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at 1.206 ... *illic fas regna resurgere Troiae*, near the close of Aeneas’ consoling words to his men soon after the landing in Carthage. The description of Dido here recalls that of Carthage’s divine patroness at 1.662 *urit atrox Iuno, et sub noctem cura recursat*. The enjambment enacts the rising up, and gives a moment’s suspense before 532 *saevit amor*: the storm has been building, and it breaks forth in the following verse with powerful force. Theme and variation, as *rursusque resurgens* also works to double the implied doubling of *ingeminant curae*. The *curae* are doubled because the queen has been torn between thoughts of passion and thoughts of vengeance. “gravior enim est cum resurgit; sententia quasi generalis” (Servius). Cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 1.181 *qua cadat et subeat caelum rursusque resurgens*; Ovid, *Rem.* 281–282 ... *noc hic nova Troia resurgit, | non aliquis socios ad arma vocat*.

“The storm at sea has been transferred to Dido’s heart” (Paschalis 1997, 167).

532 *saevit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu*.

saevit: Following on the mention of the *saeva aequora* at 523–524: the savage seas may be silent, but Dido’s love for Aeneas still rages. Echoed here is 300–301 *saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem | bacchatur* ... Prominent by position. Dido in her sleepless state is angry enough, one might think, even absent any help from sympathetic deities (cf. 520–521). She had ended her participation rites with a prayer to a divine power that was concerned with lovers who were unequally joined; now her *amor* rages again, unchecked and furious. Semantically connected verb and noun (*aestu*) anchor the verse.

amor ... irarum: The two nouns are closely coordinated: the queen is in love, but she is also lost in her anger. Mercury must be watching, one might think: he will echo the language here in his address to Aeneas about Dido’s behavior below at 564 ... *variosque irarum concitat aestus*. The plural anger has been taken by some to denote an anger that is unjust, usually with an eye to interpreting 12.946 ... *furiis accensus et ira* in a way that exculpates Aeneas; cf. on 197 above (with Austin ad loc.). Here the picture is of a seething, stormy sea of anger and rage; the plural is more than fitting for this picture. *Amor* and *Ira* are in battle, as it were, and yet they are also inextricably linked.

magnoque ... aestu: See below on 564. In framing order, with hyperbaton to express just how great the surge is. For the adjective with *aestus* cf. Lucretius,

DRN 5.1435 *et belli magnos commovit funditus aestus*; also *Ps.-V. Culex* 165 *mersus ut in limo magno subsideret aestu*. *Amor* also at 17; 38; 54; 85; 171; 307; 347; 395; 414; 516; 624.

fluctuat: The verb recurs as a variant for *concitat* in the virtual repetition of the sentiments of this verse at 564; cf. 8.19 *cuncta videns magno curarum fluctuat aestu*, of the disturbed state of Aeneas in the face of the war in Latium (he is beset by *curae* and not *irae*; the time will come later—especially after the death of Pallas—for the hero to indulge in rage); 10.680 *haec memorans animo nunc huc, nunc fluctuat illuc*, of Turnus after his encounter with the phantom Aeneas; 12.486 ... *vario nequiquam fluctuat aestu*, of Juturna; 526–527 *Aeneas Turnusque ruunt per proelia; nunc, nunc / fluctuat ira intus* ... On the connection between Dido's wrath here and the war in Italy that will reduce Aeneas to a state not dissimilar to the queen's here (at least in terms of anxiety), see J.T. Dyson, "Fluctus Irarum, Fluctus Curarum: Lucretian Religio in the Aeneid," in *AJPh* 118.3 (1997), 449–457 (with reference to Moskalew 1982, 173–174). What is the subject of the verb? Many editors assume that we move from the raging of *amor* to the description of the angry Dido, but Austin and MacLennan (*inter al.*) are probably right to keep *amor* as the subject of the whole verse (Austin notes that this line is the essence of Catullus, c. 85), even if in the immediate context Dido and *amor* virtually shade into one, and any ambiguity is deliberate. Dido as subject thus resumes after 533 *sic adeo*. Catullus' Ariadne is vividly recalled here: cf. c. 64.62 *et magnis curarum fluctuat undis* (she is the principal reason why Conington et al. take Dido as the subject here); note also Lucretius, *DRN* 3.298 *nec capere irarum fluctus in pectore possunt*; 6.73–74 *sed quia tute tibi placida cum pace quietos / constitues magnos irarum volvere fluctus*; Manilius, *Ast.* 5.220–222 *effrenos animos violentaque pectora finget / irarumque dedit fluctus odiumque metumque / totius vulgi* ... Henry argues for Dido as the subject, though briefly and with nothing of his characteristic vigor and wrath.

The present description of Dido will be recalled in Jupiter's characterization of Juno at the commencement of her great reconciliation scene: 12.830–832 *es germana Iovis Saturnique altera proles, / irarum tantos volvis sub pectore fluctus. / verum age et inceptum frustra summitte furorem*.

aestu: Cf. 564. Classic in storm imagery (cf. 1.107 ... *furit aestus harenis*).

We may recall here 1.25–26, of the *causae irarum* and *saevi dolores* that had not yet fallen out of Juno's mind. Virgil enjoys playing with the connection between the "internal chaos of negative emotions" and the physical manifestation of rage in storms (vid. on this R. Uccellini in *VE* III, 1219); in the present instance, the season is ripe for storms, but there will also be the sense that the queen's heightened emotional state and her resultant suicide will be mirrored in nature by the storm of 5.8 ff., which follows straight upon references to Dido.

533 sic adeo insistit secumque ita corde volutat:

Two more present indicatives, following on 532 *saevit* and *fluctuat*; cf. 530–531 *solvitur* and *accipit*, also of Dido; 531 *ingeminant*, of her *curae*—a balanced progression.

sic adeo: Changing the subject from *amor* to the queen. For intensive *adeo* cf. 96; *sic* is closely coordinate with *ita*, and alliterative with *insistit* and *secum*. “*Adeo* startles the reader, as it leads on to her anguished thoughts” (Tilly). Servius has the interesting gloss “*scilicet furuit; ut in hoc proposito permaneret vitandae sine dubio lucis.*”

insistit: The verb also at 6.563 *nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen* (the Sibyl to Aeneas); 11.573–574 *utque pedum primis infans vestigia plantis | institerat ...* (of the young Camilla); 12.47 *ut primum fari potuit, sic institit ore* (Turnus to Latinus); cf. *G.* 3.164. Kvičala 1881, 159–161 argued that Dido had been lying down (i.e., she had been trying to sleep); likelier is that she has been awake because of the magic rites, and at their conclusion was unable to find rest. The verb well describes the obsessive nature of the queen’s fixation on certain points. Dido may not be rising from a couch, but she is also not necessarily speaking aloud; this passage opens a window into her private thoughts, thoughts that are dominated by her relentless focus on particular aspects of her failed romance. *Exsisit* is weakly attested.

secumque: Vid. Negri 1984, 306–308 for the use of ablative personal and reflexive pronouns in emotional contexts.

ita: Also at 557.

corde: Close after *corda*, if we read 528. Silius has *sic igitur curasque ita corde fatigat* (*Pun.* 12.496).

volutat: The verb is not common in the epic; note 1.725–726 *fit strepitus tectis vocemque per ampla volutant | atria ...* (at the banquet); 3.607–608 *dixit et genua amplexus genibusque volutans | haerebat ...* (of Achaemenides); 5.149–150 *consonat omne nemus, vocemque inclusa volutant | litora ...*; 6.157–158 *... caecosque volutat | eventus animo secum ...* (Aeneas pondering the words of the Sibyl); 185 *atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat* (Aeneas between the discovery of Misenus’ body and the finding of the Bough); 10.159–160 *hic magnus sedet Aeneas secumque volutat | eventus belli varios ...*, and especially the related 1.50 *Talia flammato secum dea corde volutans* (Juno before she approaches Aeolus); and 12.843–844 *his actis aliud genitor secum ipse volutat | Iturnamque parat fratris dimittere ab armis* (Jupiter after the successful reconciliation of Juno). For the verb with *cor* cf. Plautus, *Miles* 196 *quod volutas tute tecum in corde?*; Seneca, *HF* 1082–1083 *En fusus humi saeva feroci | corde volutat somnia ...*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.567–568 *dixerat haec tacitusque dolos dirumque volutat | corde nefas ...*; 5.263–264 *contra Sole satus Phruxi praecepta volutans | aegro*

corde negat ...; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 8.177–178 *molitur dirumque nefas sub corde volutat / praeterea ...*; 12.555–556 ... *pubes dispersa per altas / stat turris atque huc ventum sub corde volutat*. The verb conveys the sense that Dido goes over and over the same points in her head, without the relief of sleep. “Dido wearily goes over argument after argument ... and it is not surprising that at the end of all her sleepless ramblings she illogically blames Anna for everything” (Austin).

In some sense this is the last gasp of the effects of Cupid’s spell, though anger has become the dominant emotion; there is a hint that the longer one remains in a state of erotic intoxication, the greater the likelihood that *ira* will be manifested.

534 “en, quid ago? rursusne procos inrisa priores

The commencement of what Horsfall calls “Dido’s perhaps most balanced (and therefore most obviously moving) speech” (1995, 132). It is a tragedy in itself that no one save her ever heard it. “In this unwitnessed monologue there are eight questions, since now there is no need to pretend any calm” (Newman and Newman 2005, 128).

en: Also at 597 ... *en dextra fidesque*. Common in comedy, and here as the first word because Dido is speaking to herself in intimate, familiar language. Cf. Servius: “est autem comicum principium, nec incongrue amatrici datum ...” “A barely translatable expression of shocked indignation” (Maclennan).

quid ago?: Significantly, this rhetorical question will recur twice more in the poem, both times in connection to Turnus: 10.675 ... *quid ago? aut quae iam satis ima dehiscat / terra mihi? ...*; and 12.637 *num quid ago? aut quae iam spondet Fortuna salutem?*. This is likely a deliberate indicative, and not an indicative standing in for a deliberate subjunctive (cf. Binder however for wise consideration of what may be deliberate ambiguity); it is purposefully vivid, and with reference to the immediate circumstances in which Dido finds herself. There is no need to read *agam*, though no one would have objected had that been what Virgil wrote. Cf. the verbs that follow: 535 *experiar*; *petam*; 538 *sequar*: a veritable ascending tricolon of actual deliberative subjunctives that follow as the queen obsessively considers her situation. Some of the queen’s problem here is impatience, admittedly an impatience occasioned in part by the awareness that Aeneas plans to leave soon. She has received no confirmation of the efficacy of her magical rites, and in her anxious, sleepless state she begins to review other options, none of them either practical or appealing.

rursusne: Echoing 531 ... *rursusque resurgens*, and alliterative with *procos* and *inrisa priores*. “duo significat: frequenter ‘iterum,’ raro ‘vicissim,’ id est ‘mutuo,’ ut hoc loco”.

procos: Alliterative with *priores*. The noun recurs at 12.27–29 *me natam nulli veterum sociare procorum / fas erat ...* (Latinus' reflection on Lavinia). In framing order around *inrisa*, with syntactic enactment of the plight of Dido, hemmed in as she is by Iarbas and his peer suitors. She never names the principal *procus prior*.

For a valiant attempt to try to classify the various meanings of the enclitic, see C.M. Mulvany, "Enclitic Ne," in *CR* 9.1 (1895), 15–18.

inrisa: At 5.272 *inrisam sine honore ratem Sergestus agebat*, the verb recurs in one of the epic's rare moments of lightheartedness; cf. the darker uses at 7.425 *i nunc, ingratis offer te, inrise, periclis* (the disguised Allecto to Turnus); and the companion piece ten verses later at 7.435–436 *Hic iuvenis vatem inridens sic orsa vicissim / ore refert ...*, as the Rutulian makes his response to "Calybe." It seems likeliest that the reference in *inrisa* is to Dido's treatment at the hands of Aeneas, which in her mind has made her a laughingstock to her neighbors. The other option is to interpret it proleptically (so, e.g., MacLennan; Stephenson), with a view to how the queen would be received if she were to make overtures to former suitors. But it would seem that Aeneas is most on her mind during this last night. The argument that Aeneas has had no inclination to mock her is irrelevant; what matters is not the Trojan's good manners, but rather the Carthaginian's perception of his behavior. She speaks at last as someone who cares about what other people will think of her actions: the sin of scandal finally matters to her. "A castaway milckmadge" could only have been written by Stanyhurst.

priores: Balanced by 536 ... *maritos*, as Dido concludes her three-verse reflection on the (impossible) option of seeking out old suitors. Ovid was inspired by this passage: cf. Phyllis at *Her.* 2.81–82 *At mea despecti fugiunt conubia Thraces, / quod ferar externum praeposuisse meis*.

Irvine comments that the queen begins with practical considerations, before turning to more emotional concerns.

For a parallel between Dido's concerns here about being mocked, etc., and Sophocles' *Ajax* (454–461), see V. Panoussi, "Vergil's Ajax: Allusion, Tragedy, and Heroic Identity in the *Aeneid*," in *CLAnt* 21.1 (2002), 95–134, 107 ff.; cf. Panoussi 2009, 189–191. Already in this book the poet prepares for Dido to play the Ajax role in Aeneas' Odyssean underworld.

One of the most entertaining of Virgilian *notes de lecture* = W.D. Lebek, "Der Proconsul Asperna (AE 1980 Nr. 138) und Verg. *Aen.* 4.534," in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 68 (1987), 33–34, with brilliant parodic correction of the text of this verse.

"There are eight soliloquies in the *Aeneid*, some uttered aloud, and some as streams of thought unspoken ... Aeneas has three ... Dido has three ..." (Highet 1972, 159–160). This is the first; cf. below on 590–629 and 651–662.

535 experiar, Nomadumque petam conubia supplex,

experiar: The same form at *E.* 5.15. Balanced sound pattern to frame the verse: *experiar ... supplex*. It is an exercise in hyperanalysis to consider whether the verb is strictly logical after 534 *rursus*, not least because of the queen's mental state.

Nomadumque: Cf. 320–321 *te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni / odere ...*; Anna's remark at 41 *et Numidae infreni cingunt et inhospita Syrtis*. O'Hara's revision of Page had to suppress the Victorian view on "gipsies" (*ex Servio*, "vagos")—but Page is correct in following his ancient predecessor: there is a "contemptuous" reference here to Dido's neighbors. The Carthaginian queen retains her arrogance to the end. The *Nomades* were inveterate wanderers; there may be a play on the idea of the *errans* Dido in supplication, seeking marriage with one of their princes.

petam: We may recall 433 *tempus inane peto*; Anna's sororial reproach *me fraude petebas?* (675); cf. 100; 164; 312–313; and especially Dido's bitter imperative to Aeneas at 381 *... pete regna per undas*. The verb would have come with more than a hint of scandalous behavior for Virgil's contemporary audience: Roman girls did not do the seeking.

conubia: Iarbas had complained to Jupiter 213–214 *... conubia nostra / reppulit ...*; Dido had spoken of *conubia nostra* with reference to Aeneas (316). Other than the textually problematic 126, we recall too the eerie and ominous 167–168. The plural has occasioned question; it may be that Iarbas was not the only suitor from among the Numidians, or it may simply be poetic or *metri causa*.

supplex: Echoing Dido's words to Anna at 424 *i, soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum* that follow close on 413–414 *... iterum temptare precando / cogitur et supplex animos submittere amori*; cf. also Iarbas at 205. Interlocking word order, with *supplex* coordinate with *petam*, in alternation with the mention of the possibility of a Numidian marriage: syntactic enactment of the idea of union with one of those princes.

The verse closes on a note of imagined humiliation of the young queen. *Supplex* is strongly contrasted with *dedignata* in the next verse, to underscore the quasi-reversal of roles.

536 quos ego sim totiens iam dedignata maritos?

quos: Framing the verse with *maritos*.

ego: With a strong underscoring of her personal responsibility for her plight.

sim: Concessive subjunctive.

totiens: 10× in the epic, vs. once in the *Georgics*; only here in Book 4. Coordinate with *iam*—right up to the present time. Ovid, *Fast.* 3.553–554 is in imitation of this: *saepe memor spretum, 'Thalamis tamen' inquit 'Elissae inquit / en*

ego, quem totiens repulit illa, fruor' (Iarbas after he took possession of Carthage in the wake of the queen's suicide); see further Heyworth ad loc. The emphasis is on the repeated attempts of Iarbas, not to mention the efforts of any other suitors. Aeneas, in contrast, had to expend no effort whatsoever to enter into a relationship with Elissa.

dedignata: The verb is *hapax* in Virgil, and possibly a coinage (vid. *TLL* v 1 coll. 261–263); cf. Ovid, *Am.* 3.7.73–74 *hanc etiam non est mea dedignata puella / molliter admota sollicitare manu*; *Her.* 4.149 *non ego dedignor supplex humilisque precari*; 7.33 ... *neque enim dedignor amorem*; 12.83 *quodsi forte virum non dedignare Pelasgum*; 16.197 *da modo te facilem, nec dedignare maritum*; *Met.* 13.585–586 *sicut erat, genibus procumbere non est / dedignata Iovis lacrimisque has addere voces*; *Fast.* 4.36 *non dedignata est nomen habere Venus*; *Ep.* 1.7.33 *is me nec comitem nec dedignatus amicum est*; 2.2.77–78 *nec dedignata est abiectis Illyris armis / Caesareum famulo vertice ferre pedem*; 3.5.31 ... *nisi dedignaris id ipsum*; Calpurnius Siculus, *E.* 4.88 ... *montes neu dedignetur adire*; Lucan, *BC* 121–122 *et raptum furto soceri cessantibus armis / dedignatur iter ...*; Statius, *Theb.* 9.901–902 ... *hunc toto capies pro corpore crinem, / comere quem frustra me dedignante solebas*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.535 *quem tibi coniugio tot dedignata dicavi*; Martial, *ep.* 6.64 *non dedignatur bis terque revolvere Caesar*; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 5.87–88 ... *tantum ne dedignare secundos / exspectare deos ...*; 13.538–539 ... *nec dedignanda parenti / carmina fuderunt Phoebo ...*; not common in prose, though Tacitus has it in the *Annales*. Especially if the poet invented the word, there could not be a stronger contrast with 535 ... *petam conubia supplex*. There may also be poignance in the fact that in the verb there is a hint of *gnatus*, i.e., for the child that Dido had earnestly yearned for that will never be.

Dido was devoted to the memory of Sychaeus, and this was the noble reason for her refusal to marry. There is also a palpable sense of scorn for her neighbors as being unworthy of her, a charge that certainly is magnified in the bitter reproaches and complaint of an Iarbas, but one that cannot entirely be imputed to the jealousy of the rejected. The focus here is on her self-condemnation for haughtiness; she will mention Sychaeus at the end of this soliloquy (552), as a powerful close—it ends on his name. We may trace a progression through her thoughts of her romantic history: first she dwells on the question of the despised Numidian suitors; then she discusses the Trojans, with the obvious association with Aeneas; only at the very end does she refer to her *primus amor* (28).

maritos: Cf. on 35 and 103. They had been *procos* (534), and she disdained the idea that any of them should be a *maritus* (hence Servius: “*futuros scilicet*”).

537 *Iliacas igitur classes atque ultima Teucrum*

The verse is framed by references to the Trojans. There is an echo of Apollonius' Medea at *Arg.* 4.83 ff., where she asks that the Trojans take her with them to safety from Aeëtes' wrath (for Dido as a "counterpart" to Apollonius' Aeëtes vid. Moorton 1989). Both Virgil and his Hellenistic predecessor permit more dignity to their characters than Silius accords to his Dido at *Pun.* 8.83–88. Cf. also Catullus, c. 64. 160–163 *attamen in vestras potuisti ducere sedes, | quae tibi iucundo famularer serva labore, | candida permulcens liquidis vestigia lymphis | purpureave tuum consternens veste cubile*—a case where the neoteric Ariadne indulges in far more elaborate language than Dido to express the same image. Ovid's Dido would not be denied the opportunity to enter the intertextual game: *si pudet uxoris, non nupta, sed hospita dicar; | dum tua sit, Dido quidlibet esse feret*, with rather more and yet less dignity than her comparands.

Iliacas: Cf. 46, of the *Iliacas carinas*. With *classis* also at 607 (singular *Iliacam ... classem*). The plural here may be merely poetic, or there may be a hint of Dido as but one among so many, servant to all.

igitur: The language of simple logic: if she cannot entertain the idea of going to one of the local suitors she had spurned, the next option is the Trojans. The sentiments curiously recall 340 ff., as Aeneas went through his preferred order of alternate fates to Dido.

ultima: Enjambment, to highlight the dire expression. *Ultima* implies a base, servile state in which Dido would be a slave of the Teucrians, compelled to surrender royal dignity in exchange for a humiliating existence (since there is now no chance of a successful union with Aeneas). *Ultima iussa* also at Ovid, *Fast.* 5.387–388 *venerat Alcides exhausta parte laborum, | iussaque restabant ultima paene viro*, in a rather more heroic, nobler context.

Servius thought that either Aeneas had extended this option to Dido (this idea can be safely dismissed), or that *ultima iussa* refers not to what the Trojans had offered, but to what Jupiter had ordered for them (cf. the queen's reference at 378 to the *horrida iussa* Mercury had brought from Jove): "aut *Teucrum iussa* non quae ipsi iusserant sed quae eis a Iove iussa sunt, ut *naviget, haec summa est* [237]." But it seems better to conclude that the point is simply that the queen is imagining what her status would be if she were to try to follow the Trojans, an option that has not been granted to her by Aeneas, and one that she cannot countenance either because of her resultant servile status, or because it is unlikely that the Teucrians would allow her to follow in the first place.

Henry has one of his most celebrated notes here, mostly devoted to invective against those who would imagine that the noble queen would consider even for a moment the idea of servitude ("Fie on the interpretation! fie on the reader who, accepting it, does not lay down the book, closed for ever on Dido and her

shame!”). For him, the point is that Dido would be following the *ultima iussa Teucrum* if she were to entrust herself utterly, as it were, into Aeneas’ care—notwithstanding the ample evidence that he is untrustworthy (cf. 538–539). She has, in other words, no good reason to trust that Aeneas would be a reliable rescuer or source of safe haven for the *de facto* refugee, but she will take her chances—she will follow the *ultima iussa*. A gentleman’s valiant effort to absolve the queen from any base or humiliating thoughts (and cf. Austin’s sympathy to his predecessor’s judgment), though difficult to reconcile with the text.

With *ultima* here we may compare the probable poetic inspiration of this image from earlier in the poet’s work: cf. *G.* 3.40–41 *Interea Dryadum silvas saltusque sequamur / intactos, tua, Maecenas, haud mollia iussa*.

Teucrum: The form also at 48; this verse recalls Anna’s words to Dido at 45–48 about the glory that would come to Carthage from an alliance with the Trojans. Now Dido is reduced to imagining herself as a thrall of the Teucrians, following them in a pathetic flight from her own city.

538 *iussa sequar? quiane auxilio iuvat ante levatos*

iussa: Prominent by enjambment and position.

sequar: Juxtaposed with the Trojan commands. The verb recalls its previous key uses in the book, not least 361 *Italiam non sponte sequor* and 380 *i, sequere Italiam ventis*, etc.

quiane: Following on 537 *igitur*, as particles drive both the logic and, in this case, the sarcasm of the sentiment. For the enclitic see Pease: “[it] implies a question not formulated in words.”

iuvat: Cf. 497–498 *abolere / iuvat*. Pease and most other commentators (Stephenson a notable exception, following Kvičala 1881, 162–164, with comparison of Horace, *Serm.* 1.1.41–42 *quid iuvat immensum te argenti pondus et auri / furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?*) assume that we must supply *eos* here and not *me*. Here it seems that Dido is deliberately crafting a reminiscence of 497–498, where she spoke of her pleasure at blotting out the memory of the man who had forsaken her. The present reference (538–539) to the Trojans is directly parallel in terms of the question of memory; Dido engages in bitter sarcasm with respect to the idea that the Trojans could ever be expected to remember what she did for them (cf. Williams’ “The sentence is painfully sarcastic”). In other words, just as she had said that it brought her pleasure to wipe out the memory of the one whose very name was unspeakable (497 *nefandi*), so here she reflects on the idea that it would be pleasing to the Trojans—helped by her in the past—to consider assisting her now.

auxilio: The noun also at 619, as Dido fantasizes about Aeneas begging for help, torn from the embrace of Iulus amid the horrors of war. The *auxilium* of

which Dido speaks correlates with the *veteris ... gratia facti* of 539. The language is probably inspired by that of Catullus's Ariadne at c. 64.180–181 *an patris auxilia sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui, | respersum iuvenem fraterna caede secuta?*. We may compare here Dido's own words at 1.571 *auxilio tutos dimittam opibusque iuvabo*. In that scene, she had envisioned helping the Trojans with supplies and aid if they decided on a departure either to Hesperia or to Sicily—in other words, exactly what they will be doing, and without her help.

levatos: The verb recurs in poignant use at 690 *ter sese attollens cubitoque adnexa levavit*. The echo here is of 2.450–451 *instaurati animi regis succurrere tectis | auxilioque levare viros vimque addere victis*, at the transition in Aeneas' story of Troy's fall to the climactic drama in Priam's palace. Dido's language here echoes Aeneas' from the story she could no doubt recite verbatim.

539 *et bene apud memores veteris stat gratia facti?*

et: Many Carolingian manuscripts read *aut*, which no one would object to had Virgil written it.

bene: The word casts its shadow powerfully over the entire verse, and deliberately so: it is meant to be taken with *memores*, which follows at once—and also with *stat*, the verb of the verse. But it is also at the last word—*facti*—that we realize that Virgil has crafted a tmesis, with the emphasis on Dido's *benefactum* to the Trojans (so Damsté 1898, 179; cf. Conington's "The most satisfactory course, so far as ordinary Latinity goes, would be to join it with 'facti,' if the distance between the two words could be overlooked"). The tmesis allows the *bene-factum* to overshadow the line.

There is a strong echo here of Dido's *si bene quid de te merui* (317).

apud: Elsewhere in the epic at 2.71 *apud Danaos*; 5.261 *apud rapidum Simoenta*; 6.568 *apud superos*; 11.288 *apud moenia*; 12.331 *apud flumina*.

memores: Juxtaposed with *veteris*. There is a reminiscence here of 335–336 *... nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae, | dum memor ipse mei ...*, as Aeneas made his pledge of memory to the queen; cf. also 403, of the mindful Trojan ants as they store up supplies. Vid. further Seider 2013, 120–121.

veteris: With *facti* in framing order around *stat gratia*. Cf. the very different 23 *... agnosco veteris vestigia flammae*.

stat: Glossed by Servius as "permanet." We recall here 1.646 *omnis in Ascanio stat cura parentis*, a verse that takes on more nuanced meaning in light of the long delay that Aeneas was willing to countenance in Carthage; cf. 7.291 *... stetit acri fixa dolore*, of Juno; 10.494–495 *... haud illi stabunt Aeneia parvo | hospitia ...*, of Turnus' threats after the death of Pallas. The verb is virtually synonymy-

mous with *est*, though it carries a far stronger tone and bears greater import; as Servius rightly noted, it conveys a sense of permanence and of enduring memory.

gratia: The noun is not at all common in Virgil; cf. 6.653–654 ... *quae gratia currum / armorumque fuit vivis* ..., with reference to the souls in Elysium; 7.231–232 ... *nec vestra feretur / fama levis tantique abolescet gratia facti*, in Ilioneus' remarks at Latinus' court; 401–402 *si qua piis animis manet infelicis Amatae / gratia* ...; 9.298–299 ... *nec partum gratia talem / parva manet* ..., of Iulus' assurances to Euryalus about his mother; note also *G.* 1.83. The noun is juxtaposed with the *facti* that merited the *gratia*. Very different is the sentiment of Ovid's Dido at *Her.* 7.41 *quo fugis? obstat hiemps, hiemis mihi gratia prosit!*

For the line-end cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 2.618 ... *nec longa est gratia facti*; also Ovid, *Trist.* 5.4.47 *plena tot ac tantis referetur gratia factis*.

540 **quis me autem, fac velle, sinet ratibusve superbis**

Baehrens transposed verse 543 before this one: it is all too easy to do such things to try to improve on the poet.

quis me: In effective juxtaposition. The personal pronoun is in hypermetric hyperbaton with 541 *invisam*.

autem: She proceeds to the next stage of the argument, which is really a variant on what she has just said: granted even that the ungrateful, forgetful Trojans were suddenly to become mindful of all that she had done for them, would they permit the hated woman to board their ships, even if she were willing? Verses 540–542 expand on the sentiments of 538–539; they introduce the new element of *fac [me] velle*—a significant detail. The point is that things have now progressed too far to allow for any rescue of Dido, even if the Trojans remembered the happier times of the past. Pease *ad* 541 *invisam* raises the good point that Aeneas' men might not want Dido with them precisely because they remembered how much she had done for them, and in consequence they felt ashamed of how they had treated her, and now would not want the incarnate reminder of their bad behavior.

fac velle: Marvelously reflective of the shifting moods of the queen: granted even that she were willing—which she is not, at least not for the three syllables required to utter these words—would they accept her? This is again the language of intimate conversation and not formal oratory—we recall that Dido is talking to herself. Sidgwick comments on the vivid use of the imperative.

sinet: Alliterative with *superbis*. The verb only here in Book 4. The original Palatine reading was *sinat*, later corrected: an easy enough mistake.

ratibusve: Cf. 537 *classes*. The noun also at 53 *quassataeque rates* and in the very different context of 593. Some editors favored *ratibusque*, though here

Conington is correct: “In a context like this the copulative and disjunctive come nearly to the same thing.”

superbis: The same word at line-end in the queen's words to her sister at 424 *i, soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum*. The point here is to condemn the haughty Trojans, most notably the supremely *superbus* Aeneas (the hypallage is aimed at him above all); Dido is not complimenting the impressive size or magnificence of the Trojan fleet (cf. DServ.). An interesting opposition: the Trojan vessels would be too proud to accept Dido, and Dido herself might be too proud to board them anyway (*fac velle*).

“Nella contorta espressione v'è tutto l'affanno che fa ingorgare le parole nel petto di Didone” (Paratore).

541 *invisam accipiet? nescis heu, perdita, necdum*

invisam: This key epithet (prominent by the usual poetic tricks of enjambement and position) offers an interesting textual crux. The second hand of the Medicean reads *inrisam* here, echoing 534 *inrisa*. Mackail admits it to his Oxford bimillenary Virgil, *sans commentaire*; in this he joins La Cerda among the few critics to prefer it to *invisam*. The participle will be echoed at 631 *invisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem*, of the queen's wish to flee the light of the sun and life as soon as possible. Present here is the visual metaphor; the mere sight of Dido is unthinkable to the Trojans—whether because she is a reminder of their unchivalrous treatment, or because they hate her for delaying the journey to Italy, etc. *Invisam* correlates closely with *perdita*.

There is an echo here of 2.601–602 *non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisa Lacaenae / culpatusve Paris ...*, from Venus' words to Aeneas after he was contemplating the slaying of Helen.

accipiet: For the verb cf. 531: Dido did not receive the night in her eyes and heart, and the Trojans will not receive her in their proud ships. Juxtaposed semantic paradox: *invisam* implies that which is unseen, which of course may not be received by virtue of the very fact that it cannot be perceived.

nescis: In alliterative and semantic pattern with *necdum*. For the verb cf. on 292. “An effective self-apostrophe, to avoid the metrically intractable first person of the verbs” (Austin)—also to remind us that Dido is talking to herself. The verb coordinates closely with 542 *sentis*.

heu: The interjection also at 13; 65; 267; 283; 376; 657. The mournful sigh is juxtaposed with the vocative self-address expressing utter ruin. The placement of a comma—either before or after *heu*—has occasioned question; Conington is right that it matters little if at all.

perdita: Cf. 11.57–58 ... *ei mihi, quantum / praesidium Ausonia, et quantum tu perdis, Iule!* (Aeneas' lament over the dead Pallas); also the related sentiment

of Mezentius at 10.879 ... *haec via sola fuit qua perdere posses*, with respect to how Aeneas could harm him only by the death of Lausus; Juno's rueful remark at 7.304–305 ... *Mars perdere gentem / immanem Lapithum valuit* ... The verb is applied to the suffering of the signal lovers of the end of the *Georgics*: 4.494 *illa 'quis et me' inquit 'miseram et te perdidit, Orpheu ...'*

necdum: 9x in the poem; cf. especially 8.697 *necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit anguis*, of Cleopatra on the shield, not yet aware of the serpentine suicide that awaits her.

This verse and its successor are redolent not only with the language of despair, but also with contempt and hatred for the perfidious Trojans—thus providing not only emotional rationale for the queen's already intended suicide, but also—and more importantly for future history—a definitive exposition for why the Trojan/proto-Romans merit her Carthaginian curse on them.

542 *Laomedontae sentis periuria gentis?*

The verse is framed by the reference to the race of Laomedon. The very length of the first word helps to secure its prominence, as also by position; the resultant rare four-syllable line also emphasizes the appellation and its judgmental import.

Laomedontae: The sonorous epithet of Trojan perfidy and deceit (see here Manzoni 2002, 88 ff.); cf. *G.* 1.502 *Laomedontae luimus periuria Troiae*, another four-word hexameter, in which the poet draws a connection between the perfidy of the Trojan king Laomedon and the punishment worked out by the gods in the seemingly endless Roman civil wars. On this storied Trojan monarch vid. I. Kajanto in *EV* 111, 118–119; T. Joseph in *VE* 11, 719. Dido heard the Trojans referred to by this name in Aeneas' story at her banquet: cf. 3.238 *Laomedontidae, bellumne inferre paratis*, where the Harpy Celaeno upbraided the Trojans; note also 7.105–106 ... *cum Laomedontia pubes / gramineo ripae religavit ab aggere classem*, of the report of Fama to the Latins about the Trojan arrival (the descriptor carries a hint of negative appraisal on the part of Rumor); 8.18 *Talia per Latium. quae Laomedontius heros*, etc., where the preparations for war in Latium by Turnus and his allies are contrasted with the troubled thoughts of the Laomedontian hero; also Evander's words at 8.157–159 *nam meministi Hesionae visentem regna sororis / Laomedontiaden Priamum, Salamina petentem, / protinus Arcadiae gelidos invisere finis*. "More than a mere synonym for Trojan," as Butler notes: the name of this Trojan king had been stained indelibly with the memory of his mendacity.

Dido had heard legends of Troy from sources other than Aeneas (hence the decorations in Juno's temple); she had certainly not heard of the story of Laomedon from Aeneas. Here she becomes akin to the Harpy, using the epi-

thet to condemn Aeneas and his line; like Celaeno, Dido has also learned of the perfidy of Laomedon. The fact that the Carthaginians were also often accused of trickery and deceit adds a level of irony to the queen's insult. Some commentators have pursued the argument that the queen is being unjust in any implicit imputation of *periurium* to Aeneas. But her point here is that the race is one of liars, and so any mendacious behavior on Aeneas' part is simply what one should expect from Trojans.

sentis: Rhyming with *gentis*, almost as if this four-word line were to be a jingle remembered for the ages. For the verb see on 105. This is a way of explaining the rhyme that some commentators have labeled "curious"; it may also be a reminder to the reader that the poet is also "rhyming" his own verse from *G.* 1.502, where he had cast the sin of Troy as a rationale for the later Roman civil wars. Virgil's contemporary audience would thus be invited to draw connections between the curses of Dido and the later history of the Punic Wars, and the horror of Dido's reincarnation of Cleopatra in the Roman civil wars: all of it could be viewed as endless and ongoing reparations for the lies and deceit of Laomedon.

periuria: The noun occurs nowhere else in Virgil save the related *G.* 1.502; for the related adjective note 5.810–811 ... *cuperem cum vertice ab imo / structa meis manibus periuria moenia Troiae*, where Neptune alludes to why Laomedon and his race deserve the condemnation: Laomedon had refused to pay Poseidon and Apollo for their work in building the walls of Troy (cf. Homer, *Il.* 21.443–460; Horace, c. 3.3.21–22 ... *ex quo destituit deos / mercede pacta Laomedon*, with Nisbet and Rudd). The only other use of the adjective in Virgil is at 2.195, with reference to the mendacious Sinon. The use of the patronymic of Aeneas at 8.18 is thus thoroughly invested with negative import and the notion of deceit and Trojan perfidy; the very rareness of the appellation in Virgil further underscores the point: the poet does not allude to this lore often. Here "Dido is the accusing conscience of a sinful Troy" (Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 8.18; cf. Newman and Newman 2005, 177–178). Irvine and others argue that the appellation does not need to imply any sense of "bad faith." But we see here—as often elsewhere in the epic—the rationale behind the key element in the reconciliation of Juno at 12.835–836 ... *commixti corpore tantum / subsident Teucrici*.

Catullus' Ariadne also reproaches Theseus for *periuria* (c. 64.135 *immemor a, devota domum periuria portas?*; 148 *dicta nihil meminere, nihil periuria curant*). The term is part of the conventional vocabulary of elegiac complaint and commentary; cf., e.g., Propertius, c. 1.15.25–26 *desine iam revocare tuis periuria verbis, / Cynthia, et oblitos parce movere deos*; Tibullus, c. 1.4.21–22 *nec iurare time: Veneris periuria venti / inrita per terras et freta summa ferunt*; c. 1.9.3–4 *a miser, et siquis primo periuria celat, / sera tamen tacitis Poena venit pedibus*;

Ps.-Tib., c. 3.6.39–40 *Cnosia, Theseae quondam periuria linguae | flevist ignoto sola relicta mari*; c. 3.6.49–50 *nulla fides in erit: periuria ridet amantum | Iuppiter et ventos inrita ferre iubet*; Ovid, *Am.* 2.8.19–20 *tu, dea, tu iubeas animi periuria puri | Carpathium tepidos per mare ferre Notos!*; c. 3.2.21–22 *ut sua per nostrum redimat periuria poenam, | victima deceptus decipientis ero?*; Her. 20.127–128 *in caput ut nostrum dominae periuria quaeso | eveniant ...*; 20.185–186 *... tantum periuria vita | teque simul serva meque datamque fidem!*; 21.181–182 *nil ego pecavi, nisi quod periuria legi | inque parum fausto carmine docta fui*; *Ars* 1.633 *Iuppiter ex alto periuria ridet amantum*; 657 *ergo ut periuras merito periuria fallant.*

With *periuria* we may compare Dido's labeling of Aeneas as *perfidus* at 366 and 421.

gentis: With a strong echo of Dido's words at 4.3–4 *... multusque recursat | gentis honos ...*: now the queen has chosen to focus on rather different aspects of the Trojan *gens*.

543 *quid tum? sola fuga nautas comitabor ovantis?*

This verse has been the occasion of the spillage of considerable scholarly ink, all on account of the perceived illogic and difficult connection of thought with what precedes it. Baehrens thought to relocate it before 540; in this he is followed by M. Dyson, “Vergil, *Aeneid* 4.543,” in *CQ* 40.1 (1990), 214–217.

The previous options that the queen had considered included first the idea of returning to previously spurned suitors (534–536), and second the idea of following the Trojans as a *de facto* slave (537 ff.). Now she introduces two related alternatives: first, the idea of solo accompaniment of the triumphant sailors, and second the same option, though with the added presence of all of her people. One difficulty that has been posited here is how the first of these options—*sola fuga*, etc.—is any different from what she envisaged at 537–538.

A key to understanding the present line may be found in the adjective *ovantis* that crowns it, in framing order with *nautas* around *comitabor* (of Dido). The image is of the queen attending the *ovatio* or triumph the sailors enjoy; to a Roman audience, *ovantis* would immediately evoke the world of the Roman military *ovatio* (as Servius already recognized, though he thought that the use of the word here was thus inappropriate—“abusive”; this may account for the poorly attested, bland variant *euntis*—if it were not occasioned by a reminiscence of 6.863).

We may consider the other uses of the verb in the poet: 3.189 *... et cuncti dicto paremus ovantes* (of the Trojan reaction to Anchises' acknowledgment of his error about Crete in light of the dream visit of the Penates); 543–544 *... tum numina sancta precamur | Palladis armisonae, quae prima accepit ovantis* (Aeneas' description of his men after the departure from the first, all too brief

landing on Italian soil; cf. on the related 577 below); 5.331 *hic iuuenis iam victor ovans* ... (of Nisus at the foot race just before he slips and falls); 563–565 *una acies iuuenum, ducit quam parvus ovantem / nomen avi referens Priamus, tua clara, Polite, / progenies* ... (at the *lusus Troiae*); 6.589 *ibat ovans* ... (of the crazed Salmoneus); 9.71 *invadit sociosque incendia poscit ovantis* (Turnus in his eagerness to set fire to the Trojan ships); 208–209 ... *non ita me referat tibi magnus ovantem / Iuppiter aut quicumque oculis haec aspicit aequis* (Nisus to Euryalus); 10.689–690 *At Iovis interea monitis Mezentius ardens / succedit pugnae Teucrosque invadit ovantis*; 11.13 ... *sic incipiens hortatur ovantis* (Aeneas at the *Mezentius-tropaeum*); 757–758 *haud alter praedam Tiburtum ex agmine Tarchon / portat ovans* ...; 12.479 *iamque hic germanum iamque hic ostentat ovantem* (Juturna with Turnus).

The easiest way to interpret 543–546 is simply as a reflection on how the Carthaginians do, after all, have their own boats; Dido could chase after the Trojans alone in flight, were they not willing to take her on board their vessels (even as a slave). In this she could go alone or bring her people with her (MacLennan's idea that she is talking about stowing away as a fugitive seems unlikely). But lurking here too is the image of Dido accompanying the Trojans as if she were a willing participant in the Trojan triumphal procession—as if she were, in fact, exactly what Cleopatra refused to be—the Cleopatra who preferred suicide to the disgrace of being exhibited in a parade (cf. Horace, c. 1.37.29–32 *deliberata morte ferocior, / saevis Liburnis scilicet invidens / privata duci superbo / non humilis mulier triumpho*). In Dido's vision, she has been reduced to wondering about the clearly unacceptable fate of fleeing alone (*sola fuga*) after the Trojans in their ovation, as if she were enduring a worse fate than if they had simply put her in chains: she would be fleeing Africa willingly, and still as if she were in the status of a prisoner on exhibit, trailing after the triumphant victors. Pursuing this perverse status in solitary flight would be one thing—but to imagine that she would be borne off in triumph, as it were (545 *inferar*) accompanied by her people is truly impossible: she could barely convince them, we learn, to leave Tyre, and so it is inconceivable to imagine that they would willingly chase after the Trojans with her, as if they were implicitly prisoners in a train following on Aeneas in his ovation.

Part of the confusion here is occasioned by the two verbs Dido uses: 538 *sequar* and 543 *comitabor*. The first governs both the Trojan fleet (*Iliacas classes*) and the *ultima Teucrum iussa*; it has special resonance with the image there of Dido as a slave. *Comitabor* emphasizes going along with the Trojans as an attendant in their wake. The emphasis is on accompaniment, not on going aboard ship together with Aeneas' men, but of sailing after them either alone or with others.

Stephenson is a rare commentator who interprets rightly the idea raised here of a solitary sailing: “The sense of these lines is, ‘shall I follow Aeneas in a single ship, or take my whole people with me to find a new home as dependent allies of the Trojans?’” He correctly analyzes that the queen is *not* being envisioned here as on board with the Trojans.

Is there also any hint of the legend of Scylla chasing desperately after Minos as he departed from Megara?

quid tum: Introducing the next options to be discarded as impossible.

sola fuga: In juxtaposition, with the nominative queen in solitude in her ablative flight. Mackail rightly notes the “strong antithesis” with the image of the *nautas ... ovariantis*, who envelop her, as it were, as she sails after them in solitary flight.

nautas: Taken by many as a reference to the uncouth sailors who would harass Dido if she accompanied them on board as a lone woman; hence Pease’s “suggesting rough, unfeeling men, among whom there was no place for a woman.” But cf. 418; the word simply refers to the departing Trojans, with no hint of commentary on the behavior of sailors: Dido is not to be imagined as somehow stowing away with them, but rather as following after them as in a triumphal train. Again, the main image is of Cleopatra after the fall of Alexandria.

comitabor: For the verb cf. 48. At 6.863 *quis, pater, ille, virum qui sic comitatur euntem?* it occurs in the Marcellus passage; note also 11.52 ... *vano maesti comitamur honore*, at the Pallas requiem.

544 an Tyriis omnique manu stipata meorum

Tyriis: Cf. 104; 111; 162; 224; 262; 622. The ablative is instrumental, though with a sense certainly of accompaniment. “If she goes alone, she runs away, deserts those who, leaving Tyre at her instance, have put their lives and fortunes into her hands.” (Henry). The start of another theme and variation.

omnique: Underscoring the totality of her *manus*. Cf. 7.711 *Ereti manus omnis oliviferaeque Mutuscae*; 9.396 *manus omnis*; 11.34 *circum omnis famulumque manus Troianaque turba* (at the Pallas requiem).

manu: Alliterative with *meorum*.

stipata: Strongly reminiscent of 1.496–497 *regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido, / incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva*, of the queen as she made her first entrance in the poem, and of the related 4.136, where the same image recurs of Dido as she makes her way to the hunt where Diana meets Aeneas, as it were. Cf. also the *stipata / turba ducum* around Aeneas at 11.12–13; also the *stipata cohors* of the sons of Phorcus at 10.328. *Stipata* is fittingly framed by the *manu ... meorum*: syntactic enactment.

There is another significant echo of this verb in the Dido-related passages: cf. 1.432–433 ... *aut cum liquentia mella / stipant et dulci distendunt nectare cellas*, in the simile that compares the Carthaginians working on their new city to the busy bees in a hive. Here *mella* reminds us of “Melissa” (i.e., “bee”), that is, of Elissa—the queen who is ultimately revealed to be an incomplete, imperfect bee. Cf. 7.64–67 *huius apes summum densae (mirabile dictu), / stridore ingenti liquidum trans aethera vectae, / obsedere apicem, et pedibus per mutua nexis / examen subitum ramo frondente pependit*, of the portentous bees on Latinus’ laurel.

545 *inferar et, quos Sidonia vix urbe revelli,*

inferar: A prominent verb (by position and enjambment), which has occasioned yet more question and commentary. This is the same verb that was used of Aeneas (veiled in mist) just after the Carthaginian bee simile at 1.439 *infert se saeptus nebula (mirabile dictu)*, and of Aeneas at the hunt, just before the Apollo simile, in the related 142 *infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iungit* (in the first passage, Aeneas is invisible; in the second he is all too prominently on display). As Pease notes, “Virgil nowhere else uses a middle construction with this verb ...” The basic question among the critics is whether Dido is referring to proceeding to join the Trojans, or to attacking them. The verb in this later sense can be paralleled at 9.401; 10.66; 575; and 11.742—though none of those passages is exactly parallel to present use, just as none of the occurrences of the verb in the sense of “proceed” or “advance” offers a replica of Dido’s powerful future medio-passive.

The point as often in Virgil is deliberately ambiguous: Dido on the one hand envisages being borne off as a willing prisoner in a triumphal procession, and at the same time there is a shade of the sense of attack that is obvious enough from the image of a large band of Carthaginians in their vessels in pursuit of the Trojans. Aeneas has not taken Dido prisoner; if she is to be akin to some display piece in an ovation or triumph, she must abase herself and go willingly—similar to Octavian’s dealings with Cleopatra, who was not immediately captured when she could have been easily enough, but who was negotiated with (largely because of the question of her treasure) to secure her voluntary departure from Alexandria (though cf. Fratantuono 2016b, 71 for the idea that the suicide of the queen was exactly what Octavian wanted, so as to be able to present her in his propaganda as a truly dangerous foe, one who could manage to escape capture and display—and to absolve him of any bad press for violence against a woman).

Dido in this passage envisions herself chasing after the Trojans either alone, or accompanied by her people. On the level of the narrative, she imagines relo-

cation to Hesperia—either as a solitary, or with her *omnis manus*. In terms of Augustan Age historical allegory, she offers the picture of what she knows is impossible: herself as voluntary object of exhibition in a Roman triumph, again either alone or with her (enslaved) people. And lastly, in terms of her imminent curse and the reality of Roman-Carthaginian relations in the third- and second-centuries B.C., she also manages to evoke the image of a Carthaginian fleet in pursuit of a proto-Roman one. Such is the rich tissue of allusions present in nearly every verse of the poet.

Henry dismisses any hint of hostility in the queen's words here; Austin considers the notion "absurd" (following Mackail, whose polite "Shall I introduce myself among them?" does not strike the right note for what the queen is contemplating). But Virgil works simultaneously on many levels: it is not so much that the queen is envisioning attack (though she will soon enough), but rather the reader who is well aware of subsequent Roman history.

Any attempt to read *insequar* in this verse is occasioned only by discomfort with the implications of what Virgil wrote.

Sidonia: The epithet also at 74; 137; 683. In the last of these occurrences, Anna will reproach her sister for destroying the very people who are cited as not likely to be willing to be torn away from their new home. "Sidonian" with *urbs* also at 1.677–678 *regius accitu cari genitoris ad urbem / Sidoniam puer ire parat ...*; cf. Statius, *Theb.* 8.218; 11.303. *Sidonia* follows on 544 *Tyriis*; for geographical adjectives see Van Wees 1970, 35.

vix: Here the meaning is "scarcely," and not with reference to her having done this shortly before (so Servius' first option, citing the use of the adverb at 1.34—though his analysis of that passage borders on the overly precise). Servius recalls the significant 1.360–362 *his commota fugam Dido sociosque parabat. / conveniunt quibus aut odium crudele tyranni / aut metus acer erat ...*, from Venus' account to Aeneas of the queen's actions in the wake of the ghostly apparition of Sychaeus. Some have seen inconsistency in the present reference to Dido's difficulty in managing to "tear away" her people from their Sidonian home; we may compare however the example of Anchises at 2.634 ff.: one can be hateful or afraid of a tyrant, and still hesitant to leave one's home. Some have seen a reference to the sort of story as recorded by Justin's epitome, of Dido's treatment of Pygmalion's servants (cf. Butler here): 18.4 *Tunc ipsos ministros aggreditur; sibi quidem ait optatam olim mortem, sed illis acerbos cruciatus et dira supplicia imminere, qui Acherbae opes, quarum spe parricidium rex fecerit, avaritiae tyranni subtraxerint. Hoc metu omnibus iniecto comites fugae accipit*. But there is no need to imagine that Virgil was thinking of anything like this; it was enough of a major undertaking to convince any ancient population to uproot themselves and to travel a great distance into a hostile, uncertain future

so as to need no specific explanation. The adverb is deliberately placed between the *Sidonia ... urbe* from which the Tyrians were scarcely torn away.

urbe: Separative ablative with a compound.

revelli: Echoing 427 *nec patris Anchisae cineres manesve revelli*; cf. also 515 *revolsus*. The image is one of violence, a very strong word to describe how difficult it was to remove her people from their first home: the Carthaginians have no wish to leave their new, second home, for any reason. The queen is of course using somewhat hyperbolic language with herself to express what she knows is an impossibility. *Revelli* is alliterative with 546 *rursus*, as well as with the sound pattern of the preceding *vix* and the following *ventis vela*; cf. Tilly: “This sound often emphasises grief, and here expresses the pathos of Dido’s situation. She even sees herself deserted by her own people.” The participle also occurs of the Cyclades in the hyperbolic description of how you would think that they were rooted up from the sea at Actium: cf. 8.691–692 *alta petunt: pelago credas innare revulsas | Cycladas ...*; *pelagus* occurs in the next verse, which helps to secure a connection to the depiction of that naval battle (see further *ad* 546 *dare vela*).

546 *rursus agam pelago et ventis dare vela iubebo?*

The first person active verbs emphasize the queen in her regal role; *agam* and *iubebo* are strong words of imperative and command, in sharp contrast to the passive *inferar* at 546. Of course in reality she cannot conceive either of abasing herself before the Trojans as if a captive in a triumphal procession, or of ordering her people to do so (subjects who would revolt in the face of any order to sail away from their new homes). The fact that Dido mentions sea and winds has been taken by some as further evidence that there is no hint here of attack; again, the issue is not the idea of an assault right now (though that is exactly what she will want at 592–594), but of setting sail for a new home—and, as was her fear for Aeneas, at exactly the worst of seasons for such a voyage.

rursus: Echoing 534. Prominent by position, to emphasize the idea of taking the Tyrians to sea once again. *Rursus agam* is virtually = a compound verb, such that the line is framed by the queen’s actions in *hysteron proteron*.

pelago: The case of the noun is uncertain. It is likeliest to be a dative of direction, in the sense of the queen imagining herself driving or herding her people to sea. This is more vivid than construing the noun as an ablative of route or place, and vivid is what we want here; Gould and Whiteley are correct in identifying the “poetic dative.” The commentators compare 10.540 *quem congressus agit campo lapsusque superstans* (Aeneas with Haemonides); also 12.501–502 *... quos aequore toto | inque vicem nunc Turnus agit, nunc Troius heros*.

Pelagus occurs some 50× in Virgil; vid. A. Borgo in *EV* IV, 4–6. We may compare 5.8–9 *ut pelagus tenuere rates nec iam amplius ulla / occurrit tellus, maria undique et undique caelum*, of the Trojans after their departure from Dido's city and just before the storm.

dare vela: Cf. the depiction of Cleopatra on the shield at 707–709 *ipsa videbatur ventis regina vocatis / vela dare et laxos iam iamque immittere funis*. The image of Dido contemplating sailing away in flight is also a reminder of Egypt's queen in flight from the disaster at Actium, and the present verse could easily be repurposed for a centonic composition on the great naval battle. Elsewhere in Virgil note *G.* 2.41; *Aen.* 1.35; 2.136; 3.9; 191; 5.796–797; 12.264.

iubebo: For the verb note also 270; 295; 346; 378; 396; 503; 538; 703.

547 **quin morere ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem.**

A striking resumption of the theme of 474–475 *Ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore / decrevitque mori ...*, as the queen returns to the dread option that she had already decided on as part of her plan. Images of death and sorrow nearly frame the verse.

quin: Cf. on 99 above; 5.635 *quin agite et mecum infaustas exurite puppis* (the disguised Iris to the Trojan women). This is the language of impatience: as the night has proceeded in her course, the suicide looms.

morere: Powerfully alliterative with *merita*. The imperative recalls Pyrrhus' *nunc morere* to Priam at 2.550; it will recur in Book 10 for Aeneas to Lucagus (600), and Mezentius to Orodes (743, also with *nunc*). For the verb cf. 659–660 below; also 610; 674 678. The self-command is designed to fulfill the queen's status as *moritura* (308; 415; 415; 519; 604). Forms of this verb relate to Dido more than to any other character in the poem. More serious in context than in its elegiac application (Propertius, c. 1.8.17–18 *sic igitur prima moriere aetate, Properti? / sed morere; interitu gaudeat illa tuo!*).

merita es: This sentiment will be echoed at 696 *nam quia nec fato merita nec morte peribat*, where the poet renders his own comment on Dido's situation. The verb also at 317 *si bene de te merui* (Dido to Aeneas). In the present case the idea that the queen merits death relates principally to her betrayal of Sychaeus (cf. the end of her soliloquy at 551).

ferroque: We recall the *volatile ferrum* of the unknowing shepherd at 71; note below on the weapon of her suicide at 663; and the queen's rather different thoughts about what a sword could be used for at 601 and 626. Anna will unknowingly echo the present verse at 679 *idem ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset*.

averte: Cf. 389 *aegra fugit seque ex oculis avertit*. We recall 394 ... *et dictis avertere curas*, of Aeneas. Livy has *avertentem causam doloris* (6.34.8.2–3).

dolorem: In emphatic final position. For the noun cf. 419; 474; 679; 693. The principal referent is her love for Aeneas, now ruined and destroyed. For the importance of this concept of sorrow to Aeneas' final decision to slay Turnus (12.945) and its origins in the curse of the Dido-*dolor*, see Newman and Newman 2005, 166.

548 tu lacrimis evicta meis, tu prima furentem

"This is one of those profound insights into the delusional mind for which the poet is admired" (Newman and Newman 2005, 194). The poet of the *Roman d'Énéas* makes it quite explicit that Anna was to blame for Dido's calamity, noting that even if Dido had not already been in love with Aeneas, her sister's advice would have been enough to instill the obsessive infatuation. "Dido has forgotten all logic now" (Austin). And yet she was not entirely trusting of Anna at 421–423. It is not at all surprising that she would turn against her sister, who had explicitly dismissed the notion that Dido should remain an *univira* (34 *id cinerem aut manis credere curare sepultos?* is shockingly blunt). Williams is right that the reproach "has some justification." The verse is largely composed of key words that have appeared before, here recycled for the queen's criticism of her sister: an upbraiding that Anna will never hear.

Ribbeck donned his surgeon's gown again here, transposing 548–549 after 418, so as to resolve the alleged problem of having a sudden interjection here about Anna. Since cures are often worse than diseases, he was then forced to posit a lacuna after 549. It is hazardous to expect strict logical continuity of thought from a young woman on the eve of her suicide. Pease notes here that "Virgil makes comparatively little use of the stock motive of the reproach, so common in tragic monodies." Here, the seemingly discordant mention of Anna serves not only to remind us of the beginning of the book and her sister's role there, but also to smooth the transition to the suicide scene and Anna's key role at 634 and especially 672 ff. She has been absent from the narrative since the hemistich of 503. Kvíčala 1881, 256–257 had a more drastic approach to perceived problems: he advocated deleting 548–549.

tu ... tu: The dramatic anaphora heralds the apostrophe to Anna, who is not present; it becomes definitively clear at 549 *germana* that Dido here is referencing her sister, in what amounts to her last words to her. Some have imagined that Anna is actually present here, though this does not make any sense with what transpires later. The queen's isolation is part of the poet's deliberate portrayal of her state on this last night.

lacrimis evicta meis: *Evicta* is framed by the tears that conquered the sister. These are the *lacrimae* of 30 *sic effata sinum lacrimis implevit obortis*, just before Anna's speech encouraging Dido to succumb to her passion for Aeneas; we may

recall also 449 ... *lacrimae voluntur inanes*, where the tears may be of either or both of the sisters. The participle echoes 474 *Ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore*, where Dido was said to have resolved to die: she was thoroughly conquered by her sorrow, while Anna had been beaten down by her sister's crying. *Meis* is juxtaposed with the repeated *tu*.

prima: "First," as in principal or chief. On the punctuation of *tu prima furentem* Servius notes "Urbanus hoc dividit, licet alii iungant, et vult hunc esse sensum: tu persuasisti ut nuberem, victa lacrimis meis. tu etiam nunc me his oneras malis; nam me olim occidissem nisi te deserere formidarem."

furentem: The madness motif again; cf. 65; 69; 283; 298; 465.

549 *his, germana, malis oneras atque obicis hosti.*

his: In framing alliteration with *hosti*. For *his malis*—common enough in poetry and prose—cf. Terence, *Heaut.* 258; Caesar, *BC* 3.70.1.1; Cicero, *Pro Sest.* 35.10; *Pro Mil.* 58.12; *Phil.* 11.12.9, Horace, *Serm.* 1.9.50; Ovid, *Ibis* 414; Seneca, *Oed.* 387; *HO* 1856; Juvenal, s. 6.336, etc.; elsewhere in Virgil note 6.365–366 *eripe me his, invicte, malis: aut tu mihi terram | inice ...* (Palinurus' shade to Aeneas); 511–512 *sed me fata mea et scelus exitiale Lacaenae | his mersere malis ...* (Deiphobus).

germana: Framed by *his malis*. For the noun cf. 478; 492; 501; 675.

oneras: Balanced in sound pattern, etc. with *obicis*. For the verb cf. 1.363 *corripunt onerantque auro ...*, of the Tyrians who were laden with gold as they departed with Dido. Tilly comments on the vivid use of the present for an action that commenced in the past and continues now; Dido is also recalling how her sister cooperated with her in her plan at 416 ff. The substance of the charge had already been leveled against Anna by the poet-narrator at 54–55. The verbs of the verse correlate well together: the absent Anna is accused of overloading Dido with *mala*, and then of thrusting her in the face of the enemy: laden down with evils, the queen would thus be unable to effect an escape from harm.

atque: Introducing the variation on the theme.

obicis: For the verb cf. *G.* 4.502–503 ... *nec portitor Orci | amplius obiectam passus transire paludem*, of Charon with Orpheus; Juno's reproach of Venus at the divine council at 10.89–90 ... *nos, an miseros qui Troas Achivis | obiecit? ...*; also the Sibyl throwing a treat to Cerberus at 6.420–421.

hosti: Recalling Dido's characterization to Anna of Aeneas as the "haughty foe" at 424 *i, soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum*. This is the closest that Dido comes in her soliloquy to making a reference to Aeneas.

Kvíčala 1881, 170–171 was of the view that Dido's point here was that it was particularly painful for her that Anna of all people should be the one to have been responsible for her plight; that element may be present here, but the prin-

cipal note is one of betrayal: the queen casts herself as being abandoned by all, not least by the one who was *unanima* (8).

550 **non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam**

The commencement of a two-verse rueful reflection on how Dido was not permitted a virginal, ascetic life, as it were, in the manner of a wild beast. These two lines present Dido commenting on a character who will not be introduced for some time: the Volscian heroine Camilla. She was permitted to live a life similar to that which Dido yearns for here; cf. 11.570–572 *hic natam in dumis interque horrentia lustra | armentalis equae mammis et lacte ferino | nutribat teneris immulgens ubera labris*, etc. There is also an echo here of the queen's insult to Aeneas at 366–367 ... *sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens | Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres*, of the hero's alleged birth in the remote Caucasus, where he was nursed by Hyrcanean tigresses (the adolescent Camilla has a tiger pelt at 11.576–577 in lieu of gold and finery).

Quintilian (9.2.64) comments on this line as part of his discussion of *emphasis*, noting *quamquam enim de matrimonio queritur Dido, tamen huc erumpit eius adfectus ut sine thalamis vitam non hominum putet sed ferarum*.

This is the passage where the character Dido is made to recall her creator's own image at 1.498–502, where the queen was compared to Diana. That association was a problematic, not to say false one; Dido is no goddess of the hunt (and cf. the masquerade of Venus as a Diana-like huntress at 1.314 ff., which is also inappropriate, and which heralds the simile of Dido as the chaste mistress of the chase). The *thalamus* is here conceived of as if it were a *crimen*; the point works on two levels simultaneously. First, certainly Dido should not have betrayed the memory of Sychaeus with Aeneas. Second, for a would-be Diana, neither union was fitting; Dido should have remained a virgin in the woodlands, unmarried either to Sychaeus in Tyre or to Aeneas in Carthage.

Much ink has been spilled on 550–551 (mostly by English and American critics), starting with Henry's dozen pages and not excluding Austin's extended discussion; cf. the treatment of M.B. Ogle, "On a Passage in Vergil, *Aeneid*, IV, 550–551," in *TAPA* 56 (1925), 26–36; the work of N.W. De Witt, "*Aeneid* IV: *More Ferae*," in *AJPh* 45.2 (1924), 176–178, and "Vergil's Tragedy of Maidenhood," in *The Classical Weekly* 18.14 (1925), 107–108; C. Nappa, "Unmarried Dido: *Aeneid* 4.550–552," in *Hermes* 135.3 (2007), 301–313. The alleged difficulties of these two lines have been exaggerated. They make perfect sense within the context of the tension between the Diana and Venus images, the tension that is incarnate on the mortal plane in Dido and Camilla.

non licuit: Cf. Juno's remark to Venus at 103 ... *liceat Phrygio servire marito*. Dido has moved on from her mention of Anna; *non licuit* is a general verdict

on her life, and not a particular comment on her sister—though her sister is merely the latest manifestation of how forces have conspired to prevent Dido from living as some innocent woodland creature, free from the crime of the bed, as it were. Cf. 5.82–83 *Non licuit finis Italos fataliaque arva / nec tecum Ausonium, quicumque est, quaerere Thybrim* (Aeneas of Anchises). This was strangely thought to be a question by some editors; it is an “indignant complaint” (Sidgwick).

thalami: Echoing 18 *si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset*. Dido here speaks with regret about how marriage (real or alleged) has caused her immense suffering, both in the case of Sychaeus and now with Aeneas. “The audience knows how ill-omened is the resonance of *thalamus* in this poem. This is again out of Virgil’s “hollow pastoral.” The wilderness is really no refuge when a careless shepherd is seeking his prey (IV. 71). In Book VII, in killing Silvia’s stag while it swims in some woodland stream, Ascanius will repeat this inherited pattern—and trigger the bloody wars ...” (Newman and Newman 2005, 152).

The *thalamus* referenced here is a general one, to be taken of both her prior union with Sychaeus, and of her more recent one with Aeneas: both marriage beds have brought her unspeakable pain. Cleopatra’s first love Caesar was also murdered; her later coupling with Antony led to doom and destruction. Dido is thinking not only of her widowhood *post mortem Sychaei*, but also of her life before that ill-fated marriage.

expertem ... vitam: Framing word order. *Expers* is rare in Virgil; the only other occurrence is 10.751–753 ... *pedes et Lycias processerat Agis, / quem tamen haud expers Valerus virtutis avitae / deicit ...* *Expertem* is almost certainly to be taken with *vitam* and not with an understood *me*; *sine crimine* expands on the notion of what *thalami expertem* means: a Diana-like sylvan existence apart from the *thalamus* is *sine crimine*.

crimine: A key word. Cf. 2.65–66 *accipe nunc Danaum insidias et crimine ab uno / disce omnis*; 97–98 *hinc mihi prima labes, hinc semper Ulixes / criminibus terrere novis ...*; the only prior occurrences of the noun in the poem thus relate to the Greek conquest of Troy. Elsewhere note 6.430 and 433 (of the crimes of sinners in the underworld); 7.325–326 ... *cui tristia bello / iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia cordi* (of Allecto); 339 ... *sere crimina belli* (Juno to Allecto); the related, consequential 577–578 *Turnus adest medioque in crimine caedis et igni / terrorem ingeminat ...* (crowning a tricolon of emphasis on the criminal nature of the war in Italy); 10.188 *crimen, Amor, vestrum* (with reference to the Cycnus/Phaëthon story); 668–669 ... *tantone me crimine dignum / duxisti et talis voluisti expendere poenas?* (Turnus to Jupiter); 851 *idem ego, nate, tuum maculavi crimine nomen* (Mezentius to the dead Lausus); 11.122–123 *Tum senior semperque odiis et crimine Drances / infensus iuveni Turno ...*; 407 ... *et formi-*

dine crimen acerbat (Turnus with reference to Drances' charges); 12.16 *et solus ferro crimen commune refellam* (of Turnus); 600 *se causam clamat crimenque caputque malorum* (of Amata before her suicide). *Expertem sine crimine vitam* is thus a typical Virgilian compound expression.

Mackail is right then, in his characteristically laconic note that the best commentary here is Virgil's own account of the virgin huntress Camilla. Pease takes a very different view (following Ogle et al.), and argues that the meaning is that by breaking faith with Sychaeus, the queen "has degenerated from the self-restraint of a civilised human being to the lower (because less intelligent and less morally controlled) level of the brute."

551 *degere more ferae, talis nec tangere curas;*

degere: The verb occurs only here in Virgil.

more ferae: The source of a good share of the controversy of these verses. *Fera* recurs at 9.551–553 *ut fera quae densa venantum saepta corona | contra tela furit seseque haud nescia morti | inicit et saltu supra venabula fertur*, in the simile where the Trojan Helenor is like a wild animal that makes a suicidal charge against its hunters—the only zoological simile in the epic where the taxonomy of the wild animal is left unspecified. The reference has clearly occasioned comment since antiquity; Servius notes that many read the adverb *fere* here, trying to construe a meaning of how Dido has been widowed but recently; this is at once a red herring and a rabbit warren of impossible interpretative blundering. The ancient grammarian also introduces Pliny (*NH* 8.43) on the lynx, an animal that allegedly takes but one mate; this is better than turning animals into adverbs, if only because the disguised Venus referred to the lynx at 1.323 *succinctam pharetra et maculosae tegmine lyncis*, where she wondered if Aeneas had seen one of her sorority of huntresses. Pliny does not actually say what Servius claims—and in any case, the monogamy of animals is not something that is cited in extant evidence.

The main source of interpretative controversy here is that some have wondered if Dido is talking about a preference for living a life of sexual promiscuity vs. one of devotion to a single spouse, even beyond the grave. Rather, she is dreaming of a life like that of not only Camilla, but also of the similar case of the infants Romulus and Remus, reared by a she-wolf in the wild, and of the woodland life of primitives as at Lucretius, *DRN* 5.931–932 *multaque per caelum solis volventia lustra | volvivago vitam tractabant more ferarum*. Lucretius also has *more ferarum* of stormy winds (6.197–198 ... *magno indignantur murmure clausi | nubibus, in caveisque ferarum more minantur*); and at 4.1264 of sexual positions that seem likely to guarantee conception. "Conditioned as it is by nature alone and uncomplicated by the extraneous fears and desires which

plague humanity, the behavior of animals is a useful guide for the Epicurean" (Brown ad loc.). The commentators cite here too Horace, *Serm.* 1.3.109–110 *quos venerem incertam rapientes more ferarum / viribus editior caedebat ut in grege taurus*, of the warriors who died for tawdry causes before Helen was the cause of the Trojan War.

In Lucretius, then, *more ferarum* is used of the idealized life of primitive man; of storms; and of sexual positions of wild animals; in Horace, in a decidedly vulgar context. As is his usual practice, Virgil here layers allusion on allusion. In context, Dido means that she was not permitted to live a woodland life, care-free like some wild animal, some Camilla-like figure in the forest. But there is also a strong hint of how wild animals do not enter into marriage contracts (leaving aside the question of loyal lynxes); any hint of this sort leads directly to 552 and its mention of Dido's disloyalty to Sychaeus—a significant cause of her current plight. Animals do not marry, and they do not sin.

Stephenson argues that *more ferarum* is a "singularly unhappy expression, if it means, as it appears to mean, 'unfettered by the weaknesses of human nature.'" Cf. Butler's "Happy as beasts are happy, untroubled by human passions."

Justin (18.6.3) has *Quod legati reginae referre metuentes Punico cum ea ingenio egerunt, nuntiantes regem aliquem poscere, qui cultiores victus eum Afrosque perdoceat; sed quem inveniri posse, qui ad barbaros et ferarum more viventes transire a consanguineis velit?*—a passage that likely owes something to Virgil's *more ferarum*.

We may note here that DServ. on 458 identifies the *fera* of this verse not as a lynx, but as a *lupa*; this interpretation would accord even more closely with the parallels to Romulus and Remus, and to Camilla (who has lupine associations).

One element that deserves consideration in analyzing the problems posed by *more ferarum* is the Dido-deer simile of 68 ff. There Dido was compared to a *fera*, a wild deer that was wounded by an unknowing shepherd. This passage may point to the picture here of a queen who again has read her own life in Virgil's verse: she was like a *cerva*, living the carefree existence of an animal in the forest, before she was shot by Aeneas. Life after Sychaeus' death allowed something of an existence akin to that before her marriage to him, though of course very different in that now she had the burden of sorrow occasioned by his murder/involuntary abandonment of her.

In fine: Dido would have been better off if she had lived a woodland existence, liminally between human and animal like the young Camilla. Certainly barring this possibility, it would have been better to have remained loyal to Sychaeus' memory. Instead, she now finds herself—in part, she complains, due to Anna's encouragement—both unfaithful to Sychaeus (552), and (implic-

itly) abandoned by her second lover. Dido first says that she should die as she deserves (547); then in her frenzied state of anguish she attacks the absent Anna (548–549); next she devotes two more verses to a wistful regret that she could not be like Diana (550–551); and finally a concluding verse is focused on her dead husband and her lack of faith to him (552)—the fount of so many problems. The four phases of the reflection are balanced (1-2-2-1); insofar as they seem to leap from topic to topic, they merely reflect the queen's disturbed and disordered mind.

Mackail is right here: "The broken inconsequence of ll. 548–552, and the note on which Dido breaks off, are among the masterpieces of Virgilian art."

talis: In framing ordering around *nec tangere*, and alliterative with the infinitive.

tangere: The verb also at 259; 658.

curas: The key word again, prominent at the end of the verse. With *nec tangere ... curas* cf. 547 ... *averte dolorem*. The language here will be echoed at 12.932–933 ... *miseri si te qua parentis / tangere cura potest ...*, of Turnus' final plea to Aeneas. We note here 6.474 *respondet curis ...*, with allusion back to the close of this monologue.

552 non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo."

A verse that would have condemned her in the traditional Roman moral estimation, even absent anything else. O'Hara is right to observe that the role of Cupid and Venus in the queen's plight is unknown to her, though not to the audience; Virgil plays throughout with the question of moral culpability in the face of divine machinations, and the demarcation line between free will and constraint imposed by the gods.

servata: Alliterative with *promissa Sychaeo*. In second place, in balance with *promissa* in the penultimate. For the verb cf. 29; 485.

fides: Very different from 12 *credo quidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum* (Dido to Anna). Dido's complaint at 373 *nusquam tuta fides* is also (ironically) at play here; cf. also 597. The idea of the pledge or oath of devotion was natural enough as an (anachronistic) Roman ideal; if there was a preexisting Dido tradition that the queen had made such a promise before leaving Tyre (cf. Timaeus, fr. 23 Müller), then Virgil has simply married the lore he inherited with conservative Roman moral expectations (however idealized).

cineri: With rueful recollection of Anna's comment at 34 *id cinerem aut manis credis curare sepultos*? All mention of ash now relates to the pyre; for the semantic associations of the name "Sychaeus" with burning see Paschalis 1997, 167 (who also connects the line-ends *curas* and *Sychaeo* at 551–552 with the same image (*cura* evoking *uro, urere*, etc.)). Cf. also 427 and 623.

promissa: For the verb cf. 228; 487. There is an echo of the present language at 6.346 ... *en haec promissa fides?*, where Aeneas complains that he had not been warned about the loss of Palinurus.

Sychaeo: The soliloquy closes powerfully on the name of the one with whom Dido broke faith; cf. on 502. The text is vexed here, largely because of the question of adjective *vs.* noun. Austin is sympathetic to the view that *Sychaeo* is a noun in apposition with *cineri* (see Mackail on this); the variant genitive would be easier, though less vivid (and the genitive would not likely have been corrupted into *Sychaeo*, rather the reverse in attempted “correction”). That said, the adjectival use is powerful in that it emphasizes how Sychaeus is gone: he is now not Sychaeus but the “Sychaean ash.” Not “artificial” (*pace* Austin), but a sad reminder of what has been lost. The queen does not yet know what mercy the *Lugentes Campi* will afford her (6.473–474). Sychaeus will not be mentioned again until that poignant scene. The original Palatine reading *Sychaei es* (evidently for *Sychaei est*) was later corrected to *Sychaeo*; Geymonat 2008 (followed by Cussen 2018) prefers it.

“Over the whole hangs the shade of the murdered husband and that cheated first love” (Newman and Newman 2005, 124). The soliloquy closes abruptly because the queen is overly emotional; there is no need to imagine that the poet was unable to revise this passage.

553 *Tantos illa suo rumpebat pectore questus.*

Tantos ... questus frames the verse: the hyperbaton helps to enact the action. Chiastic (ABBA) word order: *tantos / suo / pectore / questus*.

illa: Juxtaposed with *suo* of her heart.

rumpebat: The verb of “bursting forth” bursts forth at mid-line. The imperfect is frequentative: Dido obsessively goes over the same material in her heart. For the verb cf. 569 below, where Mercury will give the peremptory command to Aeneas *rumpe moras*; note also 291–292 ... *quando optima Dido / nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores*, of Aeneas’ woefully mistaken reflection on the queen’s state. The verb enacts the bursting forth by splitting *suo ... pectore*. Cf. Celaeno at 3.246 ... *rumpitque hanc pectore vocem*; also 2.129 *composito rupit vocem et me destinat arae* (Sinon of Calchas). The image is of the broken speech occasioned by grief and despair.

pectore: Vid. Negri 1984, 205–206, and compare on 563.

questus: The noun is not common in Virgil; cf. 5.780 *adloquitur talisque effundit pectore questus*, where Venus complains to Neptune about the plight of the Trojans; 7.501–502 ... *questuque cruentus / atque imploranti similis tectum omne replebat*, of Silvia’s fatally wounded stag; 9.479–480 ... *non illa pericli / telorumque memor, caelum dehinc questibus implet*, of Euryalus’ mother in

the face of the report of her's son death. Cf. Statius, *Silv.* 3.3.8 *nam quis inexploto rumpentem pectore questu*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.508 ... *an meritos fas est mihi rumpere questus?*; 4.42–43 *tum lacrimis, tum voce sequi, tum rumpere questu | cum sopor et vano spes maesta resolvitur ictu*; also Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.82.3 ... *et erumpebant questus*. Lucan has *et tacito mutos volvunt in pectore questus* (*BC* 1.247); note also Valerius' *ingemit ac tales evolvit pectore questus* (*Arg.* 4.117).

554–570 Aeneas is asleep, and he dreams of Mercury making a second epiphany to him, this time to urge him to cease to delay and to leave Carthage at once in the face of the dire threat to his safety posed by the queen.

This second appearance of Mercury (or, at least, of a dream vision that looks exactly like him) is of almost equal length to the first. That prior visit had ended abruptly, and without an explicit imperative (though the import of what Aeneas was supposed to do was quite clear). This visit will be more strongly worded, in part because the situation in Carthage has deteriorated. On the question of the gods and the problem of divine exculpation of Aeneas for the departure from Dido, see Farron 1993, 73 ff.; cf. Thomas 2001, 167–168. We may cf. here how the Hermes of the *PV* warned Prometheus not to compel the divine messenger to have to make a second visit (944–952).

We may compare the visit of Hermes to Priam at *Il.* 24.679ff., where the god expressed wonder that the king could sleep after the ransoming of Hector.

554 **Aeneas celsa in puppi iam certus eundi**

The verse will at once be cast into surprising relief by its successor: at first we would naturally think that Aeneas is now making his departure, only then to learn that he is asleep on deck (like the rest of nature at 522–527).

Aeneas: The first name to appear after 552 ... *Sychaëo*. “In antithesis with *illa*” (Austin).

celsa: Alliterative with *certus*, in second and penultimate positions. For the adjective cf. the *celsas* / *navis* of 397–398. Cf. here 3.527 *stans celsa in puppi*; 8.680 *stans celsa in puppi* ... (Augustus on the shield at Actium); 10.261–262 *stans celsa in puppi, clipeum cum deinde sinistra | extulit ardentem ...*: in all of the other passages, Aeneas/Augustus is standing on the lofty deck; only here is he depicted as being asleep—he is still very much at the mercy of what Dido could do to him in anger and rage. Tonight he sleeps on the ship (whether on the deck or not cannot be determined, and Virgil did not care); some commentators have been gentlemanly in imagining that he returned either to shipboard or beside the ships every other night.

“The stern is the place from where the ship is steered and hence a post calling for Vigilance ... Aeneas’ *sleep* on the high stern is a metaphor for Mental Blindness (*‘nec ... cernis’*). The hero regains his sight through a second descent of Mercury ...” (Paschalis 1997, 168).

iam: The adverb is deliberately repeated at 555; this has occasioned attempts at emendation, but not only do the ancients not mind such repetitions, but in the present case there is the added point of emphasis on “now.”

certus: This epithet will recur at 5.1–2 *Interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat* / *certus iter fluctusque atros Aquilone secabat*, of Aeneas as he departs from Carthage, just before the baleful reminiscence of *infelix* Elissa as he looks back at the walls of the city. *Certus* is one of the poet’s favorite adjectives, with some thirty occurrences; see Galinsky 1968, 158 for how the adjective may reflect the increasingly active role that Aeneas takes in the working out of his own destiny. Here there is irony in that the hero who is *certus eundi* is, after all, quite asleep. The slumber relates to the certainty of going (“indubitabiliter profecturus”—Servius); unlike Dido, he does not spend this night in self-recrimination or emotional distress. But awareness of the perils of the situation should urge a swift departure, and thus Mercury must appear again—almost three hundred lines since his first epiphany.

Certus eundi (a poeticism) will be echoed below at 564 *certa mori*, in Mercury’s description of Dido’s state. The line-end is borrowed by Ovid at *Met.* 11.439–440 *quod tua si flecti precibus sententia nullis, / care, potest, coniunx, nimumque es certus eundi*. For the gerund cf. 175 *eundo*.

555 *carpebat somnos rebus iam rite paratis.*

carpebat: The frequentative, durative imperfect stands in marked contrast to 553 *rumpebat* of Dido. The active form of the verb also invites comparison with the passive 2 *vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni*, of the queen. The verb describes what Aeneas was supposed to do with the Bough, and did not (cf. 6.146 and 210). Here the description of the hero’s slumber matches 522–523 ... *et placidum carpebant fessa soporem / corpora per terras* ... Aeneas’ behavior has occasioned criticism and charges of callousness; from a Roman point of view, the main question might well be how he can sleep in the face of such danger. Austin is ever the romantic, and imagines that the appearance of Mercury *redux* is needed to prevent the chance of an amatory reconciliation. But the time for that is long past, and the risk now is of the queen ordering a Carthaginian attack on the fleet.

somnos: Echoing 529–530 ... *neque umquam / solvitur in somnos* ...; cf. 557 *in somnis* of the dream visitation of the god, and especially 560.

For *carpere* with *somnos* note *G.* 3.435 *ne mihi tum mollis sub divo carpere somnos*; and cf. Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 16.118–119 *huic fesso, quos dura fuga et nox*

suaserat atra, | carpenti somnos ... Aeneas is asleep for dramatic moments in the narrative; cf. the situation at the close of Book 5 with the loss of Palinurus.

rebus ... paratis: Appearing in comedy (Plautus, *Aul.* 784) as well as prose (Caesar, Sallust); only here in epic. Prudentius has *dapibus iam rite paratis | ius praetulit exsequiarum* in his hymn *Deus, ignee fons animarum* (18.3–4).

rite: Alliterative after *rebus*. With an emphasis on all the niceties of rubrical precision and attention to religious ritual. Vid. Cordier 1939, 139; also Beringer 1932; Bailey 1935, 42–50; Fratantuono and Smith on 5.15 and 77. The adverb 15× in the epic vs. once in the *Georgics*; cf. on 638 below: 2× in Books 3-4-5-7-8. The detail about ritual observance comes just before the sudden advent of the god.

556 huic se forma dei vultu redeuntis eodem

huic: Juxtaposed with *se* of the god who now appears to him.

forma dei: Mercury's visit at 259ff. had been a diurnal apparition; this is its nocturnal counterpart. Some have tried to interpret this dream as the conscience of Aeneas, with the hero imagined as realizing in his dream-filled slumber that he has not been sufficiently swift in obeying the edicts of Jupiter and Mercury (cf., e.g., Williams 1968, 385–386). For this dream see Steiner 1952, 51–52; Kühn 1971, 74–75; Bouquet 2001, 39–42; also Casali 2010, 119–142. The noun *forma* occurs only here in the book; it is parallel to expressions such as 3.591 *ignoti nova forma viri miserandaque cultu* (of Achaemenides). Was this “only a phantom” (so Page)? The difference is that Aeneas is now asleep on his ship and not supervising Carthaginian building projects. The god appears to him in his sleep, invading the nocturnal world between sleeping and waking. It is the *forma dei* because he sees the form of the god in his mind. And what the god says will be noteworthy for both its repetition of old admonitions and its introduction of new warnings; this is no mere fit of conscience, but an alerting of the hero to just how dangerous matters are. Whether or not Aeneas should have realized this without a dream visitation is another question altogether. Near theological speculation here in Servius: “bene non ‘deus,’ sed *forma*; raro enim numina sicut sunt possunt videri. unde et sequitur *vultu redeuntis eodem*; nam licet *redeuntis* dicat, id est ‘eius qui possit agnosci,’ tamen non ‘faciem’ dicit, sed ‘vultum,’ qui potest saepe videri.” For a comparison of the visit of Allecto to Turnus at 7.413–416, see Newman and Newman 2005, 172. Aeneas is thus visited by the god at both day and night: there could not be a stronger emphasis on the need for him to leave *now*.

It is not clear who, if anyone, sent this vision to Aeneas; there is no hint of a Jovian mandate here.

vultu: For the noun note 477; there is a strong reminiscence of 4 ... *haerent infixi pectore vultus*, of Aeneas' effect on Dido. The Trojan hero is now confronted by the face of Mercury as an admonitory vision in his dreams.

redeuntis: The verb only here in Book 4. A second apparition: formally modeled on Hermes with Priam in the tent of Achilles at *Il.* 24.677–691; cf. also the shade of Patroclus with Achilles at 23.65–107. The participle is coordinate with 557 *rursusque*.

eodem: In close coordination with *redeuntis*, and with a strong emphasis on how the god is returning for a second visit.

557 **obtulit in somnis rursusque ita visa monere est,**

obtulit: There is a reminiscence here of 2.589–590 *cum mihi se, non ante oculis tam clara, videndam | obtulit et quanta solet ...*, of Venus with Aeneas on Troy's last night. Cf. 8.611 *talibus adfata est dictis seque obtulit ultro*, of the same goddess with her son at the bestowal of the arms; note also 10.852.

in somnis: Echoing 555. We may have been surprised to learn that the Aeneas who was *certus eundi* was asleep; now we see that his sleep will be disturbed by a troubling vision of warning and rebuke. *In somnis* recalls the ghostly visitation of Sychaeus to Dido at 1.353; the nocturnal visits of Anchises of which Aeneas had apprised the queen (353 above; cf. the Sychaeus appearance at the same verse of its book); also Turnus as the man in a dream at 12.908. *Somnis* here balances 558 *similis*.

rursusque: Cf. 546, and before that 534: another good example of repetition in a quite different context. The emphasis here is on how this admonition has been given already, and in fact in the far more dramatic context of a daytime visit. This time the warning to leave will require a more “ignominious” departure (so Van Nortwick 1996, 120): the Trojans have been dutiful in preparing to leave, but presumably they are waiting for daylight. The god will insist instead on an immediate flight.

ita: Also at 533. 24× in the epic (mostly in the second half); 4× in the *Georgics*.

visa: Servius comments that this is a good choice of word, since it was of something that seemed to be true and was not actually a *res vera*. But there is no reason to doubt the reality of the vision; that which occurs in the world of dreams may seem to be both real and unreal simultaneously, and that is what Virgil presents in this scene.

monere: Recalling the *monita Iovis* of 531. *Monere* is in alliterative pattern with 558 *Mercurio*.

558 **omnia Mercurio similis, vocemque coloremque**

omnia: Prominent by position; the emphasis is on how the dream image is an exact replica of the Mercury who appeared by day. See Austin for the “adverbial accusative of reference.” *Omnia* is at once defined in miniature catalogue: two items in this verse, and two in the next. The present passage will be echoed at 9.650–651 *omnia longaevo similis vocemque coloremque | et crinis albos et saeva sonoribus arma*, as Apollo takes on the appearance of Butes to appear to Ascanius.

Mercurio: The name of the god also at 222; cf. 8.138: these are the only three cases in Virgil.

similis: Cf. 254 *misit avi similis*, in the comparison of Mercury to a diver. The name of the deity correlates with the ambiguous 556 *forma dei*.

Mercury is a psychopomp; in some sense what he does here will speed the way for Dido’s suicide. Her actual release in death will be worked out by Juno and Iris; as we shall see below, the Saturnian goddess’ action there will be an act of pity and euthanasia for Dido that will also secure harm for the Trojans via the hastening of the fulfillment of the queen’s curses.

vocemque, etc.: With emphasis on the auditory as well as the visual. The dream apparition was like Mercury in every way, including voice and complexion.

coloremque: Alliterative with 559 *crinis*. The noun will recur at 701, in the lovely image of the colors of Iris’ rainbow. See here Edgeworth 1992, 120–121. This is its first occurrence in the epic; at 5.89 and 609 it recurs in other rainbow contexts; cf. 6.47 of the complexion of the Sibyl; 272 of how the black night took away the color of things as Aeneas entered the underworld; 7.191 of the colors on the wings of the Picus-woodpecker; 9.650 of how Apollo was like Butes in voice and complexion when he made his appearance to Ascanius; 11.819 of how Camilla lost the color in her face as her life slipped away; 12.69 ... *talīs virgo dabat ore colores*, at the close of the simile of Lavinia’s blush. The point (as Conington et al. recognized) is that the god has a healthy, handsome color; there is an emphasis on youth throughout the description (559 *iuventa*). A dream in color.

This is one of two hypermetric lines in the book; significantly, the other—629—comes at the close of Dido’s curse: exactly the sort of thing that the dream world Mercury is warning Aeneas about here. Cf. 1.332; 448; 2.745; 5.422; 753; 6.602; 7.160; 470; 8.228; 9.650; 10.781; 895; 11.609; *G.* 1.295; 2.69; 344; 443; 3.242; 337; 449. Vid. further Clausen 2002, 101; Papillon and Haigh 1892, lv for the idea that the scansion of hexameters is continuous. The enclitic at the close of the line in eighteen of twenty-two such occurrences of the metrical phenomenon. Note also Lucretius, *DRN* 5.849; Catullus, c. 64.298; Horace, *Serm.* 1.4.96; 1.6.102;

Ovid, *Met.* 4.11; 780; 6.507; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.293. Here if anything the hypermetric scansion reflects the powerful similarity of this dream apparition to the god who appeared by day: it is dazzling and overwhelming, as it was intended to be to underscore the point that Aeneas must cease sleeping and delaying his departure. It will be of particular interest that it is not entirely certain at 577 (see below on *quisquis es*) that Aeneas is sure of the god's identity.

559 et crinis flavos et membra decora iuventa:

crinis: Hair featured in the descriptions of both Dido and Apollo (i.e., Aeneas) at the hunt: cf. 138 and 148, ten verses apart.

flavos: For the color cf. Edgeworth 1992, 128–130; *fulva* of Aeneas' jasper-studded Carthaginian scabbard above at 260–261, when the god finds him supervising work on Carthage. The first appearance of *flavus* in the epic is at 1.592–593 *quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo | argentum Parisusque lapis circumdatur auro*, in the description of the handsome appearance of Aeneas that is bestowed on him by his mother—the goddess of loveliness, after all—for his first revelation to Dido. That passage includes several parallels to the present description of Mercury: cf. 589–591 *os umerosque deo similis; namque ipsa decoram | caesariem nato genetrix lumenque iuventae | purpureum et laetos oculis adffarat honores*. Significantly, below at 698 Dido's own hair will be described as *flavum ... crinem*. We may note also 5.309 of the yellow olive that is promised for the first three winners of the foot race (see further Fratantuono and Smith ad loc.); 7.31 *multa flavus harena* and the related 9.816 *gurgite flavo*, with reference to the Tiber; 12.605 *flavos ... crinis* again, where Lavinia has blond hair.

Aeneas, Dido, Lavinia, and the Tiber; also the god Mercury (Edgeworth 1992, 251–253 considers why Virgil never applies *flavus* to honey; we would suggest that the blond hair of both Dido and Lavinia accords allusively with their respective connections to bees). As is Virgil's frequent practice, later events are signaled by seemingly ornamental details; the *crinis flavos*, etc. of the god were not mentioned in his first appearance, and here the blond hair heralds the significance of Dido's lock for the final moments of the book. Note also 589 *flaventisque comas*, where again there is a reference to Dido's blond hair—again highlighting the detail that will become singularly important in the last verses of 4.

decora: Juxtaposed with *iuventa*. The adjective is not common in the epic; at 589 it will recur of Dido's *pectus* as she beats it in frustrated grief and rage; that passage also recalls her hair. At 1.589–590 it described Aeneas' beautiful hair under his mother's impromptu salon care, as it were; cf. 2.392 ... *clipeique insigne decorum*, of Coroebus' arming; 5.133 *ductores longe effulgent ostroque decori*, of the captains at the regatta; 343–344 *tutatur favor Euryalum*

lacrimaeque decorae / *gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus*, after the foot race; 9.365–366 *tum galeam Messapi habilem cristisque decoram* / *induit ...*, of Euryalus; 11.194–195 ... *galeas ensesque decoros* / *frena ferventisque rotas ...*, at the Etruscan requiems; 480 ... *oculos deiecta decoros*, of Lavinia. As a description of *membra* only here in extant Latin. The decorous limbs of the god: “quis palaestrae deus est” (Servius).

iuventa: Cf. 32 *solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa*, in Anna’s rhetorical question to Dido about wasting her youth. *Iuventae* is the reading of the Palatine; Servius; and other witnesses; the genitive is preferred by La Cerda; Ribbeck; Mackail (without a note; cf. Butler, following him); Dolç; Perret in his Budé (though not the Heuzé Pléaïde). Conington considers the genitive to be “a less usual, though possibly admissible, construction.” Wakefield prints the ablative, comparing 9.365–366. The meaning is of course not in doubt; Pease speculates on “a theory of grammarians which condemned homoeoteleuta” as a possible source. Parallels can be adduced in support of either case, though 2.473 *nunc positis novus exuviis nitidusque iuventa* may point more strongly to the ablative here than the 1.590 ... *lumenque iuventae*, which is not so much a parallel grammatically as a recollection of a parallel passage that may have occasioned the variant reading. Here it seems best, at any rate, to have the adjacent words in the same case, balancing *crinis flavos*.

560 “*nate dea, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos,*

nate dea: Cf. 1.582 *nate dea, quae nunc animo sententia surgit?*, of Achates to Aeneas after the discovery that all seems to be well; 615–616 *quis te, nate dea, per tanta pericula casus* / *insequitur ...*, of Dido to Aeneas; 2.589 *heu fuge, nate dea, teque his ait eripe flammis*, of Hector’s ghost to Aeneas; 3.310–311 *verane te facies, verus mihi nuntius adfers, / nate dea? ...*, of Andromache to Aeneas; 374–375 *Nate dea nam te maioribus ire per altum* / *auspiciis manifesta fides ...*, of Helenus to the hero; also 435–436 *unum illud tibi, nate dea, proque omnibus unum* / *praedicam ...*, of the same; 5.383 *nate dea, si nemo audit se credere pugnae*, of Dares at the boxing bout; 474 *nate dea, vosque haec inquit cognoscite, Teucri*, of Entellus; 8.59 *surge age, nate dea ...*, of the dream visit of Tiberinus: the formula thus once only in the second half of the epic. The commentators agree since DServ. that the point here is not so much one of praise of Aeneas’ divine maternity, as of a reminder that as the son of a god he should be doing something other than sleeping in Carthage.

We may recall here that Jupiter addressed Mercury as *nate* when he ordered him to fly to Aeneas for the first visitation (223).

potes, etc.: The language is strong; Dido cannot sleep because of her troubled situation, and Aeneas is somehow able to find rest in what he apparently does not fully appreciate is one of his greatest moments of crisis.

hoc sub casu: The demonstrative is deictic and of special force. *Casus* occurs only here in Book 4; it was the very word that Dido used at 1.615–616 to describe the troubles that Aeneas had suffered before his arrival in her realm. On the preposition Stephenson notes: “[it] has partly the sense of time, as in *sub nocte silenti* [527], and partly that of circumstance under which something happens.” For how Mercury’s brief reference here will soon enough come to terrible light at 592 ff., see Newman and Newman 2005, 157–158. The *pericula* of the following verse offer something of a variation on the theme.

ducere: For the expression of “leading sleep” cf. Seneca, *HO* 645; Statius, *Silv.* 5.3.292 (with Gibson’s note). The metaphor (as Page notes) is probably from drinking. Pease compares Silius’ description of Mercury disturbing the sleeping Hannibal at *Pun.* 3.170–182.

somnos: Echoing 555; cf. 557, with a strong emphasis on the hero’s slumber at the critical juncture.

561 *nec quae te circum stent deinde pericula cernis,*

nec: The negative and the main verb frame the verse. Austin comments on the “monosyllabic staccato” of the god’s speech: he is in a hurry, as Aeneas should be. Coordinate with 562 *nec*.

quae: In framing order with *pericula*, so that what Mercury asks if Aeneas perceives around him is, after all, literally *circum*.

circum: Postpositive, as at 145 above and 2.564. Alliterative with *cernis*, and adjacent to the crucial pronoun *te* (less satisfactory is the order *te quae* of Bernensis 184). The *nate dea* is now made to seem very vulnerable.

stent: Subjunctive in a relative clause of characteristic; with *deinde*, the present offers a hint of future force.

deinde: For the prosody and the placement of the adverb see Austin. Mackail compares 1.13 ... *Italiam contra*, where he has a long note; in his view *deinde* here is a *de facto* adjective that refers to the dangers to come (following Conington, and Page; Tilly agrees; note Maclennan’s citation of *OLD s.v.* 4b, “from now on,” = the gloss of Williams). But the point seems simply to be to express impatience and frustration. See further Pease, and Buscaroli for this strengthening of the interrogative.

pericula: The perils are juxtaposed with the verb of sight. The noun occurs 25× in the epic, only here in the book.

cernis: For the verb cf. on 47; 246; 401 and 408.

Henry perceptively compares Lucan, *BC* 10.353–355 ... *tu mollibus inquit / nunc incumbere toris et pingues exige somnos: / invasit Cleopatra domum ...*, of the eunuch Pothinus’ complaint to Achilles.

562 demens, nec Zephyros audis spirare secundos?

demens: Prominently placed. Cf. 78; 107; 374. Gods may speak as peremptorily or insultingly as they wish to recalcitrant or slumbering heroes.

Zephyros: The reference here is back to 223 *vade age, nate, voca Zephyros et labere pinnis*, of Jupiter to Mercury. In framing order with *secundos*. Cf. 5.32–33 ... *petunt portus et vela secundi | intendant Zephyri* ...

The mention of the Zephyr here has occasioned predictable consternation, especially in view of 310 above and 5.2, where the north wind is cited. Servius took the reference to be a generic one: “ventos; de Africa enim Zephyro navigare non poterat.” Pease argues that the ancients were vague about the winds. The point though is that Aeneas does not hear the favorable west wind, because 1) he is asleep and 2) it is not blowing. The Zephyr is the wind that Jupiter ordered Mercury to use to travel to Aeneas; the second mention of the Zephyr in Book 4 is not intended to give a detail about the actual winds Aeneas would have used to leave Carthage, but rather to remind us that the hero has received powerful divine admonitions to depart—and yet still he sleeps.

Conversely, there may be a hint that the gods provided just a safe enough, quasi-magical manipulation of nature to allow for an exit now (Austin is sympathetic to this interpretation; also Tilly). Whatever the case, by 5.2 the Zephyr was no more. Imagining that it is somehow now the first day of spring (as some commentators do) is difficult: miracles can happen in winter.

audis: Once again the auditory is joined to the visual (561 *cernis*). For the verb cf. 78; 83; 220; 302; 387; 439; 612.

spirare secundos: Sibilantly, seductively alliterative to enact the sound of the favorable winds. *Spirare* only here in Book 4; cf. 5.844 *aequatae spirant aerae*, as the disguised Somnus tries to convince Palinurus to sleep. *Secundos* here is very different from 45 *dis equidem auspicibus reor et Iunone secunda*.

The present language will be echoed at 5.32–33 ... *petunt portus et vela secundi | intendant Zephyri; fertur cita gurgite classis*, of the Trojan sailing to Sicily after the storm. Paschalis 1997, 168 draws a semantic connection between the return of Mercury and the favoring winds that seem to accompany his second advent (with associations drawn from the Palinurus episode at the end of Book 5).

563 illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat,

Subject and verb frame the verse.

illa: As at 553. “Deliberately offensive,” says MacLennan: Mercury follows the practice of the Augustan poets with Cleopatra by not naming Elissa/Dido.

dolos: Dental alliteration with *dirum*, as the god turns from positive news about the Zephyr to a chilling report about the queen. Mercury announces

that Dido plans a trick; the noun especially recalls 296 *At regina dolos ...*, of the queen's presentiment that Aeneas was contriving to leave Carthage surreptitiously. Here the reference is to what Dido had been striving to accomplish by magical rites. Some have sought to absolve the queen here by arguing that Mercury is lying to Aeneas. But this had been the intention of Dido: she will commit suicide, but not before cursing the Trojans. There is also the very real risk that she will seek to attack the vulnerable fleet as it sails away. As Pease notes, "the spirit is already there" to explain why the god would speak legitimately of treachery and deceit.

dirumque: Echoing the *Dirae* of 473, and cf. 610 below. The adjective with *nefas* also at Seneca, *Med.* 931; *HO* 1232; 1350; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.567–568; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 8.177. That which is unspeakable is given a descriptor.

nefas: Cf. 306, where the strong accusation was leveled against Aeneas leaving in stealth. 8.688 will recall the present use. Servius took the "dire unspeakable thing" to be a reference to the suicide plans ("ne non timeret amatricem, bene addidit *certa mori*, item *varium et semper mutabile femina* [569]"). But Mercury is speaking of the *pericula* that surround Aeneas; the suicide matters only insofar as Dido is portrayed as intending to take many down to the underworld with her.

pectore: Vid. Negri 1984, 207, 259, etc. This will be the locus of the fatal wound (cf. 689).

versat: For the verb see on 286 and 630.

564 *certa mori, variosque irarum concitat aestus.*

certa: Alliterative with *conccitat*. *Certa mori* echoes 475 *decrevitque mori*. *Certa* here is forcefully compared with *certus eundi* of Aeneas (554). The one who was "certain of going" is asleep; the one "certain to die" is all too awake, and all too intent on and capable of bringing destruction on herself and others. Mercury's point is that "she has nothing to lose," as the idiom goes; 6.456–458 deserves to be read closely in conjunction with this passage. Ovid has *certa mori tamen est, si non potitur amore* (*Met.* 10.428, of Myrrha). For the so-called prolativ infinitive see Pinkster 2021, 464–466: a poetic conceit of Greek influence (cf. *E.* 5.54).

variosque: The adjective repeated soon after at 569; cf. 202 and 286. The accusative plural is better than the variant ablative (favored by La Cerda; Heyne; Forbiger; apparently no twentieth-century editors); the reminiscence of 532 is strong, even to the point of causing textual corruption. "A compressed forcible expression in V's manner" (Sidgwick). The emphasis is on the different plans the crazed queen has been conjuring in the night. The adjective offers

a contrast with the sense of *certa*: Dido is fixed on dying; as for what might accompany her death, there are various dire options.

conciat: The verb is rare in Virgil; note 7.476 *Allecto in Teucros Stygiis se conciat alis*; 11.741–742 *haec effatus equum in medios moriturus et ipse | conciat et Venulo adversum se turbidus infert* (of Tarchon). In framing order with *aestus*.

aestus: The metaphor of anger as a storm; the reminiscence here is of 532 *saevit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu*, with strong verbal parallels to the present description. The noun at line-end offers a baleful contrast to 562 ... *secundos*, just as that word offered something of a parallel to 560 ... *somnos* (i.e., the gently blowing breezes might normally induce slumber, though here there is no time for that).

E. Fantham, “Virgil’s Dido and Seneca’s Heroines,” in *G&R* 22.1 (1975), 1–10, 8–9 offers a consideration of “*Aestus* no less than *fluctus* and *fluctuare* ... a basic element in Virgil’s imagery of mental turmoil ... its associations with both sea-current and seething heat or fever make it more versatile, a virtual bridge between sea and fire imagery.”

565 non fugis hinc praeceps, dum praecipitare potestas?

“Note the quick dactyls, and the excited alliteration of these lines” (Austin).

non: Another negative, following on 561–562 *nec / nec*. Wakefield preferred *num*, “... minus obvia importunitati librariorum ...”

fugis: A key verb in the book; cf. 314, etc. “The present is more graphic than the future” (Conington). As Stephenson notes, Mercury is asking about what he had every expectation to find Aeneas doing (i.e., instead of sleeping).

hinc: The Medicean has *hic*, later corrected. *In* was the original reading of F, also later fixed. Conte notes *G.* 1.203 and *Aen.* 6.578 as possible sources for the second of these errors.

praeceps: Plosive alliteration with the related *praecipitare*, and with *potestas*. Cf. 253–254 ... *hinc toto praeceps se corpore ad undas | misit avi similis* ..., of Mercury’s descent to Carthage. That passage is strongly recalled here, with both adjective and verb (*praecipitare*) being repeated.

dum, etc.: Echoing Anna’s ... *dum non tractabile caelum*, about the opposite situation. The ellipsis of the verb only adds to the sense of urgency.

praecipitare: For the verb cf. on 251. The language will be recalled at 573 *praecipites*, as Aeneas wakes up his men.

potestas: The noun also at 3.670 *verum ubi nulla datur dextra adfectare potestas*; 7.591–592 *verum ubi nulla datur caecum exsuperare potestas | concilium* ...; 9.97 ... *cui tanta deo permissa potestas?*; 739 ... *nulla hinc exire potestas*; 813 ... *nec respirare potestas*; 10.18 *o pater o hominum rerumque aeterna potestas*; 12.396 *scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi*.

566 iam mare turbari trabibus saevasque videbis

At 2.604 ff. Venus gave her son a vision of the divine forces at work in the ruin of Troy. Here, the dream apparition of Mercury offers a glimpse of a possible future, should Aeneas not hasten on his way from Troy. This verse presents an image of naval warfare; we may think of Actium. Dido is an allegory of Cleopatra; Virgil's depiction of the Carthaginian queen in Book 4 evokes something of Actium and the grim aftermath at Alexandria in a scene of threatened and not realized war, and (as in history) actual suicide. See further here O. Demerliac, "Ellipse et surgissement des femmes dans la mer héroïque de l'*Énéide*," in *AOQU (Achilles Orlando Quixote Ulysses): Rivista di epica* 2 (2020), 99–136, especially 123 ff.

trabibus: The reference here is to 1.552 *et silvis aptare trabes et stringere remos*, as Ilioneus asked Dido for permission to work on refitting and repairing the damaged Trojan vessels. Very different from the context of 1.448–449 *aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina nexaeque / aere trabes ...*, of Dido's Junonian temple; cf. also the maple-wood beams of the Wooden Horse (2.112); 481–482 *... iamque excisa trabe firma cavavit / robora ...*, of the assault on Priam's palace; 3.191 *vela damus vastumque cava trabe currimus aequor*; 6.181 *fraxineaque trabes ...* (during the preparations for the Misenus requiem); the maple grove of Ida referenced by Cybele at 9.87; 12.603 *et nodum informis leti trabe nectit ab alta* (of Amata's suicide); 674 *turrim compactis trabibus ...* *Trabes* can mean "ship" by synecdoche (as at 3.191). But here, the image is principally of planks and beams in the water after an attack (so Mackail et al.). 593 below may be relevant; of course Dido could launch her own ships to chase down the Trojans, with Carthaginian fire-ships the naval horror alluded to in *saevas / faces*. But proleptically, Virgil first has Mercury draw a picture of what the result of such an attack would be. The losses of the First Punic War in particular would be on the Roman mind here. The adjective describes well the savage hatred that Dido now harbors for Aeneas and his men (at least in Mercury's estimation). On the proleptic theme of seeing in Aeneas' fleet a proto-Roman navy, at risk from the hazards of Carthaginian waters, see E. Giusti, "Once more unto the breach: Virgil's Arae and the Treaty of Philinus," in *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 107.1 (2014), 61–79.

"Crowded with craft" seems the accepted rendering (Page). Almost certainly this is right, but at moments I have wondered whether it does not mean 'strewn with wreckage.' In that case it should not logically stand first, but Virgil often alters the logical order of his clauses" (Irvine). Mercury is giving a vision of future events should Aeneas continue to delay; the prolepsis is powerful as the god begins by describing the result. Planks and beams seem better too after 567 *litora*, which implies an attack on the fleet before it can even put out to sea.

Mercury seems to be more worried about a sudden strike on the docks than on any pursuit and engagement of the Trojan ships at sea.

turbari: Alliterative with *trabibus*. The verb only here in Book 4; vid. R. Strati in *EV* v, 318–319.

saevasque: With dramatic enjambment. We recall 523–524, of the similarly enjambed *aequora* that were silent (again, perhaps because of divine intervention to facilitate swift sailing); and especially 532 *saevit amor*. Cf. ... *saevit medio in certamine Mavors*, from the depiction of Actium on the shield (8.700).

videbis: Closely following on 561 *cernis*, also at line-end.

567 **conlucere faces, iam fervere litora flammis,**

conlucere: The prefix is intensive. Significantly, this verb will recur at 5.3–4 *moenia respiciens, quae non infelicis Elissae / conlucent flammis* ..., of the backward glance of Aeneas at the walls of Carthage and what he sees: the light from her pyre. Otherwise the verb appears in the epic only at 9.166–167 *conlucent ignes, noctem custodia ducit / insomnia ludo*, of the fateful drunken sleep of Turnus' men before the night raid (something of a similar situation to the present, where Aeneas sleeps in the face of the nocturnal peril from Dido); 10.539 *totus conlucentis veste atque insignibus albis* (of Haemonides—a conspicuous enough target for Aeneas); 11.208–209 ... *tum undique vasti / certatim crebris conlucent ignibus agri*, during the description of the Latin requiems. The (mostly) poetic verb is Ciceronian and Lucretian (cf. *DRN* 6.881–882 *taedaque consimili ratione accensa per undas / conlucent, quo cumque natans impellitur auris*). Note also Ovid, *Her.* 14.25; *Met.* 4.403; *Fast.* 5.363; Seneca, *Ag.* 542–543; *Thyest.* 908; Statius, *Theb.* 2.552–553; *Sib.* 1.6.89–90; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.350–351; Martial, *Ep.* 2.46.3; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 5.510–511; 9.607–608; also in Livy and Tacitus (who enjoy poetic vocabulary). The main reference here is to the threat posed by the frenzied, violent queen; the fact that the actual flames will be of the pyre is an ironic commentary—though her curse will prove to be all too real in the light of later Roman history, Aeneas' escape from Carthage notwithstanding.

faces: Fricative alliteration with *fervere* and *flammis*. The noun will recur at both 604 and 626, as Dido seeks to make this vision come to grim reality, either now or via a curse for the future; see also above on 472. “The *faces* are those likely to be hurled by the Carthaginians upon the Trojan ships” (Pease).

fervere: Cf. 409–410 ... *cum litora fervere late / prospiceres arce ex summa* ..., of Dido as she gazed out from her lofty citadel on the Trojan preparations for departure; and especially 8.676–677 ... *totumque instructo Marte videres / fervere Leucaten auroque effulgere fluctus*, in the picture of Actium on the shield.

litora: The shore is fittingly framed by *fervere ... flammis*.

flammis: The metaphorical fire of love from the earlier stages of the affair (cf. 66) are transformed in the closing movements into the all too real flames of both the threatened attack on the ships and the queen's requiem pyre.

568 *si te his attigerit terris Aurora morantem.*

A brilliant reworking of the threat of Creon to Medea at Euripides, *Med.* 352–353, here transferred to the risk to Aeneas if he sees another morning in the realm of his Medea.

his: Deictic demonstrative.

attigerit: The verb also at 1.737 ... *summo tenus attigit ore*, of Dido at the banquet; 5.797 ... *liceat Laurentem attingere Thybrim*, in Venus' appeal to Neptune; 6.828–829 ... *si lumina vitae | attigerint*, of Caesar and Pompey; 7.661–662 ... *postquam Laurentia victor | Geryone extincto Tiryntius attigit arva*; 9.557–558 ... *altaque certat | prendere tecta manu sociumque attingere dextras*, of Lycus.

terrīs: Austin perceptively notes that these are the same lands referenced at 281 *ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras*, of the hero's burning desire to flee—almost three hundred verses earlier.

Aurora: For the goddess of the dawn see on 6–7 above. This dawn will be noted at 584–585, from the viewpoint of Dido.

morantem: The key participle, nearly framing the verse with *te*. The same verb was used by Jupiter of Aeneas at 235 ... *aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur*. Note also Dido's *quid moror?* at 325; also 649.

569 *heia age, rumpe moras. varium et mutabile semper*

The second half of the verse offers the start of a notorious general utterance of the god: “The gnomic character ... resembles the style of tragedy (especially Euripides)” (Pease). The first hemistich gives the order; the second the rationale. Dido is a virtual shapeshifter, like some lamia or Mormo of folklore.

heia: The interjection elsewhere in Virgil only at 9.37–38 *ferre citi ferrum, date tela, ascendite muros, | hostis adest, heia!* ..., of Caicus in the face of the threat from Turnus to the Trojan camp. This is the colloquial language of a god in a hurry. *Heia age* occurs at Ps.-V., *Copa* 31, in imitation of this verse.

age: Juxtaposed with *rumpe*.

rumpe: Echoing 553 *rumpebat*, of Dido.

moras: Coordinate with 568 *morantem*, and alliterative with *mutabile*. We may recall here Anna's suggestion *indulge hospitio causasque innecte morandi* at 51. For how Aeneas is being summoned to convert *mora*/*amor* into *Roma*/*amor*, see J. Reed, “*Mora in the Aeneid*,” in Mitsis and Ziogas 2016, 88–90.

varium: Following on the *variosque ... aestus* of 564.

mutabile: The only other use of this adjective in Virgil is at 11.425–426 *multa dies variique labor mutabilis aevi | rettulit in melius ...*, in Turnus' optimistic assessment at the Latin war council. Here part of a commonplace misogynistic comment, from Homer (*Od.* 11.456) to Rigoletto (“La donna è mobile”); cf. Sophocles, fr. 811 Jebb-Headlam-Pearson, with Schiesaro 2008, 86–90 for the idea that women are fickle like the sea. The enjambment serves only to heighten the shock and force of the complaint. “If a god had not spoken these words Virgil would not have dared to write them, nor he to translate them” (Pease, quoting from Dryden). Seneca has *Qui cum sic divisus sit, ima sui parte maxime varius et inconstans ac mutabilis est* (*NQ* 2.11.1–2); Virgil may have had in mind such expressions as Cicero's *Vides quam sit varia vitae commutabilisque ratio* (*Pro Mil.* 69.1–2). The use of the neuter adjectives (as in agreement with an understood *animal*, as Dryden realized) only serves to heighten the negative effect. “The sharpest satire, in the fewest words, ever made on womankind” (Dryden). Austin argues strenuously that Mercury is a liar in this passage (following Henry, who says that if Dido had indeed chased after Aeneas with fire and sword, it was only because he deserved it; Tilly is sympathetic to the view that the god is being at the very least unfair to the queen). “Dryden, if the necessary allowances are made, is far truer to Virgil” (Irvine). We do well to remember that the Carthaginians had attacked the Trojans even when there was absolutely no real justification for doing so (1.539–541). If Mercury is a liar, then arguably everything he says and does in this passage makes the whole situation worse—though it is difficult to imagine that Dido would react in a different way if Aeneas had departed at noon, e.g., instead of just before dawn. The reader has been given ample evidence of what Dido has been doing with her magical rites, etc. while the Trojans sleep; especially in light of the mythological and historical comparands Medea and Cleopatra, it is difficult to imagine that the poet is trying to say that the curse of the Punic Wars was actually the fault of the dream apparition of Mercury.

semper: The adverb means what it says, despite the best efforts of some to soften its import. Mercury's comment offers a general assertion that is implicitly even more true in the case of Dido given her current state.

For connections between Virgil's Dido here and his depiction of Helen see Newman and Newman 2005, 191. There are “scholia” of W.R. Nethercut and H.C. Schnur in *The Classical World* 72.2 (1978), 101–103 that focus *inter al.* on the force of *semper* and Virgil's response to Greek adverbial antecedents, following on R.M. Haywood in 71.2 (1977), 130. Lyne 1989, 48–51 provides an extended, sensitive reading.

We may compare here Ovid's Dido at *Her.* 7.51: *Tu quoque cum ventis utinam mutabilis esses!*—a memorable comment on the sentiments of Virgil's Mercury. The fact that Aeneas is both *certus eundi* and sound asleep on the stern may also point to a rather mercurial character in the hero.

570 **femina.** sic fatus nocti se immiscuit atrae.

femina: The speech closes on a startling, misogynistic note. The noun is alliterative with *fatus*. MacLennan sees this as “the final stage of the gods’ cynical manipulation of Dido”; he is sympathetic to the argument that it is Aeneas and not the queen who is *varius* and *mutabilis*. “A remarkable pause” after the key term in prominent position (so Tilly). The dactylic end of the address serves to heighten further the extreme emphasis on speed. Aeneas was Antony until he was practically driven out of Carthage by the immortals. Henry is right to speak here of the “extraordinary emphasis” of the noun; he is on less sure footing when he talks about Mercury’s wife. The verse is framed by baleful words, at least in the context of the argument that the god takes pains to make. Again, we do well to remember that these verses were written when Cleopatra was very much a vivid memory for a Roman audience, and very much a major element in Augustan propaganda. Mercury’s sentiments are exactly in accord with the prevailing tenor of the contemporary press against Egypt’s queen.

sic fatus: Cf. 1.670; 2.50; 391; 544; 3.118; 5.72; 351; 539; 10.535. Another abrupt Mercurian (not to say mercurial) departure, as at 276. See further here G. Highet, “Speech and Narrative in the *Aeneid*,” in *HSCPh* 78 (1974), 189–224, 206.

nocti: With its color adjective in framing order. This is the night that was given extended description at 522–527; there the emphasis was on how peacefully everything was slumbering under its implicitly protective embrace; here the point is that the night is actually baleful (*atrae*) because of the queen who is all too awake, plotting ruin and destruction.

se: The elision enacts the disappearance of the god.

immiscuit: Also at 5.429 *immiscensque manus manibus pugnamque lacessunt*, during the boxing match; 10.796 *proripuit iuvenis seseque immiscuit armis*, of Lausus; 11.815 *contentusque fuga mediis se immiscuit armis*, of Arruns after his attack on Camilla; cf. 2.396; 10.153; below on 10.664; also G. 1.454 and 4.245.

atrae: Ending the verse on a grim chromatic note; vid. Edgeworth 1992, 74–86, and cf. 248; 384; 472; 633; 687; also 5.2. The language here is echoed at 10.664 *sed sublime volans nubi se immiscuit atrae*, with reference to the Junonian phantom Aeneas. For the black night cf. 1.89 ... *ponto nox incubat atra*; 2.360 ... *nox atra cava circumvolat umbra*; 5.721 *et Nox atra polum bigis subvecta tenebat*; 6.272 ... *et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem*; 866 *sed nox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra*.

While he will be mentioned again, this is the third and final appearance of the god in the epic; for how Mercury is not one of the deities ever associated with the patronage of Troy, see Henry 1989, 121–123; for how the Volscian Camilla has significant affinities with the messenger god, see Fratantuono 2015b, 306–308.

571–583 Aeneas is roused from sleep at once and follows the admonition of the divine visitation: the Trojans will sail away at last from Carthage. “Commentators, anxious to get on to the speech which follows, have hardly given its due to this paragraph, which for sheer technical excellence seems to me the equal of anything in the *Aeneid*” (Irvine).

571 *Tum vero Aeneas subitis exterritus umbris*

Tum vero: Also at 397 and 450, where, by contrast, the phrase introduces the terrified Dido. Cf. 279 *At vero*, of Aeneas’ reaction to the god’s diurnal visitation. Pease speaks of how Aeneas had commenced preparations to leave then, but now “becomes really in earnest”: again, it is noteworthy that it has taken nearly three hundred lines.

subitis ... umbris: In frame around the thoroughly frightened Aeneas; interlocking word order with the name of the hero. Mackail (following Heyne; Butler concurs) interpreted this phrase as referring to the sudden onset of darkness after the departure of the bright apparition of the god. But the “sudden shades” here (poetic plural for singular) is of the dream manifestation of Mercury. Austin is troubled by the plural, and offers what he admits is a perhaps unconvincing argument that *umbris* might have been preferred here because we are dealing with a god and not some ghost of a deceased mortal (for which the singular *umbra* would have been more appropriate). That said, he dismisses the idea that “darkness” is being referenced here—after all, why would someone who has been asleep be terrified by the dark, but not by the sudden epiphany of the bright and youthful light of the god? Pease compares *G.* 4.501 *prensantem nequiquam umbras* (Orpheus with Eurydice), together with the *animaeque umbraeque paternae* of Anchises (5.81) and the *umbris* of 6.510 (of Deiphobus); none of these are exactly parallel. We may note 577, where Aeneas is not aware of who the god was (despite how exact a replica in appearance he was of the diurnal Mercury). “Did Juno send Mercury, seeking to aggravate the situation and thereby to provoke the curse of Carthage on Rome?” (Fratantuono 2007, 122). The language here is imitated by Silius at *Pun.* 2.704–705 *saepe Saguntinis somnos exterritus umbris / optabit cecidisse manu ...*, of Hannibal (see further Bernstein ad loc.), though again the parallel is not of a divine apparition. The phantom Aeneas sent to Turnus by Juno is a singular *umbra* at 10.636; its depar-

ture is like Mercury's here (10.664 *sed sublime volans nubi se immiscuit atrae*). *Umbris* at line-end balances 570 ... *atrae*, of the black night into which the *umbrae* depart.

exterritus: The description is reminiscent of 450–451 *Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido / mortem orat ...*, of the queen after the failure of her virtual embassy with Anna; cf. 672 below, of Anna after the suicide.

For how Aeneas' terror here is circumstantial evidence that the Mercury apparitions of this book preceded the Anchises vision of 5.721ff. (i.e., that Book 5 was not originally anterior to 4), note P.E. Kehoe, "Was Book 5 Once in a Different Place in the *Aeneid*?" in *AJPh* 110.2 (1989), 246–263, 254–255, with good analysis of the Mercury scenes.

572 **corripit e somno corpus sociosque fatigat:**

The verbs frame the verse. The roles in some sense have been reversed: now it is Aeneas who is the one hurrying along others, whereas earlier it was the men and not the captain who seemed to be in happy, eager haste. In any case it will not take his men long to regain their ardor for leaving (cf. 581). On Aeneas' physical actions here see Heuzé 1985, 505–506.

corripit: Emphatically placed, as Aeneas wakes himself up with a start. The same language was used after the dream visit of the Penates: 3.176 *corripio e stratis corpus ...* Alliterative with *corpus*, in nearly perfect ABAB chiasmic, also alliterative arrangement with *somno ... sociosque*. The alternating guttural/sibilant sound patterns contrast the roughness of rousing oneself from sleep and the soothing slumber the companions enjoy until their captain rouses them. The echo here is of Lucretius, *DRN* 3.163–164 *corripere ex somno corpusque mutare vultum / atque hominem totum regem ac versare videtur*. Significantly, this verb will be repeated at 6.472 *tandem corripuit sese atque inimica refugit*, of Dido's shade with Aeneas. Cf. also the instructions about how to deal with Proteus at *G.* 4.403–405 ... *quo fessus ab undis / se recipit, facile ut somno adgrediare iacentem. / verum ubi correptum manibus vinclisque tenebis*, etc.

Servius has a curious note: "omen est futurae tempestatis." The storm of 5.10 ff. occurred very shortly after the departure; we must assume that the gods are providing suitable conditions to allow for an immediate flight.

e somno: Cf. 527; 530; 555; 557.

corpus: The body, that is, because the mind has already been haunted by the vision.

fatigat: The verb also at 1.280 *quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat*, of Juno; 316–317 ... *vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat / Harpalyce ...*; 5.253–254 *velocis iaculo cervos cursuque fatigat / acer ...*; 6.79 ... *tanto magis*

ille fatigat / os rabidum ...; 533 ... *aut quae fortuna fatigat*; 7.582 *undique collecti coeunt Martemque fatigant*; 8.94 *olli remigio noctemque diemque fatigant*; 9.63–64 ... *collecta fatigat edendi / ex longo rabies ...*; 605 *venatu invigilant pueri silvasque fatigant*; 609–610 ... *versaue iuvenum / terga fatigamus hasta ...*; 10.304 *anceps sustentata diu fluctusque fatigat*; 11.306–307 ... *quos nulla fatigant / proelia ...*; 714 *quadrupedemque citum ferrata calce fatigat*. Henry imagines that Aeneas went about kicking the Trojans to wake them; certainly the image is one of vivid rousing. They were no doubt exhausted from all of the preparations.

The punctuation here assumes that 573 *praecipites* starts another verse as the first word of Aeneas' speech. The colon here has been disputed since antiquity: Conte takes *praecipites* as an enjambed modifier of *sociosque* (his apparatus note argues in favor of the resultant variety of expression); so too Page (O'Hara prints the text with no comment); Butler; Mynors' Oxford text; also Güthling; Irvine; Austin; Tilly; Perret's Budé; Heuzé's Pléiade and Holzberg's Tusculum; Binder and Binder's Reclam; MacLennan. *Contra*: Geymonat; Götte's Tusculum; Henry (*sans commentaire*); Stephenson; Sabbadini; Mackail; Pease; Buscaroli; Paratore; Dolç; Goold's Loeb; Rivero García et al.; Conington; Williams. Williams here is right: it is better to have Aeneas recall Mercury's own word, especially when it was virtually repeated (565 ... *praeceps ... praecipitare ...*); this seems to be a weightier consideration here than the question of beginning a speech at the start of a verse.

573 “*praecipites, vigilate, viri, et considite transtris*;

praecipites: Cf. 565; Aeneas recalls the words of Mercury (as Servius already noted). The modifier may be taken as proleptic whether one reads it with *socios* or with *viri*; it is juxtaposed with the related *vigilate*, and amplified by 574 *citi*. “The confused rapidity of the expression is in keeping” (Conington), and we do well to remember that the poet may have been well aware of the ambiguity of how to take *praecipites*: the very ambiguity contributes to the sense of rush. Likewise, it may be taken either with *vigilate* or with *considerite*; its force overshadows the entire action. “Mark the rush of dactyls in all this speech” (Austin, following Irvine).

vigilate: Alliterative with *viri* and 574 *vela*, and coordinate with *considerite* and 574 *solvite*: a tricolon of action. The verb also at 10.228–229 ... *vigilasne, deum gens, / Aenea? vigila et velis immitte rudentis*; cf. the participial uses at 5.438 and 9.345; also *G.* 1.313. The point of the verb is that the men have been asleep and not keeping watch; sentinels would be aware of danger, and the message of the god has indicated that the Trojans have not been alert to the hazardous situation.

considite: The prefix emphasizing the corporate action of the rowers. For the verb cf. 39. Exactly parallel are 3.289 ... *considerere transtris* and 5.136 *considunt transtris*. The imperative is alliterative with 574 *citi*.

transtris: For the noun note also 5.663; 752; 10.306. "In the open galleys of early times, the thwarts on which the rowers sat served as the beams ... in Latin they were called *transtra* ..." (Casson 1971, 220).

574 *solvite vela citi. deus aethere missus ab alto*

The verse is wholly dactylic, to enact the emphasis on swiftness.

solvite vela: Cf. Propertius, c. 1.17.25–26 *at vos, aequoreae formosa Doride natae, | candida felici solvite vela choro*.

citi: Adjective for adverb. Repeated in the very different context of Dido's imperative at 594 *ferite citi flammis*, which is after all the rationale for Aeneas' divinely inspired order here. Cf. the action of Mercury on his mission to soothe the hearts of the Carthaginians at 1.300–301 ... *volat ille per aëra magnum | remigio alarum ac Libyae citus adstitit oris*; also 5.33 ... *fertur cita gurgite classis*; 66 *prima citae Teucris ponam certamina classis*; 610 *nulla visa cito decurrit tramite virgo* (of Iris); 824 *Tritonesque citi Phorcique exercitus omnis*; 9.37 *ferite citi ferrum, date tela, ascendite muros* (of Caicus); 11.461–462 ... *nec plura locutus | corripuit sese et tectis citus extulit altis* (of Turnus); 714 *quadrupedemque citum ferrata calce fatigat*; 12.425 *arma citi properate viro!* ... (Iapyx after the miraculous healing of Aeneas' wound).

deus: Cf. 440 *fata obstant placidaque viri deus obstruit auris*; 576–577 below, where Aeneas expresses reserve and question as to the identity of the god, despite the clear indication that the dream apparition was identical in every way to Mercury (568–569). Some of this is ritual, due caution; cf. 9.16 ff. of Turnus with Iris (with O'Hara 1990, 71–72). Interlocking word order: *deus | aethere | missus | alto*. The main verb will not come until 576 *instimulat*.

aethere ... ab alto: For the *aether* cf. 167; 668; also G. 4.78–79 ... *aethere in alto | fit sonitus ...*; *Aen.* 6.436; 7.25; 9.644–645. The *aether* was the traditional realm of Jupiter.

missus: Implying that Aeneas realized that the vision had been sent by someone, presumably the supreme god who had sent Mercury on his first mission.

575 *festinare fugam tortosque incidere funis*

A verse of strongly fricative alliteration: *festinare / fugam / funis*.

festinare: Cf. 2.373–374 *festinate viri! nam quae tam sera moratur | segnitias ...* (of Androgeos); 6.177 *haud mora, festinant flentes ...* (at the Misenus requiem); 7.156–157 *haud mora, festinant iussi rapidisque feruntur | passibus ...* (of the Trojan ambassadors to Latinus); also G. 4.117.

fugam: Echoing 565 *non fugis hinc praeceps*.

tortosque ... funis: Framing word order, with the verb of cutting literally enacting the severing. For the participle cf. 12.481. See Pease for the “stock epithet of ropes” (though here only in Virgil; cf. Lucan, *BC* 8.655; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 6.353).

incidere: The verb also at the related 3.666–667 *nos procul inde fugam trepidi celerare recepto | supplice sic merito tacitique incidere funem*, of the swift departure with Achaemenides from the threat of the Cyclopes. These are the only two occurrences in the epic; cf. *E.* 3.11; 8.29; 9.14; 10.53. See Pease for the “abrupt action”; in both Book 3 and here, there is no time for the usual practice of loosening the ropes/cables: they must be cut so that the Trojans do not have to set foot again on Carthaginian soil. A monstrous comparison is thus set up here: the peril is similar to what was faced with the Cyclopes.

funis: The noun also at 8.708 *vela dare et laxos iam iamque immittere funis*, in the depiction of Cleopatra in flight from Actium on the shield. The departure from Carthage is divinely inspired and must of course take place, but it is not Aeneas’ finest or most heroic hour. Cf. also 3.265–266 ... *tum litore funem | deripere excussosque iubet laxare rudentis* (of the departure from the Strophades); 639–640 *sed fugite, o miseri, fugite atque ab litore funem | rumpite* (Achaemenides’ recommendation to the Trojans); 5.773 ... *solvique ex ordine funem* (on leaving Sicily); 10.659 ... *rumpit Saturnia funem* (when Juno seeks to save Turnus as he pursues the Aeneas-Geist). See on 580 for the significant act of the severing of the cable—the symbol of the definitive break between the proto-Rome and Carthage.

576 *ecce iterum instimulat. sequimur te, sancte deorum,*

Balanced sound pattern: *iterum | instimulat; sequimur | sancte*.

ecce: Also at 152. “Phantasia est ad sociorum terrorem” (Servius).

iterum: We were not told if Aeneas had shared with his men the news of the diurnal visitation of the god from 265 ff., or indeed if anyone else was able to see Mercury on that more dramatic occasion. *Iterum* is repeated at once (577); cf. the same pattern at 78–79 and 413.

instimulat: The verb only here in Virgil; it may be a coinage of the poet (Cicero has *instimulator* at *De Domo* 11.13). Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 14.495; *Fast.* 6.508; Statius, *Theb.* 1.714–715. The god has spurred Aeneas on to make his exit at last. “A metaphor from driving cattle with a goad, i.e. a pointed stick” (Tilly). Virgil may have in mind the wand of Mercury, here imagined as pushing the Trojans out to sea. The rare verb may have occasioned the Medicean reading *stimulat*, which is much weaker; *instimulat* might easily enough have been corrected/corrupted, but not *vice versa*. The prefix is also needed to maintain the balanced sound pattern.

sequimur: The fulfillment of the sentiments of 361 *Italiam non sponte sequor*. The verb is juxtaposed with *instimulat*: Mercury pressed the matter, and now the Trojans will follow: the word order enacts the action.

sancte: Cf. 5.80 *salve, sancte parens, iterum salvete, recepti* / *nequiquam cineres animaeque umbraeque paternae!*; these are the only two vocative uses of the adjective in Virgil apart from the feminine superlatives 6.65 ... *tuque, o sanctissima vates*, of Deiphobe, and 11.158 ... *tuque, o sanctissima coniunx*, as Evander reflects at the Pallas requiem that his wife was fortunate in having died before she saw the loss of her son. Servius notes here “aut distingue *sancte*, aut secundum Ennium dixit *respondit Iuno Saturnia sancta dearum* [Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 1.53 Skutsch].” It is unlikely that any allusion to Ennius’ reference to Juno is meant to evoke the idea that the goddess was responsible for this nocturnal visit of Mercury, however attractive such a scenario might be for critical interpretation; the appellation is conventional (i.e., Homeric) enough. The origins of the invocations of Christian Latin verse and liturgical address to the saints may be seen here. Pease notes that the speed of the departure precludes any of the ritual niceities such as we find at, e.g., 5.774ff.; the address to the god is what must suffice for liturgical observance. An appropriately flattering vocative: Mercury is the holy one of the gods, because he needs to be shown special reverence and honor. At Plautus, *Rud.* 160 Palaemon is saluted as *sancte Neptuni comes* (where see Sonnenschein); cf. Sextus Turpilius, fr. 118 Ribbeck *Te, Apollo sancte, fer opem ...*; Catullus, c. 64.95 *sancte puer ...*; Propertius, c. 4.9.71; Tibullus, c. 2.1.81; Ps.-Tib., c. 3.10.9; 3.11.12; Ps.-V., *Culex* 26; 37; Grattius, *Cyn.* 438, 441; Ovid, *Fast.* 2.62; 127; 658; *Trist.* 3.14.1; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.11; 6.288; Martial, *Ep.* 10.28.7; 10.58.10; 12.62.15; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 7.737.

577 *quisquis es, imperioque iterum paremus ovantes.*

quisquis es: Satisfying (anachronistic) Roman concern with obsessive attention to the sensitive nature of what the gods want to be called. Here there is also a pointed comment on the mysterious aspects of the nocturnal apparition; it was obviously Mercury, and Aeneas should have been embarrassed to have to be told a second time that he must leave at once. For *quisquis* of a god compare the parallel 9.22, of Turnus with reference to Iris.

Servius cites here Cicero, *DND* 3.22.56, about the “three Mercurys”—i.e., the celestial, the terrestrial, and the infernal. For those not content with three, DServ. offers four Mercurys: “unum caeli et Diei filium, amatorem Proserpinae; alterum Liberi patris et Proserpinae filium; tertium Iovis et Maiae; quartum Cyllenae filium, cuius mater non proditur, a quo Argus occisus est, qui ob hoc metum in Aegyptum profugit et ibi invenisse primum disciplinam litterarum

et numerorum dicitur ...” A good example, we might think, of the hazards of hyperanalysis of language that is conventional enough. That said, in the context of the need for Aeneas to be reminded a second time to leave, it is appropriate that there should be a focus on the question of the identity of the divine messenger. If there are three Mercurys, we may compare Dido’s invocation of the triple manifestation of Diana; the *umbræ* of 571 may point to the infernal Mercury, the psychopompic god who here is not, of course, heralding the doom of the Trojans, but rather that of Dido. Heyne, however, is reasonable when he speaks of the “argutiae” of Servius. Once again the usual Virgilian practice: the language may be defended simply with reference to standard practice—one must, after all, be certain not to offend a god—but there is also the hint of a reminder that Aeneas has needed this second visitation, when arguably the first should have been enough.

There is also a reminiscence here of 1.337 ff., of Aeneas with his disguised mother—where of course the identity of the deity was certainly unknown.

imperioque iterum: In parallel sound pattern with 576 *iterum instimulat*.

Iterum is interesting: “we obey you again.” The language cannot help but evoke the idea that it has been some time in the action of the book since Mercury relayed his first (Jovian) *imperium*. The word order is important: *iterum* must be taken with *paremus*, but it also reflects how this is, after all, a second *imperium*.

paremus: The verb also with *imperio* at 238–239, of Mercury’s obedience to Jupiter’s mandate; there is a hierarchy, and the messenger god is the go-between. So also at 295 *imperio laeti parent* ..., of the Trojan response to Aeneas’ commands that they should prepare to leave Carthage.

ovantes: Echoing 543 *quid tum? sola fuga nautas comitabor ovantis?*, in Dido’s rueful recitation of her intolerable options. An interesting term in context: the Trojans are departing under the auspices of the gods (see Irvine, and Austin here), and so they are in a state of exultation and joy—they have divine sanction for their travel plans. There is also a hint of military victory, as in Dido’s use of the same language; it is as if the proto-Romans have (proleptically) triumphed over Carthage. Lastly, we think throughout of the Augustan victory at Actium. There is also a strange, palpable disconnect: normally those who triumph or celebrate ovations are not in flight (575). The same language at 3.189 ... *et cuncti dicto paremus ovantes*, of the Trojans at the departure from Crete.

“No greater contrast could be imagined between the mood of the Trojans who are overjoyed at their sudden departure and that of Dido now intent on death” (Tilly).

578 *adsis o placidusque iuves et sidera caelo*

adsis: So of Aeneas' invocation to the Tiber at 8.78 *adsis o tantum et propius tua numina firmes*; cf. also 10.254–255 ... *tu rite propinques / augurium Phrygibusque adsis pede, diva, secundo*; 461 *te precor, Alcide, coeptis ingentibus adsis* (where see Harrison). Closely coordinate with *iuves*. Mercury made two abrupt departures; here he is invoked in typical prayer language to be present as a patron of the voyage. The first of three jussive subjunctives, as the hero makes his prayer before the fateful sailing. On divine invocations in the poem see Lehr 1934, 21 ff.

o: See Pease for the “dislocation” of the interjection, a favorite verbal trick of the poet. Austin comments on the “heightening of tone”: Aeneas is aware that this is not the best time of year for such a voyage.

placidusque: With reference to the winter weather issues in particular, and of general hopes for a favorable journey. The adjective echoes 522, of the *placidus sopor* that enveloped everything except the heart of the queen; cf. also 440–445; 5.848. The adjective may carry a hint too of appeal for the god to be appeased in light of his clearly impatient tone: he was not listened to swiftly the first time, and now his auspices are needed as part of the divine machinery at work in ensuring a safe exit. Cf. also Anchises after the episode of the Harpies at 3.265–266 *di, prohibete minas; di, talem avertite casum / et placidi servate pios!*

iuves: The original *iubes* of F was corrected; the error probably arose from the general context of orders and divine command. For the verb note also 66; 498; 538; 660. “A liturgical term” (Pease).

sidera: Juxtaposed with *caelo*. Cf. 524, etc. “Hoc est ventos, qui ex ortu siderum aut prosperi aut adversi sunt” (Servius). The main reference is to the constellations, which must be favorable so as to allow for safe sailing; note 52–53 on Orion. The line-end *sidera caelo* also at *G.* 2.342; *Ps.-Tib.*, c. 3.7.10; Ovid, *Am.* 2.10.13; *Met.* 13.292; Manilius, *Ast.* 1.472; 529; 2.742; Lucan, *BC* 4.54; 107; Statius, *Theb.* 10.145; *Silv.* 5.1.241; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 2.289; 7.476; 11.461. We may recall here Palinurus at 3.514–515 *explorat ventos atque auribus aëra captat; / sidera cuncta notat tacito labentia caelo.*

579 *dextra feras.” dixit vaginaque eripit ensem*

Another verse of balanced sound effects: *dextra / dixit / eripit / ensem.*

dextra: The key term in enjambed, prominent relief: what matters is that the constellations be favorable, notwithstanding the winter season. As Pease et al. note, Aeneas follows the Greek rather than the Roman system of favorable/unfavorable directions. Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 4.767–768 ... *sic hoc tibi sidere dextro / crescat onus ...*; also *Silv.* 3.4.63.

vagina: The noun also at 6.260 *tuque invade viam vaginaque eripe ferrum*, of the Sibyl to Aeneas; cf. 9.304–305 ... *mira quem fecerat arte Lycaon / Cno-*

suis atque habilem vagina aptarat eburna, of Ascanius' (premature) presents to Euryalus before the night raid; 10.474–475 *At Pallas magnis emittit viribus hastam / vaginaque cava fulgentem deripit ensem*, as he attacks Turnus; 896 *advolat Aeneas vaginaque eripit ensem*, of Aeneas with Mezentius.

eripit: The verb only here in Book 4. It describes the forceful, resolute action of Aeneas as he severs the cables; the enjambed adjective gives a hint of the divine power behind his dramatic gesture. Juno's Iris will cut the fateful lock of Dido's hair; Aeneas' Jovian sword (cf. 580 *fulmineum*) will cut the ropes that connect the proto-Rome with Carthage. For the verb with *ensem* cf. *Ilias Latina* 374–375; note also Ovid's ... *nitidum vagina deripit ensem* (*Met.* 10.475). Present tense after *dixit*, to underscore the vividness of the action that was already expressed by the word choice. This is Homer's Odysseus at *Od.* 10.126–127 (after the encounter with the Laestrygonians), and Apollonius' Jason at *Arg.* 4.207–208 (on departure from Colchis), though in an arguably even more dramatic context.

ensem: A significant word insofar as this is not among the *arma viri* intended for the pyre at 495–497. The noun at line-end is balanced by 580 ... *ferro*. Cf. 646, of the *ensis* that Dido will unsheathe for her suicide.

580 *fulmineum strictoque ferit retinacula ferro.*

Repeating the triple fricative alliteration of 575, with its mention of the cutting of the cables (*fulmineum / ferit / ferro*). Again all the emphasis is on speed. "The cutting of the cable is a sign of extreme haste, even of panic. The only other time that Aeneas wastes good hemp is when he sees the Cyclops ... To set sail at night would be sufficiently abnormal" (Irvine).

fulmineum: Forceful by position and enjambment. This passage will be echoed in the dramatic context of 9.441–443 ... *instat non setius ac rotat ensem / fulmineum, donec Rutuli clamantis in ore / condidit adverso ...*, of the dying Nisus' successful attack on Volcens at the end of the night raid. The only other occurrence of the adjective in Virgil is at 9.811–812 ... *ingeminant hastis et Troes et ipse / fulmineus Mnestheus ...* D^{Serv.} notes that some read *fulgentem* here, which would have been flat and unremarkable. The adjective frames the verse with *ferro*; the emphasis is on the Jovian inspiration for Aeneas' departure. The sword that cuts the rope that links Aeneas' vessel to Carthage is associated with the thunderbolt of the supreme god who ordered the departure from Dido's realm in the first place. Probably borrowed from Lucretius; cf. *DRN* 2.382 *quare fulmineus multo penetratior ignis*; note also Lucan, *BC* 6.238–239 *membraque captivi pariter laturus et arma / fulmineum mediis excepit faucibus ensem*; Seneca, *Ag.* 829–830 *Te sensit Nemaesus arto / pressus lacerto fulmineus leo*; Statius, *Theb.* 2.571 (of Dorylas); 3.184 *fulmineum in cinerem ...*; 4.94 (of

Tydeus); 7.326 (again of ash); 10.271–272 (of an *ensis*); Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.501 (of *fragor*); 6.230 (of an *ensis*); Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 1.421 *fulmineus ceu Spartanis latratibus actus*; 17.548 *fulmineus ductor* ... In comparing Virgil to his epic antecedents, Butler notes "... the epithet *fulmineum* is Virgil's own, due to his love of vivid colour."

strictoque: Exactly as at 10.715 *non ulli est animis stricto concurrere ferro*; cf. 2.333–334 ... *stat ferri acies mucrone corusco / stricta* ...; 10.577 ... *strictum rotat acer Lucagus ense*; 651–652 ... *strictumque coruscat / mucronem* ...; also 2.449 *strictis mucronibus*; 6.290–291 *corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum / Aeneas strictamque aciem venientibus offert*; 7.526 *strictis seges ensibus*; 12.175 *Tum pius Aeneas stricto sic ense precatur*; 288 *strictis ensibus*; 663 *strictisque seges mucronibus*. A variation on the theme of 579 *eripit ense*. The participle in framing order with *ferro*.

ferit: A verb of varied applications: of a blast of stormwind at 1.103; cf. the storm-tossed sea of 115; 2.488 ... *ferit aurea sidera clamor*, of the commotion and tumult in Priam's palace at the invasion of Pyrrhus: all negative associations, which will change here (and cf. 5.140–141 ... *ferit aethera clamor / nauticus* ..., during the regatta). At 6.251 *ense ferit* Aeneas makes his underworld sacrifices; note also 8.25; 10.154 (of striking a treaty); the gruesome 10.315; 346; 349, and 415, also in battle contexts; 11.832–833 *tum vero immensus surgens ferit aurea clamor / sidera* ..., of the reaction to the death of Camilla; 12.295; 304; 458; 511; 730 (again all in battle scenes). The verb of striking the sea in sailing at 3.290 and 5.778. Pease observes that "Aeneas seldom executes things himself, acting rather through subordinates ... save in crises like the present."

retinacula: The noun elsewhere in Virgil only at *G.* 1.265 and 513. An old word, mostly poetic. *Retinacula* = the last connection to Carthage, now severed. The noun is fittingly framed by the verb and the noun of cutting.

ferro: Closely coordinate with *ferit*. The noun also at line-end at 663, with reference to Dido's suicide.

581 *idem omnis simul ardor habet, rapiuntque ruuntque;*

idem, etc.: The first three words underscore strongly the shared passion of Aeneas' men to leave; cf. 295 *imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt*. The sailors must work as a unit for successful rowing, and here they are all on fire with the same goal (*idem* in the first, prominent position, in close coordination with the adverb *simul*). Aeneas' men had needed no divine goad to leave Carthage, and here they take to the water, eager now on the way to Hesperia.

ardor: Of burning desire: there will be no fire that threatens these vessels, only the metaphorical fire of the men who have wanted for so long to make their exit. The noun is not common in the epic; note the imitation of the present

verse at 7.393 *idem omnis simul ardor agit nova quaerere tecta*, of the crazed, Bacchant-like women with Amata; 9.184–185 ... *dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt*, | *Euryale, an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido*; the *Sirius ardor* of 10.273 in the fiery description of the advent of Aeneas; 11.786–787 ... *cui pineus ardor acervo* | *pascitur* ..., in Arruns' recollection of firewalking on Soracte.

habet: Also of an emotional state at 11.357 *quod si tantus habet mentes et pectora terror*, in Drances' address at the Latin war council.

rapiuntque ruuntque: Powerfully alliterative after *ardor*. The third-person verbs give the result of the same ardent longing that possesses them all at once and at the same time, together. For forms of *rapere* cf. 198; 217; 286; of *ruere* at 132; 164; 401; 429; 581; 674. "Scour, scud" (Conington); "Helter skelter" (Page); "hustle and bustle" (Austin). "One of those jingling pairs so common in many languages" (Pease). The Trojans are leaving at exactly the worst of times in terms of season and hour of night, but the peril is all too real, and the god's edict is finally being heeded. "An accusative must be supplied from the context, but its omission all the more emphasises the scrambling haste with which they get the ships ready for sailing" (Tilly). Stephenson does well to note that the transitive and intransitive verbs do not denote any specific action; they encompass all the necessary work of the hasty sailing. The enclitics closely coordinate the two vivid present indicatives. "... homerische Sprache nachempfindende Doppelung von *-que* ... hier mit Alliteration und Gleichklang die Eile betonend ..." (Binder). *Ruuntque* at line-end will be echoed at 583 ... *verrunt*.

"A remarkable line, with seven words, each carrying weight. The spoken rhythm of the first five completely undermines the verse-rhythm, which is then sharply restored by the last two" (Maclennan). Irvine comments on the dactylic rhythm of 581–582 that then is resolved into a spondaic pattern as the men settle into the patterns of rowing.

582 *litora deseruere, latet sub classibus aequor;*

The strand and the sea frame the verse, as the one is deserted and the other is hidden. The rhythm and content of the line are similar to 417 *convenere undique; vocat iam carbasus auras*; cf. 164, with the same metrical pattern to express a rather different action.

litora: Liquid alliteration with *latet*. These shores will be violently, dramatically echoed at 628 *litora litoribus contraria*, in Dido's curse; cf. Mercury's warning at 567 ... *tum fervere litora flammis*; the queen's notice of the deserted shore at 588.

deseruere: Juxtaposed with *latet*. For the verb note 42; 144; 323; 330; 677: a key term in this book, with reference to the abandoned queen; by the last occurrence of the verb in Book 4, it will be Dido who has deserted her sister. The

perfect of instantaneous action; not really “intrusive” among the present tenses, *pace* Maclellan. Rather, this is the result of the action of Aeneas’ thunderous, Jovian sword—and of the corporate action of his eager sailors. They are leaving in the hour just before dawn; they are still visible as Dido notices the scene on the beach at 587–588, and so it cannot be very long at all before Aurora begins her work when the ships depart.

latet: The verb only here in the book. “Virgil’s exaggerations, like Milton’s, are not always happy, but surely this one is genius” (Irvine). There is a strong hint here of the power of this nascent Roman fleet, as it were—so large that the sea hides under its expanse (the plural *classibus* contributes to the effect). Very different will be the use of the verb at 5.4–5 ... *quae tantum accenderit ignem / causa latet* ..., of the hidden cause of the fire the Trojans see as they depart. We may compare 566 *iam mare turbari trabibus* from Mercury’s admonition, with its image of the Carthaginian navy in pursuit, indeed of the Trojan ships fired and reduced to kindling. In a nice touch, the very verb of “hiding” is prominently featured at the middle of the verse.

classibus: Echoed at 587 *classem*, as the queen sees the fleet sailing away.

aequor: Coordinate with 583 *caerula*.

583 *adnixi torquent spumas et caerula verrunt.*

The verse is repeated from 3.208, just before the arrival of the Trojans at the Strophades and the episode of the Harpies. Austin considers the line even more effective here, as it describes not the approach to land, but rather the departure therefrom. “This line describes how they must row until they are far enough out on the water for the breeze to catch the sails ... It is a pause but only a pause before Dido’s discovery, and her consequent stormy grief” (Tilly). “The dactyls now give place to heavy spondees, with marked clash of ictus and accent” (Austin). ABBA chiasmic arrangement of verbs and objects. See further Polleichtner 2009, 96.

adnixi: Also in a nautical context at 4.226 *quem petit et summis adnixus viribus urget* (of Mnesteus at the regatta). Cf. 9.229 *stat longis adnixi hastis et scuta tenentes*, of the Trojans in camp before the address of Nisus. At 690 below it will be used of Dido in her death agonies. Elsewhere in the epic the verb is used at 12.92–93 *exim quae medio ingenti adnixa columnae / aedibus adstabat* ..., of Turnus’ sword; note also 1.144 ... *et Triton adnixus acuto*; 9.744 *intorquet summis adnixus viribus hastam*, of Turnus as he attacks Pandarus. The participle reflects the effort needed to row the ships out of harbor.

torquent: The verb also at 208; 220; 269.

spumas: The noun is rare in Virgil; at 1.35 *vela dabant laeti et spumas salis aere ruebant* it occurs in the description of the departure from Sicily just before the

fateful storm; cf. 3.567 *ter spumam elisam et rorantia vidimus astra*, in the successful navigation of Charybdis (the only time the noun is used in the singular by the poet); 7.465, in the simile of the water boiling in a vessel; note also *G.* 3.111; 203; 449. In close color coordination with *caerula*, of the white foam contrasting with the dark blue of the sea. Silius has *torquent anhelantem spumanti vertice pontum* (*Pun.* 9.286); cf. 3.475–476 *corpora multa virum spumanti vertice torquens / immersit fundo laceris deformia membris*.

caerula: Vid. Edgeworth 1992, 107–112. The chromatic adjective (*caerul(e)us*) also at 3.194, of a rainstorm (*imber*). The image here is Catullan (c. 64.7 *caerula ... verrentes aequora*); Lucretius lurks here too (*DRN* 5.1226–1227), and probably Ennius (*Ann.* fr. 14.377–378 Skutsch *Verrunt extemplo placidum mare: marmore flavo / Caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate pulsum*). Edgeworth sees the commencement of a bursting forth of color that serves to enact a diminution of tension as the Trojans leave Dido's city. At 5.10 *caeruleus* occurs again with *imber*, of the storm that breaks very soon after this departure. "Generally a somber color ..." (Edgeworth), here probably with a hint of the just visible color of the water in the crepuscular glow of the sky. *Caerula* also of the sea at 7.198.

verrunt: Cf. 8.674 *aequora verrebant caudis aestumque secabant*, of the dolphins on the shield just before the depiction of Actium; 3.290 (= 5.778) *certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora verrunt*; 6.320 ... *illae remis vada livida verrunt*; also 1.59 *quippe ferant rapidi secum verrantque per auras*, of Aeolus' winds. Harsh actions, as ropes/cables are cut and the oars strike the sea; every cut and crash is another break with Carthage. The line-end also at Lucan, *BC* 3.542.

584–629 Aurora brings the dawn, and the queen sees the Trojan fleet in flight from Carthage. She utters first seemingly vain threats, and then invokes all too real curses and imprecations, in which nothing less than the destined wars between Rome and Carthage are heralded, not least the Second Punic War and the rise of Hannibal.

584 Et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras

Two verses are devoted to the breaking of dawn on this significant day. Verses 584–585 are repeated at 9.459–460, of the dawn that breaks after the grim events of the night raid (Sparrow 1931, 105 thinks that the description fits better in context here, and was awkwardly inserted there as a stopgap; the poet however wanted to draw a parallel between the loss of Nisus and Euryalus and that of Dido; on this see further Newman and Newman 2005, 186–187). Cf. above on 129; Homer, *Il.* 11.1; 24.695; *Od.* 5.1; Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.183; Lucretius, *DRN* 2.144 *primum Aurora novo cum spargit lumine terras*; note also *G.* 1.446–447 ... *aut ubi pallida surget / Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile*.

“Designatio temporis est, non descriptio diei ...” (Servius). “Calm and beautiful lines” (Williams), among the very last such verses in the book until the very end. There was a tradition that Ajax committed suicide not long after dawn; see Pease ad loc.

prima: The hypermetric hyperbaton with 585 *Aurora* enacts the spread of the dawn’s light over the lands. Echoed at 586 *primum*.

novo: In framing order with *lumine* around the verb. Servius argues here for a philosophical reference: “secundum Epicureos, qui stulte solem de atomis dicunt constare et cum die nasci, cum die perire,” but Pease is correct that such considerations were probably not on the poet’s mind. The emphasis is instead on how early it is, and the light of the dawn is easily enough referred to as “new.” *Novo ... lumine* in different contexts also at Lucretius, *DRN* 5.282–283 *inrigat adsidue caelum candore recenti | suppeditatque novo confestim lumine lumen*; Manilius, *Ast.* 1.68 *et stupefacta novo pendebat lumine mundi*; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 12.128–129 *laxat et horrendus aperit telluris hiatus | interdumque novo perturbat lumine manis*.

spargebat: The imperfect is inchoative (cf. 586 *albescere*); together with *iam prima novo* it underscores the first hints of dawn, literally when *Aurora* is leaving her bed (585). For the verb cf. on 486; 512; 601; also 21 and 665. The verb is used similarly at 12.113–114 *Postera vix summos spargebat lumine montis | orta dies ...*

lumine: The light is fittingly enough juxtaposed with the lands it illumines. Echoed at 586 *lucem*.

terras: Alliterative with 585 *Tithoni*.

585 *Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile*.

The conventional enough description of *Aurora* leaving the couch of *Tithonus* is perfectly matched to the departure of *Aeneas* from *Dido* (cf. Homer, *Od.* 5.1–2 *Ἡώς δ’ ἐκ λεχέων παρ’ ἀγαυοῦ Τιθωνοῖο | ὤρνυθ’, | ἴν’ ἀθανάτοισι φάωσ φέροι ἠδὲ βροτοῖσιν*). The idea that Virgil crafted his dawn passages with particular attention to the events of the day in question is old (see Servius ad 11.183, citing an idea of *Asinius Pollio*); cf. Lyne 1987, 38 (with reference to Heinze, and Pöschl). *Macrobius* (*Sat.* 6.1.31) cites this description as an example of one of Virgil’s borrowings, in this case from *Furius Bibaculus’ interea Oceani linquens Aurora cubile* (fr. 7 Courtney = fr. 72 Hollis), with meaningful exchange of *Oceani* for *Tithoni*. The present verse is repeated from *G.* 1.447; here the formulaic expression has narrative resonance. The names of the lovers are, appropriately enough, metrically distanced.

Tithoni: The name of the ill-fated husband of the dawn is in prominent relief. Vid. C. Prato in *EV* v, 201–202. This is the first mention of *Tithonus* in the epic;

Servius *ad G.* 3.48; *Aen.* 1.489 and here notes that he was the brother of Laomedon (cf. Dido's comment at 542).

croceum: Alliterative with *cubile*. For the (Homeric; cf. *Il.* 8.1; 23.227; 24.695) color vid. Edgeworth 1992, 122–123; cf. Maggiulli 1995, 276–277. There may be a reminiscence of 1.649 *croceo velamen acantho*, of the veil of Helen with its yellow acanthus pattern that Aeneas sent as a gift to Dido; Virgil wanted us to remember the gift since at 1.711 *croceo velamen acantho* he repeats the same chromatic phrase in his description of how the Carthaginians marveled at the presents. At 700 below, Iris descends on yellow wings (*croceis pennis*) on her mission to sever the lock of the queen's hair—a definite progression of associations of the color with the doom and death of Dido. Cf. 6.207, where the Golden Bough is compared to the mistletoe that has yellow offspring (*croceo fetu*, sc. berries); the repetition of the present verse at 460; and lastly the yellow *chlamys* of Camilla's target Chloereus at 11.775. Numanus Remulus also taunts the Trojans for their *picta croco ... vestis* (9.614). Any nuptial associations of the color serve only to highlight the poignance of the scene (but cf. Treggiari 1991, 163).

linquens: Cf. 71 and 390; appropriately enough the latter passage is of Dido leaving Aeneas: the roles here reversed. In alliterative balance with 584 *lumine*.

Aurora: Paschalis 1997, 168–169 sees a possible connection between the queen's love of gold and the dawn goddess (*aurum/Aurora*).

cubile: The noun also at 648, of the *notum cubile* that Dido gazes at just before her suicide; cf. 3.324; 8.412; 9.460; 715; 12.144; 45 above and 6.274 in the plural.

586 *regina e speculis ut primum albescere lucem*

regina: The first mention of Dido since 553; she has been awake for some time (if she slept at all), and now she sees what is happening in her harbor—she may have heard the noise of the departure, or (likelier) she was gazing out at her lost lover's ships. Dido is identified by her royal title, with explicit emphasis on her place as a potentially hostile foreign potentate, not as the lover of the Trojan hero.

speculis: The visual element again (cf. 587 *vidit*). The noun also at 3.239 ... *dat signum specula Misenus ab alta*; 7.511 *At saeva e speculis dea nacta nocendi* (of Allecto); 10.411 ... *specula cum vidit ab alta* (of a lion); 11.526–527 *hanc super in speculis summoque in vertice montis | planities ignota iacet ...*; 877 ... *et a speculis percussae pectora matres*. Mackail compares 12.594–610, of Amata before her own suicide (1930, 517–518, = his appendix on repeated episodes). The commentators have devoted energy here to determining where exactly Dido is (inside or outside her palace, etc.); the present scene is reminiscent of 410 ... *arce ex summa*, where the queen was described as seeing the activity in the harbor from her lofty citadel. She has a watchtower, and the *speculae* referenced here

essentially = the *arx summa* of the previous passage. “All that the word really implies is that the place commanded a view” (Pease). Of a commanding height, as the queen gazes down on the (visually small) ships that she will wish to see destroyed.

ut primum: *Cum primum* is weakly attested; cf. 259. A “pardonable pleonasm” before the inceptive *albescere* (Pease, comparing 12.76–77). *Primam* is the Palatine reading, which has been criticized because of 584 *prima*.

albescere: The inchoative verb also at 7.528 *fluctus uti primo coepit cum albescere vento* (= *G.* 3.237); cf. *G.* 1.367; only here in the poet of the dawn’s light. Vid. Edgeworth 1992, 66–67; note also the related verb *albere*, used only at 12.36 in a grisly passage about the Latin fields that are white with bones. Edgeworth observes that “If speculation about color clusters which approach a norm without attaining it ... is correct, this cluster is a discordant one, prefiguring the disasters of the day.” Hypallage (so Servius: “luce enim albescunt omnia, non lux albescit”). Prudentius has *lux intrat, albescit polus, | Christus venit, discedite!* in the opening of his hymn *Nox et tenebrae et nubila* (3–4).

lucem: Echoing 584 *lumine*.

Ut primum tenebris abiectis inalbabat dies is the first of Skutsch’s “spuria.” There has been some speculation that Virgil had this verse in mind here, but allusive certainty is more elusive in this case than usual.

587 *uidit et arquatias classem procedere uelis,*

vidit: In framing sound pattern with *velis* and 588 *vacuos*. Vid. Newman and Newman 2005, 103 for consideration of this moment in light of the other visual reactions of the queen. The verb is coordinate with 588 *sensit*.

arquatias ... velis: Framing word order. A lively picture of the fleet as it sets forth, the credit of a nineteenth-century conjecture. With some reserve, following Ladewig we have adopted *arquatias*, the brilliant 1847 suggestion of Herrmann (*Rhein. Mus.* v, 621–622) for the manuscript *aequatias*, with which he compares (for the language) the *arcuatium currum* of Livy 1.21; the millipede of Pliny, *NH* 29.39 (*animal multis pedibus arcuatim repens*); also (for parallel image) the convex sails of Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 1.1278 *κυρτώθη δ' ἀνέμῳ λίνα μεσσοῖσι*. *Arquatias* to describe the convex sails of the ships would continue (via allusive reference to the rainbow) the color imagery of the previous verses, while also preparing the way for the appearance of Iris at the close of the book: the rainbow goddess will preside over the departure of Dido from life, and rainbow imagery now accompanies the Trojans as the fleet at last takes its leave of Carthage. *Arquatias* occurs from Lucretius to the medical writers as a vivid description of the lurid eyes of the jaundiced (i.e., the color is reminiscent of colors in the rainbow); for its use with reference to Iris cf. Ovid, *Met.* 11.589–591.

Aequatis velis could mean that the sails are evened, in the sense that the wind strikes the entire surface of the sail evenly, or that the sails of all the ships are in an even line, sailing side-by-side (so Stephenson, Austin, et al.). Tilly thinks the latter image is more vivid (following Page: “The even set of the sails when a fleet of ships is sailing in company at once strikes the eye”); Henry has a long note here that does not settle on any one interpretation. Some have argued that in a hasty departure, one cannot manage to have all the ships aligned abreast in even formation. Williams sees a visual confirmation of psychological reality: the Trojans are in a state of orderliness, while the Carthaginian queen’s thoughts are erratic and disordered. MacLennan (following Butler, Gould and Whiteley, etc.) sees no reference to the order of the ships, but rather to the sails being set at the same angle to the *ventos secundos* (cf. 562). Cf. 5.232 *et fors aequatis cepissent praemia rostris*, of the ships of Mnestheus and Cloanthus at the regatta; 5.844 *aequatae spirant aurae* ... (in the disguised Somnus’ coaxing appeal to Palinurus); Messapus’ contingent at 7.698 *ibant aequati numero* ... We would agree here with MacLennan that the point of *aequatis* is probably about the catching of the winds and not the row of ships *per se* (though there may be a hint of the array of vessels as for a battle); cf. the *ventis secundis* that attend the ships of Agrippa at Actium at 8.682, with Fratantuono and Smith on the wind and weather for the battle. *His dictis*, we have preferred *arquatis* because the picture it provides is more vividly, precisely and immediately renderable; it accords with imagery both contextual and foreshadowable from elsewhere in the book; and its corruption is easily enough explained.

classem: Echoing 582 *classibus*, and alliterative here with *procedere*, as the ships cut through the water.

procedere: The verb only here in the book.

588 *litoraque et vacuos sensit sine remige portus*,

The shores and the harbor frame the verse. Cf. the imitation of Silius at *Pun.* 2.420 *Aeneadum vacuo iam litore classis* (with Bernstein).

litoraque: Echoing 582; at 628 the *litora* will recur in Dido’s curse that imagines strand against strand in the Punic Wars.

vacuos: The hyperbaton effectively enacts the deserted harbor. The adjective recalls its previous use at 82 *sola domo maeret vacua stratisque relictis*.

sensit: Cf. 542; also 105. Alliterative with *sine*. The sight comes first, and then the realization of the meaning of what is perceived in the early light (*vidit / sensit*). The physical reaction follows at once (589–590), and then the speech and curse.

remige: Cf. 5.116 *velocem Mnestheus agit acri remige Pristim*; these are the only occurrences of *remex* in Virgil. *Sine remige* has been called pleonastic after

vacuos—but the poet wants to emphasize the desolation on the shore from the queen's perspective.

portus: The noun also at 87, in the description of the urban works that had ceased in consequence of the queen's passionate longing for Aeneas; cf. 612 below; 5.24 of the Sicilian port that Palinurus hopes to reach in the storm. Ovid has the same line-end at *Met.* 6.445 *in freta deduci veloque et remige portus*. Alliterative with 589 *pectus percussa*.

589 *terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum*

The language and image will be recalled at 12.154–155 ... *cum lacrimas oculis Iuturna profudit | terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum*. Anna will behave similarly below at 673, in the wake of her sister's suicide.

terque quaterque: As at 1.94–96 ... *o terque quaterque beati, | quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis | contigit oppetere!*. Note also *G.* 2.399 *terque quaterque solum scindendum* ... Conventional enough for the idea of “again and again.” Also at the start of a verse at *Ps-V., Aetna* 321; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 12.288; Statius, *Silv.* 4.1.37; Martial, *Ep.* 10.1.3; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 8.643.

manu: Juxtaposed with *pectus* to enact the beating.

pectus percussa: Cf. 1.481 ... *tristes et tunsae pectora palmis*, of the Trojan women in the picture in Dido's Junonian temple. Plosive alliteration, in further (here onomatopoeic) enactment of the action. At 11.877 ... *et e speculis percussae pectora matres* the Latin matrons will react similarly to the attack on Laurentum in the wake of Camilla's death; cf. 7.503 *Silvia prima soror palmis percussa lacertos*; 9.292–293 ... *percussa mente dedere | Dardanidae lacrimas* ..., of the reaction of the Trojans to Euryalus' appeal about his mother; also Picus struck by Circe's golden wand at 7.190; Achates at 1.513 (if *percussus* is not to be read; note the same textual confusion at 8.121, of Pallas smitten by the name of Dardania); Euryalus at 9.197, struck by the chance for glory and renown. “Here the tense of *percussa* is almost a continuous present” (Tilly). Closely coordinate with 590 *abscissa*, in the same middle construction. *Pectus* is in framing order with *decorum* (as 590 *flaventisque ... comas*). For once in this book, the word refers to the physical body, and not metaphorically to the source of emotions.

decorum: The adjective also at 559, of the handsome *membra* of the dream apparition of Mercury. We may compare here 11.480 *causa mali tanti, oculos deiecta decoros*, of Lavinia. Vid. Heuzé 1985, 261 and 284 for the detail about the queen's lovely appearance; there is a deliberate emphasis here and in the following line on this visual image, to offer a contrast with the abuse the queen renders to her body. Virgil is as sparing with descriptions of Dido's actual appearance as he is of Aeneas and his other characters. Austin compares Cleopatra's self-abuse after the death of Antony (Plutarch, *Vita Ant.* 82, where see Pelling).

590 **flaventisque abscissa comas: “pro Iuppiter! ibit**

The verse moves with extraordinary rapidity from Dido to Aeneas, with Jupiter betwixt: the god who is, after all, most responsible for separating them.

flaventisque: Elissa's blond hair is highlighted; she shares the color with many divine and heroic figures, though not, significantly, with Homer's Zeus, or Hera. See here Edgeworth 1992, 127–128; the verb occurs also at 7.721 *flaventibus arvis*, of the yellow fields of Lycia; also 10.324–325, of *flaventem Clytium* (the *eromenos* of Cydon); cf. *G.* 3.350; 4.126. Pease has an extended note on who has light vs. dark hair in the classical tradition (Austin tartly comments that “Pease’s note here makes the reader forget its beauty”). Dido's blond hair will be mentioned again at 698, where it has special significance because of the severing of the fateful lock; the yellow bed of the dawn at 585 heralds the color of the queen's hair. Mercury at 559 is a parallel. Aeneas at 1.589–593 would seem to have a blond complexion, at least as a result of his mother's work at enhancing his appearance (cf. especially *flavo* / *auro* at 1.592–593). Goldsworthy 2010, 127–129 offers a discussion of the question of Cleopatra's appearance; one of the only ancient sources that cites anything about it is Lucan, *BC* 10.127–143, who speaks of the queen's *candida pectora*. Goldsworthy concludes (128): “Absolutely nothing is certain. Cleopatra may have had black, brown, blonde, or even red hair, and her eyes could have been brown, grey, green or blue.” If Virgil's Dido is any guide—then it is perhaps likely that Egypt's Macedonian queen was a blonde. Virgil's Ceres is blond (*G.* 1.96) because of her obvious connection to corn; see Pease for the idolization of blond hair among the Romans.

abscissa: The verb also at 3.418 and 5.685; cf. *G.* 2.23; Horace, *Serm.* 2.3.303; Propertius, c. 3.11.63; 4.4.72; Ovid, *Her.* 12.153; Statius, *Silv.* 3.2.61. The compound only here with *comas* in extant Latin; cf. 9.478 *scissa comam* (of Euryalus' mother). The tense conveys well something of the rapidity of the action (as with 589 *percussa*): it is a *de facto* present, because in a split second the queen has struck her breast and torn her hair once she realizes what has happened. The relatively rare word has occasioned some orthographical confusion. Mostly poetic; admitted by Tacitus. Cussen 2018 prints *abscisa*, citing the Palatine orthography at 12.511.

comas: For the noun cf. 280.

pro: Interjection (only here as such in Virgil). With the exclamation cf. 597 ... *en dextra fidesque*.

Iuppiter: The god responsible for the descent of Mercury and the order for the Trojans to leave. Turnus will mention Jupiter at 12.895 ... *di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis*; Austin comments on the “abrupt intensity” of the queen's reference here. She knows about the Jovian order for Aeneas to leave (cf. 356); here she indignantly calls on the god to witness Aeneas' alleged mockery of her king-

dom, as if he would be upset with the Trojans for following his orders at last. If anything there is a hint here of exasperated frustration with the god as well as with the hero who is obedient to him. Servius reminds us that Dido is recalling 1.731 *Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur*, of the queen's invocation of Jupiter as patron god of the guest-host relationship, which she is convinced has been broken—in this case at the behest of the deity who should care about such bonds.

Pro Iuppiter may be a borrowing from Ennius *tragicus* (cf. fr. 361 Jocelyn); there are comic antecedents too (Terence, *And.* 732; *Eun.* 550; *Adelph.* 111; 196; 366). Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 11.41; 13.5; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.52; 3.697.

ibit: The little verb carries significant weight. The enjambment is especially noteworthy: we have no sense as yet of who the subject will be, and it will not be clear until 591 *advena*. With the verb at line-end cf. 593 ... *ite*.

591 *hic*," ait "et nostris inluserit advena regnis?"

hic: With deictic force, and continuing suspense until the penultimate word of the verse as to the exact referent.

ait: Cf. 630; 641; 660; 704: a sudden outburst of uses as the book enters its final movements.

nostris: Effective hyperbaton: first the emphasis is on the personal, and then on the regal: the transformation is far advanced now from aggrieved lover to angry ruler of her kingdom, thus paving the way for the imminent curse of war against the children of Aeneas. The plural also below at 612; 625; 662. "It would be an impertinence to praise this speech, and of explanation it needs little" (Irvine).

inluserit: For the verb cf. 2.64, of the mockery of Sinon; 9.634 ... *i, verbis virtutem inlude superbis!*, of Ascanius to Numanus Remulus. The future perfect correlates closely with 590 *ibit*: he will go away, and he will have mocked her kingdom. Stephenson comments on the indignant use of the tense. The young queen grows angrier with every word. Aeneas has mocked her by leaving without permission, as it were; by betraying his marriage bond; by leaving her exposed to her enemies: the list of charges is long. There may be a hint in this passage that the queen viewed herself as the senior partner in the alliance with Troy; cf. the relationship of Cleopatra with Antony.

advena: Also at 7.38–39 ... *advena classem | cum primum Ausoniis exercitus appulit oris*, in the great invocation to Erato; 10.460 in Pallas' reminiscence of how Hercules was an Arcadian *advena* at Pallanteum; the powerful recollection of Aeneas as *advena* of the same locale at 10.515–517; Tolumnius' characterization of Aeneas as the *improbis advena* at 12.261. This is the first occurrence of the appellation in the epic; this is the status that Aeneas has been reduced to in

the queen's contemptuous estimation. Virgil plays with the negative and neutral associations of the term in its various citations. At 323 Dido mused on how the name *hospes* was all that was left from the former title of *coniunx*; now she has downgraded Aeneas' status from *hospes* to *advena*. "No more contemptuous term could have been applied to Aeneas" (Henry). Stanyhurst has the memorable rendering "Shal a stranger give me the slampam?"

The reason why the narrator too refers to the Trojan hero with this often derogatory epithet at 7.38–39 is because in the final settlement of affairs in Italy in the Junonian reconciliation, Troy will be in the decidedly junior, not to say suppressed (except in body) status relative to Italy.

regnis: For the noun cf. 47; 106; 194; 199; 214; 267; 275; 350; 355; 374; 381; 432; 619. The emphasis on her royal power (and not the love affair) will continue at 597, when she identifies the start of her troubles as being when she gave her royal power to Aeneas.

592 non arma expedient totaque ex urbe sequentur

The crazed Dido shifts now to a comment on her own people: will they not attack the Trojans as they depart. "... the general meaning is clear and the impression produced very accurate psychologically" (Pease). No one, of course, is either listening or willing to respond to her words (the scene works better if we imagine that the queen is, after all, quite alone). "furentis haec verba sunt ... nam haec a sana non procedunt, ut imperet absentibus ... cum sola sit" (Servius). "A remnant of Dido's queenly authority ..." (MacLennan).

arma: Cf. 594 *date tela*. These are most naturally taken of weapons and not of naval equipment for sailing after Aeneas' fleet.

expedient: The verb 14× in the epic, only here in Book 4. It recalls the happier context of 1.701–702 *dant manibus famuli lymphas Cererem canistris | expedient tonsisque ferunt mantelia villis*, at the banquet.

totaque ex urbe: Very different from 68–69, where the queen roamed the whole city in her lovesick state.

sequentur: The key verb, now in the context of the Carthaginians being expected to follow after the proto-Romans. The echo is of 401 ... *totaque ex urbe ruentis*, as the Trojans were rushing to leave the city to begin work on preparing the ships to sail.

The question remains whether or not this violent reaction was precipitated by the Mercury dream apparition. It seems likelier that Dido would have had a similar response to any sailing away, whether just before dawn or in broad daylight; the god's admonition was instigated in large part because of the magical rites that the queen had commenced during the night.

593 diripientque rates alii navalibus? ite,

diripientque: This is the reading of the codices; Heinsius' emendation *deripientque* is preferred by Heyne; Gossrau; Conington; Ribbeck; Page and Tilly (without comment); Conte's Teubner and Goold's Loeb; Rivero García et al.; Holzberg's Tusculum. We agree here with Mackail (following La Cerda); Sabadini; Buscaroli; Pease; Austin; Götte's Tusculum; Mynors' OCT; Williams; Geymonat; Dolç; Paratore; Binder and Binder's Reclam; Perret's Budé; Heuzé's Pléiade; MacLennan. Several of the school commentators offer nothing in defense of whichever reading they print. Mackail notes that we are amidst "the wild ejaculations of madness"; the main reason to alter *diripere* to *deripere* is to lessen the force of the insanity. The same Heinsian correction may be found at 1.211 *tergora diripiunt costis et viscera nudant*; cf. 3.227 *diripiuntque dapes contactuque omnia foedant*, of the Harpies (where surgery was not thought necessary). Manuscript confusion plagues 3.267, of the cutting of a ship's cable (*deripere* in the Palatine; *diripere* in the Medicean). Cf. 9.75 *diripueres focos* ..., where Turnus' men actually seek to do something along the lines of what Dido is wishing for here; 12.283 *diripueres aras* ..., in the wake of the violent breakdown of the treaty; also 2.563 *et direpta domus et parva casus Iuli*. The queen is not only giving imaginary commands in the absence of an obedient audience, but she is also expressing wild ravings. "To scramble hastily to get something" (*OLD* s.v. 2): we want a strong, vivid, crazed word here, and *diripere* offers the better choice, notwithstanding the occasional confusion of the related verbs. Here, at any rate, manuscript authority may be followed without qualms. The verb in alliterative sound pattern with the following *rates*. Cf. 600 *divellere*.

alii: "Others," in contrast to the assumed "some" of 592.

rates: The noun also at 53; cf. 5.8; 36.

navalibus: Cf. 11.329 ... *nos aera, manus, navalia demus* (Latinus at the war council). The adjective *navalis* occurs at 8.684, of Agrippa's naval crown in the depiction of Actium. It seems better to take this as an ablative of separation, rather than to punctuate with a stop after *rates*.

ite: Cf. 590 *ibit*. Here the imperative takes on special force after the pause after the fifth foot; it is juxtaposed hypermetrically with the next in the ongoing set of commands of the queen in her frustration and frenzy. Again, the language is deliberately strong; so strong that some have considered not only emending verbs, but also deleting lines (cf. Klouček 1883, 15–16).

594 ferte citi flammās, date tela, impellite remos!

Three more imperatives, with three objects (two of the sets two syllables apiece for each), in a verse of near-staccato (cf. Austin's "almost stammering") para-

taxis. Flames; weapons; oars: the Carthaginian fire-ships are to be launched to destroy the Trojans at sea.

ferite: Fricative alliteration with *flammas*; there is also a marked dental sound pattern to the verse that commences with this first, key command (the repeated *t* sounds of “sputtering rage,” as Pease notes). This passage will be echoed at 12.573 *ferite faces propere foedusque repscite flammis*.

citi: Cf. 574 *solvite vela citi*, of Aeneas’ orders to his men. Speed is of the essence if the Carthaginians are to have any chance to wreak havoc on Aeneas’ vessels. Once again adjective for adverb.

flammas: A far better reading than the inferiorly attested *ferrum*. This is what Mercury had warned about at 566–567. We may think of the Carthaginians of the Third Punic War under Hasdrubal the Boeotarch and Himilco Phameas, who used fire to great effect against the ships of the consul Lucius Marcius Censorinus, who had perilously exposed his vessels to the wind (Appian, *Pun.* 99).

tela: Echoing the *arma* of 592. *Vela* is an old error; what Dido wants here are weapons to be wielded against the Trojan fleet.

impellite: For the verb note on 23 *impulit*. *Incendite* is the reading of Parisinus lat. 7906, and gives pause as a possible preservation of the true text. The action described here would be the first gesture in the sailing process.

remos: Cf. 399, as the Trojans worked to refurbish and replace their oars.

Some have wondered why these commands are not carried out (cf. Terzaghi 1928, 27–34). On a practical level, the god has ensured the Trojans’ swift departure, and the queen has no one near her to hear orders that would need to have been carried out with lightning rapidity. Soon enough she will find a deadly alternative, in the execution of the curses that she had already planned via her magical rites.

595 *quid loquor? aut ubi sum? quae mentem insania mutat?*

Dido’s *quae mentem insania mutat?* will be repeated by Latinus at 12.37 in his appeal to Turnus; see Newman and Newman 2005, 161 for the queen’s presence there. She continues to vacillate between reason and rage. The three questions form a crescendo here, beginning with two shorter irrational exclamations, followed by a more introspective query.

quid loquor: Cf. 534 *en, quid ago?* ... She may realize here that nobody can hear her; soon enough curses via divine imprecation will be more effective.

aut ubi sum: A haunting question; this is the self-realization that one may, after all, be insane; from the Attis of Catullus’ galliambic horror to Virgil’s Dido in her watchtower one can trace the outline of something of a map of madness. Servius rather lessens the effect of the self-query by glossing “numquid in coetu

sum?"; the queen's question is more general, more reflective of her crazed state, and all the more poignant for its simple profundity.

mentem: Alliterative with *mutat*. Vid. Negri 1984, 173, 175, 308. Of Dido's rational mind: as Conington notes, the meaning here is essentially = sanity. This is one of the last glimmers of reason; cf. the key reference at 649 to her *mens morata*.

insania: We recall Laocoön's ... *quae tanta insania, cives?* (2.42) concerning the reception of the Wooden Horse; cf. 7.461 *saevit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli*, in the aftermath of Allecto's assault on Turnus; 10.871 *uno in corde pavor mixtusque insania luctu*, of Mezentius before he advances to fight Aeneas (= 12.667, of Turnus). Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 5.624 ... *quae mentem insania traxit?*

mutat: The verb only here in Book 4; it will be prominent in the appeal of Juno to Jupiter at 12.823–825 (in twofold repetition) regarding the ethnic composition and *habitus* of the future Rome.

596 infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt?

The slow spondees enact the queen's mournful indulgence in examination of conscience. "Remorse overtakes her at this bitter moment" (Tilly).

infelix: Dido addresses herself with the epithet from 68 and 450; 1.749 and later 6.456; cf. Newman and Newman 2005, 10, 49.

Dido: The queen alone in the epic addresses herself by name/title.

nunc: The adverb expresses how for the queen in her moment of self-reflection, it is long overdue for her to acknowledge fully her guilt.

te: In dental alliteration with *tangunt*, as the queen recalls her misdeeds.

facta impia: A vexed phrase, likely with deliberately nuanced, varied shades of meaning. Certainly with reference to the betrayal of faith with Sychaeus; her treatment of her own people may also be relevant (especially here, where they do not respond to her commands—the present passage emphasizes the queen's isolation). The deeds of Aeneas are perhaps also on her mind (cf. Peerlkamp; Forbiger; et al. here). See Monti 1981, 62 ff. for a contrary argument; we share the reservations of Horsfall 1995, 127. The commentators divide more or less sharply; cf., e.g., Sidgwick (of Aeneas' deeds); MacLennan (blended reference). Dido referred to Aeneas as *impius* at 496; here she condemns them both. See further S. Casali, "Facta Impia (Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.596–599)," in *CQ* 49.1 (1999), 203–211, on the case that Aeneas' alleged betrayal of Troy is the principal allusion.

Dido's language recalls Lucretius, *DRN* 1.82–83 ... *quod contra saepius illa / religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta*; cf. Catullus, c. 23.9–11 *non incendia, non graves ruinas, / non facta impia, non dolos veneni, / non casus alios periculorum* (of how Furius has nothing to worry about); c. 30.3–4 *iam me prodere, iam non dubitas fallere, perfide? / nec facta impia fallacum hominum*

caelicolis placent?; also *Dirae* 8–9; Ovid, *Fast.* 2.37–38. *Pius/impious* naturally enough does make one think of Aeneas, and the queen will quickly shift to focus on her lost Trojan lover; he is inextricably linked to her breaking of faith with Sychaeus. Henry is right here that 597 *cum sceptras dabas* refers to the time when “impious deeds” should have touched the queen, and it is difficult to imagine that she is talking about such things as Aeneas’ behavior in the wake of Troy’s fall; legends of his betrayal of his city; the loss of Creüsa, etc. Stephenson sees a reference first to the queen’s own guilt, and then to Aeneas’; Pease argues that there must be one or the other, and that probably it is the latter. It is unclear whether Ps.-Tib., c. 3.6.42 *ingrati referens impia facta viri* (of Theseus with Ariadne) is relevant here. It is possible that we have another of the poet’s multifaceted references: on the one hand, there is Dido’s impious behavior with respect to Sychaeus (the figure who will, in the underworld, at last be reunited with her); on the other, there is the impious behavior of Aeneas, in particular toward the queen—at least in her estimation of affairs. The first impiety is one that would resonate with a Roman audience; the second is not. Allusion to traditions about a traitorous Trojan Aeneas, if at all present, serves only to provide negative propaganda to buttress the queen’s agenda of complaint about personal affront. Not every mention of something *pious* or *impious* must refer principally to Aeneas, but the hero’s signal quality of *pietas* guarantees that he will be remembered—and so the queen’s exclamation at 597 *dextra fidesque* leads directly to the recollection of 598–599, where Dido recalls the most famous example of Aeneas’ loyalty.

The allusion to Lucretius, *DRN* 1.82–83 may remind us of Anna’s advice at 34 *id cinerem aut manis credere sepultos?*. Here it is not *religio* that has given birth to *impia facta*, but the lack of respect for the exercise of *religio*.

Fata is a weakly attested variant here, which can be dismissed as a copyist’s likely hasty error.

tangunt: Cf. 551 ... *talis nec tangere curas*. There is a strong reminiscence of 1.462 *sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt*. That passage is marked by a palpable sense of how Aeneas does not entirely appreciate the import of the pictures in Juno’s temple, which are after all a celebration of the destruction of Troy, and not some memorial to human suffering.

597 **tum decuit, cum sceptras dabas. en dextra fidesque**

More gritted teeth: *decuit* / *debas* / *dextra* in triple dental alliteration.

tum: The Palatine has *tunc*; cf. 408 for a similar manuscript confusion.

decuit ...: With a strong emphasis on that which is proper and fitting, right and devoid of scandal. The queen muses ruefully that she should have been

aware of the impiety of her actions then, when she gave Aeneas a share in her kingdom. The reference is back to 214 and 374, the first of Iarbas' complaints about her behavior (i.e., the scandal between them), the second of her own recollection of how foolish she has been. At the divine council Juno notes *aut ego tela dedi fovine Cupidine bella? | tum decuit metuisse tuis ...* (10.93–94); cf. 11.117 and especially 12.797 *mortaline decuit violari vulnere divum?*, in Jupiter's reproach of Juno.

sceptra: In context this means when the queen gave a share in power to Aeneas; she ought to have distrusted a son of Laomedon, and she ought to have remembered her oath to Sychaeus—the queen has much to rue. But we remember also 1.563–564 *praeterea sceptrum, Ilione quod gesserat olim, | maxima natarum Priami ...*: this was one of Aeneas' fateful gifts for Dido; for another—the cloak of Helen—see above on 585. We may recall too the mention of Aeolus' *sceptra* at 56–57, and his flattering comment to Juno at 78–79 ... *tu sceptrā Iovemque | concilias ...* There is also an echo of Venus' complaint to Jupiter at 1.253 *hic pietatis honos? sic nos in sceptrā reponis?*, at the very close of her speech about the treatment of her son.

dabas: Probably with an inceptive force. Dido had been minded to do this sort of thing quite early (cf. the queen's words to Ilioneus, 1.571–573, which predate her even having met Aeneas). The language of the verse implies that Aeneas gave his *dextra* in marital oath, and Dido gave her *sceptra*. Again, we may compare the situation of Cleopatra with Antony, especially with respect to the changing fortunes of their relationship and political/military situation. Rébelliau 1892, 94 n. 2 is perceptive in arguing that Dido speaks more as a queen than as a widow; this prepares us for the transition to the curse.

en: Another interjection, following on 590 *pro Iuppiter*; fittingly, it introduces a passage of markedly asyndetic syntax that enacts the queen's distraught state. "A good example of the indignant *en*" (Austin); cf. Dido at 534; Aeneas' *en Priamus* at 1.461.

dextra: The right hand that the queen has insisted already had been given in marriage (cf. 307; 314).

fidesque: Recalling 373 *nusquam tuta fides*, but also 552 *servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo*? Once again, the treatment of Sychaeus' ghost by Dido is paralleled by that of Aeneas with her; the present lament of the queen has perceivable undertones of how she has been abandoned in a matter not dissimilar to how she forsook the promises that she made to her dead spouse. Dido's charge that Aeneas is *perfidus* (cf. on 305) is also at the fore here.

598 quem secum patrios aiunt portare penates,

The plosive alliteration of indignation: *patrios* / *portare* / *penates*.

quem secum: The two words referring to Aeneas are juxtaposed; *quem* is powerfully echoed again at 599, as the drumbeat of the indictment continues (and cf. 604). The ellipsis of *eius* is surely an indicator of the queen's distress. *Secum* with the Penates recalls Aeneas' words to his disguised mother at 1.378–379 *sum pius Aeneas, raptos qui ex hoste penates / classe veho mecum ...*

patrios: In framing order with *penates*; cf. 2.717 *tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque penatis*; the collocation appears elsewhere in verse (Horace; Propertius; Ovid; Lucan; the *Octavia*). The adjective recurs soon in the ghastly context of 602; note also Anna's bitter comment at 680–681. *Patrios* with reference to Aeneas' Troy leads to the mention of Anchises in the next verse. It had been Hector's ghost that had enjoined the taking of the Penates on Aeneas (2.293–295); he had spoken of the *pererrato ... ponto* before Aeneas would found his new settlement: *pererrato* points to *errans* of Dido.

aiunt: For the verb cf. 591. “The only occurrence of the form in Virgil” (Austin). Here it conveys the idea that perhaps the story from 2.717 ff. was false in light of the hero's despicable behavior in Carthage; Dido had heard it from Aeneas himself, so the third person plural is in itself a piece of sarcasm. The reference to some third-person, other source has been taken as a sign of inconsistency; it is either a sneering insult, and/or an indication that this was one of the many details of the war that Dido had already heard of before Aeneas' arrival. We are reminded of how Dido could not hear enough of Aeneas' retelling of his stories (77–79); now she does not even acknowledge that he told her of this famous episode. See Newman and Newman 2005, 149 for the changing perception of the queen regarding the veracity of Aeneas' tales.

portare: The present infinitive is vivid; the Medicean and DServ. offer *portasse*, which looks suspiciously like a corruption on account of 599 *subisse*. Conington notes that there is also effective sarcasm here: Aeneas always seems to be carrying around his Penates, and boasting of his *pietas*.

penates: Cf. 21 ... *et sparsos fraterna caede penates*, just as Dido was remarking that Aeneas was the only one who could bend her will away from loyalty to Sychaeus: perhaps a circumstantial confirmation of something of what is on the queen's mind in her present complaint.

599 quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem!

The classic, iconographic image of Aeneas' *pietas*.

subiisse: Dido echoes Aeneas' own words at 2.708 *ipse subibo umeris nec me labor iste gravabit*. Cf. 2.560 *obstipui*; *subiit cari genitoris imago* and 562 ... *subiit deserta Creüsa*, of Aeneas after the warnings given to him about his family by

Venus. Very different is the boulder of 12.899 *vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent* that Turnus seeks to use against Aeneas.

umeris: The image recalls Atlas bearing the firmament on his shoulders.

confectum: Echoed at 11.85 *ducitur infelix aevo confectus Acoetes*, of another old man (at the Pallas requiem); cf. 6.520–521 *tum me confectum curis somnoque gravatum / infelix habuit thalamus ...* (of Deiphobus); 5.590–592 *cum subito e silvis macie confecta suprema / ignoti nova forma viri miserandaque cultu / procedit ...* (of Achaemenides); 5.362 *Post ubi confecti cursus et dona peregit* (after the foot race); 11.823–824 *hactenus, Acca soror, potui: nunc vulnus acerbum / conficit ...* (of Camilla, the only non-participial use of the verb in the epic). The prefix coordinates with *aetate* and is also intensive.

aetate: The noun here only in Book 4; it correlates closely with *confectum*. On old age in Virgil vid. J. Burbridge in *VE* 11, 929

parentem: At line-end, balancing 598 ... *penates*. See Newman and Newman 2005, 152 on Dido's fundamental error in not realizing that Anchises haunts her relationship with Aeneas, and that the Trojan hero still carries his father. For the noun cf. 178; 365.

600 non potui abreptum divellere corpus et undis

non potui: We may compare Juno's complaint at 1.37–38 *haec secum: mene incepto desistere victam / nec posse Italia Teucrorum avertere regem?*, with its subsequent indignant reminiscence of how Ajax Minor was gruesomely slain by Pallas. Dido notes that she was able to do this, and yet did not; she expresses here not anything remotely approaching mercy, but rather rueful regret that she did not utterly destroy Aeneas. The negative is repeated twice in the next verse, in powerful anaphora.

abreptum: Elsewhere in Virgil only at 1.108 *tris Notus abreptas in saxa latentia torquet*, during the description of the storm. The participle is echoed at 601 *absumere*.

divellere: Framed by *abreptum ... corpus*, in grisly enactment of what Dido envisions. The verb is Lucretian (*DRN* 1.201; 3.326) and not common in Virgil; cf. 2.220 *ille simul manibus tendit divellere nodos* (of Laocoön); 2.434–435 ... *divellimur inde, / Iphitus et Pelias mecum ...*, etc. (during the confusion of Troy's fall); 8.568 *non ego nunc dulci amplexu divellerer usquam*, of Evander with Pallas before his departure with Aeneas. With the prefix cf. 593 *diripientque*; the Palatine has *devellere* here. The reference is to the story of Medea's ill-fated brother Apsyrtus, murdered to secure the escape of the Argo from Colchis; this version of his death is not from Apollonius, who at *Arg.* 4.452 has Jason murder him, with Medea's connivance and consent. Dido alludes here to the earlier, pre-Apollonian account (which the Alexandrian poet himself references at 4.460–

461), for which cf. Sophocles, fr. 343 Jebb-Headlam-Pearson; Cicero, *Pro Lege Man.* 22; see further Hunter's introductory note *ad Arg.* 4.421–521. The account of how Apsyrtus was slain by Jason would not work in Virgil's vision for obvious reasons, though why he did not use the other version is uncertain. Medea killed her own brother; this accords here with the comparison of Aeneas and Dido to the sibling deities Apollo and Diana; here they are definitively severed. There is also a reminiscence of the similar fate of Pentheus at the hands of Agave, which recalls the Bacchic imagery associated with Dido's madness (cf. 300–301 and 469). The queen has had strong theatrical associations; one aspect of her failure is that she has not even been able to succeed in the terrifying ways that her tragic antecedents did.

et undis: The gruesome act is enacted by the enjambment of 601 *spargere*.

601 *spargere? non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro*

spargere: Graphic wickedness, prominent by position and enjambment; the sibilant alliteration with *socios / ipsum / absumere* hisses out the regret that she could not massacre the sons of Aeneas. For the verb note also on 21; 486; 512; 584; 635; 665. Lucan echoes this passage at *BC* 5.684 *invitis spargenda dabas tua membra procellis* (of Caesar and his hazardous crossing of the Adriatic).

non ... non: Murdering the companions would be bad enough; slaughtering Ascanius is the crown of the ascending tricolon of rabid rage.

socios: Cf. 289; 375; 572; singular of Aeneas at 142.

ipsum: The intensive introduces more hypermetric horror, as the queen turns against Ascanius. The suspense builds. *Ipsum ... Ascanium* frames *absumere ferro*, so that the sword that the queen imagines using against Aeneas' son literally severs the boy between two verses.

absumere: Cf. 3.257 *ambesas subigat malis absumere mensis*, in Celaeno's curse about the eating of the tables; 654 *vos animam hanc potius quocumque absumite leto*, in Achaemenides' closing words to the Trojans; 9.494 *conicite, o Rutuli, me primum absumite ferro*, in Nisus' invitation for the Rutulians to attack him and not Euryalus; note the participial uses at 1.555 and 7.301. Nisus' act of self-sacrifice is the exact opposite of Dido's murderous meditation here. Cf. the imitation at Suetonius, *Vita Claud.* 21.6.9 ... *diu cunctatus an omnes igno ferroque absumeret ...* There may be a reminiscence here of the *absumptus Itys* of Catullus, c. 65.14. *Absumere ferro* correlates closely with 602 ... *ponere mensis*.

ferro: In fact, the only *ferrum* she will wield will be used against herself.

602 *Ascanium patriisque epulandum ponere mensis?*

More plosive alliteration, in sputtering rage: *patriisque* / *epulandum* / *ponere*. The allusion is to the celebrated story of Atreus' murder and dinner service of the sons of Thyestes (cf. references at *Ag.* 1191–1193; 1219–1222; 1583–1611; Boyle 2017, lxix–lxxviii provides a comprehensive survey of the extant sources); the story is not elsewhere alluded to in Virgil, though the similar ghastly feast of Procne and Philomela is, in the song of Silenus: cf. *E.* 6.78–81 *aut ut mutatos Terei narraverit artus, | quas illi Philomela dapes, quae dona pararit, | quo cursu deserta petiverit et quibus ante | infelix sua tecta super volitaverit alis?*; the most extensive extant account is Ovid, *Met.* 6.412–674. Dido's allusion to cannibalistic lore is all the more horrifying in light of the prominent role of banquet imagery in Book 1, and how the queen wanted to relive the first feast (77): this is the dinner she wishes she had served. Again we are reminded that part of the lament of this passage is that Dido is here proven to be something of a failed actress, though she will regain her tragic credentials in her suicide, since the role of murderess was not hers to perform. Virgil would have known Sophocles' *Tereus*.

Ascanium: The name of the son is juxtaposed with the paternal adjective. He has not been named since 354; cf. 616–617 below. His last appearance was at 159, where he hoped for a wild boar or a lion at the hunt. The present horror show casts a shadow on 5.570–572 *extremus formaque ante omnis pulcher Iulus / Sidonio est invectus equo, quem candida Dido | esse sui dederat monumentum et pignus amoris*, at the *lusus Troiae*. Cf. the reference to the destruction of father and son at 605.

patriisque: The adjective is repeated from 598, this time in the opposite of an act of *pietas*; framing word order with *mensis*, to highlight what is being served up on this dish. Almost every word in the epic has been subject to debate: Klouček 1883, 16–19 argues that *patriisque ... mensis* would more properly apply to a banquet that Aeneas hosted and not Dido, and so we have here an interpolator's inept work.

epulandum: For the verb cf. on 207, in a very different context.

ponere mensis: Cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 4.657–658 *usus abest Veneris, nec fas animalia mensis | ponere, nec digitis anulus ullus inest. Mensa* occurs only here in the book; we may recall 1.705–706 *centum aliae totidemque pares aetate ministri, | qui dapibus mensas onerant et pocula ponant*, of the banquet on the first night. Further, Ascanius' famous proclamation at 7.116 (*heus etiam mensas consumimus*) may have heightened meaning given that here he escapes being dinner for his father.

603 *verum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna. fuisset:*

Another moment of self-reflection, with a fear that is at once put to rest. Fricative alliteration: *fuerat fortuna fuisset* (continuing with 604 *faces*), with polyp-toton and manipulation of verbal mood. The queen's indignation continues to be on full display. Perhaps if she had fought Aeneas, she would have died; so be it.

verum: Adversative adverb. Cf. 3.448; 670; 7.591; 11.587; 12.832.

anceps: Cf. 47 *tum vero ancipiti mentem formidine pressus*, of Aeneas after the Polydorus omen; the *ancipitem* / *dolum* of the Labyrinth at 5.589–590; the *ancipites matres* at 5.654 in the wake of the revelation that they were tricked by the disguised Iris; 7.525 *sed ferro ancipiti decernunt ...*, after Allecto's engendering of the war in Latium; 10.304 *anceps sustentata diu fluctusque fatigat*, of Tarchon's vessel; 359 *anceps pugna diu ...* Ciceronian: cf. *cum esset incertus editus et anceps fortuna belli* (*Pro Marc.* 15.8); Livy has *varia fortuna belli anceps Mars* (21.1.2.5); Tacitus *anceps proelii fortuna* (*Hist.* 3.18.14–15); parallel here is Velleius' *dubia et interdum ancipiti fortuna* (2.79.4). Elsewhere in verse note Lucan, *BC* 4.390 *ut numquam fortuna labet successibus anceps*; Statius, *Theb.* 6.474–475 *hic anceps Fortuna diu decernere primum / ausa venit ...* Pease notes that we have no idea how many men Dido has in her service; the impression one obtains is that she had a stronger force than Aeneas, though we cannot be certain. Whatever the case, here she dismisses the idea that she should have been cowed by any chance of defeat.

pugnae: She presents the actions of 600–602 as if they had been acts of war. The noun only here in Book 4. There is a certain perverse poignance in the fact that this *pugna* never took place, and never will.

fuerat: The indicative of vividness, where a subjunctive would have been expected. Exactly parallel is 2.54–55 *et, si fata deum, si mens non laeva fuisset, / impulerat ferro ...* (of Laocoön with the Wooden Horse). The indicative helps to secure a striking contrast with the subjunctive *fuisset*; Dido does not care about any risk to her own life, since she is resolved to die (604 *moritura*).

fortuna: Fortune is framed by the indicative and subjunctive pluperfects. Cf. 109; 434. For the heavy stop after the fifth foot and its effect see Williams *ad* 3.480.

fuisset: Jussive subjunctive/past concessive. With the form cf. 18 *si non per-taesum thalami taedaeque fuisset*; 327 *saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset*; vid. Newman and Newman 2005, 123; 141.

The line-end here is echoed at 9.41 ... *si qua interea fortuna fuisset*, of Aeneas' instructions to his men on leaving his camp in search of allies.

604 quem metui moritura? faces in castra tulissem

quem: Principally with reference to Aeneas; cf. 598 and 599: the relative pronoun an extraordinary three times in this soliloquy in first position.

metui: Alliterative with *moritura*. The verb only here in 4. The tense “of the actual state of the case” (Nettleship), again with the vividness of the indicative.

moritura: As at 308; 415; 519.

faces: Cf. the warning of the Mercury apparition at 566–567 *iam mare turbari trabibus saevasque videbis / conlucere faces, iam fervere litora flammis*. This is exactly what Ilioneus complained about to Dido at 1.525 ... *prohibe infandos a navibus ignes*: the Carthaginians are practiced at trying to set fire to the ships of those who land on their shores. Cf. 605 *flammis*. The threatened flames look forward to the Punic Wars (especially the first), and to Actium too. Dido envisages the burning of the Trojan fleet; for the possibility that here she evokes a dark aspect of the Homeric Nausicaä (who was compared to Artemis, as Dido to Diana in *Aeneid* 1), see Fratantuono’s forthcoming (*Maia*) study “Homer’s Nausicaä and Virgil’s Dido, Or the Intertextuality of Hunting and Ship-burning.”

castra: Of the Trojan camp on the Carthaginian strand, which recalls the Greek camp before Troy; for the naval application of the military term cf. 3.519–520 ... *nos castra movemus / temptamusque viam et velorum pandimus alas*; 5.668–669 ... *sic acer equo turbata petivit / castra ...*, where Ascanius races to the site of the burning ships; 9.69 *classem, quae lateri castrorum adiuncta latebat*. There may be a reference to some sort of stockade around the ships, though the term is of general enough application.

tulissem: The first person of direct responsibility: Dido herself would have set fire to the Trojan camp. There is an echo of this imagery in Turnus’ similar wishes to burn Aeneas’ fleet at the start of Book 9; on the significance of the recurring theme (Books 1; 4; 5; 9) see E. Wolff, “Der Brand der Schiffe und Aeneas’ Wiedergeburt,” in *Museum Helveticum* 20.3 (1963), 151–171; cf. Newman and Newman 2005, 180; 185 on the “burning Dido” who dreams of setting her own fires. The first in a series of pluperfect subjunctives, which may be past jussives, or simply contrafactual apodoses of suppressed protases: the difference in meaning is not very great. Cf. 678 *vocasses*. The pluperfect subjunctive at line-end echoes 603 ... *fuisset*; cf. 606 ... *dedissem*; it is juxtaposed hypermetrically with 605 *implessem*.

605 implessemque foros flammis natumque patremque

Again, the juxtaposed alliteration expresses the extreme anger and thoughts of vengeance: *foros / flammis*.

implessemque: For the verb cf. 30. Conington may be right to take the synopated forms here and at 606 *extinxem* as signs of the queen’s hyperagi-

tated state, beyond any questions of metrical convenience. This is Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.391–393, where Medea longs to burn up the Argo completely, and to cast herself into the flames.

foros: The noun elsewhere in Virgil only at 6.412 *deturbat laxatque foros ...*, of Charon as he takes on the burden of Aeneas in his *cumba*; *G.* 4.250 *complebuntque foros et floribus horrea texunt*, of the bees. The image of filling the gangways with flames is one of total destruction and the deliberate hunting down of Aeneas and his son. “*tabulata navium, ab eo quod incessus ferant*” (Servius).

flammis: Repeated at 607 of Sol.

natumque patremque: Recalling the threats of 600–602; again, the emphasis is on the destruction of Aeneas’ line; we are reminded repeatedly of how once upon a time the queen yearned for Ascanius as the image of his father, indeed for a son of her own from Aeneas (cf. 83–85; 327–330): the creepy, incestuous longing of the queen has now been replaced by explicit threats of murder and violence against son and father. The principal echo is of Pyrrhus at 2.662–663 *iamque aderit multo Priami de sanguine Pyrrhus, / natum ante ora patris, patrem qui obtruncat ad aras*; cf. Lucan, *BC* 6.785 ... *vidi Decios natumque patremque*. Aeneas’ prayer at 6.116–117 is very different. The frightening threat is once again expressed via the enjambment of emotion and suspenseful rage. On the concept of *pater/patres* in Virgil see M.G. Guillén Pérez in Moya del Baño 1984, 309–320.

606 *cum genere exstinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem.*

cum genere: Stronger than 601 *socios*. She contemplates the utter destruction of the Trojans, the completion—roots and all—of what the Greeks had left unfinished. Her own fate is inconsequential. There is no need to limit the force of Dido’s expression by noting that the deaths of Aeneas and Ascanius alone would ensure the doom of Troy; she wants everyone dead. Very different is 12 ... *genus esse deorum*, as Dido reflected on Aeneas’ divine lineage. Cf. 622 below; also 230.

exstinxem: Anna will echo her sister’s threats here in her rueful rebuke at 682–683 *exstincti te meque, soror, populumque patres / Sidonios urbemque tuam ...* For the verb cf. 322 *exstinctus pudor*. The syncope of the form serves to enact something of the fantasized ruin of the race.

memet: The emphatic pronoun is further strengthened by the intensive *ipsa*. The only other use of this form in Virgil is at 7.309–310 *quae potui infelix, quae memet in omnia verti, / vincor ab Aenea ...*, of Juno. There need not be an archaizing hint here; the poet wishes to employ as many stylistic tricks as possible to emphasize the queen’s willingness to enact her status as *moritura*.

super ipsa: Cf. 10.893 ... *super ipse secutus*, of Mezentius; the same phrase at 12.301 (of Corynaeus).

dedissem: The allusion to the queen's auto-demolition ends her reflection on what she herself might do; at once in the following verse she invokes celestial and infernal powers to see to the vindication of her cause. There may be a reminiscence here of Evadne (cf. 6.447), who cast herself on the pyre of Capaneus (Euripides, *Supp.* 984–985). For the use of the verb cf. 9.815–816 *tum demum praeceps saltu sese omnibus armis / in fluvium dedit ...*, of Turnus casting himself into the Tiber.

607 Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras,

Vocative and verb frame the verse. The queen moves effortlessly from her dreams of arson and fiery destruction to the sun that is now rising. We recall and resume here the invocation of the deities from close to a hundred verses before at 510 ff., during the magical rites of the preceding night; also—in a far different time—the offerings to Phoebus at 58. We argued that the rituals of black magic were focused on Dido's suicide and her curse on the Trojans; here those themes are resumed after the emotional outbursts of 533 ff. and now 589 ff. Pease offers one of his customarily comprehensive catalogues of every imaginable invocation of the sun from Homer to Claudian and beyond.

Sol: We recall the “Phoebian lamp” of 6. Cf. 1.565–568 *quis genus Aeneadum, quis Troiae nesciat urbem / virtutesque virosque aut tanti incendia belli? / non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora Poeni, / nec tam aversos equos Tyria Sol iungit ab urbe*, where Dido reflected on the question of how the Carthaginians had heard of the fame of the sons of Aeneas and the war at Troy. Her words there draw an implicit connection between the fires of the fall of the city (*incendia*) and the work of Sol; here she moves from the violent fantasy of burning the Trojan fleet to the flames of the sun god, with *flammis* in this verse strongly echoing 605 *flammis* of her pyromaniac dream. For the sun god in Virgil see E. Riganti in *EV* IV, 923–927; J.F. Miller in *VE* III, 1228–1229; Bailey 1935, 182–184; Fratantuono 2020c. In the first of the Sol passages of the epic, Servius saw an allusion to the sun recoiling in horror, as in the story of Atreus and Thyestes: “Fabula quidem hoc habet Atreum et Thyestem germanos, cum in dissensione sibi nocere non possunt, in simulatam gratiam redisse; qua occasione Thyestes cum fratris uxore concubuit, Atreus vero ei filium epulandum adposuit: quae Sol ne videndo pollueretur, aufugit ...” (cf. Baudou and Clément-Tarantino 2015, 320). Austin ad loc. considers the Servian note “far-fetched and irrelevant,” but here we note the explicit allusion to the grim lore at 601–602. Sol now is associated with Juno, Hecate, and the Dirae in an ominous invocation (see especially Buscaroli on the disturbing collocation of divinities);

the torches that Dido imagined at 604 will be echoed in the torch of the avenger that is forecast at 626 below (= Hannibal).

Sol is introduced because the sun must now just be rising; we have advanced from Aurora (584 ff.) to her celestial successor. He is the only male deity among the feminine powers of this prayer. Careful progression of time on this significant morning. In comparing Homer, *Il.* 3.277, Conington notes: “Virg. does not say as much as Homer, but he implies no less.” Aeneas will also invoke Sol (12.176–182), in the formalized rituals to secure a treaty between Trojans and Latins; cf. 12.161–164, where Latinus wears the emblem of his ancestor Sol; also 7.280–283 for the king’s gift to Aeneas of horses that were bred from solar stock; 12.113–115. For the leavetaking of the sun cf. Euripides, *Iph. Aul.* 1506–1508; also *Alc.* 207.

terrarum ... opera omnia: In framing order around the *flammis* of Sol that illumine them. *Opera omnia* should be taken as a general reference to human affairs, with particular contextualization for what has happened in Carthage since the Trojans arrived. Cf. 12.699 ... *opera omnia rumpit*, of Aeneas in his eagerness to face Turnus.

lustras: For the verb cf. 6. If there is a hint of purification here, it would be of the purgation effected by the suicide of the queen on this morning, and also of the sins of Aeneas via the curse that the queen pronounces on Aeneas and his race. The verb of the sun is Catullan (c. 63.37–39); Lucretian (*DRN* 5.692–693; 6.737).

“Virgil has artfully balanced the two references to the sun god in the first half of the poem: both are made by Dido, with the first expressed in negative terms and the second in positive, though in contexts where the opposite sentiment is intended” (Fratantuono 2020c, 387). Cf. Servius: “iam utitur imprecationibus, id est, devotionibus.”

608 tuque harum interpres curarum et conscia Iuno

Juno is next in the divine queue, as patroness of the queen’s city. Vocative pronoun and the name of the goddess frame the verse. We recall here 59 *Iunoni ante omnis, cui vincla iugalia curae*.

interpres: Of Mercury at 356 and 378, first in the words of Aeneas and then of Dido. The appellation takes on special resonance in light of Juno’s machinations with Venus at 90 ff. *Interpres* is framed by *harum ... curarum*. There is an implicit contrast here between the Jovian messenger Mercury and the work of Juno, which at this point in the poem is in conflict with that of her divine brother/husband. The goddess served as matron of honor at what Dido considered to be her wedding, and so she was an intermediary between Carthaginian and Trojan spouses; she is also an interpreter of the divine will,

in that for Dido a wedding would not have been possible without the heavenly sanction of so great a goddess.

curarum: Alliterative with *conscia Iuno*. The precise referent of *curarum* has been debated since Servius. It has been a leitmotif of the book since line 1; cf. 521. It appears elsewhere in the book in the plural at 531 *ingeminant curae*; cf. 394; 488; 551; 652 (also 341 and 448 of Aeneas' *curae*).

conscia: So of the *aether* at 167, and of the *fati* / *sidera* of 519–520. Juno was witness to whatever happened in the cave, and so Dido invokes her here as a deity who can bear witness to how the queen has been wronged; Sol sees everything (though we might wonder about his visual acuity during tempests), while Juno as *pronuba* was privy to the “marriage.” But the principal reference of this verse is to the goddess as Carthaginian divine defender. Yet another gasp of the queen's resolute certainty that she was married to Aeneas, a belief that she will take to the grave, though in some respects not beyond.

Iuno: The goddess has not been referenced since the cave scene at 166–167. For how Dido is “set in Juno's pattern” see Newman and Newman 2005, 151.

609 *nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes*

The return of Hecate from the invocation of 511, almost exactly a hundred verses later.

nocturnisque: Hecate's verse appropriately commences on a nocturnal note. For the adjective see on 303 (of Cithaeron). Servius argues that *nocturnis* does not agree with *triviis*, but rather simply means “during the night”; the poet is however referencing the time of the goddess' worship by an expression that also indicates the classic locus of her dark rites.

Hecate: The three-form Hecate is twice summoned by Dido, both times in suitably ominous circumstances. Cf. here Smith 2005, 116–117; also Dyson 2001, 149–150. She is a goddess who throws into decidedly dark relief the ultimately false connections of Dido to the bright world of the virgin huntress Diana.

triviis: The first Hecate reference (511) associated her with the “three faces of the virgin Diana,” while the second—with the queen's suicide imminent—focuses on the baleful howling of the grim name “Hecate” at the nocturnal crossroads through cities. This is the only use of the noun in the epic where the name Trivia is not explicitly mentioned as the name of the goddess, but rather allusively referred to; cf. *E.* 3.26. “Trivia” as the name of the goddess does not occur until Book 6 (13; 35; 69–70). All three of these references to Trivia evoke Diana as sister of Apollo; all three join Trivia with Phoebus and thereby evoke moon and sun. “It is perhaps intentional that Virgil in this context [i.e., the infer-

nal regions] never uses the name Diana, but always Trivia, which more easily suggests chthonic associations” (Bailey 1935, 162). For the juxtaposed “names” (with *triviis* clearly evoking Trivia), see O’Hara 2017, 158.

“Originally the goddess of the crossroads was the Greek Hecate, identified in Latin with Trivia, while the Greek Artemis/Latin Diana was associated with hunting and with the moon; her brother Apollo ... was associated with the sun” (De Melo 2019, 916–917, on Varro, *DLL* 9.16, citing Ennius, fr. 363 Jocelyn *Ut tibi Titanis Trivia dederit stirpem liberum*). Pease sees an invocation here so that the goddess may assist with Dido’s passage to the lower world; that was always part of the point of the queen’s rituals, but the curse on the Trojans is also on her mind.

ululata: The name Hecate is “howled” at the crossroads through the city, as it were, together with avenging furies and whatever gods are there to witness the dying of Elissa. The howling of the name Hecate may refer to the howling of dogs (cf. 6.257 ... *visaeque canes ululare per umbram / adventante dea* ...); howling occurs elsewhere in the epic at 2.487–488 ... *penitusque cavae plagoribus aedes / femineis ululant* ..., where the women in Priam’s palace react with strong emotion to the entrance of the murderous Pyrrhus into the royal inner sanctum; at 168 above of the nymphs who howl in baleful testament to the union of Aeneas and Dido; at 7.18 of the howling of the transformed wolves at Circe’s lair; and at 11.662 of Penthesilea’s Amazons (to whom Camilla and her retinue of battle heroines are compared). Canine associations here are more ominous than imagining a reference simply to the howls of the goddess’ devotees. But the main reference is to the howling of the nymphs at the episode in the cave. For the association of the verb with women see Newman and Newman 2005, 148. The commentators here mostly focus on the passive voice of the verb; the poet is chasing after vividness once again, and is as usual successful. “Passivischer Gebrauch eines Partizips eines intransitiven Verbs, eigentlich ‘Hecate(s) Name) wird gekreischt’, etwa ‘Hecate unter Geheul angerufen’” (Binder).

Servius has a long note here on how when Ceres was searching for the lost Proserpina by torchlight, she called out for her at the crossroads—and so in the rites of the goddess, there is howling by matrons at the same spot; the grammarian adds that there is a similar action at the rites of Isis, when the finding of Osiris is represented (if Virgil was thinking of this latter ritual, there may be a connection to Cleopatra’s associations with the goddess).

610 et Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae,

“A singularly haunting line ...” (Austin). Images of vengeance and prayer unite, with a shade of a hint of the dying Dido becoming an underworld specter her-

self, just as she had threatened at 384–386: the metamorphosis of the young woman from queen and savior of her people to infernal horror and curser of the future Rome.

Dirae: In balanced alliteration with *di*. We recall here 473 ... *ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae*: the queen has, as it were, transformed the nightmare world of her terrors into a vehicle for vengeance. As children of Night they follow on 609 *nocturnisque* ...; at 12.852 they are said to terrify *meritas* ... *urbes*; cf. the howls heard through the *urbes* of the same preceding verse.

di: The referent was disputed even in the days of Servius: “aut Manes dicit, unde est *vos o mihi Manes / este boni, quoniam superis aversa voluntas* [12.646–647]; aut certe *anairetikous* dicit, id est, Martem aut Saturnum, qui intercidunt vitae rationem, si radiis suis ortum geniturae pulsaverint ...” Pease and other critics argue that the “gods” of this verse may include any and all who would be concerned with Elissa at the hour of her death—a general invocation (as at 520–521, to ensure that no deity is omitted). A reference to the *di manes*, however, would accord well with 34: Anna had asked her sister if ghosts cared about such things as loyalty to the dead—and Dido has learned beyond doubt that they do. “A very obscure phrase” (Sidgwick): exactly what one would expect in the eerie context.

ultrices: The queen’s mind is focused on vengeance against the *Aeneadae*.

morientis: The future participle of 604 is now a dread present: Elissa’s dying has already begun.

Elissae: For the name cf. on 335. This is the second of the three uses of her personal name in the epic; it balances the third person reference to herself as *infelix Dido* at 596. For the semantic associations of the name with prayer and entreaty see Paschalis 1997, 170: the one who is dying is praying that many others die in her wake. She referred to herself as Dido in a passage that was redolent with the reminiscence of her role as queen; now just once she uses her personal name, as she announces the hour of her death.

“This line is full of lingering pathos expressed in the repetition of the sounds *et Di ... et di*” (Tilly).

611 *accipite haec, meritumque malis advertite numen*

accipite: The first of three imperatives; at 652 below Dido will echo her prayer here as she prepares for her suicide. Cf. 3.250 *accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta* (Celaeno to the Trojans; the line is repeated at 10.104, of Jupiter at the divine council); 5.304 *accipite haec animis laetasque advertite mentes* (Aeneas before the foot race, in happy reversal of the pattern of the same type of line from the parallel Book 3); 8.73 *accipite Aenean et tandem arcete periculis* (the hero’s prayer after the Tiberinus epiphany). Whether we supply an *animis* or an *auribus* here *vel sim.* is unimportant.

haec: With an understood *dicta*, we might think. The demonstrative as usual has deictic force.

meritumque: Alliterative with *malis* and *numen*. The emphasis of the queen's prayer is on the idea of merit and that which has been deserved. The construction may be interpreted in different ways: the *numen* is merited because of the *malis* (i.e., ablative of cause), or, perhaps, the divine power that the queen merits is to be turned toward the *malis* (dative of direction after *advertite*). The *malis* refers both to the bad behavior of the Trojan leader, and to the sufferings of the queen that are the result of his actions. The verb recalls 317 *si bene quid de te merui*, in the queen's recollection of what she had done for Aeneas—but the language of this line is most reminiscent of 547 *quin morere ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem*: two verbs from that verse are echoed here, in a different context. There the queen focused on her death as the merited reward of her action; here she focuses on the vengeance that Aeneas has earned by his. The *topos* will return at 696.

malis: Echoing 169–170 *ille dies primus leti primus malorum / causa fuit ...*, of the union in the cave. Servius glosses the *malis* as “quod mali merentur,” which Pease and others dispute; the “evils” are neuter, but there may also be a hint of the (masculine) evil-doers, who in the context of Dido's own words in Book 4 include both Aeneas and his Trojans (cf. both Ruaeus and Heyne here); the personal reference would accord with the context of a curse and imprecation. The ambiguity is deliberate; Dido is talking about both her own woes, and the malefactors who caused them.

advertite: The verb also at 116, of Juno to Venus.

numen: Cf. 94; 204; 269; 382. As at 94, so here there is a textual variant *nomen* (Parisinus lat. 7906).

Henry has a long note here, starting from the meaning of *haec*, and taking the three imperatives of 611–612 as an example of a theme with two variations.

612 *et nostras audite preces. si tangere portus*

nostras: The royal we; cf. 591 ... *et nostris inluserit advena regnis*, etc.

audite: Framed by the queen's prayers that she begs be heard. The imperative correlates closely with 611 *accipite* and *advertite*, in effective sound pattern.

preces: Alliterative with *portus*. The noun also at 319, of Dido's entreaties with Aeneas. As noted already by Servius, what follows is not really a prayer, but an imprecation. Very different is 8.573–574 *Iuppiter, Arcadii, quaeso, miserescite regis / et patrias audite preces ...*, of Evander's prayer before the departure of Pallas with Aeneas; as Austin notes, in both places the invocation “runs smoothly and firmly to its end in mid-line,” before the dread language of the curse commences. See further here Hickson 1993, 117; Sherpe 2011, 84.

si: Commencing a prayer that is based on that of Polyphemus at Homer, *Od.* 9.530–535. The evocation of the Odyssean monster is a powerful comment on how deranged Dido has become by the present scene; she recalls not Calypso or Circe now, but a cannibalistic brute; see here Newman and Newman 2005, 23; 60; 151; 256.

tangere: Literal, in contrast to the metaphorical use at 596 ... *nunc te facta impia tangunt?*

portus: Cf. 588, of the empty port of Carthage; also 87. Virgil has the same language at *G.* 1.303–304 *ceu pressae cum iam portus tetigere carinae, | puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas*; cf. Propertius, c. 3.24.15 *ecce coronatae portum tetigere carinae*. *Tangere portus* is balanced by 613 *terris adnare*: theme and variation.

613 *infandum caput ac terris adnare necesse est,*

infandum: As above at 84 ... *infandum si fallere possit amorem*, of the queen's efforts to soothe her unspeakable love for Aeneas by holding Ascanius in her lap; cf. 497–498 ... *abolere nefandi | cuncta viri monimenta iuvat* ... This was the word that Venus used in exclamation to Jupiter regarding the loss of Trojan ships in the Junonian storm (1.251 *navibus (infandum!) amissis unius ob iram*); cf. Ilioneus' appeal to Dido about the *infandos ignes* that her people were using against Trojan vessels. The adjective is once again especially significant as the opening word of the long story of Aeneas to Dido at the banquet: *infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem* (2.3): all of the previous occurrences are at play here, as the queen again refuses to name Aeneas. The strong word in prominent position.

caput: Recalling 354 *me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari*. Dido will repeat this “contemptuous” (so Williams) language at 640. Curses were commonly brought down on the head; there is no need to name the obvious target of the imprecation, even in the hyperprecise, ritualistic world of solemn damnation—especially not after the elaborate magical rites of the previous night.

adnare: Alliterative before *necesse*. The verb recalls 1.538 ... *huc pauci vestris adnavimus oris* in Ilioneus' appeal to the queen; cf. 6.358 *paulatim adnabam terrae ...*, in the story of the shade of Palinurus about his successful and yet doomed arrival in Italy. Both of these other uses of the verb point to disaster at sea: the Trojans had been shipwrecked, and Palinurus was hurled overboard by Somnus; the implication in the language is that there will be trouble at sea from storm and tempest, which is exactly part of what Dido envisages for the Trojans (this is more vivid than imagining the transferred sense of swimming to describe travel by boat; see further Buscaroli, and Pease). Fate and Jove may have decreed that Aeneas reach Italy, but the queen would agree

with Juno that the journey may be made as difficult as possible. When dealing with curses, shipwrecks are more on the mind than metaphors. “Et bono colore futura praedicit” (Servius).

neesse est: Echoed at once by 614 *et sic fata Iovis poscunt*. Cf. 3.478–479 *et tamen hanc pelago praeterlabare neesse est*: | *Ausoniae pars illa procul quam pandit Apollo*, in Helenus’ instructions to Aeneas about the voyage to Italy. The only other uses in Virgil are at 6.514 ... *et nimium meminisse neesse est*, as the shade of Deiphobus recalls the horrors of his last night; also 737–738 ... *penitusque neesse est* | *multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris*, as Anchises’ shade describes the process for the purification of souls. Dido’s imprecations are grounded in the realities of fate and destiny; Aeneas had invoked Jovian edicts as his rationale and justification for leaving Carthage, and Dido will work within the framework of such decrees of destiny.

614 et sic fata Iovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret:

fata ... poscunt: The verb also above at 50 *tu modo posce deos veniam ...*, in Anna’s advice to her sister about securing Aeneas’ presence in Carthage. The language here will be echoed at 7.583–584 *ilicet infandum cuncti contra omina bellum, | contra fata deum perverso numine poscunt*. Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 10.566 *poscunt fata senes, ardet palletque iuventus*; also Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.127–128 *iamiam aliae vires maioraque sanguine nostro | vincunt fata Iovis, potior cui cura suorum est*. Dido’s reference to Jupiter recalls her exclamation at 590; cf. 377–378. Servius was concerned with participles *vs.* nouns; Virgil may not have shared the worry.

hic: Deictic, and alliterative with *haeret*.

terminus: This is the only occurrence of the word in the epic; elsewhere in the poet note *G.* 4.206–209 *ergo ipsas quamvis angusti terminus aevi | excipiat (neque enim plus septima ducitur aestas); | at genus immortale manet, multosque per annos | stat fortuna domus, et avi numerantur avorum*. A highly significant reminiscence of the term from the poet’s previous work: *terminus* there referred to the lifespan of the bees, while here it comes as the crown of the tricolon of emphasis on the destined fate of the Trojans to reach Ausonia (*neesse est* | *sic fata Iovis poscunt* | *hic terminus haeret*). The seeming inconsistency of Dido’s words at the close of Book 1 concerning the “seventh summer” (1.755–756 ... *nam te iam septima portat | omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas*) has been interpreted by J. Dyson, “*Septima Aestas*: The Puzzle of *Aen.* 1.755–756 and 5.626,” in *The Classical World* 90.1 (1996), 41–42 with reference to Virgil’s lore of the bees; here again the queen is made to utter an intertextual, allusive reference to the same passage from the *Georgics*, an echo that will take on heightened resonance once we learn of the portent of the bees at 7.64 ff.

The language is Lucretian: cf. *DRN* 1.76–77 ... *denique cuique / qua nam sit ratione atque alte terminus haerens* (= 1.595–596; 5.89–90; 6.65–66); 2.1087–1088 *quandoquidem vitae depactus terminus alte / tam manet haec* Dido is made to speak anachronistically, as if she were one of the Roman *agrimensores*—not to mention as someone who has read her Lucretius, as well as her republican tragedy (cf. Accius, *Hecuba* fr. 1 Dangel *Veter fatorum terminus sic iusserat*). We may think of the god Terminus; of boundary stones—but Virgil is mostly evoking the life of the bees.

haeret: Cf. 445 *ipsa haeret scopulis* ..., of the oak to which Aeneas was compared as he was buffeted with appeals from Anna and Dido.

615 at bello audacis populi vexatus et armis,

The curse commences in earnest. See Irvine for an extended look at the famous story of the *sortes Vergilianae* of Charles I, where this verse made its grim appearance. Allegedly (the lore has its variants, for which Austin offers a convenient summary) the king opened the text of Virgil to this curse; Lord Falkland tried his hand at the horoscopic game, and came upon the lament for Pallas at 11.152. As Pease and others have noted, for the most part the queen's imprecation will be fulfilled: this prayer will work its dread magic all too effectively. Conington devotes considerable effort here to downplaying the seriousness of Dido's curses; like Sidgwick and other English critics, he was more focused on the civil war horrors of 1642–1649. Aeneas does not hear any of this disturbing language, but he will hear the Sibyl at 6.86–87 ... *bella, horrida bella, / et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno*, etc. The present passage is not, strictly speaking, a prophecy of the sort offered by someone on the verge of death; it is an imprecation that just happens to come true. See Newman and Newman 2005, 311 for how Dido curses Aeneas with that of which she cannot know for certain, though she can make reasonable assumptions about the possibility of some of her desired threats: just as she regrets that the Carthaginians did not harass the Trojans with war, so perhaps in Italy the locals may be less trusting of their new guests.

at: The adversative conjunction heralds the dark side of the story: be as it may that Aeneas will arrive in Italy, yet this is the future for which I pray.

bello, etc.: The language recalls Ilioneus' announcement to Dido of *rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter / nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis* (1.544–545); cf. the echo of that scene at 7.234–235 *fata per Aeneae iuro dextramque potentem, / sive fide seu quid bello est expertus et armis*; also Juno's words to Allecto at 7.553 *stant belli causae, pugnatur comminus armis*. Dido's curse refers to the same great war as in the proem of the epic: cf. 1.5 *multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem*. The hendiadys of *bello / armis* is strikingly emphatic.

audacis: The epithet for the people Aeneas will find in Italy foreshadows Aeneas' encounter with Turnus (cf. 7.408–409; 9.3; 126; 10.276; cf. 9.519 of the Rutulians). Apart from its use here and at 5.67 (in the context of those who will participate in the games), it occurs only in the second, martial half of the poem.

populi: The noun elsewhere in the book at 102; 112; 189; 624; 682.

vexatus: This is the only occurrence of this word in the epic; elsewhere in Virgil note *E.* 6.76 *Dulichias vexasse rates et gurgite in alto*, of the reference to Scylla in the song of Silenus. The participle referring to Aeneas is literally enveloped by the war, and the weapons of the bold people (theme and variation).

616 *finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli*

finibus: Echoing 614 *terminus*.

extorris: *Hapax* in Virgil; vid. *TLL* v 2 col. 2049. An old word (Accius); probably borrowed from Lucretius (*DRN* 3.48–49 *extorres idem patria longaeque fugati / conspectu ex hominum, foedati crimine turpi*); cf. Albinovanus Pedo, fr. 1–3 Courtney *iam pridem post terga diem solemque relictum / iamque vident, notis extorres finibus orbis / per non concessas audaces ire tenebras*. Livy is fond of it; the silver poets use it, but relatively sparingly. *Ex-torris* here recalls 613 *ac terris adnare necesse est*.

The second and the penultimate words of the verse emphasize separation. The Servian explanation was that Dido's curse here would be fulfilled in the long passage from 8.81–10.214, where Aeneas was forced to leave his camp to go in search of allies in his war with Turnus, which certainly accords with the reference to being torn from Iulus' embrace; there is also a reminder that Aeneas was driven from his native city and would never return (as the ancient grammarian already realized). *Extorris* is thus an "exaggeration" (so MacLennan, following Williams) with respect to the sojourn in Pallanteum and the securing of Arcadian and Etruscan allies, but it is meant also to evoke the memory of what Dido already knows about Aeneas' history. The implication of the phrase after 615 is that Aeneas will be fighting the Trojan War over again (i.e., the rebirth of the *Iliad* in Italy)—but this time he will be an exile, engaged in battle without the benefit of his home city.

complexu: In framing order around the participle of Aeneas, to enact the separation; so also the elision *complexu avulsus*. The echo here is of 1.715 *ille ubi complexu Aeneae colloque pependit*, of Cupid-Ascanius before he leaves Aeneas for Dido. The only other occurrences of the noun in Virgil come at 8.487–488 ... *et sanie taboque fluentis / complexu in misero longa sic morte necabat*, of Mezentius' sadistic practices; and at 8.581–582 *dum te, care puer, mea sola et sera voluptas, / complexu teneo* ..., of Evander with Pallas. Nonius' citation (15.2 Lindsay) of *conspectus* is a less vivid remembrance of the actual text.

avulsus: Cf. the grisly aftermath of the death of Priam: 2.557–558 ... *iacet ingens litore truncus / avulsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus*; Venus' revelation of the destruction of Troy at 2.608–609 *hic, ubi disiectas moles avulsaque saxis / saxa vides mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum*; the description of the aged ash tree in the simile about the fall of Troy: 2.630–631 *vulneribus donec paulatim evicta supremum / congemuit traxitque iugis avulsa ruinam*: Dido's language here strongly evokes horrible imagery from the destruction of Aeneas' home city, and thus follows on the reminder in *finibus extorris* that Aeneas is, after all, an exile. Note also additional diverse uses of the participle at 3.575; 6.143; 8.238; 9.490; 10.660; 12.685; the finite verb at 2.165; 11.201.

Iuli: Cf. 601–602 above, where the queen imagined serving Ascanius to his father for dinner. Pease perceptively comments on the childless Dido's awareness that Iulus is a particularly sensitive subject for Aeneas; there is also an echo of 354–355 *me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari, / quem regno Hesperiae fraude et fatalibus arvis*, where Aeneas virtually quoted to Dido the words about his son that Mercury had uttered at 272 ff.: the queen here makes it all too clear that the father's hopes for his son will come at a dear cost.

617 *auxilium imploret videatque indigna suorum*

auxilium: In prominent position, and with reference to the need for aid from the Arcadians and the Etruscans: a general enough curse that will in fact come true in Book 8. The closing movements of the last book of the second third of the epic present the future Roman history on the shield; the curse of Dido near the end of the last book of the poem's first third offers a snapshot of the progress of the Iliadic *Aeneid*, as well as glimpses of some of the more terrible moments that await Rome.

imploret: For the verb cf. 7.501–502 ... *questuque cruentus / atque imploranti similis tectum omne replebat*, of Silvia's fatally wounded deer; 576 *implorantque deos obtestanturque Latinum*, of the reaction of the Latins to the first casualties of the war whose proximate cause was Ascanius' shooting of the stag; the next two uses of the word thus relate directly to the commencement of the *bellum Italicum*. Otherwise the only occurrences in Virgil are at 10.19 (*namque aliud quid sit quod iam implorare queamus?*), in Venus' appeal to Jupiter at the divine council; and 12.652 ... *ruitque implorans nomine Turnum*, of Saces. In effective sound pattern with *indigna* (second and penultimate words). The desired actions are juxtaposed (*imploret videatque*).

videatque: The visual element follows the vocal. The curse here will be fulfilled exactly at 11.40–41 *ut vidit levique patens in pectore vulnus / cuspidis Ausoniae, lacrimis ita fatur abortis*, as Aeneas gazes on the corpse of Pallas.

indigna: Recalling Aeneas' words to the ghost of Hector at 2.285–286 ... *quae causa indignos serenos / foedavit vultus? aut cur haec vulnera cerno?*; cf. Aeneas' words to the Latins at 11.108–109 *quaenam vos tanto fortuna indigna, Latini, / implicuit bello, qui nos fugiatis amicos?*; also Juno's at the divine council (10.74–75 *indignum est Italos Troiam circumdare flammis / nascentem et patria Turnum consistere terra*); elsewhere also 12.411 *Hic Venus indigno nati concussa dolore*, of the goddess' anger about Aeneas' wounding; 12.810–811 *nec tu me aëra solam nunc sede videres / digna indigna pati ...* (Juno to Jupiter); the related 9.595–596 *is primam ante aciem digna atque indigna relatu / vociferans ...* (of Numanus Remulus).

suorum: The key word about the deaths and requiems of his own is held in enjambed suspense; the primary reference is to the Arcadian Pallas, as Servius recognized. If we did not remember Dido's curse when Aeneas' young friend is honored at his requiem, the poet reminds us by his mention of the use of Dido's handiwork for the burial shroud at 11.74 ff. Irvine here cites Trevelyan's reminiscence of Macaulay: "His imagination was deeply impressed by an old Roman imprecation, which he had noticed long ago in a gallery of inscriptions: '*Ultima suorum moriatur!*' An awful curse."

618 funera; nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquae

In fine, an extraordinary prediction of a key detail of the end of the epic, cast here in the language of the curse of Juno's *de facto* mortal avatar Elissa.

funera: Pallas' death in Book 10 is highlighted by the prominent position of the enjambed word of death. For the noun cf. on 308; 500.

pacis: Cf. 56 and 99. From war the queen moves to peace: vexed by war; an exile from his borders; torn from the embrace of his son; forced to seek external aid and to see the deaths of his own—now, the peace he secures will be *iniqua*, as if he had lost and not won (cf. 619 *tradiderit*, which carries implications of surrender and defeat).

iniquae: We may compare the variant reading *iniquae* for *acerbae* at 1.668, as Venus complains to Cupid of Juno's hatred for the Trojans; cf. the *fatis Iunonis iniquae* of Juno (regarding Hercules) at 8.292. The reference here to the unjust or unfair peace is to the terms that will be settled on by Jupiter and Juno at 12.833 ff., especially 835–836 ... *commixti corpore tantum / subsident Teucri ...*, a promise that would, no doubt, rankle Venus and discomfit Aeneas were they privy to the divine colloquy that secures Juno's reconciliation. Dido's allusion to that later, private event with quite public consequences is particularly appropriate given the sentiments she expressed to Ilioneus at 1.574 *Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur*: the same would not be true regarding Trojans and Ausonians in the future settlement in Latium. "Propter perditam linguam, habi-

tum, nomen, quae soles victor imponere, sicut postulat Iuno" (Servius). Some of the commentators here speak of Aeneas making peace under unequal terms; that is of course what Dido envisages, though in reality no one save Jupiter and Juno will be made aware of the key terms of the settlement: the future peace treaty, etc. is outside the temporal scope of the epic narrative.

619 tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur,

The verbs frame the verse.

tradiderit: Emphatic by position and enjambment, to highlight the image of a quasi-defeated Aeneas, forced to concede much at the imagined peace treaty negotiations. The verb is not common in Virgil; cf. 5.713, in the advice of Anchises' ghost to Aeneas about those who are to remain in Sicily; 11.710 *tradit equum comiti paribusque resistit in armis*, of Camilla in the wake of the challenge of the son of Aunus; also *E.* 3.2.

regno: The noun also at 47; 106; 194; 199; 214; 267; 275; 350; 355; 374; 381; 432; 591. Neither the kingdom nor his own life will be enjoyed for long.

optata: For the verb cf. 24 and 159. The language echoes 1.172 *egressi optata potiuntur Troes harena*, of the landing in Carthage. The light is wished for because death in war might have been feared; here the queen's curse imagines the denial of the kingdom and life that would have been enjoyed in the wake of the end of war and the imposition of peace (however unjust).

Dido prays that the desired light may not be enjoyed, and that Aeneas may die prematurely. The queen's wish that Aeneas may not relish his victory recalls the words of Jupiter to Venus at 1.263 ff. The supreme god announced the *bellum ingens* that would be fought in Italy; he did not, of course, allude to the matters about the *pax iniqua* that would not be settled until the parallel colloquy he has with Juno in Book 12. But he does speak of how Aeneas has three years to live after he wins his victory over the Rutulians (cf. 1.265–266). The death of Aeneas occurs outside the chronology of the epic; there is no need to imagine here that Virgil intended to close the epic with the hero's death, or with anything other than the shocking climax he provides. Virgil does draw a connection between Aeneas the slayer of Turnus, and Arruns, the killer of Camilla; his fate (11.865–866) is exactly the sort of lonely end that Dido envisages here for Aeneas; on this parallel see L.R. Kepple, "Arruns and the Death of Aeneas," in *AJPh* 97.4 (1976), 344–360. Camilla and Turnus share the same death line (11.831 = 12.952); Arruns is in some sense a substitute sacrifice for Aeneas, slain by Diana's nymph Opis in vengeance for the death of Camilla, and left unburied in exactly the same manner as Dido wishes for Aeneas at 4.620.

Servius *ad* 520 records the Catonian tradition (F7 Cornell = Chassignet 1, F10) that a battle ensued near Laurolavinium while Aeneas' men were seeking plun-

der; Latinus was killed and Turnus fled. The Rutulian then joined forces with the Etruscan Mezentius; they were defeated by Aeneas, who did not, however, enter the battle himself. Ascanius later killed Mezentius. “*Alii dicunt*”: the victorious Aeneas was sacrificing at the Numicus when he fell in, his body never to be recovered. “*Postea dictus est inter deos receptus*.” Dead before his time, then, and unburied: again, the curse of Dido would be fulfilled, and indeed pre-figured in the fate of Camilla’s killer Arruns (Aeneas’ eerie, malignant doublet).

luce: Light for life; cf. 452.

fruatur: From war to an unequal peace, to a moment of seeming enjoyment of life after so much struggle that will not (618 *nec*) come to fruition; the experience *post bellum* will be so fleeting so as to preclude enjoyment of either power or even the simple pleasures of life. The verb is also used in the context of the toy Troy at Buthrotum (3.352 *nec non et Teucri socia simul urbe fruuntur*); cf. 7.90–91 *et varias audit voces fruiturque deorum | conloquio ...*, of the incubation rituals in the grove of Faunus.

620 *sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena.*

sed: Cf. 615 *at*.

cadat: The verb also at 81 and 480; the metaphor is from the setting of heavenly bodies. Dido envisions the opposite of the idea contained in 619 *optata luce fruatur*.

ante diem: Echoed at 697 of Dido, a parallel that did not escape Servius.

mediaque: The seemingly redundant enclitic has been criticized, but Conte is right here: “*minime redundat: ad agendum et cumulandum valet ...*” Not just in the sand, but in the very midst of the sand.

inhumatus: Framed by the *mediaque ... harena*. We recall here Sychaeus at 1.353; cf. the crowd of the shades of the unburied dead at 6.325; the same word at 374 in the context of Palinurus’ fate; the corpses that must be buried in the wake of the violent battle scenes of Book 10 (11.22; and cf. 11.372). In the epic the unburied dead include not only Arruns but also Palinurus (5.871 *nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena*); the Sibyl warns Aeneas about the need to bury another dead comrade before he can descend to Avernus (6.149 ff., with reference to Misenus). Priam’s fate looms here too, decapitated and left on the shore, unburied (2.557–558). Virgil’s contemporary audience would think of Pompey, similarly slaughtered, and on African shores.

harena: Alliterative after *inhumatus*. One of the worst fates imaginable in antiquity; cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 6.1215–1216 *multaque humi cum inhumata corpora supra | corporibus ...*; Horace’s Archytas ode (c. 1.28); Seneca, *Troad*. 894–895 *et nudis totis ossa quae passim iacent | inhumata campis? ...*, etc. “Perhaps implying that Aeneas would not penetrate further than the sandy shore of the

promised land” (Pease). Livy has *situs est, quemcumque eum divi ius fasque est, super Numicum flumen: Iovem Indigetem appellant* (1.2.6, where see Ogilvie): the historian “discreetly hedges,” as Irvine notes. Shades of the fates of both Romulus and Caesar, at least in terms of *post mortem* glorification and ultimate apotheosis.

“The famous words toll like a knell” (Austin). Dido’s final curse on Aeneas will be fulfilled, for those who read Book 11 of Virgil’s own work, and who are aware of the different traditions surrounding the hero’s end. The queen’s curse is selective in its quasi-prediction of the future, but she is not proven altogether wrong.

621 *haec precor, hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo.*

This is the formal close of the curse on Aeneas and his followers; in the following verse the queen will expand the range of her imprecation to include his descendants.

haec precor: Echoing 611–612 *accipite haec / et nostras audite preces*. The verb also at 521; cf. 113 and 413. The repeated demonstratives (*haec ... hanc*) underscore the imprecation. *Precor* correlates with *fundo*.

vocem extremam: Austin sees in the elision a quaking in the queen’s voice as she utters her curse. It will not be her last word (cf. 650)—the queen is still very much in an overdramatic state of frenzy—but it will nonetheless be effective. *Vocem* is balanced with *precor*.

sanguine: From the blood of this verse she will proceed to the ashes of 623. The noun also in this book at 191; 230.

fundo: Cf. 61, during the sacrifice rituals. The verb is more appropriate of the pouring forth of blood (cf. 5.77–78; 10.520; *Ilias Latina* 515; Ovid, *Met.* 5.156; 7.396; 8.417; Petronius, *Sat.* 97.9.7; Seneca, *HF* 1021; *Thyest.* 1054–1055; Statius, *Theb.* 5.119; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 10.182–183), and so here it is juxtaposed with *sanguine*; Dido associates her suicide with the fulfillment of the curse: her blood will be offered as the price of its incarnation (“quasi inprecationes ipsas suo consecraret cruore”—Servius), the ultimate libation to ensure the efficacy of her prayer; there is no need to assume philosophical considerations about the association of soul and blood, etc. With *extremam* cf. 684; also 435 and 179. The queen’s magical rites had been designed to oversee both suicide and vengeance on Aeneas; here she explicitly links the two. The present tense is more vivid than the more logical future.

The Donatus commentary resumes after this verse.

622 tum vos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum

tum: A deceptively simple introduction to the savage curse on the Romans of the future. Alliterative with *Tyrii*. Dido's extension of her imprecations will also meet with all too grim fulfillment.

vos: Dido's people are not able to hear her now, but there are divinities more than willing to lend an ear to the queen's imprecation.

Tyrii: Very different from the similar vocative use at 1.735 *et vos o coetum, Tyrii, celebrate faventes*. This address to the Carthaginians of the future will be far more effective than the vain commands of 592 ff.

stirpem ... genus: An echo of Accius, *Atreus* fr. 34–35 *Dangel periculum, matres coinquinari regias, / contaminari stirpem ac misceri genus*. *Stirps* only here in Book 4; for the significance of its uses in the epic see Newman and Newman 2005, 39–42; S. Fasce in *EV* IV, 1025. Cf. Dido's words at 606 *cum genere exstinxem*. Virgil plays throughout on the notion of the origins of the Trojans and the eventual relationship of that *stirps* with the inhabitants of Latium with whom they will intermarry; cf. 12.770–771 *sed stirpem Teucrici nullo discrimine sacrum / sustulerant ...*, where Aeneas' men cut down Faunus' *oleaster*, a scene that repays comparison with 12.835 ff.

genus omne futurum: The language and rhythm recalls 1.6 *... genus unde Latinum*. Cf. 5.737 *tum genus omne tuum et quae dentur moenia disces*, of Anchises' words to Aeneas; 8.628–629 *... illic genus omne futurae / stirpis ab Ascanio pugnatique in ordine bella*, of the images on the shield; note also 9.141–142; 509–510; 12.530. It may be significant that the language that is echoed regarding the shield occurs at almost exactly the same place in a book of equivalent length, at the close of another respective third of the epic, in another passage that looks forward to the future Roman history. We may compare here 7.293–294 *heu stirpem invisam et fati contraria nostris / fata Phrygum ...*, especially with 628 below.

The exact referent of *stirpem ... genus omne futurum* has been debated; vid. H. Jacobson, "Aeneid 4.622–623," in *CQ* 48.1 (1998), 313–314 for the idea that the reference here is not to Aeneas' descendants, but rather to the Tyrians of the future, who are to be trained and exercised, as it were, in hatred for the *Aeneadae*. The meaning in the end is not very different with either referent; the passages elsewhere in the epic that mention *stirps* and *genus*—not least from the very proem of the epic—point however to the more vivid picture of the harassment of the Romans, not the exercise of the Carthaginians.

futurum: Coordinate with 524 *... sunt*.

623 exercete odiis, cinerique haec mittite nostro

exercete: “Fatigate” (Servius). Another emphatic word, the first of the two imperatives to the Carthaginians of tomorrow and all time. The verb also at 86–87 ... *non arma iuventus / exercet ...*, of the cessation of military and other exercises in the wake of the queen’s lovesick obsession with Aeneas and neglect of her regal duties. Aeneas is twice referred to in the epic as *Iliacis exercite fatis*, first by Anchises at 3.182–183, and again by his father’s shade in ghostly visitation at 5.725.; cf. Venus who is *exercita curis* at 5.779 as she approaches Neptune for help in securing a safe voyage for the Trojans from Sicily to Italy; 6.739 *ergo exercetur poenis veterumque malorum / supplicia expendunt ...*, of the purification of souls (and where *poenis* does have an echo of *Poenis* of the Carthaginians, one might think). Cyrene’s words to Aristaeus may also be recalled here: *Non te nullius exercent numinis irae* (G. 4.453).

odiis: The noun also at 1.361 of those who had a common hatred for Pygmalion; cf. 1.668, in Venus’ reference to Cupid of Juno’s bitter hatred of the Trojans; 5.786 of her mention of the same to Neptune; 7.298 of Juno of her own *odia*; 336 of Juno’s account of what Allecto is masterful at securing; 10.12–14 *cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim / exitium magnum atque Alpes immittet apertas: / tum certare odiis, tum res rapuisse licebit*, of Jupiter’s reference to the Punic Wars at the divine council; 692 of the hatred of the Teucrians for Mezentius; 853 and 905 of Mezentius’ reference to the hatred of his own people for him; 11.122 of Drances with respect to Turnus; 12.938 *ulterius ne tendere odiis ...*, the last words of Turnus to Aeneas. The plural is deliberate in all of these passages, with reference to hateful act upon hateful act.

cinerique ... nostro: Very different from the sentiments of 552 *non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo*. With *nostro* cf. 612 *nostras preces*. Dido here implicitly responds again in the affirmative to the sentiments of Anna at 34 *id cinerem aut manis credis curare sepultos?*.

haec: With hypermetric enjambment.

mittite: Cf. G. 4.545 *inferias Orphei Lethaea papavera mittes*, of Cyrene’s instructions to her son; here there will not be *inferias*, but rather *munera* (624).

We may recall here 387 *audiam et haec Manis veniet mihi fama sub imos*, from Dido’s threats to Aeneas.

624 munera. nullus amor populis nec foedera sunt.

munera: Dido’s presents are cast in prominent relief. The noun elsewhere in this book at 217; 263; 429. Echoed here is 1.647–648 *munera praeterea Iliacis erepta ruinis / ferre iubet ...*, of the gifts for the queen that Aeneas ordered to be brought from the ships. Deliberately recalling 618 *funera*, with the corpses of Aeneas’ descendants being envisaged as presents for the queen. The pause

after the word here (as there) allows its force to be absorbed more powerfully. Alliterative after 623 *mittite*.

nullus: Coordinate with *nec*, with variety of expression (adjective, conjunction).

amor: With implicit reference to the *amor* that is no more between the queen and her Trojan guest. Pease notes that there is no allusion here to rights of intermarriage; the poet's main concern however is to recall the fractured love affair that resulted in an imprecation as final and definitive as this one.

foedera: Recalling 112; 339; 520; the first of these uses referenced the idea of an alliance or treaty between the Tyrians and the Teucrians, while the other two were of the specific, legal (as it were) union or lack thereof between Dido and Aeneas.

Virgil here reworks the very different Catullus, c. 64.335–336 *nullus amor tali coniunxit foedere amantes, | qualis adest Thetidi, qualis concordia Peleo*; for the mingling of love and treaty imagery cf. also c. 87.3–4 *nulla fides ullo fuit umquam in foedere tanta, | quanta in amore tuo ex parte reperta meast*. Again, the poet plays throughout the Dido episode on the consequences of love affairs involving leaders of diverse peoples; amatory unions can be cast in the language and legality of treaties, and here the breakdown of this union is the reason why there may be no love or alliance between the Carthaginians and the Romans of the future. The absence of *amor* and *foedera* commanded here is followed at once by the virtual declaration of endless war.

sunto: The form elsewhere in Virgil only at 6.153 *duc nigras pecudes; ea prima piacula sunt*, in the Sibyl's instructions to Aeneas about the sacrifices before the descent to Avernus. With legal and religious force: the language is as solemn as it could be to express the everlasting enmity that is to exist between the Carthaginians and the Romans. "Urbanus dicit verbo eum iuris usum propter odia hereditaria" (Servius). Any archaic flair serves only to underscore the ancient, undying character of the hatred that is enjoined here.

625 *exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor,*

The verse that Cosimo de Medici's enemy Filippo Strozzi the Younger wrote in his own blood on the wall of his prison cell before his suicide or murder, and that Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, uttered after the Peace of Saint-Germain-en Laye in 1679. From Servius it has been accepted that this line foretells the Second Punic War and the coming of Hannibal Barca (cf. the nurse Barce who will be mentioned at 632)—one of the rare occasions in Virgilian criticism where no one has questioned the received tradition (though Newman and Newman 2005, 172 see an application to Turnus as well as to

Hannibal). One of the most chilling of the many lines that Elissa utters in the epic. *Aeneid* 4.625 has even enjoyed a *Nachleben* in television horror; the line plays a significant part in the *Hand of Borgus Weems* episode of Serling's *Night Gallery*; cf. a response to a review in the *British Medical Journal* of 2 December, 1978 ("Procul este, profani," 1550) by H.J. Eysenck that concludes, "Perhaps one day psychological books will be reviewed by psychologists; until that day all we can say is: Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor." The poet of the *Roman d'Énéas* completely suppresses any imprecations of Dido against the future Rome.

exoriare: Echoing 623 *exercent*. With the verb we may cf. 130 *it portis iubare exorto delecta iuventus*, of the rising sun as the youth leave Carthage for the fateful hunt: this call across the ages to Hannibal was made not long after the sun rose on the queen's last day. Second person, for maximum effect: Dido addresses Hannibal across the centuries. On Hannibal in Virgil see F. Càsola in *EV* I, 183–185; A. Rossi in *VE* II, 586; he is never named in the poet, though there are several allusions to him and his work outside of Dido's curse: cf. 10.11–13, in Jupiter's prediction of the time when the Carthaginian enemy will cross the Alps to the ruin of Italy; also the appearances in the *Heldenschau* of Scipio Africanus, the victor at Zama (6.842–843); Fabius Maximus Cunctator (846); also Marcellus Claudius Marcellus, the victor at Nola (858). Cf. also here R. Ganiban, "Virgil's Dido and the Heroism of Hannibal," in Augoustakis 2010, 73–98.

aliquis: The word that Freud's young interlocutor forgot and Sigmund did not. See Deuticke for the extraordinary manner in which the queen is made to address someone who is—to her—unknown and destined to be born in the distant future. Virgil's point is that his audience is all too well aware of the identity of the avenger. *Aliquis ... ultor* brilliantly bridges what Dido cannot know and the poet's readers learned as errant children, warned about Hannibal being at the door.

nostris: An especially noteworthy use of the royal plural.

ex: Emphatic after *exoriare*.

ossibus: Juxtaposed with the avenger who will spring therefrom. We may compare here 101 *ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem*. The madness that went through her bones is replaced here by Hannibal. Bones follow on the mention of her ash at 623; there is no claim here that Hannibal was a descendant of Dido, though for the sake of the poet's dramatic point he may be thought to have arisen from the bones of the proto-Carthaginian queen. Page perceptively notes that Hannibal is from her bones because of the shared hatred of Rome. Servius references Lucretius, *DRN* 1.830 and the Anaxagorean doctrine of *homoeomeria*. Donatus was not impressed with Dido's allusion

here; he took her invocation of the impossible (sc., for someone to arise from a woman who left no descendants and is about to be dead, etc.) as another mark of her deranged state.

ultor: Cf. 610 *et Dirae ultrices*. The noun elsewhere in Virgil at 2.96 (in the Sinon story); 6.818 (of Brutus); 8.201 (of the *maximus ultor* Hercules); 10.864 *ultor eris mecum* ... (Mezentius to his horse Rhaebes); 11.260 (of Caphereus).

626 **qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos,**

The dactylic rhythm serves to enact the speed with which Hannibal will harass the descendants of Aeneas.

face: Fricative alliteration with the coordinate *ferroque*; the fire referenced here echoes 604–605; also 594. Juxtaposed with the target Dardanians. Hannibal will do what Dido's people did not when she shouted out her angry orders about attacking Aeneas' fleet. *Face* by vivid variant for the more usual *igni* in such expressions; cf. 2.581 *occiderit ferro Priamus? Troia arserit igni?*; 7.692 *quem neque fas igni cuiquam nec sternere ferro* (of Messapus' invulnerability). The oath of Hannibal in Silius (*Pun.* 1.114–115) is based on the image and language of the queen's curse here.

Dardanios: The hyperbaton allows the Dardanian *coloni* to be cut to pieces by the sword of the pursuing avenger. Cf. 639–640; 646–647; and 658 below—a noteworthy set of repetitions; for the appellation see also on 163; 224.

ferroque: When Aeneas encounters Dido's shade in the underworld he will ask: *infelix Dido, verus mihi nuntius ergo | venerat extinctam ferroque extremaque secutam?* (6.456–457); he asks of course about the report of her death, but the language (*ferroque extrema secutam*) also points to the grim reality of the privately uttered death curse of which no report could have reached him.

sequare: Following on 625 *exoriare*, and echoing 592 ... *totaque ex urbe sequentur*.

colonos: The noun recalls 1.12 ... (*Tyrî tenuere coloni*), in the poet's description of Carthage; otherwise it occurs in the epic only at 7.63 *Laurentisque ab ea nomen posuisse colonis*; 410 *Acrisionaeis Danaë fundasse colonis*; 421–422 *Turne, tot incassum fusos patiere labores, | et tua Dardaniis transcribi sceptrâ colonis?* (the disguised Allecto to Turnus). The noun here is used deliberately, with reference to how the Dardanians will be *coloni* in Italy—exactly where Dido's avenger Hannibal will pursue them.

627 **nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires.**

A verse of temporal terror, following on the solemn future imperative of 624. The asyndeton only adds to the urgency of the curse; one has the sense that so long as Dido is still able to gaze on the departing vessels, so her evil spell

may be cast on it (we are never told when they vanish entirely from her sight). See Austin for the comparison of the metrical rhythm to that of *G.* 1.514 *fertur equis auriga neque audit currus habenas*, the last line of that book with its image of the runaway chariot of the Republic, seemingly always at risk of being wrecked by internecine strife: “Technically a strong caesura is present after *dabunt*; but the reflexive *se* is attached so closely to *dabunt* that there is no real pause ...” The meter again enacts the crisis, both for Carthage and for Rome.

olim: 20× in the epic; only here in Book 4. The language of the line points to the present (*nunc*), the past (*olim*), and the future (*quocumque* / *tempore*, future tense *dabunt*), as La Cerda realized—even if necessarily the curse cannot be retroactive: we do well to remember that Dido exhibits dramatic flair here more than strict chronological logic. *Olim* need not refer only to the past; it can refer to the future (*OLD* s.v. 3), as in its very first use in the epic at 1.19–20 *progeniem sed Troiane a sanguine duci* / *audierat Tyrias olim quae verteret arces*, in the related passage of how Juno had heard that a race from Trojan blood would come for the destruction of Troy at some point in subsequent history. What matters in all uses of *olim* is the notion of distance in time, either in the past (more usually) or, as here, in the future.

Lucan imitates Virgil’s language here for his prediction of the apotheosis of Cato: *BC* 9. 602–603 *et quem si steteris umquam cervice soluta*, / *nunc, olim, factura deum es* ... (addressed to Rome).

quocumque ... *tempore*: Suitably vague and all-encompassing, as befitting an imprecation that emphasizes totality. The reference is however also to the multiple battles and engagements fought with Rome in the Punic Wars, many of which were successful for Carthage.

dabunt ... *vires*: Cf. Ovid, *Trist.* 4.9.16 *Pierides vires et sua tela dabunt*; Statius, *Ach.* 1.122 *Nereis erumpit silvis—dant gaudia vires*.

vires: With reference to military power and force; for the noun elsewhere in the book cf. 132; 175.

628 *litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas*

The language of the curse proceeds from land to sea, encompassing wars in both theaters.

litora: Juxtaposed with the *litoribus* with which it will always be in a state of mutual hatred. ABBA chiasmic word order to enact the endless struggle: *litora* / *litoribus* / *fluctibus* / *undas*. D.Serv. argued that there may be a reference to treaties that prohibited travel between the two empires, as well as to war. Whatever the range of ideas that are catalogued under the heading of hate, Dido’s curse here fulfills what is already established history for the poet-narrator at

the beginning of his story, with his accounting for Juno's enmity toward the Trojans (1.12 ff.).

Manilius imitated Virgil here: cf. *Ast.* 4.813–814 *sic terrae terris respondent, urbibus urbes, | litora litoribus, regnis contraria regna*; note also Pliny, *Pan.* 29.2.3 ... *itinera terris litoribus mare litora mari reddidit* ...

litora litoribus: The dative plural also at 7.1–2 *Tu quoque litoribus nostris, Aeneia nutrix, | aeternam moriens famam, Caieta, dedisti*.

contraria: Cf. 1.12–14 *Urbs antiqua fuit (Tyrii tenuere coloni) | Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe | ostia ...*, where Carthage and Italy are similarly opposed, and where *contra* refers not merely to geography, but also to imperial/martial and economic conflict and rivalry. The adjective is rare in Virgil; note also 1.238–239 *hoc equidem occasum Troiae tristisque ruinas | solabar fatis contraria fata rependens*, of Venus in her appeal to Jupiter; 2.39 *scinditur incertum studiis in contraria vulgus*, of the Trojan reaction to the Wooden Horse; 7.293–294 *heu stirpem invisam et fatis contraria nostris | fata Phrygum!* ..., of Dido's divine patroness Juno (for the comparison between the words of queen and goddess see Newman and Newman 2005, 131; also 151 on *contraria* as leit-motif for Dido and Juno alike); the substantival use at 12.486–487 *heu, quid agat? vario nequiquam fluctuat aestu, | diversaeque vocant animum in contraria curae*, of Juturna; cf. *G.* 1.286. The key word is prominent in the middle of the verse.

fluctibus: Again in syntactic opposition and placement to *undas*, to continue to make the conflict come to life via the verse. There is certainly a reminiscence here of the naval engagements between Carthage and Rome, especially in the First Punic War. The noun only here in Book 4; cf. 5.1–2 *Interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat | certus iter fluctusque atros Aquilone secabat*. For *fluctibus undas* Servius offers the specific explanation “propter illud quod in foederibus cautum est, ut Corsica esset media inter Romanos et Carthagienses”; the poet is more concerned with the general status of conflict between the empires on the high seas, even if his audience was more attuned than not to the details of the historical realities. The line-end only here in extant verse. Austin notes that Lucretius could have written *fluctibu' fluctus*: “and perhaps Virgil regretted that his stricter code forbade this.”

629 *imprecor, arma armis: pugnent ipsique nepotesque.*”

The closing of the imprecation is indebted to Catullus' Ariadne at c. 64.199–201 *vos nolite pati nostrum vanescere luctum; | sed quali solam Theseus me mente reliquit, | tali mente, deae, funestet seque suosque*.

imprecor: The final verse of the curse commences with a striking first person verb of damnation; it adds to the effect that this is the sole use of *imprecari* in

the poet. Cf. 612 *et nostras audite preces*; 621 *haec precor*. The verb in alliterative pattern with *pugnent*.

arma armis: The crowning element in the tricolon of conflict, returning to the polyptoton of 628 *litora litoribus*. The elision serves to enact the joining of arms.

pugnent: For the verb cf. on 38; here it is juxtaposed after the mention of the clashing weapons.

ipsique: Dido's curse is an omnibus threat: she forecasts the war in Italy that Aeneas and his men and their allies will fight; the future wars with Carthage; and the whole cycle of civil wars that culminates with her comparand Cleopatra.

nepotesque: The hypermetric effect serves to add a closing note of endless horror: the curse of the young queen will go on forever. The same effect occurs at 558, in a passage of shock and drama for Aeneas, where the appearance of the dream Mercury dazzles and awes the hero with its vivid representation of the god. "Dido's hypermetric ending (IV. 629) crowns her rhetoric of silence" (Newman and Newman 2005, 118). Her rhythm never ends, and the elision (as Williams notes) can in a sense never be made. The attempt of one critic to erase this key final enclitic in the Palatine was an exercise in restoring meter at the price of deleting the deliberate trick of the poet's art. Page notes that editors should not begin a new paragraph after this verse; he has a point, though there is also something to be said for Williams' argument (followed by MacLennan) about unfulfilled elisions. Tilly thinks that the speech ends with sobbing and a surrender to emotion. But there is more hate than sorrow here. Mackail compares 7.470, noting that the same phenomenon occurs "with less justification" there: the matter is one of subjective judgment, but the announcement of the coming of Turnus to wage war against Aeneas and his Trojans seems sufficiently dramatic to warrant the same metrical trick.

Nepos occurs at 163 of Ascanius; the noun occurs in the plural only here in the book.

Servius perceptively noted that this last utterance of the curse looks forward not only to the Punic Wars, but also to the civil ("potest et ad civile bellum referri"), *pace* Pease. Has there ever been a more comprehensive and simultaneously successful set of imprecations in all of epic?

630–650 Dido summons Sychaeus' nurse Barce, and instructs her to have Anna come with all that is necessary to complete the magical rites. Then the queen mounts the pyre and unsheathes the sword with which she will end her life; after a final soliloquy she commits suicide, and the reaction as the news spreads through palace and city is as if Carthage had been assailed and sacked.

630 Haec ait, et partis animum versabat in omnis,

A strong reminiscence of 286 *in partisque rapit varias perque omnia versat*, of Aeneas' reaction to the first, diurnal visit from Mercury; both passages are echoed at 8.18–21, where the Trojan hero is anxious in the wake of the outbreak of war in Latium.

Haec ait: Also at 1.297; 10.285; 379; 444; cf. *G.* 4.415. The little demonstrative once again carries much weight, in this case all the preceding imprecations.

partis: The hyperbaton expresses the vast range of thoughts that now fill the queen's mind.

animum: Vid. Negri 1984, 145; 293; 306.

versabat: The imperfect is likely frequentative and not inceptive; it refers to the thoughts that continue to fill her mind even after the words cease to flow. The verb recalls 563 *illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat*, of the warning of the dream Mercury to Aeneas: here fulfilled. Dido's suicide is not impulsive, but meditated; some may find tedium in her repeated words, subterfuges, and fluctuating emotions and thoughts. But Virgil has drawn a picture that is all too hauntingly true to life, and like the Punic patroness Juno, so the Carthaginian queen Dido will accomplish much before she breathes her last.

omnis: Here the mention of the totality of her thoughts is especially frightening in light of the comprehensive nature of her curse.

631 invisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem.

The curse having been uttered, now the suicide looms. The verse is framed by the *invisam ... lucem*, words of rather different semantic register.

invisam: Another echo of the visual element: Dido cannot stand to look on the light; we may recall that it is still early morning. The echo here is of 540–541 *quis me autem, fac velle, sinet ratibusque superbis | invisam accipiet? ...*, in the queen's recitation of her dismal and intolerable options.

quaerens: Cf. the rather different 692 *quaesivit caelo lucem ingemuitque re-perta*, of the queen in her death agonies; for the verb note also 77; 350; 468; 515; 647.

abrumpere: This use of the verb will be echoed powerfully at 8.579 *nunc, o nunc liceat crudelem abrumpere vitam*, of Evander at the farewell to Pallas; also by the mother of Euryalus in the wake of the news of the loss of her son: 9.495–497 *aut tu, magne pater divum, miserere, tuoque | invisum hoc detrude caput sub Tartara telo, | quando aliter nequeo crudelem abrumpere vitam* (with verbal reminiscences of the description of Dido here). Cf. 3.55 *fas omne abrumpit ...*, with reference to the murder of Polydorus; 9.117–118 *... et sua quaeque | continuo puppes abrumpunt vincula rupis*, of the magically trans-

formed Trojan ships; participial uses at 3.199; 422; 11.492 12.451 and 687. The metaphor is from the Fates' severing of the thread of life; the image looks forward to the action of Iris in the snipping of the fateful lock at 704. Cf. Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 2.597–598 ... *abrumpere vitam | ocius attoniti quaerunt lucemque gravantur*; 9.649–650 ... *abrumpere cuncta | iam dudum cum luce libet ...*; also Lucan, *BC* 482–484 *par animi laus est et, quos speraveris, annos | perdere et extremae momentum abrumpere lucis, | accersas dum fata manu ...* Seneca imitates Virgil at *Troad.* 938–939 *Utinam iuberet me quoque interpres deum | abrumpere ense lucis invisae moras* (of Helen). Pease sees a “somewhat confused metaphor” here, since normally it is life and not light that is cut off—but the poet is concerned with reminding us of the hour of the day, and of drawing a connection between the Dido who is increasingly associated with nocturnal, magical, and infernal life and the hatred of the light of both day and life.

lucem: Light for life again; cf. 619. We may recall the address of Anna to her sister *o luce magis dilecta sorori* (31).

632 *tum breviter Barcen nutricem adfata Sychaei,*

breviter: Alliterative with *Barcen*. The adverb also in the epic at 1.561; 2.11; 6.321; 398; 538; 9.353; 10.251; 621. Servius glosses here: “festinatione mortis, simul necit causam morarum et ipsi et sorori.” The collocation with *tum* occurs also at 1.561 (Dido again speaking, in happier times); cf. 10.251.

Barcen: “Another character is introduced at this moment of the supreme climax” (Tilly). Vid. G. Brugnoli in *EV* I, 457–458; S. Casali in *VE* I, 170. The name evokes the celebrated Carthaginian Barcids, not least the Hannibal whose advent was heralded at 625. She is here—like so many of Virgil’s minor characters—because she needs to be; there is no evidence that she was in solitary attendance on the queen for all that has preceded, but as a nurse of Sychaeus her quarters were probably quite close to the queen’s, and Dido finds her quickly and speaks to her in haste (*tam breviter*). Pease is right that we cannot be sure that Barce or anyone else heard the queen’s curse—but it is no accident that this nurse of the Barcid line appears right after the evocation of the greatest member of that lineage. The name means “lightning,” and this fits with the juxtaposed adverb of brevity: lightning strikes exceedingly quickly. It is noteworthy that Aeneas’ nurse Caieta also has a name that evokes images of fire and burning (7.1–2); so also Sychaeus’ name at the end of this verse: the poet is already looking forward to the pyre (on the poet’s fiery semantic game here see Paschalis 1997, 171).

nutricem: The occupation is juxtaposed with the name. Cf. the repetition at 634; other than of Caieta, the noun occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at 5.645 of

Pyrgo, *tot Priami natorum regia nutrix*; and, significantly, at 1.275 in Jupiter's speech to Venus, where he will announce the future Romulus who will be "happy in the tawny pelt of the she-wolf" (*inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus*).

Why does Dido not have her own nurse? On a practical level, because she died in Tyre (633). But the answer in a more important sense is so that her sister Anna may play the role of tragic confidante. Further, the poet also wants to highlight that Barce was the *nutrix* of Sychaeus, so that the dead husband with whom the queen broke faith may play something of a role in the suicide drama: his nurse will be another unwitting aide in the execution of the dread plan. From the perspective of the crazed queen, there is herein an element of justice and right revenge. Just as Barce needs to be present now because the poet requires her, so Dido's own nurse needs to have died so that Sychaeus' can preside over some aspect of his widow's suicide. Pease provides one of his patented catalogues of nurses from Homer to Shakespeare. MacLennan notes that since Anna is to be an important character in the final movement of the book, it is appropriate that the go-between should herself acquire an intermediary. It is a well-established practice of *Nachleben* imitations to elevate minor characters to the status of major; hence for Jodelle this nurse plays a far more important role in the drama.

adfata: For the verb cf. on 424; for the form note also 6.538; 666; 8.611; 12.138; G. 4-530.

Sychaei: The name at line-end recalling 552 *non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo*. The name is peppered through the book to recall how pervasive the image of the slain Sychaeus is in the queen's thinking; Sychaeus is mentioned here to remind us of a key reason for the queen's suicide.

633 *namque suam patria antiqua cinis ater habebat*:

namque: Introducing an explanation for the sudden appearance of Barce; only here in Book 4. For how Dido has no nurse of her own, while Aeneas still had his, see Newman and Newman 2005, 147.

suam: Prominent, and grammatically somewhat irregular since *eius* or *ipsius* might have been expected; different commentators have been more or less troubled (cf. Page's "*Suam* in this line is absolutely irregular, for there is no word to which it can refer: it defies grammar"). The line in consequence has been held in suspicion by some, but the poet's point is to highlight how Dido's own nurse is dead, thus paving the way for the psychologically more appropriate use of Sychaeus'. DeWitt 1907, 48–49 raises the perceptive point that Dido is presented as so lonely that she does not even have her own nurse, and must rely on her dead husband's.

patria antiqua: I.e., Tyre. Cf. below on 670 *antiqua Tyros*; 312 of Troy; 458 of Sychaeus as the *coniunx antiquus*; 431 of Dido's union with Aeneas as the *coniugium antiquum*. *Patria* here recalls Aeneas' words at 347 *hic amor, haec patria est ... Antiqua* in sound pattern with *ater*.

cinis: Continuing the emphasis on ashes, as Dido's pyre looms larger. "An odd expression when the nurse's body is itself the ash" (MacLennan). If the reference to the *cinis ater* is to the ashes of the nurse's pyre, then the connection to the queen's fate is made especially clear; see Henry for a lengthy note on the exact source of the ashes.

ater: For the color note Edgeworth 1992, 74–86; above on 248; 384; 472; 570; below on 687.

habebat: Durative imperfect.

Ovid's Dido laments *agor exul cineresque viri patriamque relinquo* (*Her.* 7. 115); the "black ash" of Virgil's expression is unparalleled in extant Latin, save Serenus Sammonicus, *Liber Med.* 799 *huius et atra cinis currentem detinet undam*—and nowhere else does anyone speak of the black ash holding anything. "But it is very successful" (Mackail).

634 "Annam, cara mihi nutrix, huc siste sororem:

Anna and "sister" frame the verse. The line almost permits Anna and Barce to shade into one, since they fulfill the same tragic function for the queen. Ultimately the point of Dido's order here is so that her sister can prepare to take her place in the suicidal climax of the drama. In reality, the purpose of Dido's instructions to Barce here is to ensure that Barce and Anna will be distracted, so that there is no chance that they will intrude on the suicide—we recall again that it is now morning, and the queen could not expect to enjoy privacy. Anna will not actually appear until 672 ff., where it will be too late for her to interfere with her sister's dark plans.

Annam: Dido's sibling has not been mentioned since 500–503.

cara: For the adjective see 91 and 354. Dido uses it of Anna at 492–493 *testor, cara, deos et te, germana, tuumque | dulce caput ... Cara* is juxtaposed with the referential dative; *mihi* casts its ethical shadow over the entire verse (Pease, and Austin are right not to try to confine it either to *cara* or *siste*): Barce is dear to Dido, and she is to bring Anna to her sister. Wakefield preferred to remove the punctuation both before *cara* and after *nutrix*, *fortasse melius*.

nutrix: Echoing 632 *nutricem*.

siste: Alliterative with the juxtaposed *sororem*. The verb only here in Book 4; it will be echoed at 6.465 *siste gradum teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro*, of Aeneas with the shade of Dido. D.Serv. thought that *huc siste* implied that the aged (cf. 641) Barce was supposed to bring Anna with her, so that even more

time could be consumed. “Less peremptory than *voca*” (Maclennan). Cf. Donatus: “hoc est huc instanter adduc.” The imperative here is closely coordinate with 635 *dic*, of the orders that Anna is supposed to carry out before she comes back with Barce.

sororem: Highlighting again the sibling relationship, a recurring theme since 9; cf. 673, as Anna learns of the suicide.

635 *dic corpus properet fluviali spargere lympha*

For the ritual details that commence here, see Bailey 1935, 283–285; this is a liturgy that will never be completed, since the rites that matter require but one more rubrical feature: the queen’s suicide. The language here is echoed at the Misenus requiem: 6.229–230 *idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda / spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivae*. We might expect that Dido is the one who must be purified before her suicide; in reality the offering to the *di inferi* requires only her dead body, purged by the fires of the pyre. Aeneas in contrast refuses to touch the Penates until he has been purified from the blood and taint of Troy’s last night: 2.718–720 *me bello e tanto digressum et caede recenti / atrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo / abluero*. Henry compares the rites of baptism and the holy water at the doors of churches; cf. the ablutions before formal prayers or the handling of the Koran in Islamic practice. Dido’s words here work a noteworthy change on her rhetorical question at 600–601 *non potui abreptum divellere corpus et undis / spargere?* ..., of her wish to tear Aeneas to pieces.

dic: Following on 634 *siste*: this is what Barce is to tell Anna.

properet: Effective psychology: Anna is to be told to hurry, but the instructions will take some time to execute, and the queen will not need so much time to commit suicide. For the verb cf. 310. The prominent placement of *corpus* after the infinitive underscores the import of the indirect command: Anna is to hurry to come, but before she arrives she is to purify her body with river-water. The first in a tricolon of jussives, one in each verse (636 *ducat*, 637 *veniat*).

fluviali: The adjective also at 9.70 *aggeribus saeptam circum et fluvialibus undis*, of the locus of the Trojan fleet in the face of Turnus’ threatened firing of the ships; cf. *G.* 2.414. In framing order with *lympa* around the infinitive. The reference is probably to the waters of the Bagradas (the modern Medjerda), a river of immense strategic significance in the region (cf. the famous battle in 255 during the First Punic War, in which the Romans under Regulus suffered a defeat). Liquidly alliterative with *lympa*.

spargere: Cf. 486; 512; 584; also 21. Servius draws a distinction here: “sacrificantes diis inferis aspergebantur ... superis abluebantur.” It is possible that here the grammarian is correct about the poet’s concern for ritual specificity.

lympa: Cf. 1.701–702 *dant manibus famuli lymphas Cereremque canistris / expediunt ...*, of the preparations for the banquet; at 683–684 below, Anna in her hysterical reaction to her sister's suicide will imagine that the wounds can be purified with water. The noun recurs at 9.22–24 ... *sic effatus ad undam / processit summoque hausit de gurgite lymphas / multa deos orans, oneravitque aethera votis*, of Turnus after the Iris visitation; 10.833–835 *Interea genitor Tiberini ad fluminis undam / vulnera siccatat lymphis corpusque levabat / arbos acclinis trunco ...*, of Mezentius; 12.420–421 *fovit ea vulnus lymphae longaevis Iapyx / ignorans ...*, of Aeneas' doctor in the wake of Venus' mysterious intervention to heal her son's serious arrow wound. The noun properly of a water-nymph, and by (poetic) extension to water (*OLD* s.v. 2); it occurs in purificatory contexts, here with reference to how Anna is to prepare to join in the rites that are, of course, already concluded.

636 *et pecudes secum et monstrata piacula ducat.*

More jussive commands that will require the expenditure of time. We recall here the rites of 56 ff. that were jointly carried out by the sisters. Again we note that these purificatory rites will not be executed, unless we are to imagine that Anna performed expiatory rituals after the suicide and the burning of her sister's corpse on the pyre. What Dido enjoins here is primarily intended to distract Anna for the moment needed in which to kill herself, and secondarily—just perhaps—with a hint of infernal liturgies to accompany her death. The language of this verse is echoed at 5.735–736 ... *huc casta Sibylla / nigrarum multo pecudum te sanguine ducet.*

pecudes: Alliterative with *piacula*. For the noun cf. 63–64.

monstrata: Echoing 483 ... *monstrata sacerdos* of the Massylian mage, and 498 ... *monstratque sacerdos*, of what she revealed to Dido about the infernal rituals to be performed. The *monstrata piacula* may constitute a hendiadys with the *pecudes*, since there can be no reference here to the items that are already on the pyre (*ducat* is used especially of the animals that are to be led; Pease argued that it is “uncertain but possible” that the referent is identical). The purpose of the participle is to recall the earlier remarks of Dido to her sister about the priestess; Anna was not privy to the rites of the previous night, and for all she knows the liturgy is to commence now with a (customary) sacrifice. We may compare the actions of Aristaeus at *G.* 4.548–549 *Haud mora, continuo matris praecepta facessit: / ad delubra venit, monstratas excitat aras.*

piacula: The noun recurs at 6.153 *duc nigras pecudes; ea prima piacula sunt*, in the Sibyl's instructions to Aeneas about the rites to be performed before the descent to Avernus; also 6.659 *distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem*, of the punishment exacted by Rhadamanthus for that which was not atoned for

in life. The term properly denotes that which is offered in expiation for sin; in the present instance that would refer primarily to Dido's disregard for Sychaeus, and (distantly) secondarily for her neglect of her regal responsibilities. *Piacula* here is echoed at 637 *pia*.

ducat: The verb also in this book at 74; 326; 340; 463; 560; cf. 5.7 *triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt*, of the sight of the flames rising from the walls of Carthage that the fleeing Trojans realize is a grim omen.

637 sic veniat, tuque ipsa pia tege tempora vitta.

sic: Emphatic, as Conington noted (*pace* Henry): the point is to secure a delay while Anna prepares all the ritual niceties that her sister has requested. The use of *sic*, *sic* at 660 below will be at one and the same time both analogous and strikingly different.

tuque: Alliterative with *tege* and *tempora*, of addressee; action; object.

ipsa: Probably nominative singular rather than neuter plural, with the intensive juxtaposed with the personal pronoun; the latter option provides interlocking word order (*ipsa* / *pia* / *tempora* / *vitta*), and both interpretations emphasize what Barce is to do personally regarding the proposed continuation/completion of the liturgy.

pia: In framing order with the fillet around the temples. The nurse's fillet is *pia* because of the rites in which she is invited to participate, and because she is carrying out the orders of the queen. There is, however, a perverse element in all this; Austin is right to comment on the "ghastly detail," since it will be Elissa who is to be the sacrifice to secure the fulfillment of the imprecations she has uttered. Yet another means by which time may be bought for the queen's dire plans. "*pia et nutrix esse potest et vitta, ut sit pia nutrix aut pia vitta: quicquid tamen secuti fuerimus, rectum est*" (Donatus).

tege: For the verb cf. 123; 250; 477.

tempora vitta: As at 2.133 *salsae fruges et circum tempora vittae*; 3.81 *vittis et sacra redimitus tempora lauro*; 6.665 *omnis his nivea cinguntur vitta*; 10.538 *infula cui sacra redimibat tempora vitta*; also *Buc. Ein.* 1.46 *candida flamenti distinxit tempora vitta*; *Ilias Latina* 13–14 *nam quondam Chryses, sollempni tempora vitta | implicitus ...*; Ovid, *Met.* 5.110 *Ampycus albenti velatus tempora vitta*; 13.643–644 *huic Anius niveis circumdata tempora vittis | concutiens ...*; *Fast.* 3.861 *et soror et Phrixus, velati tempora vittis*; *Ep.* 3.2.75 *dumque parat sacrum, dum velat tempora vittis*; Statius, *Theb.* 3.467 *fronde comam et niveis ornata tempora vittis*; *Ach.* 1.11 *nec mea nunc primis augescunt tempora vittis*; 6.11 *cinxit purpureis flaventia tempora vittis*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.278–279 *... ut steterit redimitus tempora vittis | Phrixus ...*; 3.424–425 *tempora tum vittis et supplice castus oliva | implicat ...*; 6.63–64 *... triplici percurrens tempora nodo | demittit sacro gem-*

inas a vertice vittas; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 16.241–242 ... *cinguntur tempora vitta / albente* ... On Virgilian fillets and associated garlands and crowns for use in sacred rites vid. Lersch 1843, 189–192.

638 *sacra Iovi Stygio, quae rite incepta paravi,*

“Magna caligo verborum,” as Donatus noted: we have not heard of the involvement of Pluto before this verse, but his presence might be excused were one to think that the rituals undertaken were to abolish the memory of Aeneas (497–498). Still, Barce might well have been expected to find Dido’s reference here ominous; as Bailey notes, “The rite thus indicated now seems definitely to assume the form of *devotio*; i.e., Aeneas is to be ‘devoted,’ i.e., given over to the powers of Hades for his destruction ...”: in fact, it will be Dido who is essentially rendered *devota*, with her head the price for the curse on the Trojans/future Romans. Effective Augustan propaganda against Antony: affairs with foreign queens carry a very heavy price.

sacra: Alliterative with *Stygio*. Cf. 454 ... *latices nigrescere sacros*.

Iovi Stygio: The Stygian Jove = Pluto; the conceit about the “Zeus of the underworld” already in Homer (*Il.* 9.459). For the infernal god in Virgil see S. Fasce in *EV* II, 101 and *EV* IV, 151; L. Fratantuono in *VE* I, 373–374; Bailey 1935, 250; Fratantuono 2016c (with consideration of how the poet employs references to Dis/Pluto as part of an unfolding of a Lucretian eschatology that implicitly rejects Orphic dreams of rebirth and reincarnation). With the allusive reference (a way to avoid saying the name of the god, which was considered unlucky) cf. 6.252 *tum Stygio regi nocturnas incohat aras*, of the rites performed by Aeneas before the descent to Avernus; see Gantz 1993, 72–73 for the many names of the god. Proserpina is thus the “infernal Juno”: 6.138 *Iunoni infernae dictus sacer* ..., of the Golden Bough (see below *ad* 698–699 for the associations between the Bough and the lock of Dido’s blond hair that is snipped by Iris).

The mention of the dread god here prepares the way for 702–703, where Iris will name Dis as well as the *sacrum* offering of the queen’s lock (... *hunc ego Diti / sacrum iussa fero teque isto corpore solvo*); Pluto must appear in some sense at the close of *Aeneid* 4, just as he was a key divine factor in the loss of another young woman, Eurydice, at the close of *Georgics* 4 (cf. 4.467–470; 517–520, in nearly framing references to the god around the Orpheus-Eurydice epyllion). After the references to the god in Book 4 note 5.731–733, where the ghost of Anchises appears to Aeneas with instructions about the forthcoming descent to the underworld and consultation of his father’s shade; Book 6 of course has several allusions to and mentions of the god (cf. 6.106–107; 127; 252; 269; 395–397; 540–543).

The poet names “Pluto” once only in the poem, at 7.327–328 as the hateful father of the Fury Allecto; see Horsfall *ad loc.* for the (Orphic) genealogy of the Furies. Note also 8.666–670, of the depiction of the underworld on the shield; 12.197–200, of Latinus’ swearing and oath before Aeneas. Servius has an extended note here on how for the Stoics there is but one god with diverse responsibilities and areas of concern; it is doubtful, however, that the poet was evoking any such philosophical considerations here. Mackail notes that neither Stygian Jupiter nor Infernal Juno was a “recognised deity in Roman ritual”—but the reference is more to deities associated with the dark arts than to anachronistic depictions of Roman religious practices.

For the adjective *Stygius* see Fratantuono and Smith on 5.855; also L. Fratantuono in *VE* III, 1222. The principal underworld river, and thus by synecdoche a name for the entire infernal realm; cf. the diverse uses at *G.* 3.551; 4.479; *Aen.* 3.215; 6.154; 252; 438; 7.476; 773.

rite: Cf. 555 ... *rebus iam rite paratis*, of Aeneas’ slumber after the proper preparation for the departure from Carthage: the present use offers a striking contrast, as the queen prepares for her imminent suicide. Austin sees in Dido’s language an attempt to give sanction to the works of black magic. The queen’s principal concern throughout these verses is that Barce (and, by extension, Anna) should be convinced that she is preoccupied with liturgical details and rubrical exactitude, and not with anything like self-harm.

incepta: Cf. 452 *quo magis inceptum peragat lucemque relinquat*, of the omens that terrified Dido. The rites had been commenced at 504 ff.; Anna knew about them and had in fact played a key role in their preparation, but she was not present for the dark rituals of the preceding night. As Pease and others have noted, there was no interruption of the rites at 521; Dido is engaging here in active deceit so as to conceal what is really the last detail of the liturgy: the sacrifice of the willing victim, whose blood will purchase the efficacy of the curse (621). *Incepta* here will be echoed at 642 *coeptis*.

paravi: Alliterative with the hypermetrically juxtaposed *perficere*. Macrobius (*Sat.* 3.3.2) read *parabam* here, probably because he was thinking of the rites as not actually being completed, etc.

639 *perficere est animus finemque imponere curis*

perficere: Prolicative infinitive. The prefix is intensive (and alliterative with *imponere*, as *finem* is in balanced order after *perficere*): this will be the culmination of the liturgy. The verb will be echoed at 6.629 *sed iam age, carpe viam et susceptum perfice munus* (the only other use of the finite verb in Virgil); cf. 637 *His demum exactis, perfecto munere divae*, both times with reference to the offering of the Golden Bough to Proserpina. Participial uses occur at 3.178; 548 (both

times also of offerings); 5.267; 6.612; 637; 745; 895; 7.545; 8.307 (again in a ritual context); 612; 9.263. *Perficere* here is coordinate with 640 *permittere*, the crowning infinitive in another tricolon.

animus: Cf. 3 *multa viri virtus animo ... recursat*.

finemque: In close coordination with the sense of *perficere*. Dido's language echoes that of Venus to Aeneas at 2.619 *eripe, nate, fugam finemque impone labori*. Cf. also Calpurnius Siculus, *E.* 6.92 *litibus hi vestris poterunt imponere finem*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.461 *si non falsa mihi, vos finem imponite poenis*.

imponere: For the verb note also 418; 453.

curis: The ostensible reason for the whole affair; the key word from 4.1. Almost certainly with respect to her love, then (as Servius glossed "amoribus"), and not to the Danielan option of the "res suscepta." The noun is alliterative with 640 *capitis*, and is hypermetrically juxtaposed with *Dardanii*, i.e. the Dardanian source of her *curae*. Cf. Ps.-Seneca, *Oct.* 653–654 *dabit hic nostris finem curis / vel morte dies*. The language here is echoed at 652 ... *his exsolvite curis*.

640 *Dardaniique rogam capitis permittere flammae.*"

Dardaniique: In framing order with *capitis* around the pyre. An appellation used in the imprecation (626).

The (usually post-Augustan) genitive termination here has occasioned comment; cf. 3.702 *fluvii* and 9.151 *Palladii*; the second of these examples is almost certainly an interpolated verse, while Wagner's deletion of 3.702 has enjoyed considerable sympathy. No serious case has been made to impugn the present line, though the seemingly pesky genitive has encouraged the idea. Pease cites earlier examples of the form; Skutsch *ad* Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 3.147 has demonstrated how that poet wrote *Tarquinius* and not *Tarquinius*; as for Catullus, c. 9.5 *o nuntii beati*, Fordyce argues in an extended note for an exclamatory nominative to avoid reading a genitive; cf. Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr I, 425–426. Someone had to be the first to employ the termination; there is no good reason why Virgil the innovator of words could not have made a modest morphological change. If his contemporaries noticed anything unusual about the form, it would serve only to highlight the significant name (already prominent by position). The queen needs to emphasize that this will not be *her* pyre, but rather that of the detestable Trojan.

rogum: Repeated at 646 and 676; half of the occurrences of the noun in the epic occur in this book. Elsewhere note 6.308 *impositique rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum*, of the pathetic scene of the souls in Limbo; and the terrible fulfillment of that image and of part of Dido's curse at 11.189 *decurrere rogos ...*, of the requiems that Aeneas and Tarchon oversee for the war dead, Pallas prominent among them.

capitis: Once again, Aeneas will not be named; Page speaks of the “abhorrence” with which Dido refers to her *quondam* lover. Cf. 613 *infandum caput* of Aeneas, in the solemn language of the queen’s curse. The head is again named because of its traditional role in imprecatory language.

permittere: Following on 639 *perficere*, once more with an air of finality. For the verb see on 104. Epexegetical after 639 *finemque imponere curis*: she will put an end to her cares by this act; a sort of hendiadys.

flammae: Closing on a fiery note. Again, the queen speaks in *double entendre*: she tells of the burning of the Aeneas puppet as a piece of sympathetic magic to avert the spell of his love, but she will herself be burned on the *rogus* with the effigy of the Trojan hero, and in the mingled ashes she will be joined with him in some sense for all time, not to mention via the potent efficacy of her imprecations on him and his descendants. The Medicean has the plural *flammis* here; the singular is better attested, and some critics have objected to the pattern 639 ... *curis* / 640 ... *flammis*.

641 sic ait. illa gradum studio celerabat anili.

Barce takes her leave from the stage of the tragic drama, less than ten verses after she had been introduced.

sic ait: Following close on 630 *Haec ait*, of the words of the curse.

gradum: The noun recurs below in a different sense at 685 (of stairs; as at 1.448; cf. 2.443 of the steps of ladders); elsewhere note 3.598; 6.128; 465; 488.

studio: In framing word order with the verb. Cf. 400 *infabricata fugae studio*. Servius raises the idea that an old woman’s stereotypical industry and devotion to duty is being referenced here.

celerabat: This is the original reading of the Medicean; *celebrabat* has venerable ancient attestation. The two verbs are easily enough confused, and the same problem may be cited at 5.609 (where see Fratantuono and Smith). Our reading is that of Conte’s Teubner; Conington; Irvine; Mackail; Buscaroli; Pease; Austin; Götte’s (and Holzberg’s) Tusculum; Dolç; Paratore; Perret’s Budé; Binder and Binder’s Reclam; Goold’s Loeb; Heuzé’s Pléiade; Rivero García et al.; *celebrabat* is preferred by Ribbeck; Mynors’ (and Hirtzel’s) OCT; Tilly (*sans commentaire*; so also Butler); Sabbadini; Geymonat 1973 (but not 2008).

Mackail argued that *celebrare* is never used elsewhere in the poet of a single person (cf. 1.735; 3.280; 5.58; 598; 603; 7.555; 8.173; 268; 303; 12.840; also 8.76 *celebrabere*, of Aeneas’ promise to Tiberinus). For *celerare* cf. 1.357 *tum celerare fugam patriaue excedere suadet* (of the ghost of Sychaeus); 656 *haec celerans iter ad navis tendebat Achates*; 3.666–667 *nos procul inde fugam trepidi celerare recepto / supplice ...* (of the Trojans with Achaemenides); 9.378 *sed celerare*

fugam in silvas et fidere nocti (of Nisus and Euryalus); 10.249 *inde aliae celerant cursus ...* (of ships).

The confusion here is thus old; Conte comments: “*Celebrabat a nescioquo antiquario mihi videtur excogitatum.*”

DServ. here cites a fragment of Accius (*Aegisthus* fr. 308–309 Dangel ... *celebri gradu | gressum adcelerasse decet ...*); the scholiast notes “alii ‘celebrabat’ legunt, quia antiqui hoc verbum in velocitate ponebant. Accius ...” It is not clear that Virgil had the Accian passage on his mind here; in the end the two verbs give quite similar meanings, and *celerat* can be safely read, even if a moment’s notice should be accorded to consideration of the ancient variant. Henry defends *celerabat* on the basis of Ambrose’s *quamvis senilem studio celeraret gradum*, which trades one problem for another (*anilem* here or *anili?*).

The imperfect is inceptive; it is juxtaposed with *anili*: the old woman hastened as fast as she could manage, but her very years added precious moments to the queen’s timetable.

Page and others have seen a touch of humor here in the picture of the old nurse as she shuffles about on her task (Pease is sympathetic; he compares Ovid’s *Baucis*); Tilly comments on how it provides a momentary reprieve before the supreme horror. Austin is right here: “almost amusing if the old woman’s errand were not so dreadful”; again, the poet’s real point is the added time secured by the slow travel of the hobbling nurse. And if there is any humor here, it is put in horrible relief by the grim verses that follow immediately.

anili: The adjective also at 7.416 ... *in vultus sese transformat anilis*, of *Allecto*’s *Calybe* disguise for her visit to *Turnus*; 9.489 *urgebam et tela curas solabar anilis*, of *Euryalus*’ mother. *Anilem* is less weakly attested as a variant here, and would spoil the interlocked word order; Pease notes that the ablative was likelier to be corrected to the accusative than *vice versa*. “Less commonplace and more in Vergil’s manner” (Sidgwick, *bene*).

642 at *trepida et coeptis immanibus effera Dido*,

Three adjectives, each offering a different nuance to the portrait of *Dido* and her undertakings.

at: Strongly adversative after the dismissal of the nurse, as the poet gives the queen center stage for her suicide scene.

trepida: The adjective will be repeated below at 672 *trepido cursu*, of *Anna*. In second position, in framing order with *effera* in penultimate: a dramatic contrast of emotions. *Servius* argued here for a meaning of “festina; nam moritura nihil timebat”; good logic, as Pease notes, but bad psychology.

et: Another little conjunction (now coordinate) introduces a key detail of Dido's mood: she is wild, monstrous even, because of the great undertakings that she has now inaugurated.

coeptis: Echoing 638 *incepta*, of the sacred rites the queen said she had commenced. Very different from 86 *non coeptae adsurgunt turres ...*

immanibus: Cf. 199. If we hear an echo of *manibus* in *immanibus*, so much the better.

effera: Rare in Virgil. At 7.787 it refers to the helmet crest of Turnus with its fiery Chimaera avatar; cf. 8.5–6 ... *saevitque iuventus / effera ...*, of the youth of Latium in the face of war; 205 of the *mens effera* of the monster Cacus; 10.898 of Mezentius; cf. Newman and Newman 2005, 256–257. A word that is thus associated elsewhere in the epic with monsters, and with the terrible struggle soon to face Aeneas in Italy. The adjective is juxtaposed with *Dido*. She will be *furi-bunda* as she climbs the steps of her death pyre at 646.

Dido: Significantly, this is the final occurrence of her name/title in the book; *effera Dido* is a powerful statement of the poet in the wake of her curse, and on the cusp of the suicide by which she will make her blood offering to secure its fulfillment. “Furiata saevis cogitationibus” (Servius).

Valerius imitates this passage, of Venus: ... *eadem effera et ingens / et maculis suffecta genas ...* (*Arg.* 2.104–105).

643 *sanguineam volvens aciem, maculisque trementis*

sanguineam: Her eyes are bloodshot, because she has after all not slept for some time—a vivid and physically accurate symptom. Exactly parallel is 7.399–400 *sanguineam torquens aciem, torvumque repente / clamat ...*, of the crazed queen Amata; cf. the crests of the serpents that will slay Laocoön at 2.206–207; the description of Aeneas' arms at 8.621–622 ... *loricam ex aere rigentem, / sanguineam, ingentem ...*; Bellona's bloody whip in the depiction of Actium on the shield at 8.703 ... *cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello*; the plumes on Turnus' helmet (9.732–733); the comparison of Aeneas' flaming helmet to *cometae sanguinei* at 10.272–273; the association of Lavinia's blush with *sanguinem ostrum* at 12.67; of Mavors at 12.332 (in the comparison of Turnus with the god); of the *rores sanguinei* as Turnus' chariot cuts down his victims at 12.340. The image of blood is in the prominent first position.

volvens: Echoing 363 *huc illuc volvens oculos totumque pererrat*, just before Dido commenced her attack on Aeneas; Aeneas with Turnus at 12.939 *Aeneas volvens oculos dextramque repressit*. The participle is framed by the bloody eyes.

aciem: Of eyesight (*OLD* s.v. 2; cf. 6.788 *huc geminas flecte acies ...*, of Anchises to Aeneas during the *Heldenschau*). Its use here underscores the keenness of the queen's vision (*acies* is properly of the pupil of the eye, the pupil viewed

as the “point” or “edge” of the eye), here marred by blood; the emphasis on sight and on what the queen sees continues to the very end.

maculisque: The noun elsewhere in Virgil at 5.566 *portat equus bicolor maculis ...*, of Polites’ Thracian horse at the *lusus Troiae*; 9.49–50 ... *maculis quem Thracius albis / portat equus ...* in the similar description of Turnus’ steed. Peerlkamp has one of the most notorious notes in Virgilian criticism here: “observatum est nuper in Francia, eos, quibus crines et pars tunicae in cervicibus abscinduntur, ut mox securi Guillotina percutiantur, plerumque in vultu flavas et coeruleas maculas contrahere.”

tremētis: The verb only here in Book 4. The enjambed description once again heightens the effect.

644 *interfusa genas et pallida morte futura,*

interfusa: Echoed at 6.438–439 ... *tristique palus inamabilis unda / alligat et noviēns Styx interfusa coeracet*, just before the commencement of the description of the *Lugentes Campi*; that passage is a reworking of *G.* 4.479–480, from the Orpheus and Eurydice epyllion—thus drawing a direct connection between Aeneas-Dido and their doomed mythical comparands. The verb is not extant before Virgil and is rare in all periods; Horace has *c.* 1.14.18–19 *interfusa nitentis / vites aequora Cycladas*.

genas: With the mention of Dido’s *genas* we may note Lavinia at 12.64–65 *accepit vocem lacrimis Lavinia matris / flagrantis perfusa genas ...*, as she listens to Amata; also her reaction after her mother’s suicide at 605–606 *filia prima manu flavos Lavinia crinis / et roseas laniata genas ...* Cf. 5.173 *nec lacrimis caruere genae ...*, of Gyas’ tear-stained cheeks at the regatta; 8.160 *tum mihi prima genas vestibat flore iuventas*, of Evander; and also Aeneas as he finally encounters his father’s shade in Elysium: *effusaeque genis lacrimae et vox excidit ore* (6.686).

pallida: Her pale countenance contrasts vividly with her bloodshot eyes and the *maculae* that mark her cheeks. Fittingly, Virgil’s Vulcan will depict the same image of Cleopatra on the shield, in flight from her defeat at Actium: 8.709–710 *illam inter caedes pallentem morte futura / fecerat ignipotens undis et Iapyge ferri*. For *pallidus* cf. 1.353–354 *ipsa sed in somnis inhumati venit imago / coniugis ora modis attollens pallida miris*, of Sychaeus; 3.217–218, of the pale visage of the starving Harpies; 8.197 *ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo*, of the gruesome sight of the decapitated heads that mark Cacus’ lair; 244–245 *infernas reseret sedes et regna recludat / pallida ...*, in an underworld image; 10.761 (and *G.* 3.552) of Tisiphone; also of Orcus (*G.* 1.277) and of Aurora (*G.* 1.446–447). The present chromatic description recalls Dido’s *pallor* at 499; note also her oath about being thrust down to the underworld (cf. 26 *pallentis umbras Erebo*

noctemque profundam)—her suicide will in some regards, at least, fulfill that vow; we remember also the *pallentis animas* that the psychopomp Mercury directs (242–243). Servius notes that Dido was either paler than other people are after death, or pale with the omen of her imminent doom. *Pallida* juxtaposed with *morte*.

La Cerda compared here Lucan, *BC* 7.129–130 ... *multorum pallor in ore | mortis venturae faciesque simillima fato*.

morte futura: The line-end in Virgil only of Dido and Cleopatra; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 13.74 *pallentemque metu et trepidantem morte futura*, of Ulysses, saved by Ajax—an interesting poetic reversal, since the description of Ulysses recalls the suicidal Dido and Cleopatra, but describes the hero before he was saved by another suicide and Didonian comparand—Ajax. Note also Statius, *Theb.* 12.760; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 5.210. *Futura* at the end of the verse recalls 622 ... *genus omne futurum* from the queen's curse: again the double point of her elaborate preparations and rituals is to oversee both the imprecation and the blood that will purchase it.

645 *interiora domus inrumpit limina et altos*

She had been watching the Trojan departure from the harbor *e speculis* (586); now she bursts in on the locus of the pyre and the magical rites of the previous night.

interiora: In balanced sound effect with *inrumpit*. Echoed directly here is 494–495 *tu secreta pyram tecto interiore sub auras | erige ...*, of the setting up of the pyre. The hyperbaton expresses the opening up of the *interiora limina* as the queen makes her dramatic entrance. This is an inner sanctum, not unlike the *domus interior* that provided the stage for the horrors of Pyrrhus with Priam (2.486 ff.). Suicide is depicted as a private (because of attendant shame) act in epic and tragedy (cf. the Sophoclean Ajax; Jocasta); method matters (hanging, as with Amata, became the most disgraceful of methods); there is still a theatrical air to the depictions across genres, and we see the seeds of the spectacle suicides of Tacitean historiography. The young queen is a practiced, talented thespian to the end.

Cf. Grisé 1982 for the dispelling of the notion that suicide was considered a fashion of the age as opposed to a useful expedient in impossible circumstances.

domus: The noun also at 97; 311; 318.

inrumpit: The verb is rare in Virgil, and describes a violent action: so at 6.528 in the reminiscence of the Greeks who broke into the bedroom of Helen and Deiphobus (*inrumpunt thalamo*); 9.683 *inrumpunt aditus Rutuli ...*, during the assault on the Trojan camp; 729 *inrumpentem*, of Turnus during the same

attack; and 11.879 *qui cursu portas primi inrupere patentis*, during the attack on Laurentum after Camilla's death in the cavalry engagement.

Dido's action here recalls 553 *tantos illa suo rumpebat pectore questus*; also the dream Mercury's admonition to Aeneas *rumpe moras* (569), etc. The curtain now rises on the final scene of the tragedy's last act.

limina: The noun elsewhere in the book at 133; 202; 473. It is a good example of one of those figurative, vague uses of a word in poetic description; Austin compares the use of *moenia* to refer to the buildings of a city. Maclennan sees a possible allusion to the "grand houses of the Roman aristocracy," though of course the wealthy and royal of any realm may have similarly well-apportioned, large dwellings, and we need not see any anachronistic Roman reference. Cleopatra's palace at Alexandria is the main comparand. Characteristic parts of a dwelling; cf. Catullus, c. 63.64–66 *mihi ianuuae frequentes, | mihi limina tepida, | mihi floridis corollis | redimita domus erat*.

altos: In hypermetric hyperbaton with 646 *rogos*, to enact the climbing of the lofty pyre.

646 *conscendit furibunda rogos ensemque recludit*

The verbs frame the verse.

conscendit: Vid. Antoine 1882, 45–46. The verb also at 1.180–181 *Aeneas scopulum interea conscendit et omnem | prospectum late pelago petit ...*, on arrival in Dido's realm; 381 *bis denis Phrygium conscendi navibus aequor*, in his account to his disguised mother about his travels; 8.97 *sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem*, of the noontime arrival of Aeneas at Pallenteum; 10.155 *classem conscendit iussis gens Lydia divum*, of Tarchon's alliance with the Trojans. Note also 649 *conspexit*, in close coordination.

furibunda: Following closely on 642 *effera Dido*. One of the strongest appellations in the Virgilian lexicon of madness. The only other occurrence in the poet comes at 7.348 *quo furibunda domum monstro permisceat omnem*, of Allecto's plan for Queen Amata to bring madness to her house by means of the serpent the fury will employ against her. The adjective is borrowed from the description of Catullus' emasculated Attis: c. 31–32 *furibunda simul anhelans | vaga vadit, animam agens*; 53–54 *et earum operta adirem | furibunda latibula*. The adjective is also Lucretian (*DRN* 6.367); Horatian (*Ep.* 1.10.17); Propertian (c. 3.8.3; 4.8.52); Ovidian; Senecan (*tragicus*); Statian. Silius imitates the present scene at *Pun.* 8.51–53 ... *mediam in penetralibus atram | festinat furibunda pyram. tum corripit ensem | certa necis, profugi donum exitiale mariti*.

rogos: The poetic plural has vexed both commentators, and, perhaps, commentators: hence the far duller variant *gradus* offered by the second hand of

the Palatine. Austin offers a good comment in defense of *rogos*, with parallels. Hirtzel's Oxford text is one of the relatively few modern editions that prefers steps to pyres here; Tilly *seq.*; so also Mackail, without a note. The *gradus altos* of 685 may be another source for the confusion here. 11.66 *exstructosque toros* of Pallas' bier echoes Dido's *rogos altos*. Important people in poetry certainly merit plural pyres, as it were. *Rogos* and *ensem* offer powerfully juxtaposed direct objects. Cf. also here Ovid, *Her.* 7.193. *Rogus* is the technical term for a pyre that has not yet been lit, in contrast to *pyra* and *bustum* of fire and the aftermath.

ensemque: The enjambment with 647 *Dardanium* striking; we move from the mention of the Dardanian head that will be burned on the pyre (640) to the unsheathing of the Dardanian sword that will take her life and thereby secure the efficacy of her curse. This is the *ensem relictum* of 507 that was placed on the pyre, the *arma viri* that had been left in the *thalamus* as Aeneas departed (495–496). Pease and others note that Aeneas already has a different sword at 579 as he cuts the cable to allow his flagship to sail forth from Carthage; the sword that he left behind was perhaps the one that Dido had presented to him, the beautiful, noteworthy blade that Mercury found him wearing at 261–262. The queen had intended to burn the sword on the pyre as part of the rituals of sympathetic magic; the weapon will indeed be consumed in flames, though not before taking its key victim. Silius envisioned the sword in Dido's temple at Carthage, in front of a statue of the queen (*Pun.* 1.91). Dido will die in a manner similar to Ajax and, too, Mark Antony.

recludit: For the verb see Fratantuono and Smith on 8.244. Parallel is 9.423 *ense recluso*, of Volcens' action as he moves against Euryalus; cf. 1.358–359 *auxiliumque viae veteres tellure recludit | thesauros, ignotum argenti pondus et auri*, of the help provided by the ghostly Sychaeus. Significantly, the verb will also be associated with the end of Turnus: cf. 12.923–925 ... *volat atri turbinis instar | exitium dirum hasta ferens orasque recludit | loricae et clipei extremos septemplicis orbes*.

647 *Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus.*

A difficult verse, at least if one can judge from the extensive commentary that has been offered on the question of the specific provenance of the sword. The weapon that is part of the accoutrements of Aeneas when Mercury finds him at 260 ff. is not explicitly identified as being a gift of Dido (Page is emphatic on the point that the weapon was not part of her presents for her lover, though it seems likelier that the queen gave it to him, rather than that he found it at a local weapon shop), but it is a Carthaginian sword, and it is described alongside the *laena* that is presented as a work of the queen's own

loom, a gift for her guest-lover. We do not hear about this or any other sword until 595–596, where Dido references the weapons that Aeneas had left in her bedroom; these weapons include the *ensis relictus* that is at the pyre at 507.

If the sword on the pyre had been left behind by Aeneas, it seems difficult to imagine that it was a Trojan blade that was requested (*quaesitum*) as a gift by the queen. The progression of references to the *ensis* in this book point to a Carthaginian sword that was given as a gift by Elissa to Aeneas, a gift that was not sought, as it were, for this use (sc., the queen's suicide). It is a Dardanian sword now because it was a gift to Aeneas, and thus became Dardanian—especially since the emphasis is on how in some sense it is Aeneas who is wounding Dido, just like the *pastor nescius* of the simile at 71–72: the Trojan hero is ignorant of what is happening in the *interiora domus*.

Austin considers it “mere pedantry” to wonder if this is the same sword as that of 507; it seems that both practically and (especially) dramatically it cannot be any other. Conington concludes that this may be a case of *Vergilius dormitans*, since the idea that this was a gift of Aeneas to Dido seems impossible to reconcile with 507 *relictum*; he argues that *quaesitum* must mean “procured” rather than “begged” in order to reconcile the passages (Butler concurs). We are confronted too with the evidence of Ovid, *Her.* 7.184ff. and Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 8.148–149 *haec dicens ensem media in praecordia adegit, | ensem Dardanii quaesitum in pignus amoris*, who are explicit about a sword given by Aeneas to the queen. Virgil cannot be held hostage by his poetic successors, of course; Kvičala 1881, 204–207 tried to reconcile the apparent inconsistencies by arguing that *non* in this verse should be taken with *quaesitum* and not *hos*, and that Silius had misunderstood Virgil (thus prompting Pease's memorable “At this point I should prefer to follow Silius rather than Kvičala”). Stephenson is sympathetic to Kvičala; he notes that if the *munera* of 263 include the sword, then Dido must have been the one to forge it—but this is not a necessary implication. Sidgwick concludes that “*Munus* may however simply be a picturesque word, and there may be no emphasis on the giving at all,” though this seems unlikely. Servius seems to assume that the weapon was a gift of Aeneas (“quem Aeneas non ad hunc usum reliquerat ...”). O'Hara speculates that the sword of 507 was “left behind by chance,” which is certainly one way to dispense with the problem.

Ajax killed himself with the sword that Hector had presented to him after their duel in *Il.* 7 (cf. Sophocles, *Ajax* 815ff., also 661–665 and 1026–1035, with Finglass); this parallel would point to Aeneas as the giver of the sword (so Henry). *In fine*, we are left with the problem of the clear evidence of 507, and the question of the interpretation of *quaesitum* in the present verse.

Best here seems to be to imagine that there is one sword—a Tyrian blade—which was given by Dido to Aeneas. That sword was left behind in the *thalamus*, and it is the weapon that is brought to the pyre and that is used here in the suicide. It was a *munus*, and it was a *munus* not sought for this use, but rather as a token of affection and union with the Trojan guest. It is now characterized as a “Dardanian” sword because it had been transferred from Dido to Aeneas; the fact that he left it behind serves only to illustrate how he is *impius* (496), at least in the queen’s estimation. It will be a Carthaginian blade and not a Trojan that will slay the Carthaginian queen in her act of auto-destruction; Aeneas the *pastor nescius* had wounded Dido with his weapon, and Amor before him had wielded his own all too deliberately aimed shaft. Now Dido will use the very weapon that Aeneas had left behind as the means by which she will procure the blood that will in turn procure the effects of her curse on him.

Dardanium: Echoed at 648 *Iliacas*; cf. also the reference to the Dardanian ships at 658.

hos ... in usus: Deictic demonstrative and hyperbaton to describe the direct act. For *usus* see also 2.453; 8.441; 12.396. MacLennan compares 11.152 *non haec, o Palla, dederas promissa parenti*.

quaesitum: We may compare the disguised Allecto’s words to Turnus at 7.423–424 *rex tibi coniugium et quaesitas sanguine dotes / abnegat, externusque in regnum quaeritur heres*.

munus: Cf. 217; 429; 624; see here too Stöckinger 2016, 134–135.

648 *hic, postquam Iliacas vestes notumque cubile*

hic: It is impossible to determine if this is temporal or local, and likely Virgil did not want the point to be pressed too far; what matters is both the hour and the place, and the Latin adverb allows both to be held in mind.

postquam: Also at 17 and 151.

Iliacas: Cf. 46; 78; 537. As with “Dardanian” in the preceding verse, the emphasis continues on the Trojan element that will be burned on the pyre; in some sense the immolation of the queen and the Trojan relics presages both the doom of Carthage and the suppression of Trojan elements in the reconciliation of Juno in Book 12. The start of ABAB word order of adjectives and nouns.

vestes: Cf. the *exuviae* of 496. Some editors have referenced the *munera praeterea Iliacis erepta ruinis* of 1.647ff. that Aeneas ordered to be brought to Dido, which included articles of clothing once owned by Helen; certainly we may imagine that the queen ordered everything to be brought to the pyre that had any connection at all to Aeneas—i.e., both whatever he had left behind himself, and whatever gifts he had given to Dido. Tilly does well to recall that Aeneas left in a hurry, and that much was left behind.

notumque: We recall 1.379 ... *fama super aethera notus*, of Aeneas to his masquerading mother. *Notum* looks back to the long affair, and to the significance of the *cubile* for the queen.

cubile: Echoing the *cubile* of Tithonus whence Aurora rose on this fateful morning (585). This is the *lectus iugalis* of 496. For the “inversion” of nuptial imagery, see Newman and Newman 2005, 121. Alliterative with the following *conspexit*.

649 *conspexit, paulum lacrimis et mente morata*

conspexit: Following on 646 *conscendit*; both of these verbs will be echoed at 664 *conlapsam*, as the queen collapses, fatally wounded. She casts her gaze on the significant, ominous objects; again the visual aspect is prominently highlighted, here as usual by enjambment and position. Significantly, this is the same verb that was used of Mercury at 261 as he caught sight of Aeneas—who was wearing his Tyrian outfit, armed with his Carthaginian sword (possibly circumstantial evidence that the *ensis* on the pyre is indeed the same blade). The perfect here will be paralleled at 650 *incubuitque*; it is the first of three such verbs, of which the last (650 *dixitque*) introduces her last words. She gazes; she reclines on the couch; she speaks the *novissima verba*. The prefix is intensive—a serious gaze, even if relatively brief.

paulum: Elsewhere in Virgil only at 3.597 ... *paulum aspectu conterritus haesit*, of Achaemenides at the sight of the Trojans. *Paulum* and *morata* in framing order around Dido's tears and her rational mind.

lacrimis: We recall Dido's tears at 30; cf. 314; 413; 548. These are tears that neither Aeneas nor Anna witness; they are solely for the poet's audience.

mente morata: Alliterative. For *mens* here vid. Negri 1984, 176. Servius glosses the *mens* as *consilium*, with reference to the queen's plan to kill herself—but such specification is not necessary, and in fact potentially misleading: the poet's point is that the queen hesitates, not in reconsideration of her plan, but in reflection on the significant objects that are strewn around her. Cf. Dido's *quid moror?* above at 325; the verb also at 235 and 568. A famous detail, which some have taken to be a last, all too brief moment of lucidity. The sight of the bed and the Trojan artifacts gives her a brief reason to pause for tears and yet more words. The tears and the mind may be causal ablatives rather than modal, though the poet may have not have appreciated the question; attendant circumstance may also satisfy syntactical categorizers. “The grammar is difficult, but the sense plain: she pauses in tears and thought” (Irvine). MacLennan is right that to see a hendiadys here is to “blur the intensity” of the expression; there is a physical and an emotional response here, and the *mens morata* need not be taken as evidence that the queen hesitates in her resolve to take her own

life—it is more a case of pausing to reflect before the fateful plunge of the blade. Sophocles' Ajax is far more loquacious than Virgil's young queen. *Morata* offers the final delay in a long progression that stretches back to 133 *reginam thalamo cunctantem*.

650 *incubuitque toro dixitque novissima verba:*

For the “doubled trochaic lilt and rhyme” afforded by the repeated (i.e., Homeric) enclitics, etc., see Williams ad loc.

incubuitque: Echoing 648 *cubile* (and so the verb is fittingly juxtaposed with *toro*), and especially 82–83 *sola domo maeret vacua stratisque relictis / incubat ...*, a scene that prefigured the queen's suicide. For the verb cf. also 397. Dido now leans over the *torus* that she had shared with Aeneas. The description of the queen's action here will be echoed at 659 ... *et os impressa toro*, just before she kills herself.

toro: Repeated at 659 and 691, in a tricolon of tragic localization of her death struggles. This was where she had placed the Aeneas *effigies* at 508; for the noun note also 217. Apollonius' Medea kisses her couch before she flees with Jason (*Arg.* 4.26); Euripides' Alcestis does the same (*Alc.* 175–179, 183, where see Dale, and Parker); on these epic and tragic intertexts see especially Newman and Newman 2005, 144–145. Sophocles' Deianeira also kills herself on her marriage bed (*Trach.* 912 ff.).

novissima verba: So at the Misenus requiem at 6.231 *lustravitque viros dixitque novissima verba*; these are the last words of the Roman funeral rites, here anachronistically applied to the last of the many words uttered by the queen in this book. Dido is dying alone, and so she will utter her own *novissima verba*; Aeneas will carry out the grim duty for Pallas at 11.97–98 ... *salve aeternum mihi, maxime Palla, / aeternumque vale ...*

Camilla's death scene will offer another reminiscence of this passage: 11.825–826 *effuge et haec Turno mandata novissima perfer: / succedat pugnae Troianosque arceat urbe*. The dying Camilla is focused on the battle strategy by which she knows that Aeneas may still be seriously discomfited; her last words are devoted to concern for ally and country. Camilla's last words are addressed to Acca, and consist of a message for Turnus; Dido's are spoken to the *torus* she shared with Aeneas, and are heard only by the audience.

651 “*dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebat,*

Triple dental alliteration to commence the last words: *dulces / dum / deus*.

dulces: The first word recalls the image of sweetness that goes back to Anna's question at 33 *nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris?*; note also 281 *ardet abire fuga dulcesque relinquere terras*, of Aeneas' reaction to Mercury's first visit;

Dido's comment to Aeneas at 317–318 *si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam / dulce meum ...*; Aeneas' declaration at 342–343 *urbem Troianam primum dulcisque meorum / reliquias colerem ...*, of his preferences were he to have freedom of action (a close parallel to the present use); the adjective also at 185. This adjective offers the last glimpse in the book of any happy associations or memories of the love affair.

exuviae: Echoing 496–497 ... *exuviasque omnis lectumque iugalem, / quo perii, super imponas ...* for the “hapax” use of the vocative of the noun here in the epic see Newman and Newman 2005, 145. We note that the relatively rare term recurs in the Camilla episode (11.576–577), where it describes the tiger pelt of the adolescent huntress—another bit of evidence of the striking contrast between the two women. N. Krevans, “Dido, Hypsipyle, and the Bedclothes,” in *Hermathena* 173/174 (2002–2003), 175–183, sees an allusion to Apollonius' depiction of Jason's far happier departure from the Lemnian queen in *Arg.* 1, and to the cloaks that that queen bestowed on her guest-lover (cf. *Arg.* 3.1204–1206, of the dark cloak that the hero dons for the rites to Hecate on the eve of his encounter with the fiery bulls; also the cloak cited at 4.422, which is used to lure Apsyrtus to ambush and death).

fata: Juxtaposed with *deus*.

deusque: Here with particular reference to Jupiter, the deity most responsible for Aeneas' departure from Carthage, and the god whose will is virtually synonymous with the decrees of fate. Servius raises the possibility that it might be either Jupiter or Amor who lurks here, or simply the “necessitas fati”; it might be fair to say that if we were to think of Cupid here, the subsequent developments after the interventions of Venus/Cupid with Dido have made it difficult not to think of Jupiter in association with the dictates of destiny.

sinebat: The verb also at 540. The singular is the reading of the Medicean and the Palatine (also Servius and Donatus); the plural enjoys ancient attestation, both from manuscripts and in the grammarians (cf. Macrobius, *Sat.* 4.6.10), and was preferred by La Cerda; Burmann; Ribbeck—*fortasse recte*, in the view of Rivero García et al. Another case where the meaning is not altered with either choice; the evidence for both is fairly balanced—but *sinebat* would be likelier to be “corrected” than *sinebant*. If the singular is preferred, then we might think simply of the nearer subject influencing the number of the verb; it is possible, however, that the singular emphasizes how in this particular case, at least, Jupiter's will is again analogous to that of the destiny or fate that he does not contest (in contrast to his wife's practice thus far in the epic); so Conington, *pace* Pease.

652 accipite hanc animam meque his exsolvite curis.

Two imperatives balance the verse, with the first in sound pattern with its object, and two demonstratives to describe the queen's *anima* that will be freed from her *curae*. With this line we may compare its close parallel at 702–703 below, as Iris addresses the dying Dido. We may note here too the words of Turnus at the Latin war council: 11.440–442 ... *vobis animam hanc soceroque Latino / Turnus ego, haud ulli veterum virtute secundus, / devovi* ... Turnus' act of *devotio* has been the occasion of scholarly debate (see Horsfall, and Fratantuono ad loc.); in effect Dido will be *devota* to her great curse on the Trojans/Romans, which works a rather different, indeed terrifying meaning on 1.712 ... *pesti devota futurae*.

accipite: Echoing 611 *accipite haec* ..., as Dido addresses powers both celestial and infernal, a roster of deities crowned by her invocation of the *di morientis Elissae*. The verb also at 123; 434; 531; 541.

animam: Vid. Negri 1984, 35, 42, 272, 280. The noun is juxtaposed with *me*.

exsolvite: The only other occurrence of the verb in Virgil is at 11.828–829 ... *tum frigida toto / paulatim exsolvit se corpore* ..., of the dying Camilla: another parallel between the two women (and no goddess necessary to hasten the heroine's demise). The imperative is framed by the cares from which Dido will be released. *Absolvite* is weakly attested, and does not appear elsewhere in the poet; the same textual variant does not occur at 11.829 *exsolvit*, and Virgil wishes to link Dido and Camilla.

curis: Here echoing 639 *perficere est animus finemque imponere curis*, in the queen's instructions to Barce. There she spoke of her *animus*, and the plan to put an end to her cares; here she offers her *anima* that has been devoted to the working out of the curse against Aeneas and his descendants, a soul whose oblation will also free her at last from her *curae*. Fittingly, this is the last of the many occurrences of the noun in the book, uttered as Dido speaks of how she will find liberation by virtue of her death.

The formal statement of hope that the gods will be accepting of the offering, with a rejoinder of a request that will be fulfilled in the underworld in ways the queen cannot now imagine (cf. 6.473–474).

653 vixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi,

A pair of perfects frame the verse; they will be followed by two more in 655, and a crowning third to that pair at 656. 653–656 have been lavishly praised, and justly so; cf. Butler's "Four of the greatest lines in Virgil;" Page's remark on "the monumental simplicity and grandeur of these lines"; "infinitely noble lines" (Austin); Heinze's oft-quoted remark on "echt römischer Heroismus" (1915, 137 n. 2). Seneca quotes this line at *Dial.* 7.19.1.10; also at *De Ben.* 5.17.5.3; *Ep.* 12.9.4.

Theme and variation: she has lived her life, and she has completed the course that Fortune gave her.

vixi: The only occurrence of the form in the poet. The plural *viximus* is used uniquely by Mezentius with reference to himself and his horse Rhaebes at 10.862, in direct parallel. This is the language of sepulchral inscription: Dido will compose her own epitaph. See further Nisbet and Rudd on Horace, c. 3.29.43.

cursum: The image of the runners in a relay, as at Lucretius, *DRN* 2.78–79 *inque brevi spatio saecla animantum / et quasi cursores vitae lampada tradunt*. With the noun we recall 45–46 *dis equidem auspicibus reor et Iunone secunda / hunc cursum Iliacas vento tenuisse carinas* (and cf. 657b–658); it occurs also at 154; 157; 196; 299; 672.

Fortuna: Probably best capitalized here, as at 11.427, where Turnus also invokes Fortune in his speech at the Latin war council, not long before his own declaration of *devotio* at 440–442. Not long after the queen's suicide, Fortune will also be invoked by another doomed character: cf. 5.22–23 ... *superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur, / quoque vocat vertamus iter* ... For the concept cf. above on 109; 434; 603. *Fata* at 651; *Fortuna*: the queen's *novissima verba* do not afford us a theological treatise, but she elegantly evokes the notion both of that which is fixed and immutable, and of the seeming role of chance or fortune that is inevitable in a world where destiny is often quite unknown. There is an echo here of Cicero, *Pro Mil.* 95.13 ... *quemcumque cursum fortuna ceperit* ...

peregi: Echoing 452 *quo magis inceptum peragat lucemque relinquat*, directly after the first mention of how the queen prayed for death (450–451). The prefix is intensive and emphasizes completion and finality. In point of fact the queen is wrong here; her course will not be completed (and she is thus among the untimely dead in the underworld), both because she died prematurely (see below on 697), and—epexegetically, we might say—because her all too successful curse on both Aeneas and his descendants means that her work is not yet complete, and she will haunt the rest of the epic straight through to the final scene, and indeed the future Roman history from Hannibal to Cleopatra. We recall that Dido's curse by its very nature does not allow revelation of knowledge that it will be efficacious; her death is the price of the incarnation of the imprecation, and she will die unaware of just how successful her recourse to black magic has been.

Dido's language here echoes Aeneas' remarks at Buthrotum: 3.493–494 *vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta / iam sua: nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur*. Camilla's dying words may also be compared at 11.823 *hactenus, Acca soror, potui* ..., with reference to her impressive work in the cavalry engagement.

Servius has two long notes on this and the following verse; in the first he delineates how one can in theory live to be 120, though by fate 90 is a more

realistic lifespan, and by fortune one might succumb to shipwreck or fire, etc.; in the second he explores the question of just what descends to the underworld, since human beings are composed of the trifecta *anima*; *corpus*; and *umbra*. It is unlikely that Virgil had such philosophical concerns on his mind here; Dido will appear in the underworld, and here the announcement of her shade going under the earth after the running of the course of life is eminently fitting.

654 et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.

A haunting verse, recalling 353 *admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago*, of Aeneas' revelation to Dido of the ghostly nocturnal apparitions of his father (cf. 6.695 and 701); note also 84 ... *genitoris imagine capta*, of the image of Aeneas in his son that the queen tries to detain.

et nunc: The hour now tolls for the young queen; the adverb is closely coordinate with the future *ibit*.

magna: The hyperbaton enacts the greatness of the image that now will go below the earth; the adjective is prominent by position as the first word of the description. Tacitus has *magnaque illic imago tristium laetorumque* (*Ann.* 2.53.10); cf. Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 4.773 *et magna ante oculos stabat redeuntis imago*. The principal echo here is of the apparition of Creüsa to Aeneas at 2.773 *visa mihi ante oculos et nota maior imago*; whether or not we agree with Buscaroli that the adjective is predicative as opposed to attributive (so also Tilly, e.g.), the point is much the same: Dido will be a noteworthy shade in the underworld, as indeed she will be at 6.450 ff., a passage that is presaged here; cf. also 385 ff., of the queen's threatened afterlife presence in Aeneas' life. She is a queen after all, and ghosts are already larger than life (in part because of the frightening aspect they present to the living). *Magna* in alliterative juxtaposition with *mei*; it will be echoed at once by 655 *mea moenia*. For Turnebus the point was that nocturnal, ghostly apparitions always appear larger than life.

mei: Echoing 652 *me*. Austin does well to highlight the subtle, important distinction between the genitive of the personal pronoun and the possessive adjective Virgil could have used: this is in a sense akin to an announcement of Rumor: the "great image of me" means the report or *fama* about the queen. She was correct in her prediction here.

sub terras: She will trump her own words soon enough: cf. 660 ... *ire sub umbras*.

ibit imago: The line-end here and its assonant sound effect is echoed at 8.671 *haec inter tumidi late maris ibat imago*, of the picture of the sea on the shield of Aeneas, the locus for the naval struggle at Actium; there is thus a hint here of the future war between the Romans and the *nova* Dido Cleopatra. See further Fratantuono and Smith ad loc. for other occurrences of the noun in the epic; it

is used often of ghostly visitations and dream apparitions. MacLennan may be right to raise a tentative suggestion about the Roman funerary masks of one's ancestors.

Ibit recalls 590 ... *ibit*, as Dido indignantly commented on Aeneas' departure from Carthage.

It should perhaps not be a surprise that some editors have tried to transpose this verse before 657, so as to have the reference to the underworld come at the end of the young queen's rendition of what she has done and will do: rationality and logic often fight a losing war with poetry, yet soon enough return again to fight over another verse. As Donatus realized, she notes that her image will be great, before proceeding to enumerate exactly why. Similar efforts were made at a far earlier date to transpose 656 before 655.

Austin quotes Heyne's moving tribute here to a fellow scholar whose death was reported to him while he worked on these lines; news of the loss of Anton Powell arrived as we worked on the same passage.

655 *urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi,*

More theme and variation, with two more perfects to offer a *résumé* of the royal achievements. Staccato recitation of achievements, with two-word objects preceding each verb; ABBA chiasmus for the accusative pairs. The first perfect describes the establishment of the city, while the second is devoted to its development and fortification.

urbem: Carthage in prominent relief.

praeclaram: The first of but four occurrences of this dramatic adjective in the epic; at 8.478–480 *haud procul hinc saxo incolitur fundata vetusto | urbis Agylinae sedes, ubi Lydia quondam | gens, bello praeclara, iugis insedit Etruscis*, it occurs in Evander's account of the allies that Aeneas will find among the Lydian Etruscans; cf. 10.397–398 *Arcadas accensos monitu et praeclara tuentis | facta viri mixtus dolor et pudor armat in hostis*, during the *aristeia* of Pallas; 12.346–347 *Parte alia media Eumedes in proelia fertur, | antiqui proles bello praeclara Dolonis*.

statui: Echoing Dido's words to Ilioneus at 1.573 *urbem quam statui, vestra est ...*: that statement was utterly at variance with the dictates of destiny, and it is echoed here of the city that will now be intractably, endlessly hostile to Aeneas' people and their descendants. We might note here 86–89, where work on the city was interrupted on account of the queen's lovesick state; 260–261, where Mercury saw Aeneas supervising construction on the wrong city. Servius was hyperanalytical here in wondering how she could say *urbem statui* of a city that was still in progress; the emphasis is on establishment and not completion.

mea: Following on the mention of the *magna mei imago* of 654. *Mea moe-*

nia here recalls 325–326 *quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater / destruat aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas?* Is there an echo of the phrase at *Carm. de bello Aegyptiaco* col. 2.8? Certainly another reminiscence here of the happier status of affairs in Book 1: cf. 1.437 *o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt*.

vidi: Again, the visual image.

656 *ulta virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi*:

This verse constitutes Dido's final spoken comment on Sychaeus; *virum* has its meaning of husband here. Dido will still have things to say about Aeneas before she takes her life. Pease notes that as her love for Aeneas fades from center stage, the queen thinks about ancient history, as it were—but it will be Aeneas who receives the last word in these last words, not the dead Sychaeus.

The plain meaning and rhythmic balance of the line—split as it is between the act of vengeance and the receipt of the punishment she has exacted from a brother—points here undoubtedly, indeed obviously to Sychaeus and Pygmalion: she did, after all, take the latter's gold (cf. 1.343 ff.). But in light of the development of the story of Dido, the verse can also be given an allusive meaning: Dido has taken vengeance on Aeneas via her curse, and she has exacted punishment from her brother: a reference to Aeneas as Apollo, the sibling of Dido as Diana: the false Diana taking vengeance on a false (at least while he stays in Carthage) Apollo. The queen does not know about the poet's similes, but the audience does. Likewise, Dido does not know that her imprecations will be efficacious, but the reader is all too well aware of their consequences.

ulta: The vengeance for Sychaeus was taken via the queen's carrying out of the admonition of her slain husband's ghost to find the hidden gold and to lead a group of exiles abroad in search of a new home; by virtue of this somewhat unconventional act of revenge, the queen has exacted punishment from a brother who is hated by her with a (mutually felt) personal loathing and detestation. Just possibly we may think here of the relationship between Cleopatra and Ptolemy.

The theme of the danger posed by Pygmalion was first mentioned in the book by Anna at 43–44; cf. Dido's complaint to Aeneas at 325–326. The verse has occasioned question since antiquity given the issue of what exactly constitutes acceptable vengeance: Pygmalion was not, after all, slain by Dido in the manner of an Orestes with Clytemnestra. Mackail notes that anything more serious or sanguinary a penalty than the gold with which the queen absconded would have been too shocking for an ancient audience; likelier is that in her dying reflections the queen is giving the best possible appraisal of her career—indeed

a self-congratulatory assessment, and in reality her most lasting accomplishment from the Roman point of view was her successful curse. Cf. Horsfall 2020, 157 (following Pease). Burmann conjectured *Poenos* for *poenas*; an ingenious idea that is, however, probably safely rejected.

As Conington notes, Dido follows the sequence of her thoughts, without concern for the progression of time, and so there is no need to reverse the order of 655–656. Servius notes that some preferred to make 655–656 rhetorical questions, “... ut nihil dicat esse perfectum,” but this too seems unlikely.

657 *felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum*

The beginning of a two-verse reminiscence of the opening of Euripides’ *Medea* (and cf. Ennius, *Med.* fr. 208–216 Jocelyn), and of Catullus’ reworking of the same language at c. 64.171–172 *Iuppiter omnipotens, utinam ne tempore primo / Gnosia Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes*; Ovid plays with the same sentiments at *Her.* 7.139–140. Apollonius’ *Medea* offers a grimmer treatment of the theme at *Arg.* 4.33; cf. 3.773 ff., where the Hellenistic heroine wishes that Artemis’ shafts had dispensed with her before she had seen Jason. We are reminded to the end that Dido is, after all, the new *Medea* (cf. Newman and Newman 2005, 142). The enjambment enacts the action of the Trojan vessels as they arrive on African shores.

felix ... felix: The only occurrence of this adjective in the book, in anaphora here so close to the end; cf. 596 *infelix Dido* in self-description, etc. We may recall *E.* 6.45 *et fortunatam, si numquam armenta fuissent*. She would have had her gold and her new city; of course the problems she lived with even in those allegedly happy, pre-Aeneas times have been given ample coverage already in the book: more Virgilian psychological analysis, then, since the queen was arguably not *felix* then or now, at least if we can trust Anna’s assessment alongside remarks of Dido herself. More than half the verse is focused on wistful comment on how happy she would have been.

heu: Cf. 13; 267; 283; 376; 541.

nimium: Only here in Book 4. We may compare 5.870–871 *o nimium caelo et pelago confise sereno, | nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena*. The collocation with *heu* also at 6.188–189 ... *quando omnia vere | heu nimium de te vates, Misene, locuta est*, again with reference to a lost companion; 11.841–842 *heu nimium, virgo, nimium crudele luisti | supplicium ...*, of Opis’ lament for Camilla.

litora: Striking hypermetric hyperbaton, with the penultimate word of this verse responding to that of the next. The emphasis is on the effort and distance involved in the progress of the Trojan fleet from Asia to Africa; there is also an effective delay of *nostra*, as the queen equates the shores with her own prop-

erty and even self: the ships arrived in the harbor, but they arrived mostly, as it were, for her.

tantum: “Only”: she equates the arrival of the Trojans as the sole cause of her doom.

658 *numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae!*”

numquam: Alliterative with *nostra*. Cf. Aeneas’ use of *numquam* at 334, where he stated that he would never deny all the things that the queen had done for him. The negative is prominent by position and enjambment.

Dardaniae: In framing order around the *carina*, and the key possessive adjective *nostra*. With the epithet cf. especially 640; 647; 662. Dardanus was an Italian prince, and so the explanation for why Dido makes a striking number of references to the lore about this Corythian prince may be because of the Italian rationale for Aeneas’ departure (cf. 361; 381); Dardanus was also the son of the Atlantid Electra, and the Atlas lore of the book may lurk behind the repeated allusions.

tetigissent: Cf. 612–613 ... *si tangere portus / infandum caput ac terris adnare necesse est*, from the queen’s curse; also 551 ... *talis nec tangere curas*, in a passage similar to the present rueful reflection, where Dido notes that she was not permitted to live a blameless life in the manner of a wild animal, untouched by the anxieties and cares of marriage and love.

nostra: Juxtaposed with the *carinae*.

carinae: We may compare here 45–46 *dis equidem auspibus reor et Iunone secunda / hunc cursum Iliacas vento tenuisse carinas*, in Anna’s comment on the Trojan arrival; note also the *carinae* of 398, during the work on refurbishing the ships. “Bitter reminiscence,” Pease rightly speculates, of her sister’s words.

“Note the smoothness and simplicity of the line, aided by the structure of the first and fourth feet ... the only clash between ictus and accent is caused by *Dardaniae* ...” (Austin, who praises Virgil’s art here above his predecessors Euripides and Ennius). The clash at *Dardaniae* fits the context, since the Dardanian has been the one who disturbed her; the smoothness of the rest of the verse provides the contrast.

Irvine notes that Catullus’ version of this line (c. 64.172) is golden, while Virgil does not have a single golden line in all of Book 4.

659 *dixit, et os impressa toro ‘moriemur inultae,*

dixit: Echoing 650 *dixit*; cf. 663 *dixerat*.

os, etc.: The kissing of the couch is in imitation of Apollonius’ Medea at *Arg.* 4.26 ff.; she of course does not commit suicide after doing so, but she does tear off a long lock of hair and leave it behind for her mother as a token of her vir-

ginity: Virgil's Dido will need assistance in the matter of the snipping of the hair. *Os impressa toro*: this is almost certainly a kiss, though it is very much in the poet's manner to say simply that she pressed her mouth against the couch; Apollonius is less coy. There may be a hint of retreat and hiding in the face of suicide, especially a suicide that comes with no guarantee of vengeance.

impressa toro: Cf. 650 *incubuitque toro*. The verb occurs also at 5.536 *cratera impressum signis ...*, of the drinking vessel of Anchises that is given as a prize to Acestes at the archery contest; that cup had been a gift to Aeneas' father from Cisseus as a *monumentum et pignus amoris* (538), language that is repeated at 5.572 of the horse of Aeneas' son at the *lusus Troiae*, which had also been a memorial gift and pledge of love, on that occasion from Dido. Otherwise note 10.497 *impressumque nefas ...*, of the image of the Danaids on the *balteus* of Pallas that Turnus takes from his corpse; also 12.303 and 357 in battle scenes. The *torus* is juxtaposed with the verb of death, since the bed was the ostensible cause of her end.

moriemur: In effective balance with 660 *moriemur*. The language recalls Aeneas' words during the fall of Troy, the dreadful jussive that Dido had heard about at her banquet: 2.353 ... *moriemur et in media arma ruamus*. Again the royal plural.

inultae: With the verb there is another reminiscence, indeed a virtual quote from the story of Troy's last night; cf. 670 ... *numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti*. Either Dido unknowingly quotes Aeneas, or she has a very good memory for his story from the banquet; we are reminded once again of how powerfully his words have been impressed on her mind. The only other uses of the word in the poem are at 10.739–741, in Orodes' dying remarks in threat to Mezentius: ... *non me, quicumque es, inulto, | victor, nec longum laetabere; te quoque fata | prospectant paria atque eadem mox arva tenebis*; and at 11.846–847 ... *neque hoc sine nomine letum | per gentis erit aut famam patieris inultae*, of Opis' promise about the vengeance for Camilla. Dido's comment about dying unavenged follows closely on 656 *ulta virum*: Sychaeus, in other words, had been avenged by his widow, but no one will do the same for Dido. We note here that the queen has absolutely no sense that her imprecations against the Trojans will be fulfilled; the *ultor* of 625 is a wish and a curse, and Dido will die with no knowledge about Turnus, Hannibal or just how terribly effectively she will indeed be avenged, indeed from the time of the Punic Wars straight through to the Hellenistic monarch Cleopatra. For how Aeneas himself will eerily become an avenger of Dido in his assumption of her rage, see Newman and Newman 2005, 166; the Carthaginian Dido is an avatar of her divine patroness Juno, whose anger is the theme of the poem; by the end it will be Aeneas who takes on the mantle of the Homeric Achilles from *Il.* 1.1: the clos-

ing verses of *Aeneid* 12 will offer a portrait of Achilles in his fury after the loss of Patroclus, with no hint of the redemption of the hero that we see in *Iliad* 24 in his encounter with Priam; the rage of both Juno and Dido will be taken on by the Trojan hero, with Pallas—buried in Dido's robe—as the catalyst for the madness.

There is an attractiveness in punctuating this verse with a question and not a comma (see here especially Page); again, the poet's point is that Dido does not know about the myriad avengers she will have, some before the epic is even finished. It is difficult to decide which is better here: a statement that she will die unavenged, or a question. The former, Page notes, is easier. What has not been much appreciated is that the words are spoken to the bed, just as it has been kissed—these words are uttered, that is, to Aeneas. Technically, of course, she does die unavenged, since any vengeance will not be worked out while she may see it—but the poignance here, as with the deaths of Camilla and Turnus, is that she does not know the future to which the poet's audience is privy.

660 *sed moriamur' ait; 'sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras.*

The verse in which she stabs herself, marked by striking sibilant alliteration (*sed / sic / sic / sub*).

sed: Strongly adversative: vengeance or lack thereof notwithstanding, she will die. Her death is the blood price for the efficacy of the curse; one unavoidable problem with such a payment is that she cannot know of her success or failure. All the same, she is fixed on death.

moriamur: Fittingly, the last word before she uses the sword.

sic, sic: We agree here with the ancient idea that these words enact the stabbing; cf. Servius' "et hoc eam se loco intelligimus percussisse; unde alii dicunt verba esse ferientis." Servius also notes the possibility that the punctuation should be *sic? sic*, of question and response—this is less preferable since the repeated stabs are more dramatic and vivid. Page is correct here though: "What exact meaning to attach to *sic* everyone must judge for himself"; he finds the idea that the adverbs accompany the stabbing rather theatrical, but Dido is, after all, the most accomplished of actresses. Austin similarly argues that "it is not in Virgil's way to let us see such horrors," and Williams notes that this would be a "melodramatic" interpretation (quoting Pease). But the long dying of the queen demands a spectacle as grand as that which accompanied the fall of Cleopatra in Virgil's own day, and if anyone in the *Aeneid* is melodramatic, it is Elissa. Irvine argues that the queen still manages to speak for two verses "of perfectly connected sense"—but this is exactly the point, given that her suicide is botched and that she does not die at all quickly. We might have expected her

to die at once, but that easier, more humane end will not be hers (cf. Antony's similarly protracted suicide). Cf. Gould and Whiteley: "no doubt" the double *sic* = the plunging of the blade; Stephenson cites Conington's view along the same lines; Sidgwick agrees; MacLennan thinks that the reader only becomes aware of the stabbing once she has fallen (664), in other words at the same moment the *comites* are aware of what has happened.

Anchises has haunted Dido, and it is fitting that her dying words also include a reminiscence of him: cf. 2.644 *sic o sic positum adfati discedite corpus*, as Aeneas' father refuses to consider leaving Troy, and in fact contemplates suicide. With Dido's *sic* compare Anna's at 681.

What exactly does *sic* mean here? "In this way," i.e., "unavenged"—this would seem to be the likeliest interpretation in context. Again, as with Turnus at the end of the epic, the queen does not know how successful she has been: her curse will be spectacularly realized, and the Rutulian would be more than pleased to learn of the terms of the reconciliation of Juno.

iuvat: The third use of the verb form in the book, after 497–498 ... *abolere nefandi | cuncta viri monumenta iuvat* ..., and 538–539 ... *quiane auxilio iuvat ante levatos | et bene apud memores veteris stat gratia facti?*—one use of Aeneas, and the other of the Trojans in general. Here Dido speaks of the pleasure with which she makes her journey to the lower world; some of the reason for said pleasure is explained in the dread wishes of the next two verses. *Iuvat ire* is borrowed from Aeneas' own story to Dido (cf. 2.27–28), where it was used of the pleasure taken by the Trojans as they went to see the abandoned Trojan camp, unaware as they were of the ruse of the Wooden Horse.

ire sub umbras: Cf. 654 ... *sub terras ibit imago*. Future has become all too vivid present.

Eerily, Aeneas will echo Dido's words when he meets her shade in the underworld: 6.461–462 *sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras, | per loca senta diu cogunt noctemque profundam*, etc.; we may also compare the line-end at the repeated 11.831, 12.952 *vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras*, of the deaths of Camilla and Turnus; note too 578 for ... *sub umbras* in a different use.

"Liue, false *Aeneas!* truest Dido dyes; / *Sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras* (Marlowe).

661 *hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto*

On the queen's two-verse final curse on Aeneas, Henry comments: "It is difficult for anyone not a Roman, or living in those times of prodigies, omens, and direct visitations from heaven, to estimate the full force in Roman ears of these last words of Dido."

hauriat: Alliterative with *hunc*. The metaphor of drinking deep, here echoing the words of the queen's threat to Aeneas at 382–384 *spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt, / supplicia hausurum scopulis et nomine Dido / saepe vocaturum ...* The verse begins with a word that connotes drinking; it closes with one that denotes the deep sea. The verb (and *oculis*) will be echoed at 12.945–946 *ille, oculis postquam saevi monimenta doloris / exuviasque hausit ...*, of Aeneas as he gazes down on the *balteus* and spoils of Pallas, just before his decision to kill Turnus in fury and rage.

hunc: Deictic; the demonstrative and its referent frame the eyes that will be haunted by the fiery sight.

oculis: The visual element. Dido's wish will be fulfilled: cf. 5.3ff. *moenia respiciens ...*, etc., where Aeneas' gaze back at Carthage will behold the flames from the pyre, and where the hero will be all too well aware of the extreme behavior of which the queen is capable.

ignem: The fire of the pyre, juxtaposed with the eyes that will see it even from a distance. For Dido's deadly fires see Newman and Newman 2005, 60. A classic example of a mixed metaphor, with implications of harm and peril both from water and fire. "This is the first mention of the actual kindling of the pyre": Tilly's note belies the difficulties here that have vexed several commentators. Once again we have a classic example of Virgilian allusiveness and economy of expression: we are never told that the pyre was lit, let alone by whom. And yet lit it was, certainly in time for Aeneas and his Trojans to see the flames before they had sailed too far from the Carthaginian coast. The poet wanted to focus on the suicide; the key act that Dido performs is the stabbing, and the lighting of the pyre would have detracted from the singular focus. Further, it is unlikely that the subsequent interventions of Anna took place amid a burning pyre. It is true that the comparison of the upheaval in the city to the fiery destruction of Carthage or Tyre at 670–671 might well be more effective if the flames of the pyre are already burning. But Virgil deliberately tells us some things and not others, and he left the matter of the pyre a mystery. Pease is right in following Kvičala 1881, 213–217 (however cautiously) in concluding that everything had more or less been finished except for the final use of the torch to ignite the pyre. We would add that it is an effective touch to have Anna be the one who will be required to apply the torch: her own atonement, as it were, for her role in the tragedy.

crudelis: The same adjective will be used at 681 by Anna with reference to her deceitful sister. Dido used this word with Aeneas at 311; cf. also her remark to him at 308 *nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?* The gentlemanly Austin—ever determined to present Dido in the most positive of lights—takes care to note that the epithet is "reproachful, not hateful." But these are chilling verses,

her final words to Aeneas, in a sense—indeed her last in the poem, given her profound silence in the underworld.

662 *Dardanus et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis.*'

Dardanus: A final, oblique reference to the man whose name she will not use; prominent by placement. Dido had alluded to Sychaeus at 656; her final verse is devoted to the Dardanian. For the form cf. 3.167; 503; 6.650; 7.207; 240; 8.134.

et: The little coordinating conjunction separates the references to the Dardanian and Dido.

nostrae: In an ominous frame with *mortis*. The word order of the Medicean was originally *secum nostrae*, later corrected, only to have the correction erased. Besides avoidance of a cacemphaton, the advantage of *nostrae secum* is to allow the image of the royal death to have maximum hyperbaton, embracing Aeneas as fully as possible.

omina: The noun only here in the book; cf. 12.854, where Jupiter sends the Dira as an *omen* to Juturna. The flames of the pyre will be the omen of the queen's demise. As Page notes, the point is that the death fire will be a baleful portent as the Trojan ships depart; in the event, the flames will precede a storm and force the diversion to Sicily. Vid. further A. Di Mauro Todini in *EV* III, 840–842; V.M. Warrior in *VE* II, 931. Omens seen before a departure were of particular import.

mortis: Fittingly, the queen's final word in the poem is death. Effective suspense and drama by reserving the key word for the very end. "Aeneas ist Didos letzter Gedanke, Tod ist ihr letztes Wort" (Binder). Her first words—addressed to Ilioneus—had been at 1.562 *solvite ... curas*, which foreshadows exactly what she is doing by her suicide rites here, and which allows her first word—*solvite*—to be echoed in Iris' last word over her as she dies: 703 ... *solvo*: a remarkable balance and pattern.

663 *dixerat, atque illam media inter talia ferro*

dixerat: Cf. 659 *dixit*.

atque: Heraldng the presence of others. Queens and other royal personages are rarely left alone for any length of time; Barce had been sent off to find Anna, but the *comites* of 664 will be the handmaidens and other servants of the queen, who would not have been far off—especially, we remember, since it is now broad daylight. The fact that they saw her collapse (664 *conlapsam*) may imply that they had been watching the dread sight, but as with the presence of Barce at 632, the *comites* will now appear because Virgil requires their presence on the stage. The conjunction is temporal, and with coincidental force, with reference to two essentially simultaneous actions; cf. 1.227–229.

illam: In hypermetric hyperbaton with 664 *conlapsam*, to enact the fall.

media inter talia: She collapsed while she was finishing her words; there is no hint that she had more to say. Cf. 12.318 *has inter voces, media inter alia verba*, of Aeneas just before his mysterious wounding.

ferro: The noun follows in sound pattern after 662 *ferat*; it will be balanced at line-end by 664 ... *ensem cruore*. Again, depending on one's interpretation of 660 *sic, sic*, the actual stabbing either occurs there or here. Virgil is ambiguous where Silius is blunt and direct: *haec dicens ensem media in praecordia adegit* (*Pun.* 8.148); cf. Ovid's description of this same suicide at *Met.* 14.79–81. "Such reticence is an integral part of Virgil's habit of mind" (Austin); it invests the whole proceeding with an aura of mystery, and in some sense gives a hint of the same ignorance of details that plagues other characters (in this case Aeneas before all). Servius notes that in tragic practice, the actual deed is not shown; Sophocles' Ajax is a noteworthy exception, and Dido is his epic comparand. In *ferro* we may hear an echo of *erro*, appropriately enough for Dido *errans*. An economical ablative: she collapsed because of the sword, and with the sword, which fell with her.

664 *conlapsam aspiciunt comites, ensemque cruore*

Marked guttural alliteration: *conlapsam / comites / cruore*, fittingly enough to describe the grisly aftermath of the stabbing.

conlapsam: The language echoes the foreshadowing of Dido's demise and burial at 391–392 ... *suscipiunt famulae conlapsa membra / marmoreo referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt*, where the queen had collapsed after her bitter, threatening address to Aeneas. The elision enacts the falling. What happens to queens matters much to cities; Dido here is *conlapsam*, and her city at 666 will be *concussam*.

aspiciunt: The verb also at 208; 372. Another *tableau*, this time marked by ghoulish aestheticism.

comites: At 677 Anna will refer to herself as the *comitem sororem*; cf. the noun also at 123; 140; 160. Both Dido and Camilla die in the company of others, though the latter's death comes amid the rush and chaos of battle, in a more public setting than the queen's semi-private suicide. The handmaidens see the collapse, but their involvement is visual more than anything; they do not rush to the body in the way that Camilla's battle companions move to assist her (however in vain). The *comites* are of far lower rank than Barce and certainly Anna; if they have been lurking in attendance around the pyre, they could not be expected to interfere with anything in the way nurse and sister might have. We do well to recall that it all must have happened quickly, notwithstanding the relative slowness of epic progression as the poet shares the dying words that were uttered with face buried in the pillow.

ensemque: The *Dardanius ensis* that was unsheathed at 646–647.

cruore: The gore is juxtaposed with the sword that has caused it. For the noun cf. 210 and especially 455. We may compare the graphic scene of the fatal wounding of the heroine Camilla at 11.804–806 *haesit virgineumque alte bibit acta cruorem. / concurrunt trepidae comites dominamque ruentem / suscipiunt ...* Blade and gore also conjoined at 10.907–908 ... *iuguloque haud inscius accipit ensem / undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore*, of Mezentius. The enjambment gruesomely enacts the blood as it spurts everywhere.

665 *spumantem sparsasque manus. it clamor ad alta*

Grisly sibilant alliteration: *spumantem / sparsasque*, etc., with *clamor* in continuing sound pattern after the gutturals of 664.

spumantem: Recalling the *spumantem / aprum* that Ascanius hoped to encounter at the hunt (158–159); cf. also the *frena spumantia* of her horse at 135. The reminiscence of that day recalls the connection between the hunt and the commencement of the love affair, an image that also connects to the Dido-deer simile of 68 ff.

sparsasque: The sword foams with gore, and the hands of the queen are now bespattered with blood. For the verb cf. 486; 512; 584; 601: a diverse, rich set of uses. But the principal echo here is of 21 ... *et sparsos fraterna caede penates*, in Dido's recollection of the grisly slaughter of her husband at the hands of her own brother. Some since antiquity have interpreted the meaning to be that the hands are now stretched outward as the queen struggles in her death agonies (and so Henry in a long note, followed by Austin), but this is intolerably flat. As Conington notes, the verb "is so frequently used of sprinkling with blood that it can hardly bear any other sense in a context like this ..." Again, it is a moment of aesthetic horror; Argento could film it.

it clamor: The noun also at 303 and 411. The verb is vexed in the manuscript tradition; the original reading of F and M = *et* (later corrected in both); cf. the Palatine id, also emended. Exactly parallel is 5.451 *it clamor caelo ...*, during the boxing bout; also 8.595; 9.664; 11.192; 12.409. First the visual element (664 *aspiciunt*), and now the aural: the *comites* see the collapse, and especially the spurting blood and the gore on the queen's hands—the shouts and cries follow at once. "The death-wail, so common and so striking in many countries" (Page); probably with no hint of the ritual *conclamatio*.

ad alta: Echoing 661 ... *ab alto*, again with reference to the matter of the report of this most significant death. The enjambment enacts the rising shout.

666 atria: concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem.

atria: Exactly echoing 1.725–726 *fit strepitus tectis vocemque per ampla volunt / atria ...*, in the description of Dido's banquet: matters have come full circle. The noun in another grim context at 2.483 *apparet domus intus et atria longa patescunt*, of Priam's palace before the slaughter therein; cf. 7.379–380 *quem pueri magno in gyro vacua atria circum / intenti ludo exercent ...*, in the description of the children's spinning toy to which the maddened Amata is compared; 12.474 *pervolat et pinnis alta atria lustrat hirundo*, of the swallow to which Juturna is compared as she makes her last desperate efforts to help her doomed brother. The verse is framed by a reference to the queen's dwelling and to her city, enacting the progression of the terrible report as it travels out.

concussam: Juxtaposed and in parallel sound pattern with *bacchatur*. The hyperbaton describes the spreading effect of the news on the shaken city. The participle also at 444, in the description of the shaken tree to which the resolute Aeneas was compared. Cf. 11.451–452, of the reception of the news by the Latin council that the Trojans had resumed military operations, either in violation of the burial truce or not.

The language here will also be echoed just before the suicide of Amata: cf. 12.593–594 *Accidit haec fessis etiam fortuna Latinis, / quae totam luctu concussit funditus urbem*: an effective reversal of the order of the action for the parallel regal death. Cf. also Livy's ... *salvis tot exercitibus quos Punicum postea bellum absumpsit, adgressus Pyrrhus tamen concussit et victor prope ad ipsam urbem Romanam venit* (31.7.10.5, where see Briscoe for the historian's exaggeration).

bacchatur: Bacchic imagery returns in the immediate aftermath of Dido's act of auto-demolition. The language here directly echoes 300–301 *saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem / bacchatur ...*, of the queen after she first realized that Aeneas was leaving. We can appreciate more fully now just how insanely she reacted then to the news. Now it will be Fama who runs amok like a maenad. It may be noted here that the madness of the queen is instantly passed on, even before she breathes her last: the queen's suicide engenders a reaction of frenzy even as she struggles in her death agonies. Again, it may be possible to trace a fairly straight line from this scene to the end of the epic.

Fama: Fittingly, the monstrous Rumor will now execute one final mission in this book: once the *comites* realize what has happened, it is a matter of but a little time before everyone else learns—Anna in particular, and soon enough Aeneas, who has not sailed away fast enough to escape the *omina mortis* (cf. 5.1ff.). The report that now spreads is all too true; there will be no mendacity in this exercise of rumor.

The tragedian Santra has *Furenter omni e parte bacchatur nemus* (*Nuptiae Bacchi* fr. 1.2 Ribbeck).

667 *lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu*

A tricolon of audible reactions to the suicide. "This line is full of the sound of wailing imitated in onomatopoeic words ..." (Tilly); the hiatus after *femineo* also serves to enact the howls and mournful cries. Austin comments on the interplay of all five vowel sounds. The triple response encompasses the totality of the reaction: there is the lament (ritual, possibly even, at least in evocation) at the death, but also the frenzied behavior of those who are suddenly bereft of a leader. There is probably a Greek original lurking here; possibly an evocation too of the *nenia* (cf. Varro, fr. 303 Funaioli).

lamentis: The only occurrence of the noun in Virgil.

gemituque: Repeated at 687 below; cf. the poet's apostrophe to Dido at 409 *quosve dabas gemitus*, as the queen saw the preparations in the harbor. The word figures in the death verses of both Camilla and Turnus.

femineo: Cf. 2.487–488 ... *penitusque cavae plangoribus aedes / femineis ululant: ferit aethera sidera clamor*, of the reaction in Priam's palace to the assault of Pyrrhus; 9.477 of Euryalus' mother's howling; 11.877–878 ... *et e speculis percussae pectora matres / femineum clamorem ad caeli sidera tollunt*, of the women of Laurentum in the wake of the assault on their city after the death of Camilla; the adjective also at 2.584 *feminea in poena est nec habet victoria laudem*, in Aeneas' reflection in the Helen episode about the lack of glory from slaying a woman; 7.344–345 *quam super adventu Teucrum Turnique hymenaeis / femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant*, of Amata; 805–806 ... *non illa colo calathisque Minervae / femineas adsueta manus ...*, of Camilla; 9.141–142 ... *penitus modo non genus omne perosos / femineum ...*, in Turnus' indignant comments about the Trojans; 11.662–663 ... *magnoque ululante tumultu / feminea exsultant lunatis agmina peltis*, in the comparison of Camilla and her companions to the Amazons; 782 *femineo praedae et spoliolum ardebat amore*, of Camilla in pursuit of Chloereus; 12.52–53 *longe illi dea mater erit, quae nube fugacem / feminea tegat et vanis sese occulat umbris*, in Turnus' sarcastic comment on Aeneas and his divine mother. Women were of course the first witnesses to the suicide, and women (both mortal and divine) will preside over the final obsequies, as it were. Recollections of the fall of Troy then, before the simile of 669–671: a harbinger and prefigurement of the ultimate fall of Carthage. See below on 688 ff. for how in her difficult dying Dido recalls not so much Cleopatra as Antony: now that Aeneas has departed from Carthage and has put off his Antonian costume, the queen may play both roles in the evocation of the Alexandrian suicides of late summer, 30 B.C. For the contrast

between the high-pitched cries of women and the lower register of masculine lament see Braswell on Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.113 (c).

ululatu: We recall most of all the reaction of the Nymphs to what transpired in the cave: 168 ... *summoque ulularunt vertice Nymphae*; also Dido's invocation at 609 *nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes*. The noun is not common in Virgil; it will recur in an exact echo of the present description at 9.477 *evolat infelix et femineo ululatu*, of the reaction of Euryalus' mother to the report of his death; cf. 11.190 ... *ululatusque ore dedere*, at the Pallas requiem; also 7.395–396 *ast aliae tremulis ululatibus aethera complent | pampineasque gerunt incinctae pellibus hastas*, in another Bacchic scene, of the Latin women with Queen Amata. The reaction of the Nymphs to the pseudo-nuptials was the verdict of divine powers on the private happenings in the *spelunca*; now we see the all too public aftermath of the queen's violent offering of herself as sacrifice to obtain her dire wishes.

668 *tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether,*

Another verse continues the aural commentary on Dido's suicide.

tecta: Following on the *atria* of 666; cf. the *culmina* of 671. The line commences with an image of closure; it will end with a reference to the open air. The exact meaning here has been disputed; the language of these lines echoes the description of the diurnal, sentinel perch of Rumor at 186–187 *luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti | turribus aut altis, et magnas terreat urbes*. We move from the reaction in the palace to the spread of the report in the city; the *tecta* may refer to the structures of the royal enclosure, but it probably extends more generally to the rest of the city (and again, we remember that it is now daylight, sometime in the first half of the morning).

fremunt: Juxtaposed with another verb of sound. The same word in a happier context at 146; cf. the description of Italy, *bello ... frementem* at 229. The original reading of F (later corrected) was *tremunt*, an easy enough error. The verb of “an indistinguishable hum of sound,” a seething noise of anxiety, lament, and abject terror, as well as of the passing along of information by mortal agents of Rumor. Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 5.691.

resonat: The language here is echoed at 5.228 ... *resonatque fragoribus aether*, at an especially exciting moment in the ship race; and, more grimly, in the parallel case of the reaction to the suicide of Amata at 12.607 ... *resonant late plagoribus aedes*. Otherwise the verb occurs in the epic only at 3.432 ... *et caeruleis canibus resonantia saxa*, of Scylla's rocky haunts; and 7.12 *adsiduo resonat cantu*, of Circe in her lair: not the happiest set of associations. Cf. *Ilias Latina* 771 *telaque crebra iacit: resonat clamoribus aether*; Ovid, *Ars* 3.375 *cri-*

mina dicuntur, resonat clamoribus aether; Met. 3.231 ... resonat latratibus aether (a nice variation on the theme for the hounds of Actaeon).

plangoribus: Also at 2.487 in the context of the screams and cries that attended the horror in Priam's palace; 12.607 of Amata's death; and at 6.561 ... *quis tantus plangor ad auras?*, Aeneas' question to the Sibyl about the sounds heard from Tartarus. The Palatine here has *clangoribus*; the same textual problems vex 2.487 and 6.651: again, easy enough errors in essentially formulaic passages. Henry has an inspired reflection on the wailing and lamentation that accompanies death, not without mention of the "Irish keenagh" that the Dublin doctor would have known well.

aether: Cf. on 167; 574. Subject and verb in frame around the *magnis plangoribus*. Hyperbole, but this is, after all, the description of a queen's demise. Cf. 11.832–833 *tum vero immensus surgens ferit aurea clamor | sidera ...*, of the reaction to the death of Camilla.

669 non aliter quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis

The ninth and last simile of the book (vid. Hornsby 1970, 114; Lyne 1987, 19–20): the reaction to the suicide of the queen was like the scene at the destruction of Carthage or Tyre. Virgil here evokes the historical realities of the eventual fall of Dido's city to the Romans in 146 B.C., and before that of the celebrated siege and fall of Tyre to Alexander the Great in 332 B.C. In one sense "old" Carthage fell first, and then the new. A glimpse of the Roman future with Carthage after the dire fulfillment of Dido's curse, as one simile encapsulates Tyrian and Carthaginian defeats from two centuries apart. The formal Homeric antecedent is *Il. 22.410ff.* (noted already by Macrobius, *Sat. 4.6*), of the reaction to the death of Hector, which was as if all Troy were falling now and at once: as Hector's fate was one with Troy's, so is Dido's with Carthage—at least in the panoramic vision of the poet. Part of the poignance and success of Virgil's image is that Dido's perceived Trojan enemies are sailing away, not rushing in to seize her city; the destruction also spreads out from the palace to the outskirts; the Wooden Horse had of course been admitted into Troy, but even there the slaughter in Priam's palace was the climax of the ruin, not the commencement. Because of the infamous destruction of Troy—not to mention myriad other examples in history of the sack of cities—the subject was a rhetorical topos, even a hackneyed one; cf. Quintilian 8.3.67–70; G.M. Paul, "Urbs Capta: Sketch of an Ancient Literary Motif," in *Phoenix* 36.2 (1982), 144–155; Estevez 1978–1979 on Trojan fall imagery in Book 4; Henry 1989, 56 on how Books 3 and 5 open similarly with backward glances, one at a truly destroyed city, the other at one whose ruin is prefigured in the flames of the queen's pyre; Newman and Newman 2005, 14 for how the flame of love kindled in Dido will lead ultimately

to the sack of her city under Scipio Aemilianus. Books 2 and 4 will thus be pre-occupied with visions of the ends of Troy and Carthage; Books 6 and 8 will close with glorious visions of the Roman future.

non aliter quam: Cf. *G.* 1.201–202 *non aliter quam qui adverso vix flumine lembum / remigiis subigit ...*

si ... ruat: A brilliant casting of what every reader of Virgil knew was the subsequent history of Carthage in conditional terms, as if the protasis of a future less vivid.

immissis ... hostibus: In framing order around the verb that describes the action of the enemy in the conquered and sacked city. We recall that Dido referred to Aeneas as *hostis superbus* at 424.

ruat: Again, the principal comparand is Troy: 2.290 ... *ruit alto a culmine Troia*; 363 *urbs antiqua ruit multos dominata per annos*; the reference at 12.610 *coniugis attonitus fatis urbisque ruina*, of Latinus in the wake of his queen's suicide, connects on the one hand to the very real tragedy of Amata's death, but on the other to the perceived ruin of a city that will not fall, even in the face of the destructive ideas that Venus imparts to her son (554 ff.). The verb recurs soon after, of Anna as she rushes to the scene of her sibling's suicide (674); cf. 132; 164; 401; 429; 581. The original Palatine reading *ruit* was an easy enough mistake.

omnis: Suspenseful, dramatic enjambment to enact the rush of the victorious foe into the defeated cities. The adjective conveys the sense of the totality of the imagined destruction; Carthage had, after all, lived to fight again after many a defeat, only in the end utterly to be ruined.

670 *Karthago aut antiqua Tyros, flammaeque furentes*

For the etymological associations of Carthage as “New City,” possibly signaled here by the reference to the contrasting *antiqua Tyros*, see Bartelink 1965, 45; O’Hara 2017, 159.

Karthago: The name also above at 97; 224; 347.

antiqua: Cf. 312, where it described Troy; 431, of Dido’s appraisal of her *coniugium* with Aeneas. Servius notes here: “vel nobilem dicit, vel illud ostendit quia Carthago ante Byrsa, post Tyros dicta est, post Carthago a Cartha oppido, unde fuit Dido, inter Tyron et Beryton.” But the poet’s main concern is to make clear that both the original realm of the Tyrians and their new settlement in Carthage are ultimately doomed; we may compare the Roman conquest of Macedonia and the fall of Ptolemaic Egypt under its last monarch, Cleopatra VII Philopator.

Tyros: Only here in the nominative in Virgil; cf. above on 36; 43.

flammaeque furentes: Fricative alliteration; the madness of the queen is now incarnated in the raging flames that destroy everything in sight, both sacred

and profane. The enjambed description enacts the spreading fires. Cf. the simile of the unknowing shepherd who perceives the fiery destruction in the fields (i.e., Aeneas overlooking the ruin of Troy): 2.304–305 *in segetem veluti cum flamma furentibus Austris / incidit ...*; the *inscius pastor* of Book 2 is the *pastor nescius* of 4.71–72 (the *pastor* of 12.587 is all too well aware of what he is trying to do). The mention of the flames in the simile has led some to imagine that the massive pyre must now be lit; this is possible but not necessary. A fiery, furious book: cf. 42; 65; 69; 283; 298; 465; 548. The flames look forward to ruin, and the ruin commences with the queen's suicide; Silius will have Hamilcar dictate an oath of hatred of Rome to the young Hannibal on exactly the spot where the queen committed suicide (*Pun.* 1.81–119). For Aeneas and Dido as symbols of Rome and Carthage, see S. Farron, "The Aeneas-Dido Episode as an Attack on Aeneas' Mission and Rome," in *G&R* 27.1 (1980), 34–47, 39. Rome is the principal antagonist imagined here; any traditions of the takeover of Dido's city by Iarbas in the wake of her death would be a distant, second consideration.

671 *culmina perque hominum volvuntur perque deorum.*

The last line of the simile offers the disturbing portrait of the fiery ruin of not only the dwellings of mortals—royal or otherwise—but also of the destruction of temples and other sacred places.

culmina: Balancing the *tecta* of 669. The noun also at 186, of the diurnal perch of Rumor. *Culmina* connotes height, which the flames overlap and overcome. The noun also at 462 *solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo*, amid the rendition of the omens that haunted the queen.

volvuntur: An echo of 449 ... *lacrimae volvuntur inanes*, in the description of crying that followed on another simile, sc. that of Aeneas as a buffeted oak tree; whatever the precise referent of the tears (Aeneas; Dido; Anna; some combination thereof), the change here is from water to fire. Cf. 524 ... *cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu*, of the constellations in their course as the world slept beneath them (with the exception of Dido). We may note too 363–364 *huc illuc volvens oculos totumque pererrat / luminibus tacitis et sic accensa profatur*, of the queen: a metaphorical fiery image as she prepares to speak to Aeneas after letting her gaze wander all over him; the similar 642–643 *at trepida et coep-tis immanibus effera Dido / sanguineam volvens aciem ...* The original reading of the Palatine was the indicative *volvuntur*, probably in reminiscence of the earlier passages; the Medicean had *volvuntur*, later corrected. Pease notes that the roofs would have the most flammable materials; *culmina* may refer to lofty buildings, such as one would find in a great (even nascent) city—but roofs are included as the more obvious, non-extended use of the term.

perque ... perque: The repetition underscores the totality of the spread of the devastating, pervasive fires; it echoes the similar use of the device and language of the fall of Troy at 2.364–366 *plurima perque vias sternuntur inertia passim / corpora perque domos et religiosa deorum / limina ...*, where again we find a blend of the mortal and the divine. With postpositive *perque* cf. 5.663 *transtra per ...*, of the action of flames all too real.

deorum: For the effect of urban destruction on the worship and rites of the gods cf. Poseidon's reflections at Euripides, *Troad.* 26–27, with Kovacs.

672–692 Anna hears the commotion in the wake of the suicide, and rushes to Dido; she upbraids her for her deceit, and condemns herself for being an unwitting participant in the preparations for the dire act. She tries in vain to help her sister, who struggles to lift her eyes; the queen falls back with a painful cry of agony as her death struggles perdure without relief.

672 *Audiit exanimis trepidoque exterrita cursu*

Audiit: The auditory element; cf. the description of the unknowing shepherd (= Aeneas) who hears the sound of destruction in his fields: 2.307–308 ... *stupet inscius alto / accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor*. For the perfect tense here see Adema 2019, 47–48: "... all perfect tense forms of *audire* in pseudo-simultaneous sequences occur when a sound or speech has already been uttered, mentioned or implied in the text ... They express a change of perspective, renarrating a sound from the viewpoint of a hearer."

exanimis: "This word describes Anna's shock when the news reaches her: she is in a state of collapse" (Austin). In balance with *exterrita* in second and penultimate place. Cf. 5.481 *sternitur exanimisque tremens procumbit humi bos*; 517–518 *decidit exanimis vitamque reliquit in astris / aetheriis fixamque refert delapsa sagittam*; 669 ... *nec exanimis possunt retinere magistri* (of the handlers who cannot restrain Ascanius from rushing to the scene of the burning of the ships); 6.161–162 *quem socium exanimem vates, quod corpus humanum / diceret ...* (of the consideration of which companion has been left unburied, = Misenus and not, as we might have thought, Palinurus); 10.495–497 ... *et laevo pressit pede talia fatus / exanimem rapiens immania pondera baltei / impressumque nefas ...* (of Turnus' despoiling of Pallas); 841–842 *et Lausum socii exanimem super arma ferebant / flentes ...* It is Dido who is dying and not Anna; the language here is strong, as if Anna herself were a casualty—and yet the dead cannot hear. She is in a state of absolute collapse, "breathless" does not really capture the strong force of the word, which is used twice in the next book of dead animals.

The exact meaning of *exanimis* has been held hostage to the punctuation in some editions. The emphasis here is on speed (cf. 674 *ruit* of Anna, echoing 669

ruat of the fall of Carthage or Tyre): Anna rushes on with the same swiftness as if she were a city rushing down to fiery ruin. In other words, no punctuation is needed until the comma after 674 *ruit* at the earliest (cf. Maclennan's wise note here). Sparrow 1931, 145–146 emended this verse to read *Audit Anna minas*, because he was concerned *inter al.* at how *exanimis* usually means “dead” in Virgil. But this is precisely the point: the queen's suicide has rendered her sister nearly incapable of reaction, and yet whether by adrenaline or sheer force of will Anna races to the scene. Pease notes that there may be breathlessness here on account of the high steps of the lofty pyre (cf. 685); in this case we would have a case of *hysteron proteron*. But it seems most naturally in keeping with the common enough progression of severe anxiety and fear to imagine that *exanimis* refers to the initial reaction to the sound, and then *exterrita* with *trepido cursu* describes her subsequent action as she races to the pyre. For those who have found Anna to be unusually naïve, her reaction here is instantaneous: she knows that there has been a crisis of monumental proportions involving her sister. The prefixes *ex-* are both intensive.

exterrita: Framed by the *trepido ... cursu* that is the result of her terror.

trepidoque: Echoing 642 at *trepida et coeptis immanibus effera Dido*, of the queen before her suicide.

exterrita: So of Aeneas at 571 *Tum vero Aeneas subitis exterritus umbris*; and of Dido before him at 450–451 *Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido | mortem orat ...*: by the end of this book all three of the major mortal characters will have been stricken with abject terror.

“La pauvre sœur sent l'horreur du drame qui la frappe” (Schmitz 1960, 241).

673 unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnīs

We may compare here 589–590 *terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum | flaventisque abscissa comas ...*, of the other sister. This verse is imitated in reverse order at 11.86 *pectora nunc foedans pugnīs, nunc unguibus ora*, of Acoetes at the requiem for Pallas: another close parallel between the loss of the Arcadian and the story of Dido. Lastly, this line is repeated verbatim at 12.871, of Turnus' sister Juturna after she recognizes the sound of the Dira from afar. Pease has a characteristically long note citing parallels for the acts of self-abuse.

Cleopatra is depicted as acting in a similar manner in the wake of the botched suicide of Antony: *Δεξαμένη δ' αὐτὸν οὕτως καὶ κατακλίνασα, περιερρήξατό τε τοὺς πέπλους ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰ στέρνα τυπτομένη καὶ σπαράττουσα ταῖς χερσὶ, καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ αἵματος ἀναματτομένη ...* (Plutarch, *Vita Ant.* 77.3).

unguibus: In framing order with *pugnīs*. The noun also at 5.352; 8.553; 11.86; 752; 12.255; 871, with reference both to humans and animals.

ora ... pectora: Poetic plurals in second and penultimate place, so as to give an anatomical frame to the line; see especially Austin for the practice of referring thusly to parts of an individual body.

soror: The sororial reference echoed at 675 *germana* and 677 *sororem*; 682 *soror*; 686 *germanam*: an extraordinary five occurrences in relatively brief compass. Ovid has *Anna soror, soror Anna, meae male conscia culpae, | iam dabis in cineres ultima dona meos* (*Her.* 7.191–192) near the end of his verse epistle.

foedans: “Cruentans, sanguine foedans” (Servius). Cf. 2.55 *impulerat ferro Argolicas foedare latebras*, with reference to the Wooden Horse; 285–286 ... *quae causa indigna serenos | foedavit vultus?* ..., of the ghostly Hector; 501–502 ... *Priamumque per aras | sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacraverat ignis*, of Aeneas’ having seen the death of Troy’s king; 538–539 ... *qui nati coram me cernere letum | fecisti et patrios foedasti funere vultus*, of Priam with Pyrrhus; 3.227 *diripiuntque dapes contactuque omnia foedant*, of the Harpies; the parallel 241 *obsenas pelagi ferro foedare volucres*, of the attempt of Aeneas’ men to destroy the avian monsters; 12.99 *semiviri Phrygis et foedare in pulvere crinis*, in Turnus’ reflection on what he wishes to do to Aeneas; cf. also 7.574–575 ... *caesosque reportant | Almonem puerum foedatique ora Galaesi*.

pectora pugnīs: Plosive alliteration. *Pugnīs* in Virgil only here and at the related passages 11.86 and 12.871.

674 *per medios ruit ac morientem nomine clamat*:

Austin comments here on how the meter enacts how Anna must catch her breath: “There is a formal caesura after *ac*, but its close connexion with what follows blurs the pause; there is no fourth-foot caesura, and the line falls into three groups of words in a most unusual rhythm: *per medios ruit | ac morientem | nomine clamat ...*”

medios: Alliterative with *morientem*. Cf. *media inter talia* at 663, in a very different context. The reference here is to the throng of attendants and onlookers who have gathered around the pyre; the initial reaction to the suicide was visual (664 *aspiciunt*), and as the report spread more and more people may be imagined to have rushed to the scene.

ruit: Echoing 669 *ruat*. Meaning and meter argue against any punctuation after the verb.

morientem: The simple participle is the first indication of the death agony that her sister is enduring. Anna echoes her language here at 678 *moriens*.

nomine: She does not use her name in the text (cf. 675 *germana*), a fact that troubled Donatus (he comments that the use of *germana* was occasioned by the dying queen being unaware of who was around her, etc.—likely a case of hyperanalysis); presumably she used “Elissa” as she rushed to her.

Servius too has an extended comment: “aut Didonem vocat ... Poenorum lingua viraginem; nam Elissa dicta est, sed virago est vocata cum se in ignem praecipitavit ...”, etc.; he concludes that Virgil has not, after all, told us everything that Anna said. Anna calls on her sister by name, just as Dido wished that Aeneas would one day do: 383–384 *supplicia hausurum scopulis et nomine Dido / saepe vocaturum ...*; cf. 172, where the queen conceals her fault with the *nomen* or label of *conugium*.

clamat: Following on *ruit*. The verb is not common in Virgil; note 7.400, of the crazed Amata as she shouts to the Latin matrons during their quasi-Bacchic rites; 12.600 *se causam clamat crimen caputque malorum*, of Amata again just before her suicide. These are the only uses of the finite verb in the epic (cf. 10.322–323 ... *ecce Pharo, voces dum iactat inertis, / intorquens iaculum clamanti sistit in ore*). Twice of Amata, then, and once of Anna: as Dido dies in agony, it is Anna who is now crazed—the first example, we might think, of the passing on of the queen’s frenzy to another. For the use with the accusative cf. 7.504.

675 “hoc illud, germana, fuit? me fraude petebas?”

hoc illud: The proximate and the remote demonstratives in juxtaposition, with reference 1) deictically to what is all too obvious before her eyes, and 2) to the trick unveiled at 478 ff. *Hoc* is repeated twice at 676, to underscore Anna’s pointing out of the horror scene that has been revealed. It matters little in the end which demonstrative is subject and which is predicate.

germana: Cf. 478; 492; 501; 549. Closely coordinate with *me*.

fuit: In fricative alliteration with *fraude*: the sounds and vocabulary of reproach.

me: With strong emphasis on the little word; the pronoun here is balanced by 676 *mihi*, again of the consequences of Dido’s action for Anna personally; cf. 678 *me*.

fraude: The noun also at 5.851 *et caeli totiens deceptus fraude sereni*, in Palinurus’ explanation to Somnus/Phorbas as to why he will not succumb to sleep despite the calm seas; 6.609 *pulsatusve parens et fraus innexa clienti*, of a class of sinner in the underworld; 7.552 *tum contra Iuno: terrorum et fraudis abunde est*, of Juno to Allecto—the first indication in the epic of a lessening of her anger and rage now that the war in Italy has been instigated; 9.397 ... *fraude loci et noctis ...*, with reference to how Euryalus was seized during the night raid; 428–429 *o Rutuli! mea fraus omnis ...*, as Nisus tries to take responsibility; 10.72–73 *quis deus in fraudem, quae dura potentia nostra / egit ...*, in Juno’s bitter remarks at the divine council; 11.708 *iam nosces ventosa ferat cui gloria fraudem*, of Aunides’ boastful taunt to Camilla; her reply at 717 *nec fraus te incolumem fallaci perferet*

Auno. The theme of Punic perfidy is on full display here, also the idea that the Trojans cannot be trusted—the twin cases of deceit associated with a people in this book. Anna's first words to her sister are a reproach for the trickery of the arrangement of the pyre and the concealment of her real intention to commit suicide.

petebas: The imperfect is conative, durative, frequentative. In sound and tense balance with 676 ... *parabant*.

676 hoc rokus iste mihi, hoc ignes araeque parabant?

hoc: Following on 675 *hoc*; the deictic demonstratives will continue at 680 *his* ... *manibus*.

rogus: For the noun cf. 646. The first in a tricolon of complaint, followed by the fires and the altars.

iste: Often with a hint (stronger or more forceful) of contempt; there are many emotions at play here for the sister who speaks of personal treachery and deceit: the pyre is an affront to her because she was tricked into seeing to its construction. Anna complains that she has been made an unwitting collaborator in the elaborate suicide plot. Knowing now the true purpose of the *rogus*, she refers to it contemptuously because it is hateful to her.

mihi: Juxtaposed with *iste*. Anna equates her sister's funereal preparations as being designed for her. The *examinis* sister was *unanima* with Dido (8); the queen's deceit was an act of separation of their close sororial bond, but here Anna speaks as if the death of one meant the death of the other. In mythological and quasi-historical reality they would have very different histories.

ignes: The fire is a variation on the theme of the pyre; the altars that follow are not. For the noun cf. 661, as Dido prayed that Aeneas might drink in the sight of the flames of her pyre as he sailed away on the deep; 200 of the sentinel fires that Iarbas maintained on his Jovian altars; 384 of the fires with which the queen threatened to pursue Aeneas, which at least with respect to the fire of the pyre she would certainly succeed in bringing to all too grim reality. Note also the fires that flashed in witness of the happenings in the cave (167); the lightning to which Iarbas refers at 209; and perhaps most of all the *caecus ignis* of 4.2.

araeque: As at 509 *stant arae circum*.

677 quid primum deserta querar? comitemne sororem

The first half of this verse could have been spoken by Dido of Aeneas' abandonment of her; the queen has done to her sister exactly what she accused the Trojan hero of doing to her. "Grief-stricken survivors in the *Aeneid* may pray for death but they do not commit suicide" (Pease).

quid primum: The question of what a speaker should first address is almost a rhetorical topos in itself; cf. 284 and 371. The implication is that there is quite a lot that Anna could complain about.

deserta: Cf. 42; 323 ... *cui me moribundam deseris, hospes*; 468; and especially 330 *non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer*, as Dido reflects on how she might be better off if at least she had had a child with Aeneas. *Deserta* is coordinate with its opposite *comitem*. Anna imagines that she should have been called to a shared suicide (as she soon makes explicit), if that were the course on which her sister was set; compare the fates of Iras and Charmion. Sisters in death.

querar: The verb also at 463 *saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces*, of the ominous owl that haunted Dido. Alliterative after *quid*. A powerful deliberate subjunctive, as Anna continues to take in the magnitude of the disaster.

comitemne: Anna is the most important of her sister's *comites* (664). The book has come full circle; we are reminded of how the two sisters were so close together at the start of the book, for a conversation very different from the rather one-sided exchange here. The enjambment enacts the spurning: Anna has literally been left across verses, with the two last words of this line with reference to her, in hypermetric juxtaposition with the first two with reference to Dido at 678.

sororem: In sibilant (again, hypermetric) alliteration with 678 *sprevisti*.

“The delicacy of the implication in *quid primum deserta querar*? may easily escape notice: ‘I was the first to whom you carried all your complaints: is it my first complaint now, that you have deserted me?’” (Mackail).

678 *sprevisti moriens? eadem me ad fata vocasses*,

Second-person verbs frame the verse.

sprevisti: A rare verb in the epic; the only other uses are at 1.27 ... *spretaque iniuria formae*, with reference to the Judgment of Paris and the offence to Juno's loveliness; and at 7.261 *munera nec sperno*, in Latinus' response to Ilioneus; cf. the *spretae matres* who destroy Orpheus at *G.* 4.520. Here again with Anna casting herself in the role of a spurned lover, as if this were Dido complaining to Aeneas—with the key difference that here the one who is leaving is departing in death (*moriens*).

moriens: Following on 674 *morientem*.

eadem: The demonstrative is prominent by position. We may recall 165 *eadem*, of the same cave that would spell such doom for both Dido and Aeneas. *Eadem* here is echoed at once by 679 *idem* and *eadem*: another effective tricolon.

me: Cf. 675 *me*; 676 *mihi*.

fata: Of death.

vocasses: Probably best taken of an unfulfilled wish in past time, rather than as functioning as an apodosis with an incomplete protasis. The pluperfect subjunctive here is balanced by 679 ... *tulisset*: first the wish that her sister had called her to the same fate, and then that the same hour had taken them both together to the grave. For how Dido “ultimately converts her sister to this idiom,” see Newman and Newman 2005, 123. On the similar wishes of both Anna and Juturna to die with their sibilings, see V. Castellani, “Anna and Juturna in the *Aeneid*,” in *Vergilius* 33 (1987), 49–57, 52–53. Anna begins to express her wishes that are unable to be realized; fittingly, the beginning and end of the verse spells out SP-ES, of her pathetic expectation that she cannot attain.

679 *idem ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset!*

idem: The second of the three demonstratives that emphasize Anna’s wish to have shared her sister’s fate; with *dolor* in framing order.

ambas: Forms of *ambo* occur 24× in the epic; only here with reference to the sisters.

ferro: Juxtaposed with *dolor*. It is almost certain that Anna refers here to the *ferro* of 663; she realizes how her sister has killed herself. Some commentators try to make this a general reference to suicide, but the only sword that matters here is the one that Dido wielded against herself, and which Anna can now see all too plainly alongside her sister’s fatally wounded body. The sword and the sorrow are so closely linked that they form almost one syntactical unit, even if *ferro* is formally an ablative of instrument. “The sense of ‘dolor’ has now changed from ‘sorrow’ ... to ‘wound-pain’” (Paschalis 1997, 173).

dolor: Cf. 419; 474; 547; below at 693; also 5.5: one of the key words of the book, carried over even into the opening verses of the following.

atque: Here introducing something of a variation on the theme: the same sorrow, the same hour.

hora: Cf. 5.844 ... *datur hora quieti*, in the eerie words of Phorbos/Somnus to Palinurus; at 6.539 *nox ruit, Aenea; nos flendo ducimus horas* the Sibyl looks at her watch, as it were. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 8.709 *auferat hora duos eadem ...*, with reference to the wish of Baucis and Philemon. The point is that not only the same grief, but also the same hour should have taken away the two women: they were separated at the very beginning of the book, as the queen was lost in her sleepless longing for Aeneas; now they are together in person, and yet irretrievably separated by virtue of the *ferrum* the queen has wielded against herself. Shades here of Ismene and Antigone; cf. DeGraff 1931/1932, 148–150, who does

an excellent job of gathering the parallels, though strangely in the end finding them only “interesting,” and not as evidence of Sophoclean influence on Virgil.

tulisset: Balancing the parallel wish at 678 ... *vocasses*.

680 his etiam struxi manibus patriosque vocavi

his ... manibus: Deictic, and following on the repeated *hoc ... hoc* of 675–676. “Rhetorical,” as Page notes. Cf. Ingmar Bergman’s Töre near the end of his *Jungfrukällan*, as he speaks with accompanying gesture of how he will construct a church on the site of his daughter Karin’s murder.

struxi: The verb also at 235; 271. The reference is back to the orders the queen had given at 494 ff. We need not imagine that Anna built the pyre herself, especially in the absence of assistance; for the dramatic effect, now her supervisory capacity is enough to warrant the use of the first person and the reference to her own hands, notwithstanding how much actual labor she exerted. The first of two perfects that describe her complicity in the suicide preparations: Anna handled the practical necessities, and she participated in the ritual invocations. Williams emphasizes how the absence of the direct object *rogum* illustrates how Anna is thinking of nothing save her sister’s pyre (Servius: “subaudis rogos”).

patriosque: In hypermetric enjambment, perhaps with a hint of the intensity and frequency of the prayers. In point of fact Anna was not present for the invocations of 509 ff.; this must have taken place at some point after the construction of the pyre, perhaps in Anna’s own private prayers after the execution of her sister’s commands. Who are the “gods of our fathers”? The priestess’ invocation of 509 ff. was omnibus; the *patrios deos* would especially include Juno; Servius thought that Saturn and Juno were the referents, without explanation for the first name. It is unclear why Pease cites Servius as mentioning Saturn and Jupiter; perhaps a simple error. The mention of the gods of their fatherland leads to the reference to the destruction of the Sidonian fathers at 682–683.

vocavi: With *voce* in alliterative pattern across verses. “A solemn ritual use of the *figura etymologica*” (Pease).

Anna’s reproachful, sorrowful address to her dying sister continues; at 11. 820 ff. the dying Camilla will do all the talking with her *soror* (823) *Acca*.

681 voce deos, sic te ut posita, crudelis, abessem?

voce: Cf. 6.505–506 *tunc egomet tumulum Rhoeteo in litore inanem / constitui et magna manis ter voce vocavi*, of Aeneas to the shade of Deiphobus; 10.873 *atque hic Aenean magna ter voce vocavit*, of Mezentius with Aeneas; also above at 460–461 *hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis / visa viri ...*; 12.482–483 *vestigatque virum et disiecta per agmina magna / voce vocat ...*, of Aeneas with Turnus; 638–

639 *vidi oculos ante ipse meos me voce vocantem | Murranum ...*; the hapless Palinurus at 5.860 *praecipitem ac socios nequiquam saepe vocantem*. Ultimately an echo of Lucretius (*DRN* 4.710–711 *quin etiam gallus noctem explaudentibus alis | auroram clara consuetum voce vocare*).

deos: Following on the reference at 672 to the imagined ruin of sacred places.

sic: Anna unknowingly echoes her sister's last words at 660 *sic, sic*. "Deictic," as Page notes: the sister comments on the position of the body as it fell after the stabbing (664 *conlapsam*).

te: Cf. 682 *te*.

posita: Cf. 11.30 *corpus ubi exanimi positum Pallantis ...*; 67 *hic iuvenem agresti sublime stramine ponunt*, at the Pallas requiem; 149 ... *feretro Pallante reposto*. This is the ritual word for the placement of the body on the bier. Henry was troubled here given that Dido is not yet dead: a reasonable enough observation by the medical doctor. But Anna knows that the wound is fatal, and she speaks proleptically as if her sister is already dead and laid out for cremation on the pyre.

crudelis: From DServ. the case has been disputed: nominative of Anna or vocative of Dido? The vocative is far better here (so O'Hara), continuing the emphasis on how Dido in some regards has become to Anna what Aeneas was to Dido; cf. only twenty verses before at 661 *crudelis*, of the queen's wish that the cruel Dardan could drink in the sight of the flames from her pyre as he sailed away; the vocative *crudelis* of 311, also of Aeneas; note too 308 *crudeli funere*. That said, Virgil certainly knew that there was an ambiguity here, and Austin is correct that the two references shade into one another; cf. Mackail: "The choice is one of individual taste. It would be idle to cite, in support of either interpretation, passages from other poets which might be multiplied indefinitely." Irvine notes here "In assuming it to be nominative I have followed the big battalions [Henry; Conington, e.g.; cf. Pease, who agrees with those critics stretching back to Donatus], though not wholly convinced that they are right." Pointing to the vocative is 682 *extincti* that follows almost at once, complete with the address to Dido as *soror*. We may note that 12.873 is not ambiguous; *durae mihi* there refers to Juturna and Juturna alone.

abessem: The verb in rather different contexts at 83 and 384.

682 *extincti te meque, soror, populumque patresque*

extincti: An interesting twist on the fire imagery that has been so prevalent in the book; Dido has by her actions extinguished herself; her sister; and her people. Strongly echoed here are Dido's words at 604–606 ... *faces in castra tulissem | implessemque foros flammis natumque patremque | cum genere extinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem*; cf. 321–322 ... *te propter eundem | extinc-*

tus pudor ..., of Dido to Aeneas. The verb form is mangled and mutilated in the manuscript tradition, and may reflect something of the doubt as to whether or not 681 *crudelis* is to be taken of Dido or Anna. Anna does not of course know anything of the curses that her sister uttered against Aeneas and his descendants; those imprecations may prove all too efficacious, but Dido has also signed a death warrant on Carthage, and that is what her sister sees with crystal clarity in the bloody scene on the pyre. A strong verb, prominent by position. Cf. 672 *exanimis* and *exterrita*. P has *extinxti* here.

te meque: The sisters in juxtaposition, before the vocative *soror*. There is no need to imagine a specific allusion here to the Varronian tradition of it being Anna who died instead of Dido. The order of the pronouns is secure in the manuscript tradition, though the variant *me teque* is attested in the grammarians; it is better to have Anna refer first to the obvious death that is at hand, and then to the metaphorical one.

populumque patresque: Plosive alliteration, with *patresque* echoing 680 *patriosque*. Anna is all too well aware that the ruin of Dido is also the ruin of her city and people. For *populus* note above at 102; 112; 189; 615; 624; on *patres* and the inherent notion of “immemorial antiquity” vid. Newman and Newman 46. Anna speaks here something like a Roman, as if she were referring to the people and the senate. The public pairing follows on the personal (*populumque patresque* balancing *te meque*), with the vocative *soror* in between. The beginning of a tricolon, crowned by the mention of Dido’s city in the next verse. Anna did not hear her sister’s words at 655 *urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi*—but the poet has allowed her to make an implicit comment on her sister’s *curriculum vitae*. We are again reminded of the importance of the royal for the life of the city, as with Priam and the fate of Troy; see further here D.H. Mills, “‘Sacred Space’ in Vergil’s *Aeneid*,” in *Vergilius* 29 (1983), 34–46, 40–41. The language here will be echoed at 9.192–193 *Aenean acciri omnes, populusque patresque, / exposcunt, mittique viros qui certa reposcunt*.

683 *Sidonios urbemque tuam. date vulnera lymphis*

Sidonios: As at 75; 137; 545; 571. Any thought we may have had at the end of the preceding verse about the Roman senate is quickly disabused. Sidon here, to balance the mention of Tyre at 670, and to crown the tricolon of Phoenician references that commenced there with *Karthago*.

urbemque tuam: Cf. 655.

date: The imperative ushers in a dramatic change of focus, as Anna turns from reproach and recrimination to a desperate attempt to respond to her sister’s chest injury. Addressed perhaps to the *comites* of 664, though there is no indication in the text that anyone responds to Anna’s imperative; the image is

of onlookers petrified with fear and shock at the sight. Austin argues that “*Date* is a prayer, and we need not specify to whom, God or man ...” Some have tried to argue that Dido herself is the referent, though the plural imperative is then difficult to explain. The main problem is that the plain order and meaning of the last three words of this verse would seem to point to an inversion/striking hypallage of the expected *date lymphas vulneribus vel sim.*; Page notes “Such a ludicrous inversion is impossible in sane language” (of course Anna is quite distraught). Mackail is correct: it is impossible to determine the exact syntax, and that is likely a deliberate effect of the poet to convey the sister’s emotionally overwrought state. It may be that 684 *abluam* and 685 *legam* are present subjunctives governed by *date* (so, e.g., Henry; Irvine; Conte), or that they are future indicatives (thus Conington): the form, after all, is the same, and in the end the meaning is not so very different. “But in any case it is a bold and very successful compression, by overlapping, of two expressions which are rising concurrently in the speaker’s mind ... Nothing could convey more completely the hurry of a distracted utterance.” Whether paratactically or hypotactically, Anna’s state is poignant in its pathetic relief: no purifying waters will staunch these wounds, and whatever last breath is captured, it will be of no avail. “The distinction seems academic: the thought in the heart is clear” (Austin, *bene*).

The language here will be echoed by the shade of Anchises in Elysium at 6.883ff. ... *manibus date lilia plenis*, etc., with reference to the requiem for Marcellus. If anything, the reminiscence may point to a hypotactic reading here, since the sequence *spargam | accumulem | fungar* there includes a definite subjunctive amid the ambiguous forms. *Ceteris paribus*, we would prefer to read *abluam* and *legam* at 684–685 as futures, and to consider a colon after this verse in punctuation.

vulnera: Poetic plural, unless we are to imagine that the repeated *sic* of 660 indicated two stab wounds, which is quite possible; at 689 there is one wound in the lung, though that does not prove definitively that there were not two; cf. 6.450, where her shade is *recens a vulnere*: perhaps one fatal wound, we might say—the first, perhaps. This is the terrible fulfillment of 67 *interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus*, of the queen’s hidden, metaphorical wound; the medical imagery already at 4.1 ... *saucia cura* and of the wound in the veins at 2 *vulnus alit venis*, now rendered in public, sanguinary relief. Cf. the gruesome 689 below: two earlier, poetic uses succeeded by two all too real occurrences.

lymphas: The noun repeated from 635 *dic corpus properet fluviali spargere lymphas*, of Dido’s instructions to Barce about what Anna should do; the queen had commanded that her sister lustrate her body before the completion of the religious rites, and here Anna calls for the wounds to be applied to cleansing waters in a desperate attempt to respond to the bloody aftermath of the stab-

bing. The ritual that Dido had deceptively said needed to be finished with the purification of Anna's body, etc. has now given way to her sister's hopeless plea for water to soothe the fatal wounds. Misenus' body is washed at 6.219; once again there is a certain proleptic treatment of Dido as already dead.

684 abluam et, extremus si quis super halitus errat,

abluam: The verb elsewhere in Virgil only at 2.718–720 *me bello e tanto digressum et caede recenti | attractare nefas, donec me flumine vivo | abluero*, of Aeneas as he prepares to depart from Troy; cf. 9.816–818 ... *ille suo gurgite flavo | accepit venientem ac mollibus extulit undis | et laetum sociis abluta caede remisit*, of Turnus after his escape from the Trojan camp, as the Tiber welcomes him and purifies him from the gore incurred in the battle therein.

extremus: Cf. 621 ... *hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo*, as the queen uttered her curse.

super: With reference to survival (Ruaeus glosses “adhuc”), not to the graphic notion of the breath rising over the mouth. Assonant after *et* and with *errat*.

halitus: Also at 6.240–241 ... *talis sese halitus atris | faucibus effundens ...*, of Aornus; cf. *G.* 2.350. The custom of the catching of the last breath is attested at Cicero, *Verr.* 2.5.118 (the citation noted already in Servius); see further Pease's customary catalogue of other certain and almost certain/likely parallels; Gibson on Ovid, *Ars* 3.745–746; Bömer on *Met.* 7.860–861; 12.424–425; Gibson on Statius, *Silv.* 5.1.195–196. There is no need to imagine that 686 describes this gesture. We may compare the curious request of Henry Ford that Thomas Edison's last breath be preserved; a test tube with said contents is housed in the Ford Museum in Dearborn, Michigan. No sense here of an effort to preserve life (*pace* Gossrau, and Conington); the point was to catch the soul, a classic example of superstitions attending to the end of life. The queen's *extremus halitus* will not come until the very last two words of the book, *vita recessit*.

errat: With etymological reference to Dido as *errans*; cf. the reference to the queen's *oculis errantibus* at 691. Cf. 211. The last bit of her physical life would be her *extremus halitus*, which is appropriately described with the verb that connotes the wandering Phoenician queen. The verb has caused some confusion in some witnesses (*erret; esset*), rather inexplicably so.

685 ore legam.” sic fata gradus evaserat altos,

ore: From the scratching of her *ora* at 673, to the attempted gathering of her sister's last breath with her *ore*: Virgil is fond of such repetitions of the same word in close sequence in different meanings.

legam: Following on 684 *abluam*, again either as a present subjunctive or as a future indicative.

sic fata: A transitional expression, of the sort that would normally be easily enough passed over. Here however it carries a double force of horror, for it recalls *sic* of the queen's stabbing (660 *sic, sic*), and also Anna's *sic te ut posita* at 681, of the position of her sister's body. There may also be a reminiscence of such phrases as 614 *et sic fata Iovis poscunt ...*, of a rather different use of "sic fata." Note also 30 *sic effata sinum lacrimis implevit abortis*, of another scene (cf. 686) where Dido is in Anna's arms; 6.321 *olli sic breviter fata est longaeva sacerdos*; 7.456 of Allecto with Turnus; 12.138–139 of Juno to Juturna. "Fata is really a present" (Page); the emphasis is on how *ore legam* are Anna's final words in the poem. Her first had been at 31 ... *o luce magis dilecta sorori*; at 692 below the suffering Dido will seek out the light, and will groan in pain once she has found it.

gradus ... altos: Echoing 645–646 ... *et altos | conscendit furibunda rogos ...*; the variant *gradus* there is on account of the present use. For the collocation cf. Ovid, *Ibis* 485; Ps.-Seneca, *Oct.* 501. The exact details of the construction, etc. have been subjected to minute analysis; so Pease thinks that the referent is to a high part of the palace in which the pyre was situated, and not specifically to the height of the *rogus*; certainly the scene is in a lofty locale, both in the palace and because of the queen's monumental bier—the flames and smoke, after all, need to be clearly visible to Aeneas. Servius here is right that the steps are those of the pyre; it is true that the height reflects Dido's regal status, but the visual element is most at play: the queen as actress and stage-setter to the end.

evaserat: The verb in deliberate reminiscence of *G.* 4.485 *Iamque pedem referens casus evaserat omnis*, of Orpheus just before the fateful decision to look back at Eurydice. The same form is used in a similar context of Nisus at 9.386 ... *iamque imprudens evaserat hostis*, just before he looks back at Euryalus, whom he seeks out in vain (389 ... *et frustra absentem respexit amicum*). Austin argues that this pluperfect marks the moment where reproach turns to pity, with Anna now having reached her sister at the top of the pyre; Virgil may not have intended such a precise delineation of when the emotions change. What matters now is that Anna has reached the very summit of the pyre, the *torus* (659) that was the locus of the suicide—and now she begins to embrace her sister's body, and to try to staunch the wounds (cf. the inchoative imperfects of 686–687).

686 *semianimemque sinu germanam amplexa fovebat*

semianimemque: Echoing 672 *exanimis* of Anna. Sibilant alliteration with *sinu*. The adjective also twice in Pallas' *aristeia*, first at the gruesome 10.396 *semianimesque micant digiti ferrumque retracrant*, of the fingers of Laris' severed right hand; then at 403–404 ... *curruque volutus | caedit semianimis Rutulorum calcibus arva*, of Rhoeteus; cf. 11.635 *semianimes volvuntur equi ...*, during the

cavalry battle; 12.355–356 *sistit equos biiugis et curru desilit atque / semianimi lapsoque supervenit ...*, of Dolon under Turnus' fatal assault. Pease does well to note that the description of the *semianimis* Dido is all too real, while that of the *exanimis* Anna was more figurative.

sinu: 30 *sic effata sinum lacrimis implevit abortis*, as Dido collapsed into Anna's lap in tears as she expressed her lovesick feelings: we have come full circle. Conington and others think that the description is meant to be of the effort to catch the last breath (684–685), but this seems to be an example of trying to plot the actions rather too precisely.

germanam: Cf. 675. "Nota lo struggimento della ripetizione a questo punto del termino adoperato dalle sorelle fra loro" (Paratore).

amplexa: The only occurrence of the word in the book. Cf. the other participial uses in the epic at 2.214 and 218, where it comes twice in quick succession in the description of the serpentine assault on Laocoön; 490 and 517 *amplexaeque tenent postes atque oscula figunt*, of the frightened Trojan women in Priam's palace (again 2× in close sequence); 3.607 of Achaemenides as he supplicates the Trojans; 5.86 of the portentous serpent at Anchises' *tumulus*; 531 of Aeneas' embrace of Acestes after his miraculous arrow shot; 8.124 of Pallas' embrace of Aeneas on the hero's arrival at Pallanteum. The finite verb is used of Aeneas' embrace of the *limina portae* of the miniature Troy at Buthrotum; cf. 5.312; 8.369; 10.523.

fovebat: Cf. 218, as Iarbas reflected on the possibly pointless devotion of his people and he to Jupiter; the principal echo however is of 1.718 ... *fovet inscia Dido*, of how the queen did not realize that she was fondling Cupid and not Ascanius in her lap. "A word full of tenderness and pity" (Tilly); the imperfect here and at 687 *siccabat* is inceptive after the pluperfect 685 *evaserat*, but also durative and frequentative; Austin speculates that it might be conative, though the other senses of the tense seem more apposite, and the notion of effort and attempt is more at play with *siccabat*: Anna can embrace and fondle, but she cannot staunch the fatal wound. The verb is in effective frame with *semianimem*; there is a hint of the effort to heat the body, as it were, to help to restore it to life; the queen's *calor* will depart at last at 705. *Tenebat* was the original, colorless reading of Parsinus lat. 7906, mercifully corrected.

"Though not explicitly stated, it is clear that Dido dies in her sister's arms" (Casali 2014 ("Anna"), 90). Anna's final remarks proceeded from mention of fire (676 *hoc rogos iste mihi, hoc ignes araeque parabant?*) to water (683–684 ... *date vulnera lymphis / abluam*). One of the alleged powers of the magical arts referenced by Dido regarding her Massylian mage was the ability to stop the water in rivers (489 *sistere aquam fluviis*). Now she will cry and attempt to dry her sister's wounds (687): tears and blood.

687 cum gemitu atque atros siccabat veste cruores.

Balanced sound patterns: *cum* and *cruores* in frame; *atque atros* in the middle.

gemitu: A groan of lament, of mental pain, as it were; Dido's all too physical groan will follow at 692 *ingemuit* as the final sound she makes before her death—the sisters joined in their groaning; note also 667; 409.

atros: Vid. Edgeworth 1992, 74–86 for this last of the half-dozen uses of the color in the book. The penultimate color of the book with reference to Dido, balancing the brighter blond of the queen's fateful lock at 698; the mention of the blond hair color there will herald the chromatic splendor of Iris' appearance at 700–701: darkness to light. *Atros ... cruores* in framing order around *siccabat veste*, in enactment of how the bleeding is not able to be stopped.

siccabat: The only other occurrence of the verb in the epic is at 10.834 *vulnera siccabat lymphis corpusque levabat*, of Mezentius; that passage has verbal reminiscences of the dying of Dido that serve to draw a connection between the two doomed figures.

veste: Predictably, there has been some debate as to whether the clothes are Dido's or Anna's; most likely the latter's. The noun also at 139 *aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem*, of Dido's purple garment at the hunt; something of a foreshadowing of the blood-stained clothes here; cf. 518 ... *in veste recincta*, of the queen's ungirt state at the magical rites; 648, of the *Iliacas vestes* with the queen on the pyre.

cruores: For the blood and gore cf. 664–665. The plural (cf. Horace, c. 2.1.5, with Harrison) may well be poetic, but it also hints at the flow of the blood. Servius criticized Virgil's use of the plural, but the poet was focused on drawing our attention to the gory scene: “drops” of blood does not describe the *tableau du sang*.

This is the last mention of Anna in the epic; the final sound she emits is a groan, like Dido at 692. Her sister offers no final words to her, not even a final glance; the siblings do not find peace together, even if Dido dies in Anna's arms. Cf. the rather different situation of Camilla and her Anna—Acca at 11.820 ff.

688 illa gravis oculos conata attollere rursus

The first of five verses devoted to the physical sufferings of the fatally wounded queen.

illa: Returning the focus to Dido's own actions. Not surprisingly in a book that has devoted so much focus to the power of sight and the question of what the eyes behold and when, the first description is of the queen's attempt to lift her eyes.

gravis oculos: Cf. the *oculos gravatos* of the dying Pyramus at Ovid, *Met.* 4.145 (with Bömer); also (in a different sense) Propertius, c. 2.29a.15–16 *quae cum*

Sidoniae nocturna ligamina mitrae / solverit atque oculos moverit illa gravis. The visual element taken to a logical conclusion: the description of the queen's eyes, heavy in her death agony; cf. 691–692, where they will be more active in her last efforts to see her surroundings and to gaze on the light. Virgil uses different imagery regarding the eyes in death at *G.* 4.495–496 ... *en iterum crudelia retro / fata vocant conditque natantia lumina somnus*, of Eurydice; cf. 5.856 ... *cunctantique natantia lumina solvit*, of Palinurus under the assault of Somnus. Prominent by position, as the poet describes the futile attempts of the dying queen to lift her eyes. Once the queen fails after three attempts to raise herself up from the couch, her eyes will wander and catch sight of the light (691–692).

conata: Cf. Opis' lament on the dead Camilla at 11.841–842 *heu nimium, virgo, nimium crudele luisti / supplicium, Teucros conata lacescere bello!* See Pease (referencing Loewe 1873, 37, etc.) for the elision of the final vowel before an identical sound as an enactment of struggle and effort; Loewe compares 12.720–722, where the same effect occurs three times in close sequence.

attollere: Repeated at 690, as the queen struggles to raise herself. Very different from Anna's comment at 48–49 ... *Teucrum comitantibus armis / Punica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!*; cf. 176 of the rising of Rumor.

rursus: Cf. 531; 534; 546; 557. The enjambment of the main verb serves to enact the great effort.

689 deficit; infixum stridit sub pectore vulnus.

deficit: Cf. 2.505 ... *tenent Danai qua deficit ignis*; 6.143–144 ... *primo avulso non deficit alter / aureus ...*, of the Golden Bough; 11.231 *deficit ingenti luctu rex ipse Latinus*.

infixum ... pectore vulnus: Echoing 4 ... *haerent infixi pectore vultus*, in a brilliant close of a great ring with the beginning of the book. There the appearance of Aeneas was metaphorically like a stab in her heart; now *vultus* has become *vulnus*, and the meaning of *infixum* is all too anatomical and physical. *Infixum ... vulnus* in powerful frame: all the focus is on the wound.

stridit: “The reference is to the hissing and gurgling sound of the spouting blood” (Conington). Rather of the whistling sound of the air escaping from a wound in the lung (the commentators rightly cite Celsus 5.26.9). The verb also at 185, of Rumor; vid. A. Traina in *EV* IV, 1035–1036; Fratantuono and Smith on 8.420. “*stridit ...* accurately expresses the whistling sound with which breath escapes from the pierced lung” (Mackail). “Had Henry been a surgeon instead of a physician he could hardly have passed the phrase ... without a word ... It was one of those words used by a surgeon of much experience to describe the often plainly audible sound of a lung wound.” (Irvine, with reference to an account of Waterloo, and with a good note on Virgil's realism in describing gore

and injury—one need but glance at Ovid’s account of Pyramus and Thisbe to see to what lengths such matters could be taken; *Met.* 4.121–124 was inspired by our passage).

vulnus: The wound, and not the sword as some have thought; Page is right that what exactly “grided” means is known only to those who use it to describe the imagined action of the sword. “Virgil does not mention a weapon, and it is the wound that cries aloud.” The *ensis fatalis* has fallen to the side of the body, and the wound is what gives auditory witness now to the death agony: once again the visual gives way to the auditory effect.

The line-end here directly recalls 1.36 *cum Iuno aeternum servans sub pectore vulnus*; Dido is like her Carthaginian patroness. The language also echoes 67 ... *et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus*; there the wound was all too silent as it was hidden from sight—now the bloody horror is on full visual display, and the sound can be heard as the air hisses through the wound in the lung. The line-end also at Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 5.594; cf. Ovid, *Ars* 1.257.

Virgil’s account of the death struggles of Dido may owe something to the similar case of not Cleopatra but Mark Antony. The classic extant account of the disgraced triumvir’s suicide is Plutarch, *Vita Ant.* 76–77 (where see Pelling); in that version of events, Antony is accompanied by a servant with the *nomen omen* of Eros; on a previous occasion he had secured Eros’ agreement that he would assist in a suicide should the day come, but now, on the brink of his master’s death, the slave uses his sword on himself, leaving Antony to perform the deed alone. Antony salutes the example of Eros before striking himself in the belly: Περόντος δ’ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πόδας, ὁ Ἀντώνιος “εὗγε” εἶπεν “ὦ Ἔρωσ, ὅτι μὴ δυνηθεῖς αὐτὸς ἐμέ ποιεῖν ὃ δεῖ διδάσκεις”. Καὶ παῖσας διὰ τῆς κοιλίας ἑαυτὸν ἀφήκεν εἰς τὸ κλινίδιον. Ἦν δ’ οὐκ εὐθυθάνατος ἢ πληγῇ (76.9–10), though like Dido, Antony is not successful in his first effort. Eros was more competent in the business of *Selbstmord*; he died at one stroke (76.4). Eros is not named in Dio’s version of the spectacle, which refers vaguely to one of the bystanders. Eros had agreed to assist in Antony’s suicide; one could argue that “Eros” did just that insofar as Antony’s passion for Cleopatra was his undoing and the source of his fatal *servitium amoris*. Indeed, Antony lives long enough to make a final, difficult trip to Cleopatra’s side; Orosius (6.19.17) records: *Deinde imminente Caesare turbataque civitate, idem Antonius sese ferro transverberavit ac semianimis ad Cleopatram, in monumentum in quod se illa mori certa condiderat, perlatus est*: with Orosius’ *semianimis* of Antony cf. Virgil’s use of the same adjective of Dido at 686. (Florus is characteristically laconic about the suicide (2.21.9 *Prior ferrum occupavit Antonius*); the epitome of Livy’s lost Book 133 says that Antony committed suicide after the false report of Cleopatra’s suicide. See further Huzar 1978, 226).

After the difficult labor of bringing Antony to the queen's presence (complete with hoisting up the gravely wounded man to her window), Cleopatra tears her garments in lament and strikes her breast, indeed wiping off some of his blood to smear on her own face: *Δεξαμένη δ' αὐτὸν οὕτως καὶ κατακλίνασα, περιερρήξατό τε τοὺς πέπλους ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰ στέρνα τυπτομένη καὶ σπαράττουσα ταῖς χερσὶ, καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ αἵματος ἀναματτομένη ...* (77.3); cf. Anna at 673. Plutarch's Antony interrupts Dido's laments and asks for a drink of wine, either, the biographer notes, because he was thirsty, or in hope of ending his suffering sooner (77.3; we may recall that Antony was noted for his fondness for drink). Antony offers some final words of admonition to Cleopatra; his death in the end is almost imperceptible (77.4). In his summary of the death of Antony in the comparison of the Roman to his Greek parallel Demetrius Poliorcetes, Plutarch concludes that Antony died in a cowardly, pitiable, and dishonorable way—but at least (unlike Demetrius) before his enemy could become master of his body; Cleopatra's storied, serpentine spectacle of an end served as a *melior* comparison, we might think, for how to stage-manage a suicide. Cleopatra's famous suicide via snakebite is alluded to on the shield of Aeneas (697 *nequid etiam geminos a tergo respicit anguis*); the poet could not very well have Dido die in the same way (nothing would have been more at variance with his allusive style), but he could recall the tradition that Antony also botched his suicide, and while any Roman reader would have seen Cleopatra in Dido, it is likely that in the queen's inability to kill herself swiftly at one stroke, the tradition of Antony's lack of competence in swordplay suicide would have been remembered.

690 *ter sese attollens cubitoque adnixa levavit,*

ter: Repeated at 691; three is a conventional enough number for a description of repeated effort, but here it carries the added remembrance of the tripartite division of the tragedy *At regina ...* Servius offers the ingenious but probably safely dismissed theory that the emphasis on “three times” evokes the three wars of Rome and Carthage (“... aut promanteusis est propter bella Carthaginiis”). The spondaic rhythm of the opening of the verse enacts the struggle; the dactylic of the next will bring to vivid life the contrasting actions of the falling back on the couch and the wandering of the queen's eyes.

attollens: Echoing 688 *attollere*; Pease considers the repetition to be “awkward,” but we are again reminded that the ancients were not as bothered by such recycling of words as some moderns, and in the present case it describes exactly what is happening: repeated efforts to lift herself up (we remember 664 *conlapsam*). First she tried to raise her eyes; now she attempts the far more arduous task of propping herself up on her elbow. Taking a similar pose,

Propertius' Cynthia rebukes the elegist's poetic persona at c. 1.3.34 (*sic ait in molli fixa toro cubitum*).

cubitoque: The only elbow in Virgil: another graphic detail as the poet continues his emphasis on the physical.

adnixa: Cf. 12.92, of the spear of Auruncan Actor that Turnus will wield; the participle recalls 583 *adnixa torquent spumas et caerulea verrunt*, of the departing Trojans just before the dawn broke on this ominous day.

Attollens cubitoque adnixa is assuredly the correct text, despite the textual variety occasioned by such questions as whether the participle should be a finite verb, or the prefix for *nixa*, etc.

levavit: For the verb note 538–539, of the Trojans as *levatos* by the care and succor of the queen. The main verb after the participle here balances 686 ... *amplexa fovebat*.

“The fusion into a single and superficially ungrammatical sentence of the two phrases *sese attollens levavit* and *sese attollens cubitoque adnixa* is a characteristic Virgilian artifice” (Mackail).

691 *ter revoluta toro est oculisque errantibus alto*

ter: Alliterative with *toro*.

revoluta: Cf. 5.336 *ille autem spissa iacuit revolutus harena*, of Salius after Nisus trips him so as to allow his *eromenos* Euryalus to win in the foot race; 6.448–449 ... *nunc femina Caeneus / rursus et in veterem fato revoluta figuram*, of the shade of Caeneus/Caenis in the Fields of Mourning, just before the appearance of the wandering Dido; 9.476 *excussi manibus radii revolutaque pensa*, of the spinning implements that fall from the hands of Euryalus' mother on the news of the tragedy of her son (something of a subtle authorial comment of justice for the earlier act of cheating); 10.256–257 ... *et interea revoluta ruebat / matura iam luce dies noctemque fugarat*; 10.659–660 ... *tum Saturnia funem / avulsamque rapit revoluta per aequora navem*; 11.625 ff. (of the rolling stones sucked back by a wave); 671 *suffosso revolutus equo* ..., of Liris. The participle is echoed at 692 *reperta*.

toro: Echoing 659 *os impressa toro*, of the final kiss to the couch.

oculis: The “heavy eyes” of 688 are wandering, desperate to find the light of heaven; there is great poignance in the picture of the queen's struggle to see, given how significant the visual element has been throughout the book. There is an echo here of 363–364 *huc illuc volvens oculos totumque pererrat / luminibus tacitis* ..., of Dido with Aeneas.

errantibus: As at 684 *errat*, again with etymological allusion to *Dido errans*.

alto: The enjambment enacts just how far away the heavens are: “not otiose,” as Austin notes. The pyre may be lofty, but the *caelum* is high above all. In hypermetric frame with *caelo* around *quaesivit*.

692 quaesivit caelo lucem ingemuitque reperta.

quaesivit: The verb also at 77; 350; 468; 515; 647. But the principal echo here is of 631 *invisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem*; there the queen was seeking to cut off the light, as it were, as soon as possible—now she seeks it in the high heaven, and she groans once it is found.

lucem: Juxtaposed with *caelo*. We remember here 586–587 *regina e speculis ut primum albescere lucem / vidit ...*; also Anna's *o luce magis dilecta sorori* from 31. At the first light of morning the queen had beaten her breast three and four times (589 *terque quaterque ...*); now she finally succeeds in finding the light after three efforts to raise herself up on her elbow. The Dido who is essentially devoted now to the infernal powers groans when the light of heaven is glimpsed. "A typical chiaroscuro" (Newman and Newman 2005, 124). The elision *lucem ingemuitque* enacts the "failing of her strength" (so Austin).

ingemuitque: Echoing her sister's *gemitus* at 687. Cf. Dido's rhetorical question about Aeneas at 369 *num fletu ingemuit nostro*? We may recall too Aeneas' groan at 1.93 amid the Junonian storm: significantly, this verb was the first finite verb used of the Trojan hero in the poem, and it will be the last used of the Carthaginian queen—a stunning ring of groan and lament. "This is ... the last sound she ever utters" (Tilly). "There is no such touching word in the whole Aeneid as this 'ingemuit,' placing as it does before the mind capable of such sympathies the whole heart-rending history in a single retrospective glance. Show me anything at all like it in the Iliad" (Henry). "Every reader will find his grief in his own way" (Austin). Page disagrees; he indicates approval for Greek reserve and restraint from describing the death agonies: we recall that the poet's point here is that he is writing of the death of Dido, the prototype of Cleopatra; he is evoking too the sorry end of Antony. It is markedly different from the subtler ends of both Camilla and especially Turnus, whose death lines are both presaged here (11.831 and 12.952). At the end of the epic 12.951 ... *ast illi solvuntur frigore membra* echoes the first glimpse of Aeneas at 1.92 *extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra*, where the chill was of fear and not of death; the cause of Aeneas' terror was the manifestation of the wrath of Juno in the tempest Aeolus had conjured, while the cause for Turnus' mortal chill is Aeneas, the inheritor of the wrath of both Juno and her mortal avatar Dido. The verb is framed by the light and the finding thereof that occasions the groan.

reperta: Cf. 128 *adnuat atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis*. The ablative absolute will be echoed hauntingly at 6.718 *quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta*, of Anchises' shade announcing the *Heldenschau*. The variant *repertam* is entirely occasioned by failure to appreciate the syntax with *luce*. She groans now because she cannot die; her seeing the light confirms to her with all too keen a visual acuity that she is, after all, still alive. Perhaps also with a hint of shame:

she realizes that everything is now revealed in the open light of day, and she cannot even find noble peace in death: again, this is now Antony and not Cleopatra; the latter found a certain honor in her suicide, the former not so.

693–705 The omnipotent Juno takes pity on the death agonies of Carthage's queen, and she sends her colorful rainbow messenger Iris to snip a lock of the queen's golden hair as an offering for Dis. The goddess' mission is swiftly accomplished, and Dido's life recedes into the winds. For a start to the vast bibliography on the end of this book, note Cartault 1926, 336–339; Putnam 1998, 86–87; also Boyle 1986, 118–119; Raabe 1974, 149–152 on the connection between the present scene and both the Orpheus-Eurydice scene of *G.* 4 and the eschatological drama of *Aen.* 6.

“Le lecteur n’attendait pas ces derniers développements: avec les v. 667–671, 672–687 tout semblait conclu; les scènes d’agonie sont étrangères aux stylisations de l’épopée comme de la tragédie. Le pathétique provient ici de la peinture d’efforts pénibles, incertains dans leur visée, toujours décevants, bien représentatifs de la vie déchirée de la pauvre Didon” (Perret). We may compare the epitaph composed for the queen by the anonymous Norman cleric who wrote the *Roman d’Enéas*: *Dydo qui por amor s’occist; | onques ne fu meilleur païene | s’elle n’eüst amor soutaine, | mais elle ama trop follement, | savours ne li valut neant* (2225–2229 Petit).

693 Tum Iuno omnipotens longum miserata dolorem

Tum: The temporal marker of the last scene of the book; cf. 114; 189; 222; 250; 520; 543; 622; 632. Servius read *tunc* here.

Iuno omnipotens: Only here and once more in the epic will this goddess be omnipotent. The key epithet has been subject to much criticism and debate, some of it speculative; cf. Austin's “Is the epithet Virgil's own comment on the inscrutability of the will of God?” The close of the book has been characterized rightly as a quiet diminution of tension after the almost unbearable drama of the preceding scenes of horror. But in fact the death of Dido that Juno secures here is more than an act of pity (*miserata*) by the divine patroness of Carthage. The death of Dido is the beginning of the curse on Aeneas and his descendants, the blood price of which was the queen's own life. By securing the death of Dido, Juno hastens the incarnation of the imprecations that Elissa had uttered against her Trojan *quondam* lover and his children: the snipping of the lock of Dido's hair that devotes her soul to the infernal powers will also secure the efficacy of her curse. Juno is omnipotent here because this is in an important sense her most powerful moment thus far in the epic; in the course of the dozen lines plus one of the end of this book, she masterfully ensures

untold harm for Aeneas and his Roman progeny. The end of the first third of the epic thus comes with a moment of Junonian power and success, just as the last third will reach a divine climax in the goddess' victory via the settlement of the Italian vs. Trojan cultural identity of the future Rome at her reconciliation to Jupiter (12.829 ff.). Pease found the epithet *omnipotens* to be "ironical ... when her plans have been completely frustrated"—but this is to miss the poet's point: the goddess has been all too successful, having secured a horrifying future for both Trojans and Romans, as outlined in both the rebirth of the *Iliad* in Italy in Books 7–12, and in the long course of the three future wars of Rome with Carthage. The death of Dido starts the clock ticking on the fulfillment of that destiny of horror and struggle, and the quiet end of the queen is the ominous beginning of ill for Aeneas and the *Aeneadae*. Servius identifies Juno here as either *pronuba* or *inferna*. But this is the goddess in her supreme character; any hint of the infernal Juno will be reflected in the reference to Proserpina at 698.

The "other" occasion for a reference to Juno's omnipotence is at 7.428 *ipsa palam fari omnipotens Saturnia iussit*, where the disguised fury Allecto addresses Turnus. The war in Italy is but the first, terrible fulfillment of Dido's curse via the arts of war.

For a study of the return of the goddess at the end of the book, note J.E. Phillips, "Juno in *Aeneid* 4.693–705," in *Vergilius* 23 (1977), 30–33 (with attention to the relevance of Juno's various functions and associations to the narrative of Dido's demise). For a consideration of the question of the aid goddesses render to mortals in the epic, see Binek 2018, 64 ff.

longum ... dolorem: In frame around the participle. The *longus dolor* here of the death struggle recalls 393; 419; 474; 679, 5.5–6, etc. Cf. Statius, *Silv.* 5.1.248.

miserata: An echo of Aeneas' words to Dido at 1.597 *o sola infandos Troiae miserata labores*. For the verb note also above at 318; 370; 435. *Iuno* and *miserata* are in second and penultimate position.

694 *difficilisque obitus Irim demisit Olympo*

ABAB chiastic sound pattern: *difficilis* / *obitus* / *demisit* / *Olympo*.

difficilisque: Significantly, the only other use of the adjective in the poem comes very close to the end of the next book, at 5.865 *difficilis quondam multorumque ossibus albos*, of the haunts of the Sirens. Dido dies at the end of this book; Palinurus is lost at the end of the next, continuing the pattern of the poet by which significant figures meet their doom at the close of books (Creüsa in 2; Anchises in 3, etc.).

obitus: Elsewhere in the epic only at 12.501 *diversas obitumque ducum ...*, of the many casualties of both Turnus and Aeneas. Both adjective and noun

thus recur 1× each. “Rare in poetry and still rarer when used in the plural for a single death” (MacLennan): the point may be to underscore how torturous an end this was. Lucretian; cf. *DRN* 3.847–848 *nec, si materiam nostram collegerit aetas / post obitum rursusque redegerit ut sita nunc est*; 952 *atque obitum lamentetur miser amplius aequo*; note the plural *obitus* at Propertius, c. 3.4.12 *ante meos obitus sit precor illa dies*; Statius, *Theb.* 2.117–119 ... *nec, ultra / fraternos inhiantem obitus sine fidere coeptis / fraudibus ...*; 7.693 *maestus et extremos oblitus inlustrat Apollo*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.769 ... *magnum obitus natumque domumque*; 8.10 *exitia indecoresque obitus!* ... See further Austin’s extended note here.

Irim: On the rainbow goddess vid. West on Hesiod, *Theog.* 266 and 784; S. Fasce in *EV* III, 22–24; P. Hardie in *VE* II, 665; Bailey 1935, 177–178; Kühn 1971, 76–83; 124–126; Smith 2005, 44–48; Fratantuono 2013b. This is her first appearance in the epic; her name is prominent at mid-verse. “A visitant surrounded by beauty and colour ...” (Tilly). Quintus has Athena send Iris to Aeolus to help to orchestrate the wrecking of the Greek fleet at *Post.* 14.467 ff., where see Carvounis. Juno’s Iris and not Jupiter’s Mercury will serve duty as a quasi-psychopomp to see to the death that will secure the curse on the *Aeneadae*. Dido and Turnus have affinities; the divine messenger will visit him at the start of Book 9.

demisit: The verb also at 268; 428. Cf. Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 9.551 *sic ait atque Irim demittit Olympo*; also Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.691 *et iam sidereo noctem demittit Olympo*.

Olympo: For Olympus see on 268.

695 quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus.

luctantem: This participial form recurs at 5.220–221 *te primum in scopulo luctantem deserit alto / Sergestum ...*, and at 11.755–756 ... *illa haud minus urget obunco / luctantem rostro ...*, in the simile describing Tarchon and his prey as an eagle and a serpent—a good example of parallelism between Books 5 and 11, and, in the case of the passage from the games, of an echo of the Dido tragedy during the comparatively peaceful Sicilian sojourn. Otherwise note *luctantis* at 1.53, of the struggling winds; 12.781 *luctans*, of Aeneas as he struggles to retrieve his spear from Faunus’ oak before his mother’s divine intervention—an interesting parallel case of Aeneas and Dido both struggling before divine intervention, with the cutting of Dido’s lock by Iris analogous to the freeing of the spear from the Latin oak. Finite forms of the verb occur at 6.643 *contendunt ludo et fulva luctantur harena*, of the souls in Elysium; and at 12.387–388 *saevit et infracta luctatur harundine / eripere ...*, of the wounded Aeneas as he struggles (again, before his mother’s ultimate intervention to heal him): twice, then, with reference to Aeneas, the prime target of Dido’s curse. La Cerda realized that the

metaphor here was athletic, from the world of the *palaestra* (cf. the forthcoming games, which are memorial competitions for Anchises, though eerily they fall just after the death of Dido).

animam: Vid. Negri 1984, 42; 272. *Animam* in sound pattern and balance with *artus*, as the description proceeds from the intangible to the tangible.

nexosque: In framing order with *artus*. The verb in finite form at 239, in a very different context. Significantly, it occurs participially in only one other passage in the epic: cf. 7.66–67 ... *et pedibus per mutua nexis / examen subitum ramo frondente pependit*, of the portentous bees that alight on Latinus' laurel. The bees on the laurel have intertwined feet; the "incomplete bee" Elissa will have her limbs released.

resolveret: Echoed at 703 *solvo*, of Iris' act of liberation. The verb here recalls 27 *ante, Pudor, quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo*—thus closing a great ring from the queen's first address in the book, as she made her vow before her sister of how she would invite being cast down to the lower world before she would break her vow to Pudor. The language is Lucretian: cf. *DRN* 2.950 *vitales animae nodos a corpore solvit*, again with the image of the soul utterly caught up with and intertwined with the body—like the limbs of the bees as they hang on the laurel.

We may compare here the description of Camilla at 11.828–829 ... *tum frigida toto / paulatim exsolvit se corpore ...*

artus: The noun also at 336 and 385; here there is a strong echo of the first occurrence, where Aeneas had pledged that he would remember Elissa always, *dum spiritus hos regit artus*; and, too, of the second, in Dido's threat to Aeneas that she would haunt him even from beyond the grave, *cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus*—a horrifying tricolon of references to *artus*. The line is thus powerfully balanced, with a pair of references; Henry complicates matters by taking the *nexus ... artus* of the whole, thus spoiling the effect of the delicate interplay between soul and body. The loosening of the limbs spells freedom for the soul; cf. 6.734, with its reference to the *caeco corpore* or dark prison, as it were, of the body.

696 **nam quia nec fato merita nec morte peribat,**

The beginning of an explanation for why Proserpina had not yet taken a lock of the queen's hair, or consigned her soul to Orcus, with two balanced negative clauses (*nec ... nec*) following on the similar double pattern of 695 and the following 697 and 699.

fato: The point here is an important and powerfully expressed sentiment, given that much emphasis has been placed throughout the Dido drama on the machinations of the immortals—from Cupid and Venus in Book 1 to Juno,

Venus, and Jupiter (not without Mercury and now with Iris) in Book 4. Dido's suicide was her own choice; it was fated, if one imagines that everything has been preordained in advance—but Dido had no knowledge of this, and her stabbing herself on the pyre was forced by no god. Therefore she has not died *fato*, but rather by a violent exercise of her own free will. The comment here is on suicide; Williams is right in following Irvine, Butler, Pease et al. in emphasizing this point against the metaphysical considerations that have plagued the passage since Servius. The detail is important precisely because of how much the gods have been involved in the action of the first third of the epic; the queen is a dread foe of Aeneas now in part because of her willingness to die as a blood sacrifice in furtherance of her curse on him and his line. Horace has *deliberata morte ferocior* of Cleopatra (cf. 1.37.29); Egypt's queen seemed *ferocior* in part because she cheated Octavian of the pleasure of having her displayed in his triumph. The only complication here is that like Antony and not Cleopatra, Dido botched her suicide—and so it will be for *Iuno omnipotens* to see to hastening the demise and thereby ushering in the fruit of the suicide, the curse on Troy and Rome.

merita nec morte: Balancing *fato*. The death was not in accord with fate because it was a suicide; it was also not a death that was merited. Here three previous occurrences of *mereri* in the book are recalled: 317 *si bene de te merui*, of Dido's question to Aeneas; 611 *accipite haec, meritumque malis advertite numen*, of Dido's appeal to powers both heavenly and infernal to hear her prayer—and especially 547 *quin morere ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem*, of Dido's self-reflection on how she deserves to die and is to avert her sorrow by the sword. One note may be made here *ab initio*: with Sychaeus' shade or not, the underworld Dido inhabits the *Lugentes campi* (6.441): she has not, after all, averted her *dolor* by her suicide, and she is forever consigned to the Fields of Mourning. She was wrong, then, about the second part of her statement. As for the first and the question of deserving to die—the authorial comment here would seem to call into question the veracity of that statement as well. *Merita nec morte* coordinates closely with *fato*: Dido did not die a death in battle, for example, as will Camilla; her death was not earned by the traditional heroic struggles that accompany the fate of heroes and heroines. In this she stands apart from Mezentius; Turnus; and especially her female comparand Camilla; cf. 11.891ff. of the Latin women who are inspired to fight with ardent love of country on account of the example of the Volscian (891 *monstrat amor verus patriae, ut videre Camillam*; 895 ... *primaeque mori pro moenibus ardent*). We may think too of how there was no great battle for Alexandria; the long near-year from Actium to the suicides of Cleopatra and Antony was not marked by military glory.

Significantly, the language here recurs but once in the epic, and in the context of the *Camilliad*: cf. 11.848–849 *nam quicumque tuum violavit vulnere corpus / morte luet merita ...*, of the promise of Diana's nymph Opis in the wake of Camilla's death about the vengeance that will be taken on Arruns, the shadowy doublet of Aeneas. He earned his death because he had slain Camilla; Dido has not earned her death, because she has slain herself. The author here makes another judgment on the queen, as he had done at 172; there is a contradiction of what Dido had said at 547, since both parts of her statement there are proven in the end to be false. As Mackail argues, Dido's death "is not a *merita mors* in the sense of taking one's wages when one's wordly task is done"; we recall here the queen's *résumé* at 653 ff. before her stabbing, and the more laconic, heroic Camilla at 11.823 *hactenus, Anna soror, potui ...*

The Jesuit commentator Ruaeus provides a different analysis here of "triplex ... genus mortis," distinguishing between natural death; death as just deserts for sin or intemperance; and death that falls into neither of the other categories.

peribat: The verb here echoes 496–497 ... *lectumque iugalem, / quo perii ...*, from Dido's instructions about the pyre and the artifacts to be placed thereon. The imperfect is conative and durative, of the hard dying of the suffering queen.

697 *sed misera ante diem subitoque accensa furore,*

misera: Cf. 315; 420; 429; 1.344; 719; 117 *miserrima*. In second position, balanced by *accensa* in penultimate. Cf. *miserata* of Juno at 693.

ante diem: Coordinate with 696 *nec fato*: the death by suicide is a death before her appointed day. The language here echoes 620 *sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena*, in Dido's wish for Aeneas; the only other occurrence of the phrase in the epic is at 1.374 *ante diem clauso componet Vesper Olympo*, as Aeneas tells his disguised mother how long it will take before he finishes his story.

subitoque: In framing order with madness around *accensa*. The adjective elsewhere in the book only at 571 ... *subitis exterritus umbris*, of Aeneas' reaction to the dream apparition of Mercury. The appropriateness of speaking of "sudden" rage or frenzy has been questioned; Pease notes that it has not been so very long "in actual days" and "the time since the sailing of the fleet ... which terminated her last hopes ..." But the principal point of the phrase is to prepare for 12.946 ... *furiis accensus et ira*: the final books of the first and last thirds of the epic have the same language at almost the same point near the end (eight lines from the last here, six lines there) to describe being set on fire with rage and madness; here it is said that the queen's *furor* was sudden, and in the case of Aeneas with Turnus it comes only after he gazes

on Pallas' *balteus*—a sudden reaction after he had begun to consider sparing his foe (12.939–941). See further here Newman and Newman 2005, 129–130; 165.

accensa: Fire imagery is employed for a final time, with a reminder here of the flames of the pyre. Cf. 364 ... *et sic accensa profatur*, of Dido with Aeneas; indeed Juno at 1.29; cf. also 5.4. The related passage 4.376 *Furiis incensa* lurks here too; cf. 12.946.

furore: The last mention of madness in the book; cf. the noun also at 101; 495; 501. Juxtaposed with *accensa*, to powerful effect: flames and fury.

698 *nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem*

nondum: The Palatine has *necdum*, in mistaken reading of the construction.

flavum: In framing order with *crinem*. For the color see Edgeworth 1992, 128–130 (and cf. Syed 2005, 99); the echo here is of 590 *flaventisque abscissa comas*, as the queen tore her blond hair in prefigurement of what Iris will do in this scene; cf. also 559, of the hair color of the dream apparition of Mercury.

Proserpina: For the goddess see I. Colombo in *EV* IV, 324–327; R. Uccellini in *VE* III, 1048; Boyancé 1963, 160–162; Fratantuono 2012 (with extensive commentary on all her appearances in the poem); Bailey 1935, 251ff. on how Persephone retained her mythology, never becoming a mere figure of folklore like Orcus and other underworld bogeys. We recall that Proserpina was the *Iuno inferna*, and so the mention of her here in a death context follows naturally on 693 *Iuno omnipotens*: three goddess converge in this passage. For the semantic connection of her name with *proserpere* vid. Paschalis 1997, 213; cf. Varro, fr. 140 Funaioli.

vertice: For the noun cf. 152; 168; 247; 445; the echo here is of Catullus, c. 66.39 *invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi*, of Berenice's apologetic lock. Shades here too of the story of Scylla and Nisus' fateful hair.

crinem: The (in)famous lock of hair, recalling the emphasis on the adornment of the queen's tresses for the hunt at 138 above, and intertextually the Callimachean/Catullan lock of Berenice's hair, all pointing toward 6.460. The act of snipping the hair from the dying as a token of consecration to underworld deities is famously referenced in Euripides' *Alcestis* (72–76), where it is not Persephone, but rather Thanatos (cf. 699 *Orco*) who performs the act. This custom may be referenced at Horace, c. 1.28.19–20 ... *nullum / saeva caput Proserpina fugit* (where see Nisbet and Hubbard, and Mayer), though the parallel is not exact, and the Horatian passage need not refer to the snipping of hair; note also Statius, *Silv.* 2.147 *iam complexa manu crinem tenet infera Iuno*, probably in imitation of this passage. If Euripides borrowed the idea of Thanatos'

snipping a lock of a dying person's hair from Phrynichus' *Alcestis*, and if Phrynichus invented the whole conceit, then perhaps we may wonder if Virgil conjured the idea of having Proserpina be responsible for the deed in the case of Dido's death. Macrobius (*Sat.* 5.19.2) mentions the view of Cornutus that Virgil invented the whole ritual, citing Euripides to refute him. The same idea of devoting someone or something to the infernal powers via the snipping or plucking of hair may be seen at 6.245–246 *et summas carpens media inter cornua saetas / ignibus imponit sacris ...*

Dido's golden lock of hair is a prefiguration of the Golden Bough, another offering associated with Proserpina (cf. 6.142–143 *hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus / instituit ...*). The queen's blond hair is the requisite token for her admission to the lower world; the Bough will be Aeneas' for his successful underworld descent and return. Juno hastens the securing of the lock; Venus the finding of the Bough. "The lock at the end of IV foreshadows the Bough of VI. The Bough is an offering for Proserpina, which is left fixed at the entrance to the goddess' Tartarean abode, which the Sibyl and Aeneas do not enter (VI, 635–637) ... The Golden Bough is thus in Aeneas' and the Sibyl's possession during the encounter with Dido's shade; the pattern is therefore 1) the lock is cut, 2) the Bough is found, 3) [the shade of] Dido is encountered, 4) the Bough is deposited (VI, 637 *perfecto munere divae*) ... Proserpina did not oversee the cutting of the lock, and she is not present for the deposit of the Bough ... Juno facilitated the former, and Venus the latter ..." (Fratantuono 2012, 426–427). See further here too J. Hejduk, "The Bough and the Lock: Fighting Fate in the *Aeneid*," in *ICS* 38 (2013), 149–157.

Echoed here is *G.* 4.486–487 *redditaque Eurydice superas veniebat ad auras / pone sequens (namque hanc dederat Proserpina legem)*, of the prescription laid down for the successful Orphic rescue of his dead wife. There is also a hint of the golden lock of Achilles that was shorn off for the dead Patroclus at *Il.* 23.140 ff. That lock had been vowed to the river Spercheios by Peleus for his son's safe return; Achilles, knowing he is to die at Troy, gives it as a token for his slain friend to bear to the underworld. We may recall too the lament of Andromache over the dead Astyanax at Euripides, *Troad.* 1182 ff.; note also the severed locks of tawny hair at Euripides, *Elect.* 515.

699 *abstulerat Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.*

abstulerat: Cf. 28–29 *ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores / abstulit ...*, of Dido's recollection of Sychaeus; the verb also at 389. Two powerful pluperfects anchor the verse; each is followed by a proper name of death, with Dido's head in the middle. The language here will be echoed with reference to the death of Pallas: cf. 11.28 *abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo.*

Stygioque: Echoing 638–639 *sacra Iovi Stygio, quae rite incepta paravi, | perficere animus est ...*, in Dido's deceptive remarks to Anna about the completion of the rites for Stygian Jove. The adjective in framing order here with *Orco*.

damnaverat: The verb also at 6.430 *hos iuxta falso damnati crimine mortis; 12.727 quem damnet labor et quo vergat pondere letum*, in the description of Jupiter's weighing in the balance of the fates of Aeneas and Turnus.

caput: Cf. the language of the queen's curse at 612–613 ... *si tangere portus / infandum caput ac terris adnare necesse est*.

Orco: Vid. G. Casertano in *EV* III, 878–879; L. Fratantuono in *VE* III, 941; Bailey 1935, 251–252; Fratantuono and Smith on 8.296. “Stygian Orcus” = Thanatos, here referenced probably as a nod to Euripides' *Alcestris*. Orcus may be a mere poetic synonym for Dis/Pluto (cf. Iris' words at 702–703 below); fittingly enough in Greek and Roman religion and folklore Death was always a shadowy figure, and his conflation here with Proserpina's underworld lord is easy enough to countenance. Proserpina had not yet executed her ritual attendance to the lock of hair of the devoted dead, because Dido's suicide had resulted in a death *ante diem*, etc. Dido is a sacrificial victim, and her death is being offered in order to ensure the fulfillment of her curse; the heavenly Juno will hasten the matter, in lieu of the infernal. The golden lock of Dido's hair is needed to facilitate the loosing of her soul in death and the resultant efficacy of her imprecation that her demise will purchase; the Golden Bough will be offered as a token to allow Aeneas to visit his father's shade, and to see to the unfolding of the future history of Rome. The mention of Orcus relates also to the question of oaths (Orcus/Horcus), with connection to the queen's broken vow to remain faithful to Sychaeus.

700 **ergo Iris croceis per caelum roscida pinnis**

ergo: The language of logic and explanation: Juno and Iris must see to what Proserpina has not yet accomplished. With Juno and Iris in the death scene of Dido cf. Diana and Opis for Camilla.

Iris: In ABAB arrangement with *roscida* and *croceis ... pinnis*.

croceis: Alliterative with *caelum*, in balanced, interlocking chiasmic sound pattern with *per ... pennis*. For the color vid. Edgeworth 1992, 122–123; the echo here is of 585, as Aurora left the saffron bed of Tithonus on this momentous morning. In frame with *pinnis*. This is the last color of the book that is explicitly referenced, before the chromatic explosion in the next verse with its thousand hues. A splendid kaleidoscope to accompany the death of a queen and the beginning of countless ills for Troy and Rome. Cf. 5.604ff., where Juno and the colorful Iris will work together again in the matter of the attempted

burning of the Trojan ships: the quasi-fulfillment of one of the horrors that Dido had envisioned for Aeneas. Rainbow imagery will recur soon enough too at 5.88–89, in the description of the serpent that suddenly glides out at Anchises' *tumulus*; see Newman and Newman 2005, 268 for Dido's conflict with Anchises. "The color of light" (Conington). The color recalls also that of Helen's ominous veil from 1.649; *croceus* is also connected with the Bough (6.207) and Camilla's target Chloereus (11.775). See further here Johnson 1976, 66 ff.

caelum: Echoing the *caelum* where Dido sought the light at 691–692.

roscida: This evocative adjective occurs elsewhere in the epic only at 7.683–684 ... *et roscida rivis / Hernica saxa colunt* ...; cf. *E.* 4.30; 8.37; *G.* 3.337. An image of dew in what is implicitly a sanguinary context given the queen's wounds; cf. the explicit linkage of *ros* and *sanguis* at 8.645 and 11.8. Here there may be a hint of purification and lustration; see further Boedeker 1984, 64; Heuzé 1985, 105–106; G. Crevatin in *EV* IV, 577–579. It is not just after dawn any more, but it is also not far into the morning, we might think.

pinnis: Cf. 223, of Mercury's wings (the action of Juno's avatar now balancing Jupiter's).

"The supernatural beauty of the rainbow brings a calm serenity to these closing scenes ..." (Williams). True enough, though rainbow imagery in the epic is decidedly ominous (vid. here L. Fratantuono in *VE* III, 1067); the meteorological associations of the bow with storms presages the tempest that will assail the Trojan fleet at the very opening of Book 5 (the first books of the first two thirds of the epic thus depicting storms at sea afflicting the Trojans, crowned with the threat of fire against the fleet at the start of 9). Cf. Monro *ad Il.* 17.547, who comments on the baleful nature of the rainbow in the Greek conception. To add to the sinister imagery, Virgil's Iris here recalls Apollonius' Medea, who cuts her own lock of hair as an offering at *Arg.* 4.28 ff.; on this intertext see Nelis 2001, 170–171. R. Thomas in Stahl 1998, 291–292 draws perceptive associations between the Iris-Dido scene and the fate of Turnus. Quintus' Penthesilea is also compared to a rainbow at *Post.* 1.62 ff. Note also *Il.* 22.198 ff., where it is Iris who goes to the winds in answer to the prayer of Achilles that the pyre of Patroclus might swiftly be consumed.

701 mille trahens varios adverso sole colores

This verse is echoed at 5.89 *mille iacit varios adverso sole colores*, of the serpent on Anchises' grave; cf. also 5.609–610 ... *per mille coloribus arcum / nulli visa cito decurrit tramite virgo*. "A thousand colors" frame the line: "Trailing her thousand shifting hues against the sun, a beautiful line" (Sigdwick); cf. Schiller's *Jetzt also kam, in tausendfarbnem Bogen, / Der Sonne gegenüber ...*

trahens: The verb also at 101 *ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem*. The participle describes well the long, colorful course of the goddess' path across the sky.

varios: In frame with *colores* around the mention of the sun. Cf. 202; 286; 564. The language is Lucretian (*DRN* 2.783; 4.492); cf. *E.* 4.42 *nec varios discet mentiri lana colores*, of the state of wool in the Golden Age; *G.* 1.451–452 ... *nam saepe videmus | ipsius in vultu varios errare colores*, in the account of weather signs.

adverso sole: "Rainbows always appear in the quarter of the sky opposite to that in which the sun is" (Tilly). Meteorological accuracy, then: cf. Servius' "bene naturalem rem expressit; Iris enim nisi e regione solis non fit, cui varios colores illa dat res, quia aqua tenuis, aër lucidus, et nubes caligantes inradiata varios creant colores." The odd variant *adversa luce* of several witnesses may be on account of lack of understanding of the science, though the same textual issue does not recur at the parallel 5.89. Light may have been on the copyist's mind because of 692 *lucem*, and the general context of Dido's leaving the light.

colores: See here Edgeworth 1992, 120–121; the echo is of 558 above, of the complexion of the dream apparition of Mercury.

702 **devolat et supra caput adstitit. "hunc ego Diti**

devolat: The verb only here in Virgil; it echoes 694 *demisit*, of Juno's action. In framing dental alliteration with *Diti*. The first of two verbs to describe Iris' rapid action, to balance the two pluperfects of 699. The goddess moves swiftly, as we might expect; at once she has flown down from Olympus, leaving a colorful trail behind her; the present tense *devolat* correlates closely with the perfect *adstitit* of the completed action, as Iris stands above the head of the dying queen.

supra: Cf. 240, with reference to Mercury. The adverb is coordinate with the preceding verbal prefix.

caput: Echoing 699.

adstitit: Austin notes the pause after the verb, late in the verse and both "unusual and effective." Cf. 1.301 *adstitit*, of Mercury on arrival in Carthage.

hunc: Deictic and in prominent position, and in hypermetric enjambment with 703 *sacrum*; Iris is now grasping the fateful blond lock of the young queen's hair, which is a quasi-mystical token of entry into another world, a prefigurement of the Golden Bough. In a book of so many speeches and addresses, it will be Juno's avatar Iris who has the final word.

ego: Juxtaposed with the lock she now grasps, and in hypermetric frame with *iussa* around the offering for Dis. "The basic semantic components of Iris are Separation and Division, of which conflict and strife may be the outcome" (Paschalis 1997, 179, with reference to this passage and comparison of the rain-

bow goddess' epiphany to Turnus at the opening of Book 9). *Ego* is followed by the two first-person verbs of 703: a powerful pair of declarations of Juno's messenger.

Diti: For Dis see above on 638 *Iovi Stygio*. Note Paschalis 1997, 174–175 on the possible semantic reference to Dis as wealthy, with connection to the rich Dido who was concerned with gold and finery. The mention of Dis echoes the god's importance to the narrative of Orpheus' loss of Eurydice (cf. *G.* 4.467–470; 517–520). *Diti* at line-end balances 699 ... *Orco*.

The first deities referenced in the book were Phoebus and Aurora in connection to the fateful dawn of 6–7; the last is the god of the underworld, whose offering will be secured by the goddess of the rainbow who now appears, as it were, after the (metaphorical) tempest.

703 **sacrum iussa fero teque isto corpore solvo.**"

sacrum: Another alliterative frame for the verse, this time quietly sibilant after the harsher dental pattern of the previous verse. The *sacrum* is the lock of blond hair that will be snipped from the queen's head. For the adjective cf. 454; 485; and especially 638 *sacra Iovi Stygio*. "Emphatic, both in its position and because it stands alone with no run-over to the second foot" (Austin).

iussa: A reminder of Juno's role in the whole affair, and an echo of the commands of Jupiter that Mercury had been ordered to bring to Aeneas (the *horrida iussa* of which Dido spoke at 378). *Iussa* and *fero* of Iris in frame around *teque* of Dido.

fero: Cf. Mercury at 270 *ipse haec ferre iubet celeris mandata per auras*. Iris may recall how she has been ordered to carry out this task, but there is a strong emphasis on her personal involvement (702 *ego*; the two balanced present tense first person verbs of this verse), which recalls the personal decision of Dido to kill herself.

teque: In contrast to 702 *ego* of Iris.

isto corpore: Not without a hint of contempt for the dying body as opposed to that which will be freed therefrom; Austin points out that Iris speaks as a goddess would with respect to a pitiful mortal, especially one whose body has been so racked by her death agonies. The elision plays neatly with the meaning; Iris will separate the *te* and the *isto* that are currently joined.

solvo: Echoing 695 *resolveret*. The last spoken word of the book, as the goddess sends the wandering Dido on another journey (cf. 1.755–756, where Dido's words to Aeneas about his own wanderings at 755 *errores* and 756 *errantem* recall the etymological connection of the queen's own title).

704 sic ait et dextra crinem secat. omnis et una

sic ait: The formula 6× elsewhere in the epic (1.142 (Neptune); 2.296 (Hector's ghost); 3.189 (Anchises); 5.365 (Aeneas); 9.749 and 11.520 (Turnus)). *Sic* in sound balance with *secat*, in a second pair of sibilant sounds after 703 *sacrum ... solvo*. The conclusion of the goddess' words happened at one and the same moment as the cutting of the queen's *crinem*. Words and then action.

dextra: Iris' right hand as it severs the lock of hair recalls the right hand of Aeneas that Dido alleges was given as if in marriage: cf. 307–308 *nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam / nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?* and 314 ... *per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te*. Cf. also 60 *ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido*, of the queen during the sacrificial rites with her sister; also 104; 579. *Dextra* and *secat* in frame around *crinem*, as the goddess' right hand cuts the lock.

crinem: As at 698. The fateful lock is positioned at midverse. Again, Dido's hair will be allusively recalled at 6.460 *invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi*, in the brilliant reworking of Catullus' Callimachean allusion to Berenice's lock for Aeneas' ineffectual attempt to convince Dido's shade of his innocence or at least reduced, mitigated culpability.

secat: The verb also at 257, of Mercury's flight as he cut through the winds. The guttural alliteration after *sic* and *crinem* enacts the cutting. "The pause is in the same position as in 702, but is less well marked" (Austin).

omnis et una: The commencement of an enjambed description of the moment of the young queen's death, with *omnis* reflecting the totality of the departure of what warmth remained in her body, and *una* the simultaneity of the end of the *calor* and the going off of her life into the winds. It happened instantly with the severing of the fateful lock; *omnis* is effectively juxtaposed after the crucial verb.

705 dilapsus calor atque in ventos vita recessit.

The verse is framed by two words of like semantic register. Henry's epilogue on Dido is deserving of the immortality Austin conferred on it. The queen's serious metaphorical wound and her death in the wake of her physical injury frame the book. For the possible Lucretian seal on the end of the book, see Gorey 2021, 90–91; such an Epicurean coda would accord with the same sort of reading for the close of Book 6 suggested by L. Fratantuono, "A Brief Reflection on the Gates of Sleep," in *Latomus* 66.3 (2007), 628–635; cf. the song of Iopas toward the end of Book 1.

dilapsus: Only here in the epic; cf. *G.* 4.410 ... *aut in aquas tenuis dilapsus abibit*, of Proteus; the grisly 3.357 in the description of the cattle plague at Noricum.

calor: The metaphorical fire of the queen's passion was manifested finally in the all too real flames of her pyre; now it is reduced in the end to the quickly fading warmth from her dying body. The noun occurs but four times in the epic; cf. 3.308 *deriguit visu in medio, calor ossa reliquit*, in the reaction of Andromache at Hector's cenotaph to the sight of Aeneas and the Trojans; 8.390 *intravit calor et labefacta per ossa cucurrit*, of Vulcan as he is seduced by Venus; and 9.475 ... *et subitus miserae calor ossa reliquit*, of Euryalus' mother in her awareness of the loss of her son. Three passages of the loss of *calor*; one of its entrance. In *calor* there is a verbal echo of *color*, as Iris does her fateful work.

in ventos vita recessit: We may compare here the death lines of three more youthful dead in the poem: 10.819–820 ... *tum vita per auras / concessit maesta ad Manis corpusque reliquit*, of Lausus, and 11.831/12.952 *vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras*, of Camilla and Turnus (joined in their respective ends by the same verse). For *vita* here of the breath of life vid. Negri 1984, 74–75; 273; 282. “Virgil, when describing death or unconsciousness, shows supreme skill in these dying cadences” (Irvine). *Ventos vita* in a final case of alliteration, with a “gentle” (Williams) frame of *calor ... recessit*. The life of Juno's mortal avatar recedes into the winds, i.e., into the same natural force the goddess used to harass the Trojans at the start of the epic. A rounding off, then, as the first third of the poem draws to a close that is both quiet and damning; the damage that Juno secures in these last thirteen lines is considerable, as the work she began in Book 1 concludes in ways both unforeseen and eminently successful.

recessit: The verb only here in the book; cf. 11.653–654 *illa etiam, si quando in tergum pulsa recessit, / spicula converso fugientia derigit arcu*, in the description of Camilla's quasi-Parthian tactics. “Et vitam infelix multo cum sanguine fudit” (the Ovidian scholiast).

The death of Dido in the final verse of the book is echoed in the parallel case of Turnus at the end of Book 12; the only other such instance in the epic = 10.908 *undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore*, of the bloody death of Mezentius. Dido's death at the close of Book 4 is also echoed in the depiction of the doomed Cleopatra on the shield of Aeneas near the end of Book 8: Books 4, 8, and 12 bring to an end the three respective acts of the epic. The quiet close of this book is followed at once by 5.1, where Aeneas is on his own journey through the seas, profoundly troubled as he looks back at the fire and smoke visible from the walls of Carthage—so strikingly different a scene from the dying *calor* of this line. The *caecus ignis* of 4.2 referred to the young queen's metaphorical burning with passion for Aeneas; that fire and heat has now left Dido's body, with Iris providing in the end an escape from the flames of love. The goddess Iris is the rainbow that has come after the internal storm of the queen's passion (and we recall the storm that accompanied the consummation of her ill-fated

union); the all too real tempest at the beginning of Book 5 is but the first manifestation of the results of the successful sacrifice ritual, by which the queen's head has been damned to Orcus so as to ensure the horrifying incarnation of her dread imprecation on Aeneas and his children.

So ends the first third of the epic, with Juno omnipotent, and with her double-edged action with her rainbow avatar Iris having secured as many future troubles and horrors for the *Aeneadae* as there were colors in the goddess' heavenly trail: compassion for the suffering Dido serves only to hasten the fulfillment of the savage imprecations of Act III of the tragedy of *Aeneid* 4. The epic will close with a similarly victorious Juno, secure and happy in her knowledge that the future Rome will be Italian and not Trojan in *sermo* and *mores*, and with the rage of the goddess and her mortal comparand Elissa having been taken up by the Trojan hero Aeneas.

Bibliography

- Abbe 1965 = Abbe, E. *The Plants of Virgil's Georgics*. Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press, 1965.
- Adams 1982 = Adams, J. *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*. London: Duckworth, 1982.
- Adema 2019 = Adema, S. *Tenses in Vergil's Aeneid*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2019.
- Adler 2003 = Adler, E. *Vergil's Empire*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003.
- Anderson 1969 = Anderson, W. *The Art of the Aeneid*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969.
- Antoine 1882 = Antoine, F. *De casuum syntaxi vergiliana*. Paris: Libraire C. Klincksieck, 1882.
- Armstrong 2019 = Armstrong, R. *Vergil's Green Thoughts: Plants, Humans, and the Divine*. Oxford, 2019.
- D. Armstrong et al. 2004 = Armstrong, D. et al., eds., *Vergil, Philodemus, and the Augustans*. Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2004.
- D. Armstrong and McOsker 2020 = Armstrong, D., and McOsker, M., eds. *Philodemus, On Anger ...* Atlanta, Georgia: SBL Press, 2020.
- Ash 2007 = Ash, R. *Tacitus: Histories II*. Cambridge, 2007.
- Asso 2010 = Asso, P. *A Commentary on Lucan, De Bello Civili IV*. Berlin-New York, Walter de Gruyter, 2010.
- Augoustakis 2010 = Augoustakis, A., ed. *Brill's Companion to Silius Italicus*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2010.
- Austin 1955 = Austin, R. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus*. Oxford, 1955.
- Austin 1964 = Austin, R. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Secundus*. Oxford, 1964.
- Austin 1971 = Austin, R. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Primus*. Oxford, 1971.
- Austin 1977 = Austin, R. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Sextus*. Oxford, 1977.
- Bailey 1935 = Bailey, C. *Religion in Virgil*. Oxford, 1935.
- Bardon and Verdière 1971 = Bardon, H., and Verdière, R., eds. *Vergiliana: Recherches sur Virgile*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971.
- Barrington = Talbert, J., ed. *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*. Princeton, 2000.
- Barsby 1999 = Barsby, J. *Terence: Eunuchus*. Cambridge, 1999.
- Bartelink 1965 = Bartelink, G. *Etymologiseren bij Vergilius*. Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandse Uitgevers, 1965.
- Basson 1975 = Basson, W. *Pivotal Catalogues in the Aeneid*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakker, 1975.
- Baudou and Clément-Tarantino 2015 = Baudou, A., and Clément-Tarantino, S. *Servius: À l'école de Virgile*. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2015.

- Beghini 2020 = Beghini, G. *Il latino colloquiale nell'Eneide: Approfondimenti sull' arte poetica di Virgilio*. Bologna: Pàtron Editore, 2020.
- Bell 1923 = Bell, A. *The Latin Dual ...* Oxford, 1923.
- Bender 1994 = "De Habitu Vestis: Clothing in the *Aeneid*," in Sebesta, J., and Bonfante, L., eds., *The World of Roman Costume*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1994, 146–152.
- Benoist 1869 = Benoist, E. *Les œuvres de Virgile: Énéide, Livres I–VI*. Paris: Libraire Hachette, 1869.
- Beringer 1932 = Beringer, L. *Die Kultwörter bei Vergil*. Dissertation Erlangen, 1932.
- Bernstein 2018 = Bernstein, N. *Silius Italicus, Punica 2*. Oxford, 2018.
- Biggs 2020 = Biggs, T. *Poetics of the First Punic War*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2020.
- Binder 2000 = Binder, G., ed. *Dido und Aeneas: Vergils Dido-Drama und Aspekte seiner Rezeption*. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2000.
- Binder 2019 = Binder, G. *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis ...* Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2019.
- Binder and Binder 2001 = Binder, E., and Binder, G., eds. *Vergil: Aeneis, 3. und 4. Buch*. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 2001.
- Binek 2018 = Binek, N. *The Poetic Darkness of Aphrodite and Its Reception in Vergil's Aeneid*. Dissertation Cornell, 2018.
- Block 1981 = Block, E. *The Effects of Divine Manifestation on the Reader's Perspective in Vergil's Aeneid*. Salem, New Hampshire: Ayer Company, 1981.
- Blonk 1947 = Blonk, A. *Vergilius en het Landschap*. Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1947.
- Boas 1938 = Boas, H. *Aeneas' Arrival in Latium*. Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers, 1938.
- Bocciolini Palagi 2007 = Bocciolini Palagi, L. *La trottola di Dioniso: motivi dionisiaci nel VII libro dell'Eneide*. Bologna: Patròn, 2007.
- Boedeker 1974 = Boedeker, D. *Aphrodite's Entry into Greek Epic*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974.
- Boedeker 1984 = Boedeker, D. *Descent from Heaven: Images of Dew in Greek Poetry and Religion*. Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1984.
- Bömer 1969–2006 = Bömer, F. *P. Ovidius Naso: Metamorphosen*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 1969–2006.
- Bouquet 2001 = Bouquet, J. *Le songe dans l' épopée latine d'Ennius à Claudien*. Bruxelles: Éditions Latomus, 2001.
- Bowie 1998 = "Exuvias effigiemque: Dido, Aeneas, and the Body as Sign," in Montserrat 1998, 57–79.
- Boyancé 1963 = Boyancé, P. *La religion de Virgile*. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1963.
- Boyle 2019 = Boyle, A. *Seneca: Agamemnon*. Oxford, 2019.
- Bourquin 2019 = Bourquin, C. *Humor in der Aeneis ...* Berlin: Frank & Timme GmbH, 2019.

- Boyle 1986 = Boyle, A. *The Chaonian Dove: Studies in the Eclogues, Georgics, and Aeneid of Virgil*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986.
- Boyle 2014 = Boyle, A. *Seneca: Medea*. Oxford, 2014.
- Bradley 2009 = Bradley, M. *Colour and Meaning in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge, 2009.
- Brescia 2012 = Brescia, G. *Anna soror e le altre coppie di sorelle nella letteratura latina*. Bologna: Pàtron, 2012.
- Bright and Ramage 1984 = Bright, D., and Ramage, E., eds. *Classical Texts and their Tradition ...* Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1984.
- Briggs 1980 = Briggs, W. *Narrative and Simile from the Georgics in the Aeneid*. Leiden: Brill, 1980.
- Brill 1972 = Brill, A. *Die Gestalt der Camilla bei Vergil*. Heidelberg, 1972.
- Briscoe 1973 = Briscoe, J. *A Commentary on Livy, Books xxxi–xxxiii*. Oxford, 1973.
- Briscoe 1981 = Briscoe, J. *A Commentary on Livy, Books xxxiv–xxxvii*. Oxford, 1981.
- Briscoe 2008 = Briscoe, J. *A Commentary on Livy, Books 38–40*. Oxford, 2008.
- Briscoe 2012 = Briscoe, J. *A Commentary on Livy, Books 41–45*. Oxford, 2012.
- Brown 1987 = Brown, R. *Lucretius on Love and Sex*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987.
- Bruck 1993 = Bruck, S. *Labor in Vergils Aeneis*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993.
- Brugnoli 1992 = “Anna Perenna,” in G. Brugnoli and F. Stok, eds., *Ovidius παραφράσεις*. Pisa: ETS Editrice, 21–45.
- Bryce 1974 = “The Dido-Aeneas Relationship: A Re-examination,” in *CW* 67.5 (1974), 257–269.
- Buchheit 1963 = Buchheit, V. *Vergil über die Sendung Roms*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1963.
- Burbridge 2009 = “Dido, Anna, and the Sirens (Vergil, *Aeneid* 4.437 ss.)” in *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 62 (2009), 105–128.
- Burden 1998 = Burden, M., ed. *A Woman Scorn'd: Responses to the Dido Myth*. London: Faber & Faber, 1998.
- Buscaroli 1932 = Buscaroli, C. *Il libro di Didone: Testo con traduzione a fronte seguito da ampio commento interpretativo ed estetico*. Milano-Genova-Roma-Napoli: Società Anonima Editrice Dante Alighieri, 1932.
- Butler 1935 = Butler, H. *The Fourth Book of Virgil's Aeneid*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1935.
- Cairns 1989 = Cairns, F. *Virgil's Augustan Epic*. Cambridge, 1989.
- Cairo 2021 = Cairo, M. *Dioses y hombres en la Eneida de Virgilio: Un estudio del discurso profético*. Buenos Aires: Miño y Dávila Editores, 2021.
- Campbell 2003 = Campbell, G. *Lucretius on Creation and Evolution*. Oxford, 2003.
- Camps 1969 = Camps, W. *An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid*. Oxford, 1969.
- Canali 1976 = Canali, L. *Leros freddo*. Roma: Edizioni dell'ateneo, 1976.
- Carcopino 1918/1968 = Carcopino, J. *Virgile et les origines d'Ostie*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968 (deuxième édition).
- Cardwell and Hamilton 1986 = Cardwell, R. and Hamilton, J., eds. *Virgil in a Cultural Tradition: Essays to Celebrate the Bimillennium*. Nottingham, 1986.

- Cartault 1926 = Cartault, A. *L'art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1926.
- Casali 1999 = "Facta impia (Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.596–599)," in *CQ* 49.1 (1999), 203–211.
- Casali 1999–2000 = "Staring at the Pun: *Aeneid* 4.435–436 Reconsidered," in *CJ* 95.2 (1999–2000), 103–118.
- Casali 2010 = "Autoreflessività onirica nell'*Eneide* e nei successori epici di Virgilio," in Scioli, E., and Walde, C., eds., *Nighttime Phenomena in Greco-Roman Culture*. Pisa: ETS Editrice, 2010, 119–142.
- Casali 2017 = *Virgilio, Eneide 2: Introduzione, traduzione, e commento*. Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2017.
- Casali 2018 = "Dido's *furtivus amor* (Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.171–172)," in Knox et al., eds., *They Keep All Hid: Augustan Poetry, Its Antecedents and Reception: Studies in honor of Richard F. Thomas*. Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018, 41–49.
- Casali and Stok 2008 = Casali, S., and Stok, F., eds. *Servius: Exegetical Stratifications and Cultural Models*. Bruxelles: Éditions Latomus, 2008.
- Casson 1971 = Casson, L. *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*. Princeton, 1971.
- Castagnoli 1972 = Castagnoli, F. *Lavinium ...* Roma: De Luca, 1972.
- Clausen 1987 = Clausen, W. *Virgil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: The University of California Press, 1987.
- Clausen 1994 = Clausen, W. *Virgil: Eclogues*. Oxford, 1994.
- Clausen 2002 = Clausen, W. *Virgil's Aeneid: Decorum, Allusion, and Ideology*. Munich-Leipzig: K.G. Saur, 2002.
- Cohen 2000 = Cohen, B. *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*. Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2000.
- Coleman 2006 = Coleman, K. *Martial: Liber Spectaculorum*. Oxford, 2006.
- Conte 2007 = Conte, G. *The Poetry of Pathos: Studies in Virgilian Epic*. Oxford, 2007.
- Conte 2016 = Conte, G. *Critical Notes on Virgil ...* Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016.
- Conte 2019 = Conte, G. *P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis* (editio altera). Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2019.
- Conte 2021 = Conte, G. *Virgilian Parerga: Textual Criticism and Stylistic Analysis*. Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2021.
- Cordier 1939 = Cordier, A. *Études sur le vocabulaire épique dans l'Énéide*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1939.
- Cornell 2013 = Cornell, T. *The Fragments of the Roman Historians*. Oxford, 2013.
- Courtney 1981 = "The Formation of the Text of Vergil," in *BICS* 28.1 (1981), 13–29.
- Courtney 1993/2003 = Courtney, E. *The Fragmentary Latin Poets*. Oxford, 1993/2003.
- Coutelle 2015 = Coutelle, E. *Properce: Élégies, livre IV*. Bruxelles: Éditions Latomus, 2015.
- Crump 1920 = Crump, M. *The Growth of the Aeneid*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1920.
- Cruttwell 1947 = Cruttwell, R. *Virgil's Mind at Work*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1947.

- Cucchiarelli 2012 = Cucchiarelli, A. *Publio Virgilio Marone: Le Bucoliche*. Roma: Carocci Editore, 2012.
- Cullick 2016 = Cullick, R. *Maximae Furiarum: The Female Demonic in Augustan Poetry*. Dissertation Minnesota, 2016.
- Cussen 2018 = Cussen, A. *El milenio según Virgilio* (3 vols.). Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Tácitas, 2018.
- Dainotti 2015 = Dainotti, P. *Word Order and Expressiveness in the Aeneid*. Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015.
- Damsté 1898 = Damsté, P., "Annotationes ad Aeneidem," in *Mnem.* N.S. 26 (1898), 172–181.
- Dangel 1995 = Dangel, J. *Accius ...* Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1995.
- Davis 2020 = Davis, P. *Valerius Flaccus: Argonautica, Book 7*. Oxford, 2020.
- De Graff 1931/1932 = "Antigone and Dido," in *CW* 25 (1931), 148–150.
- de Grummond 1968 = de Grummond, W. *Saevus: Its Literary Tradition and Use in Vergil's Aeneid*. Dissertation North Carolina, 1968.
- Dehon 1993 = Dehon, P.-J. *Hiems Latina ...* Bruxelles: Éditions Latomus, 1993.
- De Jong 2012 = De Jong, I. *Homer: Iliad xxII*. Cambridge, 2012.
- Dekel 2012 = Dekel, E. *Virgil's Homeric Lens*. New York-London: Routledge, 2012.
- de la Ville de Mirmont 1894 = de la Ville de Mirmont, H. *Apollonios de Rhode et Virgile ...* Paris: Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux, 1894.
- Della Corte 1972 = Della Corte, F. *La mappa dell'Eneide*. Firenze: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1972.
- de Melo 2019 = de Melo, W. *Varro: De Lingua Latina ...* Oxford, 2019.
- Deroux 2003 = Deroux, C., ed. *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History XI*. Bruxelles: Éditions Latomus, 2003.
- Desmond 1994 = Desmond, M. *Reading Dido ...* Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- De Waele 1927 = De Waele, F. *The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*. The Hague: Erasmus, 1927.
- De Witt 1907 = De Witt, N. *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil*. Dissertation Chicago, 1907.
- De Witt 1923 = De Witt, N. *Virgil's Biographia Litteraria*. Toronto: Victoria College Press, 1923.
- d'Herouville 1930 = d'Herouville, P. *A la campagne avec Virgile*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1930.
- Di Cesare 1974 = Di Cesare, M. *The Altar and the City*. New York City: Columbia University Press, 1974.
- Dickey and Chahoud 2010 = Dickey, E., and Chahoud, A., eds. *Colloquial and Literary Latin ...* Cambridge, 2010.
- Dingel 1997 = Dingel, J. *Kommentar zum 9. Buch der Aeneis Vergils*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1997.

- Dion 1993 = Dion, J. *Les passions dans l'œuvres de Virgile: Poétique et philosophie*. Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy, 1993.
- Distler 1966 = Distler, P. *Vergil and Vergiliana*. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1966.
- Dolç 2019 = Dolç, M., ed. *Virgili, Eneida I*. Barcelona: La Casa dels Clàssics, 2019.
- Drew 1927 = Drew, D. *The Allegory of the Aeneid*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1927.
- Duval 2004 = Duval, C. *Gaudium et Laetitia: Étude sémantique*. Lille, 2004.
- Dyson 2001 = Dyson, J. *King of the Wood: The Sacrificial Victor in Virgil's Aeneid*. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 2001.
- Dyson 2020 = Dyson, J. *The God of Rome: Jupiter in Augustan Poetry*. Oxford, 2020.
- Eden 1975 = Eden, P. *A Commentary on Virgil, Aeneid VIII*. Leiden: Brill, 1975.
- Edgeworth 1992 = Edgeworth, R. *The Colors of the Aeneid*. New York: Peter Lang, 1992.
- Edwards 1996 = Edwards, C. *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City*. Cambridge, 1996.
- Edwards 2007 = Edwards, C. *Death in Ancient Rome*. New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Erdmann 2000 = Erdmann, M. *Überredende Reden in Vergils Aeneis*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000.
- Erren 1985–2003 = Erren, M. *P. Vergilius Maro Georgica*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1985–2003.
- Estevez 1978–1979 = “*Capta ac deserta: The Fall of Troy in Aeneid IV*,” in *CJ* 74 (1978–1979), 97–109.
- EV = Della Corte, F., ed. *Enciclopedia virgiliana*. Roma: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1984–1991.
- Fabbri 2017 = Fabbri, L. *Il papavero da oppio nella cultura nella religione romana*. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2017.
- Fantham 1998 = Fantham, E. *Ovid: Fasti, Book IV*. Cambridge, 1998.
- Faraone and Obbink 1991 = Faraone, C., and Obbink, D., eds. *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*. Oxford, 1991.
- Farrell 2021 = Farrell, J. *Juno's Aeneid: A Battle for Heroic Identity*. Princeton, 2021.
- Farrell and Nelis 2013 = Farrell, J., and Nelis, D., eds. *Augustan Poetry and the Roman Republic*. Oxford, 2013.
- Farron 1993 = Farron, S. *Vergil's Aeneid: A Poem of Grief & Love*. Leiden-Boston-Köln, 1993.
- Feeney 1991 = Feeney, D. *The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition*. Oxford, 1991.
- Fernandelli 2012 = Fernandelli, M. *Catullo e la rinascita dell'epos*. Hildesheim-Zürich-New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2012.
- Ferraro 1982 = Ferraro, S. *La presenza di Virgilio nei graffiti pompeiani*. Napoli: Loffredo Editore, 1982.
- Finglass 2011 = Finglass, P. *Sophocles: Ajax*. Cambridge, 2011.

- Fletcher 2014 = Fletcher, K. *Finding Italy: Travel, Nation, and Colonization in Virgil's Aeneid*. Ann Arbor: The University Of Michigan Press, 2014.
- Fordyce 1961 = Fordyce, C. *Catullus*. Oxford, 1961.
- Fordyce 1977 = Fordyce, C. *Virgil, Aeneid VII–VIII*. Oxford, 1977.
- Fowler 1918 = Fowler, W. *Aeneas at the Site of Rome*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1918.
- Fowler 1919 = Fowler, W. *The Death of Turnus*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1919.
- R. Fowler 2013 = Fowler, R. *Early Greek Mythography: Volume 11, Commentary*. Oxford, 2013.
- Fratantuono 2004 = "Harum unam: Dido's Requiem for Pallas," in *Latomus* 63.4 (2004), 857–863.
- Fratantuono 2006 = "Diana in the *Aeneid*," in *NECJ* 32.2 (2005), 101–115.
- Fratantuono 2007 = *Madness Unchained: A Reading of Virgil's Aeneid*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2007.
- Fratantuono 2008 = "Laviniaque venit litora: Blushes, Bees, and Virgil's Lavinia," in *Maia* 60.1 (2008), 40–50.
- Fratantuono 2009 = *A Commentary on Virgil, Aeneid XI*. Bruxelles: Éditions Latomus, 2009.
- Fratantuono 2010 = "Seraque terrifici: Archery, Fire, and the Enigmatic Portent of *Aeneid* v," in Deroux, c., ed., *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History CV* (Collection Latomus Volume 323). Bruxelles: Éditions Latomus, 2010, 196–218.
- Fratantuono 2011 = "Dirarum ab sede dearum: Virgil's Fury Allecto, the Dirae, and Jupiter's Parthian Defeat," in *Bollettino di studi latini* XLI, II (2011), 522–530.
- Fratantuono 2012 = "Nondum Proserpina abstulerat: Persephone in the *Aeneid*," in *Revue des études anciennes* 114.2 (2012), 423–434.
- Fratantuono 2012/2013 = "A Poetic Menagerie: The Animal Similes of Virgil's *Aeneid*," in *Eranos* CVII.2 (2012/2013), 67–102.
- Fratantuono 2013 = "Tamque rubescebat: Aurora in the *Aeneid*," in *Eos* C.2 (2013), 297–315.
- Fratantuono 2013b = "Roscida pennis: Iris in the *Aeneid*," in *Bollettino di studi latini* XLIII, I (2013), 123–132.
- Fratantuono 2014 = "Recens a vulnere: Dido, Ajax, and the Hierarchy of Heroines," in *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 106.1 (2014), 185–198.
- Fratantuono 2015 = "Tumulum antiquae Cereris: Ceres in the *Aeneid*," in *Bollettino di studi latini* XLV, II (2015), 456–472.
- Fratantuono 2015b = "Lethaeum ad fluvium: Mercury in the *Aeneid*," in *Pallas* 99 (2015), 295–310.
- Fratantuono 2015c = "Tum canit Hesperidum miratam mala puellam: The Hesperides and Hesperia in Virgil and Ovid," in *Eirene* LI.I–II (2015), 27–44.
- Fratantuono 2016 = "Necdum orbem medium: Night in the *Aeneid*," in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* LVI.3 (2016), 315–331.

- Fratantuono 2016b = *The Battle of Actium* 31 B.C. Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books, Ltd., 2016.
- Fratantuono 2016c = "Vimque deum infernam: Virgil's God of the Underworld," in *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 21.1 (2016), 59–72.
- Fratantuono 2017 = "Apollo in the *Aeneid*," in *Eirene* LIII.1–II (2017), 169–198.
- Fratantuono 2017b = "The Ambiguous Arms of Aeneas," in *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* LIII (2017), 37–42.
- Fratantuono 2018 = "The Wolf in Virgil," in *Revue des études anciennes* 120.1 (2018), 101–119.
- Fratantuono 2019 = "Alma Phoebe: Lunar References in Virgil's *Aeneid*," in *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 24.1 (2019), 62–79.
- Fratantuono 2019b = "Nymphaeque sorores: Virgil's Sororities of Nymphs," in *Myrtia* 34 (2019), 339–372.
- Fratantuono 2020 = "Virgil's Rival Sororities: Dido and Anna, Camilla and Acca," in *Palas* 114 (2020), 329–343.
- Fratantuono 2020b = "Virgil's Dido and Rabirius' Antony: A Fragment from Seneca," in *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 124.1 (2020), 175–181.
- Fratantuono 2020c = "Roseus Phoebus: Solar Imagery in Virgil's *Aeneid*," in *Classica et Christiana* 15 (2020), 127–141.
- Fratantuono 2020d = "Virgil's Howling Goddess: Hecate in the *Aeneid*," in *Bollettino di studi latini* L, II (2020), 616–627.
- Fratantuono and Smith 2015 = *Virgil: Aeneid* 5. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2015.
- Fratantuono and Smith 2018 = *Virgil: Aeneid* 8. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018.
- Galinsky 1996 = Galinsky, G. *Augustan Culture*. Princeton, 1996.
- Gantz 1993 = Gantz, T. *Early Greek Myth*. Baltimore-London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Gärtner 2005 = Gärtner, U. *Quintus Smyrnaeus und die Eneas*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2005.
- Garvie 1994 = Garvie, A. *Homer: Odyssey VI–VIII*. Cambridge, 1994.
- Gera 1997 = Gera, D. *Warrior Women: The Anonymous Tractatus De Mulieribus*. Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill, 1997.
- Geymonat 2008 = Geymonat, M. *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*. Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2008 (second edition of the 1973 G.B. Paravia original).
- Gibert 2019 = Gibert, J. *Euripides: Ion*. Cambridge, 2019.
- Gibson 2006 = Gibson, R. *Statius: Silvae* 5. Oxford, 2006.
- Gildenhard 2012 = Gildenhard, I. *Virgil, Aeneid 4.1–299*. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2012.
- Gillis 1983 = Gillis, D. *Eros and Death in the Aeneid*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1983.
- Giusti 2018 = Giusti, E. *Carthage in Virgil's Aeneid: Staging the Enemy under Augustus*. Cambridge, 2018.
- Goldschmidt 2013 = Goldschmidt, N. *Shaggy Crowns: Ennius Annales and Virgil's Aeneid*. Oxford, 2013.

- Goldsworthy 2010 = Goldsworthy, A. *Antony and Cleopatra*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Goldsworthy 2014 = Goldsworthy, A. *Augustus: First Emperor of Rome*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2014.
- Goodyear 1965 = Goodyear, F. *Incerti Auctoris Aetna*. Cambridge, 1965.
- Goold 1970 = "Servius and the Helen Episode," in *HSCPh* 74 (1970), 110–168 (reprinted in Harrison 1990, 60–125).
- Goold 1999–2000 = Goold, G., ed. *Virgil* (Loeb Classical Library edition). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999–2000.
- Gorey 2021 = Gorey, M. *Atomism in the Aeneid: Physics, Politics, and Cosmological Disorder*. Oxford, 2021.
- Götte 1958 = Götte, J. *Virgil: Aeneis*. Bamberg: Ernst Heimeran Verlag, 1958.
- Gould and Whiteley 1943 = Gould, H., and Whiteley, J. P. *Virgilius Maro Aeneid Book Four*. London: Macmillan, 1943.
- Gowers 1993 = Gowers, E. *The Loaded Table: Representations of Food in Roman Literature*. Oxford, 1993.
- Gowers 2012 = Gowers, E. *Horace: Satires Book I*. Cambridge, 2012.
- Gowers 2016 = Gowers, E., "Dido and the Owl," in Mitsis, P., and Ziogas, I., eds., *Wordplay and Powerplay in Latin Poetry*, Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2016, 107–130.
- Gransden 1976 = Gransden, K. *Virgil: Aeneid VIII*. Cambridge, 1976.
- Gransden 1984 = Gransden, K. *Virgil's Iliad: An Essay on Epic Narrative*. Cambridge, 1984.
- Grant 1969 = "Dido Melissa," in *Phoenix* 23 (1969), 380–391.
- Grassmann-Fischer 1966 = Grassmann-Fischer, B. *Die Prodigien in Vergils Aeneis*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1966.
- Graziosi and Haubold 2010 = Graziosi, B., and Haubold, J. *Homer: Iliad VI*. Cambridge, 2010.
- Green 2007 = Green, C. *Roman Religion and the Cult of Diana at Aricia*. Cambridge, 2007.
- Griffin 1985 = Griffin, J. *Latin Poets and Roman Life*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 1985.
- Griffith 1999 = Griffith, M. *Sophocles: Antigone*. Cambridge, 1999.
- Grisé 1982 = Grisé, Y. *Le suicide dans le Rome antique*. Montréal-Paris: Bellarmin-Les Belles Lettres, 1982.
- Gruen 2011 = Gruen, E. *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity*. Princeton, 2011.
- Guastella 2017 = Guastella, G. *Word of Mouth: Fama and Its Personifications in Art and Literature from Ancient Rome to the Middle Ages*. Oxford, 2017.
- Guillaumin 2019 = Guillaumin, J.-Y. *Servius: Commentaire sur l'Énéide de Virgile, Livre IV*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2019.
- Guillemin 1931 = Guillemin, A.-M. *L'originalité de Virgile*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1931.
- Günther 1996 = Günther, H.-C. *Überlegungen zur Entstehung von Vergils Aeneis*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996.
- Günther 2015 = Günther, H.-C., ed. *Virgilian Studies: A Miscellany dedicated to the Memory of Mario Geymonat*. Nordhausen: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 2015.

- Haarhoff 1931 = Haarhoff, T. *Vergil in the Experience of South Africa*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1931.
- Haarhoff 1949 = Haarhoff, T. *Vergil the Universal*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1949.
- Hahn 1930 = Hahn, E. *Coordination of Non-Coordinate Elements in Vergil*. Geneva, New York: W.F. Humphrey, Publisher, 1930.
- Hallett and Skinner 1998 = Hallett, J., and Skinner, M., eds. *Roman Sexualities*. Princeton, 1998.
- Halter 1963 = Halter, T. *Form und Gehalt in Vergils Aeneis*. München, 1963.
- Harder 2012 = Harder, A. *Callimachus: Aetia*. Oxford, 2012.
- Hardie 1986 = Hardie, P. *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium*. Oxford, 1986.
- Hardie 1993 = Hardie, P. *The Epic Successors of Virgil*. Cambridge, 1993.
- Hardie 1994 = Hardie, P. *Virgil: Aeneid 1x*. Cambridge, 1994.
- Hardie 2012 = Hardie, P. *Rumour and Renown: Representations of Fama in Western Literature*. Cambridge, 2012.
- Hardie 2014 = Hardie, P. *The Last Trojan Hero: A Cultural History of Virgil's Aeneid*. London-New York: I.B. Tauris, 2014.
- Hardie 2015 = Hardie, P. *Ovidio: Metamorfosi, Volume VI: Libri XIII–XV*. Milano: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, Mondadori, 2015.
- Harris-McCoy 2012 = Harris-McCoy, D. *Artemidorus' Oneirocritica*. Oxford, 2012.
- Harrison 1990 = Harrison, S. *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*. Oxford, 1990.
- Harrison 1991 = Harrison, S. *Virgil: Aeneid 10*. Oxford, 1991.
- Harrison 2017 = Harrison, S. *Horace: Odes Book II*. Cambridge, 2017.
- Harrison 2013 = Harrison, J. *Dreams and Dreaming in the Roman Empire*. London-New York: Bloomsbury, 2013.
- Hawtree 2011 = Hawtree, L. *Wild Animals in Roman Epic*. Dissertation Exeter, 2011.
- Heinze 1902/1908/1915 = Heinze, R. *Virgils epische Technik*. Stuttgart, B.G. Teubner, 1902/1908/1915.
- Henry 1989 = Henry, E. *The Vigour of Prophecy: A Study of Virgil's Aeneid*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1989.
- J. Henry 1873–1892 = Henry, J. *Aeneidea*. Dublin, 1873–1892.
- Hersh 2010 = Hersh, K. *The Roman Wedding: Ritual and Meaning in Antiquity*. Cambridge, 2010.
- Heuzé 1985 = Heuzé, P. *L'image du corps dans l'œuvre de Virgile*. Rome: École française de Rome, 1985.
- Heuzé 2015 = Heuzé, P. *Virgile: Œuvres complètes*. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Éditions Gallimard), 2015.
- Heyworth 2019 = Heyworth, S. *Ovid: Fasti Book III*. Cambridge, 2019.
- Heyworth and Morwood 2011 = Heyworth, S. and Morwood, J. *A Commentary on Propertius, Book 3*. Oxford, 2011.
- Heyworth and Morwood 2017 = Heyworth, S. and Morwood, J. *A Commentary on Vergil, Aeneid 3*. Oxford, 2017.

- Hickson 1993 = Hickson, F. *Roman Prayer Language in Livy and the Aeneid of Vergil*. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1993.
- Hightet 1972 = Hightet, G. *The Speeches in Vergil's Aeneid*. Princeton, 1972.
- Hinds 1997 = Hinds, S. *Allusion and Intertext*. Cambridge, 1997.
- Hirtzel 1900 = Hirtzel, F. P. *Vergili Maronis Opera*. Oxford, 1900.
- Hollis 1970 = Hollis, A. *Ovid, Metamorphoses Book VIII*. Oxford, 1970.
- Hollis 2007 = Hollis, A. *Fragments of Roman Poetry*. Oxford, 2007.
- Holzberg 2006 = Holzberg, N. *Vergil: Sein Dichter und Sein Werk*. München: C.H. Beck Verlag, 2006.
- Holzberg 2015 = Holzberg, N. *Publius Vergilius Maro: Aeneis*. Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015.
- Hoogma 1959 = Hoogma, R. *Der Einfluss Vergils auf die Carmina Latina Epigraphica*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1959.
- Hopkinson 2000 = Hopkinson, N. *Ovid: Metamorphoses, Book XIII*. Cambridge, 2000.
- Hornblower 2015 = Hornblower, S. *Lykophron: Alexandra*. Oxford, 2015.
- Hornsby 1970 = Hornsby, R. *Patterns of Action in the Aeneid*. Iowa City: The University of Iowa Press, 1970.
- Horsfall 1991 = Horsfall, N. *Virgilio: L'epopea in alambicco*. Napoli: Liguori Editore, 1991.
- Horsfall 1995 = Horsfall, N. *A Companion to the Study of Virgil*. Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 1995.
- Horsfall 2000 = Horsfall, N. *Virgil, Aeneid 7*. Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2000.
- Horsfall 2003 = Horsfall, N. *Virgil, Aeneid 11*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2003.
- Horsfall 2006 = Horsfall, N. *Virgil, Aeneid 3*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2006.
- Horsfall 2008 = Horsfall, N. *Virgil, Aeneid 2*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2008.
- Horsfall 2013 = Horsfall, N. *Virgil, Aeneid 6*. Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013.
- Horsfall 2016 = Horsfall, N. *The Epic Distilled: Studies in the Composition of the Aeneid*. Oxford, 2016.
- Horsfall 2020 = Horsfall, N. *Fifty Years at the Sibyl's Heels: Selected Papers on Virgil and Rome*. Oxford, 2020.
- Hoyos 2010 = Hoyos, D. *The Carthaginians*. London-New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Hübner 1970 = Hübner, W. *Dirae im römischen Epos*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1970.
- Hübner 1994 = "Die Dirae im zwölften Buch der Aeneis," in *Eranos* 92 (1994), 23–28.
- Hügi 1952 = Hügi, M. *Vergils Aeneas und die hellenistische Dichtung*. Bern-Stuttgart: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1952.
- Hunt 1973 = Hunt, J. *Forms of Glory*. Carbondale-Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973.
- Hunter 1989 = Hunter, R. *Apollonius of Rhodes: Argonautica, Book III*. Cambridge, 1989.
- Hunter 2015 = Hunter, R. *Apollonius of Rhodes: Argonautica, Book IV*. Cambridge, 2015.

- Hunter and Laemmele 2020 = Hunter, R., and Laemmele, R. *Euripides: Cyclops*. Cambridge, 2020.
- Hutchinson 2006 = Hutchinson, G. *Propertius: Elegies Book IV*. Cambridge, 2006.
- Huzar 1978 = Huzar, E. *Mark Antony: A Biography*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1978.
- Hyland 1990 = Hyland, A. *Equus: The Horse in the Roman World*. New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Irvine 1924 = Irvine, A. *The Fourth Book of Virgil's Aeneid ...* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1924.
- Jeanneret 1973 = Jeanneret, R. *Recherches sur l'hymne et la prière chez Virgile*. Bruxelles: Aimav, 1973.
- Janell 1927 = Janell, W., ed. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneis*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1927.
- Jenkyns 1998 = Jenkyns, R. *Virgil's Experience*. Oxford, 1998.
- Jocelyn 1967 = Jocelyn, H. *The Tragedies of Ennius*. Cambridge, 1967.
- Johnson 1976 = Johnson, W. *Darkness Visible ...* Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: The University of California Press, 1976.
- Jones 2005 = Jones, P. *Reading Rivers in Roman Literature and Culture*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2005.
- F. Jones 2011 = Jones, F. *Virgil's Garden: The Nature of Bucolic Space*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011.
- Keith 2000 = Keith, A. *Engendering Rome: Women in Latin Epic*. Cambridge, 2000.
- Kitchell 2014 = Kitchell, K. *Animals in the Ancient World From A To Z*. London-New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Kidd 1998 = Kidd, D. *Aratus: Phaenomena*. Cambridge, 1998.
- Kittredge and Jenkins 1930 = Kittredge, G., and Jenkins, T. *Virgil and Other Latin Poets*. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1930.
- Klause 1993 = Klause, G. *Die Periphrase der Nomina propria bei Virgil*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993.
- Klingner 1967 = Klingner, F. *Virgil: Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis*. Zurich-Stuttgart: Artemis Verlag, 1967.
- Klouček 1883 = Klouček, W. *Vergiliana*. Smichow, 1883.
- Knauer 1964 = Knauer, G. *Die Aeneis und Homer*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964.
- Knight 1944 = Knight, W. *Roman Vergil*. London: Faber & Faber, 1944.
- König 1970 = König, A. *Die Aeneis und die griechische Tragödie*. Berlin, 1970.
- Kowalski 1929 = Kowalski, J. *De Didone graeca et latina*. Cracow: Gebethner and Wolff, 1929.
- Kraggerud 2004 = "Housman emending Virgil (A. 4.225)," in *PVS* 25 (2004), 161–163.
- Kraggerud 2008 = "In usum editorum: Some Readings and Conjectures in Virgil," in *SO* 83 (2008), 52–67.
- Kraggerud 2017 = Kraggerud, E. *Vergiliana ...* London-New York: Routledge, 2017.

- Kraus 1960 = Kraus, T. *Hekate ...* Heidelberg, 1960.
- Kühn 1971 = Kühn, W. *Götterszenen bei Vergil*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1971.
- Kvíčala 1881: Kvičala, J. *Neue Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aeneis*. Prag, 2881.
- Kyriakidis 2016 = Kyriakidis, S., ed. *Libera Fama: An Endless Journey*. Cambridge, 2016.
- Larson 2001 = Larson, J. *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore*. Oxford, 2001.
- Lee 1979 = Lee, M. *Fathers and Sons in Virgil's Aeneid*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1979.
- Lehr 1934 = Lehr, H. *Religion und Kult in Vergils Aeneis*. Dissertation Gießen, 1934.
- Lersch 1843 = Lersch, L. *Antiquitates Vergilianae ...* Bonn: H.B. König, 1843.
- Lesueur 1974 = Lesueur, R. *Recherches sur la composition rythmique de l'Énéide*. Lille, 1974.
- Lightfoot 2009 = Lightfoot, J. *Parthenius of Nicaea*. Oxford, 2009.
- Lightfoot 2014 = Lightfoot, J. *Dionysius Periegetes*. Oxford, 2014.
- Littlewood 2006 = Littlewood, R. *A Commentary on Ovid, Fasti, Book 6*. Oxford, 2006.
- Littlewood 2011 = Littlewood, R. *A Commentary on Silius Italicus' Punica 7*. Oxford, 2011.
- Littlewood 2017 = Littlewood, R. *A Commentary on Silius Italicus' Punica 10*. Oxford, 2017.
- Loewe 1873 = Loewe, H. *Symbolae ad enarrandum ...* Grimae: Typis C. Roessieri, 1873.
- Löfstedt = Löfstedt, E. *Syntactica*. Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1928–1956.
- Lotito 2008 = Lotito, G. *Dal IV libro dell'Eneide al XXIV dell'Iliade: qualche esplorazione*. Pisa: ETS Editrice. 2008.
- Lovatt 2013 = Lovatt, H. *The Epic Gaze: Vision, Gender and Narrative in Ancient Epic*. Cambridge, 2013.
- Lowe 2015 = Lowe, D. *Monsters and Monstrosity in Augustan Poetry*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2015.
- Lyne 1978 = Lyne, R. *Ciris: A Poem Attributed to Vergil*. Cambridge, 1978.
- Lyne 1987 = Lyne, R. *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid*. Oxford, 1987.
- Lyne 1989 = Lyne, R. *Words and the Poet*. Oxford, 1989.
- MacCormack 1998 = MacCormack, S. *The Shadows of Poetry: Vergil in the Mind of Augustine*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: The University of California Press, 1998.
- Mack 1978 = Mack, S. *Patterns of Time in Vergil*. Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1978.
- Mackail 1930 = Mackail, J. *The Aeneid of Virgil*. Oxford, 1930.
- Mackie 1988 = Mackie, C. *The Characterisation of Aeneas*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1988.
- Maclennan 2007 = Maclennan, K. *Virgil: Aeneid IV*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2007.
- Maggiulli 1995 = Maggiulli, G. *Incipient silvae cum primum surgere: Mondo vegetale e nomenclatura della flora di Virgilio*. Roma: Gruppo Editore Internazionale, 1995.
- Maixner 1877 = Maixner, F. *De infinitivi usu vergiliano*. Dissertation Leipzig, 1877.
- Malloch 2013 = Malloch, S. *Tacitus: Annals Book 11*. Cambridge, 2013.

- Maltby 2002 = Maltby, R. *Tibullus: Elegies*. Leeds: Francis Cairns, Ltd., 2002.
- Mandra 1930 = Mandra, R. *The Time Element in the Aeneid of Vergil: An Investigation*. Williamsport, Pennsylvania: The Bayard Press, 1930.
- Manzoni 2002 = Manzoni, G. *Pugnae maioris imago: Intertestualità e rovesciamento nella seconda esade dell'Eneide*. Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2002.
- Marquis 2013 = Marquis, M. *Reading Aeneas and Dido: Suggestion and Inference in Aeneid 1–4*. Dissertation Minnesota, 2013.
- Marshall 1980 = Marshall, B., ed. *Vindex humanitatis ...* Armidale, 1980.
- Massana 2013 = Massana, J. *Ératosthène de Cyrène: Catastérismes*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2013.
- Mastronarde 2002 = Mastronarde, D. *Euripides: Medea*. Cambridge, 2002.
- Mayer 2012 = Mayer, R. *Horace: Odes Book 1*. Cambridge, 2012.
- McDonough et al. 2004 = McDonough, C., et al. *Servius' Commentary on Book Four of Virgil's Aeneid ...* Wauconda, Illinois: Bolchazy-Carducci, 2004.
- McIntyre and McCallum 2019 = McIntyre, G., and McCallum, S., eds. *Uncovering Anna Perenna: A Focused Study of Myth and Culture*. London-New York: Bloomsbury, 2019.
- Mellinghoff-Bourgerie 1990 = Mellinghoff-Bourgerie, V. *Les incertitudes de Virgile*. Bruxelles: Éditions Latomus, 1990.
- Meyer 2020 = Meyer, J. *Vergil's Menagerie: Animal Imagery in the Aeneid*. Dissertation Stellenbosch, 2020.
- Miles 1976 = "Glorious Peace: The Values and Motivation of Virgil's Aeneas," in *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 9 (1976), 133–164.
- Miller 2009 = Miller, J. *Apollo, Augustus, and the Poets*. Cambridge, 2009.
- Mitsis and Ziogas 2016 = Mitsis, P., and Ziogas, I., eds. *Wordplay and Powerplay in Latin Poetry*. Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016.
- Montenegro Duque 1949 = Montenegro Duque, A. *La onomastica de Virgilio*. Salamanca, 1949.
- Monti 1981 = Monti, R. *The Dido Episode and the Aeneid: Roman Social and Political Values in the Epic*. Leiden: Brill, 1981.
- Montserrat 1998 = Montserrat, D., ed. *Changing Bodies, Changing Meanings: Studies on the Human Body in Antiquity*. London-New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Moore 2021 = Moore, G. *Stoic Pietas in the Aeneid: A Study of the Poem's Ideological Appeal and Reception*. Dissertation Glasgow, 2021.
- Moorton 1989 = Moorton, R. "Dido and Aetes," in *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 48–54.
- Moseley 1926 = Moseley, N. *Characters and Epithets*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926.
- Moskalew 1982 = Moskalew, W. *Formular Language and Poetic Design in the Aeneid*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1982.
- Mossmann 2011 = Mossmann, J. *Euripides: Medea*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 2011.
- Moya del Baño 1984 = F. Moya del Baño, ed., *Simposio virgiliano: Conmemorativo del Bimilenario de la muerte de Virgilio*. Murcia, 1984.

- Murgatroyd 1994 = Murgatroyd, P. *Tibullus: Elegies II*. Oxford, 1994.
- Murgatroyd 2007 = Murgatroyd, P. *Mythical Monsters in Classical Literature*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2007.
- Murgia 1987 = "Dido's Puns," in *Classical Philology* 82.1 (1987), 50–59.
- Mynors 1969 = Mynors, R. P. *Vergili Maronis Opera*. Oxford, 1969.
- Mynors 1990 = Mynors, R. *Virgil: Georgics*. Oxford, 1990.
- Mynott 2018 = Mynott, J. *Birds in the Ancient World*. Oxford, 2018.
- Naiden 2006 = Naiden, F. *Ancient Supplication*. Oxford, 2006.
- Negri 1984 = Negri, A. *Gli psiconimi in Virgilio*. Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1984.
- Nelis 2001 = Nelis, D. *Vergil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*. Leeds: Francis Cairns, Ltd., 2001.
- Nettleship 1881–1884 = Nettleship, H., *The Works of Virgil, with a Commentary by J. Conington ...* London: Whittaker & Co., 1881–1884.
- Newman and Newman 2005 = Newman, J., and Newman, F. *Troy's Children: Lost Generations in Virgil's Aeneid*. Hildesheim-Zürich-New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2005.
- Newton 1957 = "Recurrent Imagery in Aeneid IV," in *TAPA* 88 (1957), 31–43.
- Nisbet and Hubbard 1970 = Nisbet, R., and Hubbard, M. *A Commentary on Horace, Odes Book I*. Oxford, 1970.
- Nisbet and Hubbard 1978 = Nisbet, R., and Hubbard, M. *A Commentary on Horace, Odes Book II*. Oxford, 1978.
- Nisbet and Rudd 2004 = Nisbet, R., and Rudd, N. *A Commentary on Horace, Odes Book III*. Oxford, 2004.
- Nünlist 2009 = Nünlist, R., *The Ancient Critic at Work: Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia*. Cambridge, 2009.
- Nurtantio 2014 = Nurtantio, Y. *Le silence dans l'Énéide*. Bruxelles: EME, 2014.
- Oakley 1997–2005 = Oakley, S. *A Commentary on Livy, Books VI–X*. Oxford, 1997–2005.
- Ogilvie 1965/1970 = Ogilvie, R. *A Commentary on Livy, Books 1–5*. Oxford, 1965/1970.
- O'Hara 1990 = O'Hara, J. *Death and the Optimistic Prophecy in Vergil's Aeneid*. Princeton, 1990.
- O'Hara 2007 = O'Hara, J. *Inconsistency in Roman Epic*. Cambridge, 2007.
- O'Hara 2011 = O'Hara, J. *Vergil: Aeneid 4*. Newburyport, Massachusetts: Focus Publishing, 2011.
- O'Hara 2017 = O'Hara, J. *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2017 (second edition of the 1996 original).
- Otis 1964 = Otis, B. *Virgil: A Study in Civilised Poetry*. Oxford, 1964.
- Otto 1890 = Otto, A. *Die Sprichwörter ...* Leipzig: Teubner, 1890.
- Page 1894–1900 = Page, T. *The Aeneid of Virgil*. London: Macmillan, 1894–1900.
- D. Page 1938 = Page, D. *Euripides: Medea*. Oxford, 1938.
- Panoussi 2009 = Panoussi, V. *Vergil's Aeneid the Greek Tragedy*. Cambridge, 2009.

- Papaioannou 2005 = Papaioannou, S. *Epic Succession and Dissension ...* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005.
- Papillon and Haigh 1892 = Papillon, T., and Haigh, A. *Virgil: With Introduction and Notes*. Oxford, 1892.
- Paratore 1978 = Paratore, E. *Virgilio: Eneide, Volumen II (Libri III–IV)*. Milano: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1978.
- Paschalis 1997 = Paschalis, M. *Virgil's Aeneid: Semantic Relations and Proper Names*. Oxford, 1997.
- Pease 1935 = Pease, A. P. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935.
- PECS = W. MacDonald and M. McAllister, eds. *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*. Princeton, 1976.
- Pelling 1988 = Pelling, C. *Plutarch: Life of Antony*. Cambridge, 1988.
- Perkell 1999 = Perkell, C., ed. *Reading Vergil's Aeneid: An Interpretive Guide*. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.
- Perret 1942 = Perret, J. *Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1942.
- Perret 1977 = Perret, J. *Virgile: Énéide, Livres I–IV*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1977.
- Petit 1997 = Petit, A. *Le Roman d'Enéas*. Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1997.
- Petrini 1997 = Petrini, M. *The Child and the Hero: Coming of Age in Catullus and Vergil*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1997.
- Pezzini 2015 = Pezzini, G. *Terence and the Verb 'To Be' in Latin*. Oxford, 2015.
- Pinkster 2015 = Pinkster, H. *The Oxford Latin Syntax, Volume 1: The Simple Clause*. Oxford, 2015.
- Pinkster 2021 = Pinkster, H. *The Oxford Latin Syntax, Volume 11: The Complex Sentence and Discourse*. Oxford, 2021.
- Pokorny 1957/1969 = Pokorny, J. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Tübingen-Bern-München: A. Francke, 1957/1969.
- Pollard 1977 = Pollard, J. *Birds in Greek Life and Myth*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1977.
- Polleichtner 2009 = Polleichtner, W. *Emotional Questions: Vergil, the Emotions, and the Transformation of Epic Poetry ...* Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2009.
- Pomathios 1987 = Pomathios, J.-L. *Le pouvoir politique ...* Bruxelles: Éditions Latomus, 1987.
- Pöschl 1977 = Pöschl, V. *Die Dichtkunst Virgils: Bild und Symbol in der Äneis*. Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1977 (third edition).
- Pötscher 1977 = Pötscher, W. *Vergil und die göttlichen Mächte*. Hildesheim-New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1977.
- Poucet 1985 = Poucet, J. *Les origines de Rome ...* Bruxelles: Éditions Latomus, 1985.
- Powell 2008 = Powell, A. *Virgil the Partisan*. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2008.
- L. Powell 2018 = Powell, L. *Augustus at War*. Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books Ltd., 2018.

- Preller/Robert 1 = Robert, C., after Preller, L. *Griechische Mythologie 1* (4th edition). Berlin: Weidmann, 1894.
- Prescott 1927 = Prescott, H. *The Development of Virgil's Art*. Chicago, 1927.
- Puccioni 1985 = Puccioni, G. *Saggi virgiliani*. Bologna: Pàtron Editore, 1985.
- Putnam 1966 = Putnam, M. *The Poetry of the Aeneid*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966.
- Putnam 1970 = Putnam, M. *Virgil's Pastoral Art*. Princeton, 1970.
- Putnam 1979 = Putnam, M. *Virgil's Poem of the Earth*. Princeton, 1979.
- Putnam 1995 = Putnam, M. *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
- Putnam 1998 = Putnam, M. *Virgil's Epic Designs*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Putnam 2006 = Putnam, M. *Poetic Interplay: Catullus & Horace*. Princeton, 2006.
- Putnam 2011 = Putnam, M. *The Humanness of Heroes ...* Amsterdam, 2011.
- Quinn 1968 = Quinn, K. *Virgil's Aeneid: A Critical Description*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968.
- S. Quinn 2000 = Quinn, S., ed. *Why Vergil? A Collection of Interpretations*. Wauconda, Illinois: Bolchazy-Carducci, 2000.
- Quint 1993 = Quint, D. *Epic and Empire ...* Princeton, 1993.
- Quint 2018 = Quint, D. *Virgil's Double Cross: Design and Meaning in the Aeneid*. Princeton, 2018.
- Raabe 1974 = Raabe, H. *Plurima Mortis Imago: Vergleichende Interpretationen zur Bildersprache Vergils*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1974.
- Radke 1998 = Radke, A.-I., ed. *Candide Iudex ...* Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998.
- Rand 1931 = Rand, E. *The Magical Art of Virgil*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1931.
- Rébelliau 1892 = Rébelliau, A. *De Vergilio in informandis muliebribus quae sunt in Aeneide personis inventore*. Paris: Hachette, 1892.
- Reed 2007 = Reed, J. *Virgil's Gaze*. Princeton, 2007.
- Reeker 1971 = Reeker, H.-D. *Die Landschaft in der Aeneis*. Hildesheim-New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1971.
- Rehm 1932 = Rehm, B. *Das geographische Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis*. Leipzig: Dieteich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1932.
- Renger 1985 = Renger, C. *Aeneas und Turnus*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1985.
- Richardson 1974 = Richardson, N. *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. Oxford, 1974.
- Richardson 2010 = Richardson, N. *Three Homeric Hymns: To Apollo, Hermes, and Aphrodite*. Cambridge, 2010.
- Richter 1957 = Richter, W. *Vergil Georgica*. München: Max Heuber Verlag, 1957.
- Rivero García et al. 2011 = Rivero García, L., et al., eds. *Publio Virgilio Marón: Eneida, Volumen II (Libros IV–VI)*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2011.

- Rivoltella 2005 = Rivoltella, M. *Le forme del morire*. Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2005.
- Robinson 2011 = Robinson, M. *A Commentary on Ovid's Fasti, Book 2*. Oxford, 2011.
- Rocca 1983 = Rocca, S. *Etologia virgiliana*. Genova: Istituto di filologia classica e medievale, 1983.
- Rogerson 2017 = Rogerson, A. *Virgil's Ascanius: Imagining the Future in the Aeneid*. Cambridge, 2017.
- Roiron 1908 = Roiron, F. *Étude sur l'imagination auditive de Virgile*. Paris: Leroux, 1908.
- Roller 2010 = Roller, D. *Cleopatra: A Biography*. Oxford, 2010.
- Roscher I.1 = Roscher, W.H. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, Erster Band, Erste Abteilung*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1884–1890.
- Roscher I.2 = Roscher, W.H. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, Erster Band, Zweite Abteilung*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1884–1890.
- Roscher II.1 = Roscher, W.H. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, Zweiter Band, Erste Abteilung*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1890–1894.
- Roscher II.2 = Roscher, W.H. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, Zweiter Band, Zweite Abteilung*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1894–1897.
- Roscher III.1 = Roscher, W.H. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, Dritter Band, Erste Abteilung*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1897–1902.
- Roscher III.2 = Roscher, W.H. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, Dritter Band, Zweite Abteilung*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1902–1909.
- Roscher IV = Roscher, W.H. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, Vierter Band*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1909–1915.
- Roscher V = Roscher, W.H. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, Fünfter Band*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1916–1924.
- Rostagni 1942 = Rostagni, A. *Da Livio a Virgilio e da Virgilio a Livio*. Padova: Casa Editrice Dott. Antonio Milano, 1942.
- Ross 2007 = Ross, D. *Virgil's Aeneid: A Reader's Guide*. Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007.
- Rossi 2004 = Rossi, A. *Contexts of War*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2004.
- Royds 1918 = Royds, T. *The Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1918.
- Rudd 1976 = "Dido's *Culpa*," in Rudd, N., ed., *Lines of Enquiry*, Cambridge, 1976, 32–53 (reprinted in Harrison 1990, 145–190).
- Sabbadini 1930 = Sabbadini, R. P. *Vergili Maronis Opera*. Romae: Typis Regiae Officinae Polygraphicae, 1930.
- Sargeant 1920 = Sargeant, J. *The Trees, Shrubs, and Plants of Virgil*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1920.
- Saunders 1930 = Saunders, C. *Vergil's Primitive Italy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1930.

- Scafoglio 2010 = Scafoglio, G. *Noctes Romanae*. Hildesheim-Zürich-New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2010.
- Scappaticcio 2013 = Scappaticcio, M. *Papyri Vergilianae ...* Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège, 2013.
- Schauer 2007 = Schauer, M. *Aeneas dux in Vergils Aeneis*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2007.
- Schefold 1952 = Schefold, K. *Pompejanische Malerei, Sinn und Ideengeschichte*. Basel: B. Schwabe, 1952.
- Schenk 1984 = Schenk, P. *Die Gestalt des Turnus in Vergils Aeneis*. Königstein: Verlag Anton Hain, 1984.
- Schiesaro 2008 = "Furthest Voices in Virgil's Dido," in *Studi italiani di filologia* 6 (2008), 60–109; 194–245.
- Scioli 2015 = Scioli, E. *Dream, Fantasy, and Visual Art in Roman Elegy*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2015.
- Schmeling 2011 = Schmeling, G. *A Commentary on the Satyrical of Petronius*. Oxford, 2011.
- Schmitz 1960 = Schmitz, A. *Infelix Dido*. Gembloux: Éditions J. Duculot, S.A., 1960.
- Schüler 1883 = Schüler, K. *Quaestiones Vergilianae*. Dissertation Greifswald, 1883.
- Seaford 1984 = Seaford, R. *Euripides: Cyclops*. Oxford, 1984.
- Segal 1969 = Segal, C. *Landscape in Ovid's Metamorphoses: The Transformation of a Literary Symbol*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1969.
- Segal 1990 = "Dido's Hesitation in *Aeneid* 4," in *CW* 84.1 (1990), 1–12.
- Seider 2013 = Seider, A. *Memory in Virgil's Aeneid*. Cambridge, 2013.
- Seidman 2018 = Seidman, J. "Dido's Tears," in Fontaine et al., eds., *Quasi Labor Intus ...*, Gowanus: Paideia Institute for Humanistic Study, Inc., 2018, 123–142.
- Setaioli 1998 = Setaioli, A. *Si tantus amor ... studi virgiliani*. Bologna: Patron Editore, 1998.
- Sherpe 2011 = Sherpe, A. *The Power of Prayer: Religious Dialogue in Virgil's Aeneid*. Dissertation Colorado, 2011.
- Sidgwick 1890 = Sidgwick, A. *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*. Cambridge, 1890.
- Sisul 2018 = Sisul, A. *La mors immatura en la Eneida*. Córdoba: Editorial Brujas, 2018.
- Skutsch 1985 = Skutsch, O. *The Annals of Q. Ennius*. Oxford, 1985.
- Smith 1997 = Smith, R. *Poetic Allusion and Poetic Embrace in Ovid and Virgil*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1997.
- Smith 2005 = Smith, R. *The Primacy of Vision in Virgil's Aeneid*. Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2005.
- Smith 2011 = Smith, R. *Virgil*. Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley Blackwell, 2011.
- Spaeth 1996 = Spaeth, B. *The Roman Goddess Ceres*. Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1996.
- Sparrow 1931 = Sparrow, J. *Half-Lines and Repetitions in Virgil*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1931.

- Spence 1988 = Spence, S. *Rhetorics of Reason and Desire: Vergil, Augustine and the Troubadours*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- Stahl 2016 = Stahl, H.-P., *Poetry Underpinning Power*. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2016.
- Stanley 1963 = "Rome, Ἔρωϛ, and the Versus Romae," in *GBS* 4 (1963), 237–249.
- Steiner 1952 = Steiner, H. *Der Traum in der Aeneis*. Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1952.
- Stephens 2015 = Stephens, S. *Callimachus: The Hymns*. Oxford, 2015.
- Stephenson 1888 = Stephenson, H. P. *Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber iv*. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1888.
- Stöckinger 2016 = Stöckinger, M. *Vergils Gaben ...* Heidelberg: Carl Winter Verlag, 2016.
- Sugar 2018 = Sugar, M. *Guilt in Vergil's Aeneid and Lucan's Bellum Civile*. Dissertation Western Ontario, 2018.
- Suerbaum 1999 = Suerbaum, W. *Vergils Aeneis: Epos zwischen Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1999.
- Syed 2005 = Syed, Y. *Vergil's Aeneid and the Roman Self*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005.
- Syson 2013 = Syson, A. *Fama and Fiction in Vergil's Aeneid*. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2013.
- Tar 1984 = Tar, I., ed. *Symposium Vergilianum*. Szeged, 1984.
- Terzaghi 1928 = Terzaghi, N. *Virgilio ed Enea*. Palermo: Edizioni Sandron, 1928.
- Thomas 1982 = Thomas, R. *Lands and Peoples in Roman Poetry: The Ethnographical Tradition*. Cambridge, 1982.
- Thomas 1988 = Thomas, R. *Virgil: Georgics*. Cambridge, 1988.
- Thomas 1999 = Thomas, R. *Reading Virgil and His Texts: Studies in Intertextuality*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan 1999.
- Thomas 2001 = Thomas, R. *Virgil's Augustan Reception*. Cambridge, 2001.
- Thomas 2011 = Thomas, R. *Horace: Odes iv and Carmen Saeculare*. Cambridge, 2011.
- J. Thomas 1981 = Thomas, J. *Structures de l'imaginaire dans l'Énéide*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1981.
- Thome 1979 = Thome, G. *Gestalt und Funktion des Mezentius bei Vergil*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1979.
- Thornton 1976 = Thornton, A. *The Living Universe: Gods and Men in Virgil's Aeneid*. Leiden: Brill, 1976.
- Thurmond 2017 = Thurmond, D. *From Vines to Wines in Classical Rome*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2017.
- Tib. = Tiberius Claudius Donatus (*Interpretationes Vergilianae*, ed. H. George, Teubner, 1905–1906).
- Tilly 1947 = Tilly, B. *Vergil's Latium*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1947.
- Tilly 1968 = Tilly, B. P. *Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus*. London: University Tutorial Press Ltd., 1968.

- Timpanaro 1986 = Timpanaro, S. *Per la storia della filologia virgiliana antica*. Roma: Salerno Editrice, 1986.
- Timpanaro 2001 = Timpanaro, S. *Virgilianisti antichi e tradizione indiretta*. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2001.
- Toynbee 1971 = Toynbee, J. *Death and Burial in the Roman World*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1971.
- Toynbee 1973 = Toynbee, J. *Animals in Roman Life and Art*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1973.
- Traina 2017 = Traina, A. *Virgilio: l'utopia e la storia: Il libro XII dell'Eneide e antologia dell'opere*. Bologna: Pàtron Editore, 2017 (reprint of the 2004 second edition).
- Trannoy 1928 = "Commentaire d'un passage de l'*Énéide* (IV, 483–486)," in *RA* 28 (1928), 136–140.
- Treggiari 1991 = Treggiari, S. *Roman Marriage*. Oxford, 1991.
- Unterharnscheidt 1911 = Unterharnscheidt, M. *De Veterum in Aeneide Coniecturis*. Monasterii Guestfolorum, 1911.
- Van Wees 1970 = Van Wees, P. *Poetische geografie in Vergilius' Aeneis*. Dissertation Utrecht, 1970.
- Van Nortwick 1996 = Van Nortwick, T. *Somewhere I Have Never Travelled ...* Oxford, 1996.
- VE = Thomas, R., and Ziolkowski, J., eds. *The Virgil Encyclopedia*. Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley Blackwell, 2014.
- Wakefield 1796 = Wakefield, G., ed. *P. Virgilio Maronis Opera ...* London: Kearsley, 1796.
- Walker and Higgs 2001 = Walker, S., and Higgs, P., eds. *Cleopatra of Egypt: From History to Myth*. Princeton, 2001.
- Warman 1899 = Warman, A. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus*. London: George Bell & Sons, 1899.
- Watson 2003 = Watson, L. *A Commentary on Horace's Epodes*. Oxford, 2003.
- Weber 1988 = Weber, T. *Fidus Achates: Der Gefährte des Aeneas in Vergils Aeneis*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1988.
- Weber 2002 = Weber, C. "The Dionysus in Aeneas," in *Classical Philology* 97.4 (2002), 322–343.
- Weeda 2015 = Weeda, L. *Vergil's Political Commentary in the Eclogues, Georgics, and Aeneid*. Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2015.
- West 1966 = West, M. *Hesiod: Theogony*. Oxford, 1966.
- West 1978 = West, M. *Hesiod: Works and Days*. Oxford, 1978.
- West 2013 = West, M. *The Epic Cycle: A Commentary on the Lost Troy Epics*. Oxford, 2013.
- G. West 1975 = West, G. *Women in Virgil's Aeneid*. Dissertation California Los Angeles, 1975.
- White 1970 = White, K. *Roman Farming*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1970.
- Wigodsky 1972 = Wigodsky, M. *Vergil and Early Latin Poetry*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1972.

- Wiik 2008 = Wiik, M. *Images of Roman Epic Paternity: Anchises in Virgil's Aeneid*. Dissertation Bergen, 2008.
- Wilhelm and Jones 1992 = Wilhelm, R., and Jones, H., eds. *The Two Worlds of the Poet*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992.
- Williams 1960 = Williams, R. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quintus*. Oxford, 1960.
- Williams 1962 = Williams, R. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Tertius*. Oxford, 1962.
- Williams 1972–1973 = Williams, R. *The Aeneid of Virgil*. London: Macmillan, 1972–1973.
- G. Williams 1968 = Williams, G. *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry*. Oxford, 1968.
- G. Williams 1983 = Williams, G. *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1983.
- Wills 1996 = Wills, J. *Repetition in Latin Poetry: Figures of Allusion*. Oxford, 1996.
- Wiltshire 1989 = Wiltshire, S. *Public & Private in Virgil's Aeneid*. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1989.
- D. Wiltshire 2012 = Wiltshire, D. *Hopeful Joy: A Study of Laetus in Virgil's Aeneid*. Dissertation North Carolina, 2012.
- Wlosok 1967 = Wlosok, A. *Die Göttin Venus in Vergils Aeneis*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1967.
- Wolfe 2015 = Wolfe, J. *Homer and the Question of Strife from Erasmus to Hobbes*. Toronto, 2015.
- Ziolkowski and Putnam 2008 = Ziolkowski, J., and Putnam, M., eds. *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Zwierlein 2000 = Zwierlein, O. *Antike Revision des Vergil und Ovid*. Wiesbaden: Nordrhein Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000.

Index Locorum

numeri = versus *Aeneidos* libri quarti

Accius

Hec.

fr. 1 Dangel 614

Phil.

fr. 195 Dangel 231

Achilles Tatius

1.6.3-4 80

Aeschylus

Ag.

1191-1193; 1219-1222; 1583-1611
602

Supp.

676 511

Ps.-Aeschylus

PV

944-952 554-570

Aetna

56 510
187 232
295 463
321 589
538 40
557 422
583 305

Alcaeus

fr. 307c Lobel-Page 143

Albinovanus Pedo

fr. 8-9 Courtney 241

Ammianus Marcellinus

20.6/24.2 88

Antipater

Ann.

55.1 = fr. 15.58 Cornell 206

Ps.-Apollodorus

2.5.1 485

Apollonius

Arg.

1.5-11 518
1.307-309 143
1.675-696 40
1.721 262
1.1278 587
2.39 178
3.1 ff. 90-128
3.4-5 1
3.151 357
3.156 ff. 238
3.280-287 2
3.402 12
3.528-533 489
3.616-635 461
3.636 9
3.639 ff. 15
3.654 83
3.681 ff. 76
3.773 ff. 657
3.744-827 83
3.785-786 27
3.804 30
3.876-884 143
3.884-857 513
3.967-972 441
3.1079-1080 336
3.1191-1192 481
3.1204-1206 651
4.26 ff. 659
4.33 657
4.83 ff. 537
4.99 307
4.156-159 476, 484
4.183 584
4.355-390 305, 362-392
4.360-368 317
4.391-393 605
4.383-386 384
4.391-393 327
4.422 651
4.445-447 412
4.888 295

Arg. (cont.)

| | |
|-------------|-----|
| 4.1031-1041 | 317 |
| 4.1128 ff. | 165 |
| 4.1452-1453 | 402 |
| 4.1494 | 198 |
| 4.1680 ff. | 441 |

Apuleius*de Mundo*

| | |
|------|-----|
| 33-9 | 249 |
|------|-----|

Flor.

| | |
|--------|-----|
| 16.114 | 336 |
|--------|-----|

Met.

| | |
|---------|-----|
| 5-13 | 328 |
| 9.21 | 337 |
| 10.2.28 | 65 |
| 11.16 | 309 |

Aristophanes*Eq.*

| | |
|-----------|-----|
| 1081-1083 | 258 |
|-----------|-----|

Lys.

| | |
|---------|-----|
| 667-669 | 518 |
|---------|-----|

Pax

| | |
|-----|-----|
| 474 | 570 |
|-----|-----|

Ranae

| | |
|-----|-----|
| 293 | 570 |
|-----|-----|

Vesp.

| | |
|---------|-----|
| 522-523 | 475 |
|---------|-----|

Aristotle*Hist. Animal.*

| | |
|---------------------|-----|
| 572a19-21; 577a8-10 | 515 |
|---------------------|-----|

Ateius Capito

| | |
|-------------------------|-----|
| supp. fr. 39 Strzelecki | 507 |
|-------------------------|-----|

Ausonius*Grat. Act.*

| | |
|-------|----|
| 14.65 | 41 |
|-------|----|

Buc. Ein.

| | |
|------|-----|
| 1.46 | 637 |
|------|-----|

Caesar*BG*

| | |
|------------|-----|
| 7.28.6.1-2 | 114 |
|------------|-----|

BC

| | |
|----------|-----|
| 3.70.1.1 | 549 |
|----------|-----|

Callimachus*Aetia*

| | |
|------------------|-----|
| fr. 24-25 | 146 |
| fr. 35-36 Harder | 179 |
| fr. 110.40 | 492 |

Hym.

| | |
|-----|----|
| 1.8 | 70 |
|-----|----|

Calpurnius Siculus*E.*

| | |
|------|-----|
| 4.88 | 536 |
| 5.37 | 326 |
| 6.8 | 462 |

Carm. de bello Actiaco

| | |
|-------------------|-----|
| col. 2.8 Courtney | 655 |
| 2.19 Courtney | 228 |

Cassius Hemina

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|
| fr. FC Cornell (= I, F6 Chassignet) | 274 |
|-------------------------------------|-----|

Catalepton

| | |
|------|----|
| 9.11 | 20 |
|------|----|

Cato*Orig.*

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----|
| fr. F6 Cornell (= F9 Chassignet) | 274 |
|----------------------------------|-----|

Catullus

| | |
|-------------|-----|
| c. 7.7-8 | 171 |
| c. 17.2-3 | 344 |
| c. 23.9-11 | 596 |
| c. 26.3 | 442 |
| c. 34.11 | 72 |
| c. 45.15-16 | 66 |
| c. 51 | 76 |
| c. 61.209 | 328 |
| c. 62.14 | 100 |
| 62.59-60 | 38 |
| 62.64 | 38 |
| c. 63.37-39 | 607 |
| c. 63.64-66 | 645 |
| c. 64.5 | 576 |
| 64.7 | 583 |
| 64.56-57 | 330 |
| 64.62 | 532 |
| 64.66 | 253 |

| | | | |
|----------------|--------------|-------------------------|----------|
| 64.69-70 | 79, 100 | <i>De Divinatione</i> | |
| 64.92 | 474 | 1.11 | 524 |
| 64.105 ff. | 441 | 1.80 | 302 |
| 64.120 | 33 | 2.147 | 286 |
| 64.130 | 360 | <i>De Domo Sua</i> | |
| 64.132-201 | 305, 362-392 | 11.13 | 576 |
| 64.135 | 542 | <i>De Legibus</i> | |
| 64.139-141 | 316 | 2.5-23 | 334 |
| 64.149-153 | 317 | <i>De Natura Deorum</i> | |
| 64.160 | 537 | 2.95-15 | 123 |
| 64.172 | 658 | 3.22-56 | 577 |
| 64.175-176 | 10 | 3.46.6 | 56 |
| 64.180-182 | 21 | <i>In Pison.</i> | |
| 64.196-197 | 101 | 9 | 477 |
| 64.199-201 | 629 | 23 | 186 |
| 64.227 | 417 | <i>Marius</i> | |
| 64.250 | 1 | fr. 3.3 Soubiran | 183 |
| 64.251 | 153 | <i>Phil.</i> | |
| 64.298 | 558 | 2.64.5 | 4 |
| 64.335-336 | 624 | 2.76.21 | 262 |
| 64.340 | 168 | 2.85.9 | 262 |
| 64.341 | 23 | 3.32.9 | 94 |
| 64.369 | 19 | 11.6.6 | 68 |
| 64.372-373 | 112 | 11.12.9 | 549 |
| 64.390-391 | 302 | <i>Pro Balbo</i> | |
| c. 65.4 | 203 | 35.16 | 99 |
| 66.39 | 698 | 46.8 | 520 |
| 65.14 | 601 | <i>Pro Flacco</i> | |
| c. 66.19 | 360 | 62.6 | 178 |
| c. 66.39-40 | 357 | <i>Pro Marc.</i> | |
| c. 68B.72 | 217 | 15.8 | 603 |
| 68B.109-110 | 202 | <i>Pro Mil.</i> | |
| 68B.138-139 | 371 | 58.12 | 549 |
| c. 87.3-4 | 624 | 67.7 | 130, 201 |
| c. 111.3 | 19 | 69.1-2 | 569 |
| | | 95.13 | 653 |
| Celsus | | <i>Pro Planc.</i> | |
| <i>De Med.</i> | | 101.1 | 201 |
| 5.26.9 | 689 | <i>Pro Sest.</i> | |
| | | 35.10 | 549 |
| | | 73.6 | 53 |
| Cicero | | <i>Tusc. Disp.</i> | |
| <i>Arat.</i> | | 4.50.5 | 4 |
| 61 Soubiran | 177 | <i>Verr.</i> | |
| 237 | 6 | 2.4.4 | 457 |
| 297 | 168 | 2.5.7 | 131 |
| 314 | 451 | 2.5.118 | 684 |
| 470 | 77 | 2.5.139.4 | 22 |
| <i>Brutus</i> | | | |
| 56 | 262 | | |

| | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|---------------------------|---------|
| <i>Ciris</i> | | fr. sed. inc. 452 Skutsch | 214 |
| 147 | 509 | | |
| 163 | 2 | fr. sed. inc. 469 | 183 |
| 164 | 101 | fr. sed. inc. 538n | 53 |
| 167 | 301 | fr. sed. inc. 571 | 130 |
| 206 | 185 | <i>Atham.</i> | |
| 208 | 201 | fr. 120 Jocelyn | 58 |
| 232 | 412 | <i>Hectoris Lytra</i> | |
| 343 | 5 | fr. 158 Jocelyn | 41 |
| 480 | 301 | <i>Med.</i> | |
| 534 | 261 | fr. 206–216 Jocelyn | 657 |
| | | fr. 210 | 284 |
| | | fr. 216 | 1 |
| Columella | | Ps.-Eratosthenes | |
| <i>de Re Rustica</i> | | <i>Cat.</i> | |
| 10.430 | 207 | 32 | 52 |
| Copa | | Euripides | |
| 31 | 569 | <i>Alc.</i> | |
| | | 72–76 | 698 |
| | | 170–171 | 62 |
| | | 175–179/183 | 650 |
| | | 207 | 607 |
| | | <i>Bacch.</i> | |
| | | 576–584 | 302 |
| | | 918–919 | 470 |
| | | 987–990 | 365 |
| | | 1078–1089 | 302 |
| | | <i>Herac.</i> | |
| | | 394–402 | 484 |
| | | <i>Hipp.</i> | |
| | | 253–255 | 66 |
| | | <i>Ion</i> | |
| | | 1439 ff. | 31 |
| | | <i>Iph. Aul.</i> | |
| | | 1506–1508 | 607 |
| | | <i>Iph. Taur.</i> | |
| | | 285–290 | 472 |
| | | <i>Med.</i> | |
| | | 1 ff. | 657 |
| | | 21–22 | 307 |
| | | 395–397 | 511 |
| | | 410 | 489 |
| | | 465–519 | 362–392 |
| | | 476 | 29, 305 |
| | | 476–487 | 317 |
| | | <i>Supp.</i> | |
| | | 984–985 | 606 |
| Dracontius | | | |
| <i>Orest.</i> | | | |
| 821–822 | 472 | | |
| Eleg. in Maec. | | | |
| 1.65–66 | 239 | | |
| Ennius | | | |
| <i>Ann.</i> | | | |
| fr. 34–50 Skutsch | 467 | | |
| fr. 137 | 452 | | |
| fr. 145 | 482 | | |
| fr. 309 | 37 | | |
| fr. 376 | 398 | | |
| fr. 377–378 | 583 | | |

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------|--------------------------------|--------|
| <i>Troad.</i> | | 404 | 179 |
| 26-27 | 671 | 404-452 | 511 |
| 320-322 | 511 | 507-511 | 247 |
| 1182 ff. | 698 | | |
| 1211 | 156 | | |
| First Vatican Mythographer | | | |
| 3.12-13 | 212 | | |
| Florus | | | |
| <i>Epit.</i> | | | |
| 2.21.3 | 262 | | |
| Furius Bibaculus | | | |
| fr. 7 Courtney (= fr. 72 Hollis) | | | |
| | 129, 585 | | |
| Germanicus | | | |
| <i>Arat.</i> | | | |
| 444 | 422 | | |
| 527 | 19 | | |
| 617 | 454 | | |
| Grattius | | | |
| <i>Cyn.</i> | | | |
| 108 | 131 | | |
| 163 | 112 | | |
| 171-173 | 121 | | |
| 438/441 | 576 | | |
| Herodotus | | | |
| 1.105 | 128 | | |
| 4.49 | 100 | | |
| 104 | 146 | | |
| 4.174 | 183, 198 | | |
| Hesiod | | | |
| <i>Op.</i> | | | |
| 383-384 | 52 | | |
| 553 | 442 | | |
| 618-622 | 52 | | |
| 753-754 | 173 | | |
| 760-764 | 173 | | |
| <i>Theog.</i> | | | |
| 123 | 510 | | |
| 134 | 179 | | |
| 188-200 | 128 | | |
| 215-216 | 484 | | |
| 266/784 | 694 | | |
| | | | |
| | | Ps.-Hesiod | |
| | | <i>Sc.</i> | |
| | | 405 ff. | 72 |
| | | Himerius | |
| | | <i>or.</i> | |
| | | 48.10-11 | 143 |
| | | Hist. Apoll. Regis Tyri | |
| | | 18.19 | 1 |
| | | Homer | |
| | | <i>Il.</i> | |
| | | 1.189 | 285 |
| | | 1.423 | 481 |
| | | 1.477 | 6 |
| | | 2.93 | 173 |
| | | 2.469-470 | 402 |
| | | 2.489 | 183 |
| | | 2.701 | 318 |
| | | 3.54 | 33 |
| | | 4.439-443 | 173 |
| | | 4.442-444 | 176 |
| | | 5.311 ff. | 228 |
| | | 7.303-312 | 496 |
| | | 8.167 | 285 |
| | | 9.571-572 | 26 |
| | | 10.1 ff. | 5 |
| | | 10.133 | 262 |
| | | 11.1 | 584 |
| | | 11.787 | 336 |
| | | 12.131 ff. | 441 |
| | | 14.20-21 | 285 |
| | | 14.187-223 | 90-128 |
| | | 16.33-33 | 365 |
| | | 16.765 ff. | 441 |
| | | 18.486 | 52 |
| | | 20.259-352 | 228 |
| | | 22.188-193 | 121 |
| | | 22.198 ff. | 700 |
| | | 22.387-388 | 336 |
| | | 22.460-461 | 302 |
| | | 22.466 ff. | 391 |
| | | 24.339-345a | 238 |
| | | 24.340 ff. | 240 |

| | | | |
|------------------------|---------|--------------------|-----|
| <i>Il. (cont.)</i> | | 1.32.13 | 150 |
| 24.344-345 | 244 | 1.37.12 | 1 |
| 24.367 | 408 | 1.37.21 | 355 |
| 24.679 ff. | 553 | c. 2.1.5 | 687 |
| 24.695 | 584 | 2.6.3-4 | 206 |
| <i>Od.</i> | | 2.19.9 | 302 |
| 1.22-25 | 481 | c. 3.1.12-13 | 221 |
| 1.52-54 | 247 | 3.2.27 | 422 |
| 5.1 | 6, 584 | 3.3.13 | 58 |
| 5.43-54 | 238 | 3.4.56 | 179 |
| 5.44 ff. | 240 | 3.15.10 | 302 |
| 5.47-48 | 244 | 3.16.2-4 | 201 |
| 5.50-53 | 253 | 3.21.15 | 422 |
| 5.121-124 | 52 | 3.23.1 | 205 |
| 5.130-136 | 317 | 3.25.9 | 469 |
| 5.214-224 | 331-361 | 3.25.19 | 207 |
| 6.1 ff. | 5 | 3.29.43 | 653 |
| 6.43-45 | 248 | 3.29.53-54 | 244 |
| 6.102-109 | 143 | c. 4.1.35-36 | 76 |
| 6.243 | 12 | <i>Carm. Saec.</i> | |
| 8.288 | 128 | 46 | 5 |
| 9.530-535 | 612 | 61-62 | 376 |
| 10.467-474 | 295 | <i>ep.</i> | |
| 11.563-564 | 26 | 1.14 | 11 |
| 11.572-575 | 52 | 1.12 | 33 |
| 12.39-54; 158-200 | 440 | 2.33 | 131 |
| 18.193 | 128 | 5.25 | 512 |
| 19.108 | 322 | 5.52; 11.14; 15.21 | 422 |
| 22.33 | 285 | 16.17 | 287 |
| 24.1-5 | 244 | <i>Ars</i> | |
| 24.1-10 | 238 | 125 | 415 |
| 24.413 | 173 | 318 | 463 |
| <i>Hom Hym. Aph.</i> | | <i>Ep.</i> | |
| 6-7 | 128 | 1.3.13 | 45 |
| <i>Hom. Hym. Dem.</i> | | 1.7.9 | 244 |
| 334 ff. | 242 | 1.10.17 | 646 |
| <i>Hom. Hym. Herm.</i> | | 1.14.19 | 41 |
| 528 ff. | 243 | 1.17.17 | 287 |
| 572 | 243 | 1.18.12 | 460 |
| Horace | | 1.18.37 | 430 |
| c. 1.2.32 | 376 | 1.18.63-64 | 506 |
| 1.2.48 | 241 | 1.18.86 | 415 |
| 1.5.1-3 | 216 | 2.1.19; 2.1.65 | 371 |
| 1.7.27 | 45 | <i>Serm.</i> | |
| 1.12.11 | 491 | 1.1.34-35 | 508 |
| 1.18.5 | 58 | 1.2.59-50 | 174 |
| 1.28.19-20 | 698 | 1.3.4 | 412 |
| 1.29.9 | 422 | 1.3.103-104 | 460 |
| | | 1.3.109-110 | 551 |

| | | | |
|----------------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|
| 1.4.96 | 558 | Livy | |
| 1.6.102 | 558 | 1.56.4-5 | 63 |
| 1.8.23 | 518 | 6.34.8 | 547 |
| 1.8.30 | 508 | 9.4.4 | 520 |
| 1.9.50 | 549 | 10.23.3-10 | 27 |
| 2.1.30 | 422 | 21.1.2 | 603 |
| 2.3.303 | 590 | 22.14.3 | 151 |
| 2.6.85 | 11 | 24.49.5 | 206 |
| | | 26.9.8 | 205 |
| Hyginus | | 27.51.1 | 359 |
| <i>Fab.</i> | | 30.12.11-15.11 | 132 |
| pr. 4.1 | 179 | 34.50.2 | 428 |
| 19.2.2 | 376 | 34.62.11 ff. | 212 |
| | | 35.11.4-8 | 41 |
| <i>Ilias Latina</i> | | 38.22.1 | 151 |
| 13-14 | 637 | 38.50.10-51.12 | 37 |
| 223 | 372 | 39.15.9 | 303 |
| 334 | 19 | 41.27.12 | 259 |
| 501 | 404 | | |
| 515 | 621 | Lucan | |
| 542/570 | 162 | <i>BC</i> | |
| 600 | 160 | 1.67 | 232 |
| 635 | 6 | 1.75-76 | 352 |
| 718 | 57 | 1.247 | 553 |
| 771 | 668 | 1.412-413 | 430 |
| 812-813 | 157 | 1.456-457 | 336 |
| 870 | 6 | 1.632 | 50 |
| 1038 | 308 | 2.13 | 438 |
| 1055 | 160 | 2.267-268 | 524 |
| | | 2.301 | 427 |
| Julius Hyginus | | 2.337 | 364 |
| fr. 3 (5) Funaioli | 57 | 2.371 | 45 |
| | | 2.697 | 417 |
| Juvenal, s. | | 3.8 | 586 |
| 3.60 ff. | 216 | 3.103 | 6 |
| 3.283-284 | 262 | 3.115-116 | 427 |
| 5.42-45 | 261 | 3.179-180 | 146 |
| 5.45 | 36 | 3.182 | 6 |
| 5.130-131 | 262 | 3.239 | 417 |
| 6.336 | 549 | 3.542 | 583 |
| 6.435 | 335 | 3.596 | 417 |
| 6.616-617 | 515 | 4.19 | 153 |
| 9.2-3 | 477 | 4.41 | 22 |
| 9.82 | 305 | 4.54; 107 | 578 |
| 12.7-9 | 61 | 4.249 | 22 |
| | | 4.334 | 198 |
| <i>Laus Pisonis</i> | | 4.390 | 603 |
| 11 | 4 | 4.555 | 415 |
| 246 | 319 | 4.701; 5.16; 5.318 | 364 |

BC (cont.)

| | |
|---------------------|-----|
| 4.770 | 353 |
| 5.73-74 | 302 |
| 5.170 | 6 |
| 5.211-213 | 220 |
| 5.396 | 462 |
| 5.407-408 | 309 |
| 5.421; 428; 560 | 417 |
| 5.486 | 415 |
| 5.684 | 601 |
| 6.57 | 199 |
| 6.121-122 | 536 |
| 6.293-294 | 179 |
| 6.312 | 169 |
| 6.689 | 462 |
| 7.129-130 | 644 |
| 8.28 | 326 |
| 8.50; 185; 254; 471 | 417 |
| 8.70 | 19 |
| 8.399-400 | 18 |
| 8.655 | 575 |
| 8.777-778 | 2 |
| 9.77 | 417 |
| 9.147 | 364 |
| 9.173-179 | 494 |
| 9.321 | 313 |
| 9.324 | 417 |
| 9.426 | 206 |
| 9.470 | 24 |
| 9.515-516 | 320 |
| 9.602-603 | 627 |
| 9.741-742 | 2 |
| 9.878 | 491 |
| 9.934 | 101 |
| 9.749 | 57 |
| 9.989 | 453 |
| 9.799 | 417 |
| 9.964 | 94 |
| 9.965 | 6 |
| 9.1042 | 326 |
| 9.1078 | 95 |
| 10.107-108 | 232 |
| 10.122-122a | 261 |
| 10.127-143 | 590 |
| 10.219 | 12 |
| 10.373-375 | 308 |

Lucius Pomponius Bononiensis*Fab. Atell.*

| | |
|----------------|----|
| fr. 18 Ribbeck | 1 |
| fr. 51-52 | 57 |

Lucretius*DRN*

| | |
|-----------|-----|
| 1.2 | 77 |
| 1.12-16 | 525 |
| 1.32 | 79 |
| 1.36 | 64 |
| 1.44-49 | 379 |
| 1.62 | 411 |
| 1.62 ff. | 240 |
| 1.68-69 | 208 |
| 1.76-77 | 614 |
| 1.82-83 | 596 |
| 1.86 | 37 |
| 1.117-118 | 506 |
| 1.132-133 | 210 |
| 1.149 | 284 |
| 1.201 | 600 |
| 1.260 | 404 |
| 1.342 | 411 |
| 1.383 | 176 |
| 1.459-463 | 433 |
| 1.463 | 5 |
| 1.595-596 | 614 |
| 1.608 | 427 |
| 1.739 | 364 |
| 1.798 | 99 |
| 1.998 | 411 |
| 1.1087 | 278 |
| 2.78-79 | 653 |
| 2.101 | 405 |
| 2.109 | 464 |
| 2.113 | 411 |
| 2.131 | 285 |
| 2.144 | 584 |
| 2.149-150 | 358 |
| 2.214 | 442 |
| 2.214-215 | 209 |
| 2.352 | 56 |
| 2.352-354 | 453 |
| 2.355 | 72 |
| 2.434 | 204 |
| 2.505 | 6 |
| 2.646-651 | 379 |
| 2.732 | 411 |

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----|------------------|----------|
| 2.765; 767; 775 | 392 | 5.401-402 | 480 |
| 2.783 | 701 | 5.461 | 404 |
| 2.881-882 | 286 | 5.494 | 19 |
| 2.1087-1088 | 614 | 5.692-693 | 607 |
| 2.1110 | 343 | 5.849 | 558 |
| 2.1140 | 19 | 5.890-891 | 116 |
| 3.27 | 491 | 5.931-932 | 551 |
| 3.72 | 308 | 5.943 | 464 |
| 3.75; 185 | 411 | 5.949-950 | 143 |
| 3.128-129 | 323 | 5.962-965 | 54 |
| 3.298 | 532 | 5.1139 | 491 |
| 3.326 | 600 | 5.1221 | 160 |
| 3.358 | 464 | 5.1226-1227 | 583 |
| 3.379-380 | 284 | 5.1201 | 56 |
| 3.488; 655 | 411 | 5.1251 | 131 |
| 3.615 | 203 | 5.1435 | 532 |
| 3.776 | 213 | 6.65 | 614 |
| 3.847-848; 952 | 694 | 6.73 | 379 |
| 3.929-930 | 385 | 6.73-74 | 5 |
| 3.995 | 411 | 6.93-94 | 433 |
| 3.1001 | 168 | 6.96-422 | 208 |
| 3.1025 | 452 | 6.101 | 160 |
| 3.1070 | 340 | 6.109-110 | 417 |
| 4.33-34 | 210 | 6.197-198 | 551 |
| 4.96-98 | 2 | 6.199 | 442 |
| 4.127 | 99 | 6.340-342 | 175 |
| 4.479 | 380 | 6.367 | 646 |
| 4.492 | 701 | 6.588 | 464 |
| 4.533-534 | 460 | 6.701 | 168 |
| 4.681 | 132 | 6.737 | 607 |
| 4.710-711 | 681 | 6.739-847 | 512 |
| 4.758 | 203 | 6.797 | 464 |
| 4.907-908 | 5 | 6.864 | 352 |
| 4.979 | 411 | 6.881-882 | 567 |
| 4.999 ff. | 132 | 6.903; 1182 | 464 |
| 4.1077 | 245 | 6.1183 | 203 |
| 4.1048 | 1 | 6.1215-1216 | 620 |
| 4.1107 | 311 | 6.1222 | 132 |
| 4.1120 | 2 | 6.1225-1226 | 467 |
| 4.1136 | 151 | | |
| 4.1209-1230 | 84 | Lycophron | |
| 4.1250 | 491 | <i>Alex.</i> | |
| 4.1264 | 551 | 1271-1272 | 347 |
| 5.28 | 511 | | |
| 5.89-90 | 614 | Macrobius | |
| 5.112 | 364 | <i>Sat.</i> | |
| 5.153-154 | 10 | 3.3 | 638 |
| 5.277 | 143 | 4.6 | 669 |
| 5.389 | 119 | 5.6 | 238, 441 |

| | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|-------------------------|----------|
| <i>Sat. (cont.)</i> | | 8.77-5 | 454 |
| 5.11 | 365 | 9.38.3 | 278 |
| 5.13 | 176 | 10.1.3 | 589 |
| 5.19 | 698 | 11.21.5 | 131 |
| 6.1 | 129, 398, 482 | 11.39.3 | 454 |
| | | 12.36.2 | 262 |
| Manilius | | 12.55.11 | 420 |
| <i>Ast.</i> | | 14.12.6.2; 14.13.8.1 | 262 |
| 1.1-2 | 519 | <i>Spect.</i> | |
| 1.51-52 | 150 | 4.1 | 5 |
| 1.152; 157 | 278 | Moretum | |
| 1.181 | 531 | 2 | 201 |
| 1.214-167 Goold | 24 | Naevius | |
| 1.239 | 491 | fr. 3 Morel | 427 |
| 1.306 | 482 | Nigidius Figulus | |
| 1.472; 529 | 578 | fr. 39-39a Funaioli | 57 |
| 1.543 | 19 | Octavius Avitus | |
| 1.763-764 | 37 | p. 544 Funaioli | 404 |
| 1.776 | 313 | Orosius | |
| 1.896-897 | 43 | 6.19.17 | 689 |
| 2.43 | 525 | Ovid | |
| 2.53 | 404 | <i>Am.</i> | |
| 2.62 | 520 | 1.7.49-51 | 477 |
| 2.233 | 520 | 1.11.17-18 | 477 |
| 2.618 | 539 | 1.12.19 | 462 |
| 2.742 | 578 | 2.1.7-8 | 1 |
| 2.925 | 18 | 2.1.23-26 | 489 |
| 3.18-19 | 489 | 2.3.17 | 364 |
| 3.310 | 520 | 2.5.59 | 420 |
| 3.627 | 326 | 2.6.8 | 360 |
| 3.641 | 525 | 2.8.19-20 | 542 |
| 3.650 | 19 | 2.10.13 | 578 |
| 3.654-655 | 525 | 2.18.25 | 117 |
| 4.74 | 19 | 2.18.31 | 117, 335 |
| 4.171 | 57 | 3.1.31 | 217 |
| 4.199 | 463 | 3.2.21-22 | 542 |
| 4.728 | 257 | 3.7.29 | 508 |
| 4.813-814 | 628 | 3.7.35 | 493 |
| 5.100 | 491 | 3.7.73-74 | 536 |
| 5.202 | 131 | 3.9.32 | 17 |
| 5.220-222 | 532 | 3.10.14 | 427 |
| 5.402 | 57 | 3.11b.51 | 430 |
| | | 3.14.25 | 460 |
| Martial | | | |
| <i>Ep.</i> | | | |
| 2.46.3 | 567 | | |
| 2.75.9 | 305 | | |
| 4.11.10 | 305 | | |
| 5.19.7 | 420 | | |
| 6.64; 8.50.25 | 296 | | |

| | | | |
|----------------|---------|-------------|----------|
| <i>Ars</i> | | 3.612; 623 | 335 |
| 1.257 | 67, 689 | 3.711 | 6 |
| 1.275 | 171 | 3.737 | 257 |
| 1.298 | 70 | 3.827 | 6 |
| 1.464 | 460 | 3.861 | 637 |
| 1.633; 657 | 542 | 4.3 ff. | 2 |
| 2.100 | 427 | 4.36 | 536 |
| 2.312 | 326 | 4.358 | 105 |
| 2.337 | 417 | 4.514 | 467 |
| 2.425 | 493 | 4.531 | 486 |
| 2.507 | 277 | 4.657-658 | 602 |
| 2.559 | 95 | 4.793 | 12 |
| 2.573 | 296 | 4.827 | 439 |
| 3.40 | 335 | 4.830 | 45 |
| 3.322 | 511 | 5.132 | 326 |
| 3.375 | 668 | 5.275 | 362 |
| 3.393 | 453 | 5.323 | 454 |
| 3.424 | 100 | 5.363 | 567 |
| 3.455 | 360 | 5.387-388 | 537 |
| 3.503 | 454 | 5.637 | 249 |
| 3.660 | 360 | 5.666 | 259 |
| 3.713-714 | 8 | 6.242 | 305 |
| 3.725 | 258 | 6.334 | 438 |
| 3.727 | 404 | 6.508 | 576 |
| 3.745-746 | 684 | 6.513-514 | 302 |
| 3.767 | 19 | 5.535 | 244 |
| <i>Fasti</i> | | 6.331 | 5 |
| 1.26 | 45 | 6.715 | 417 |
| 1.205 | 5 | <i>Her.</i> | |
| 1.242 | 257 | 1.70 | 360 |
| 1.409 | 404 | 2.8 | 360 |
| 1.615 | 45 | 2.18 | 453 |
| 1.659 | 105 | 2.57-58 | 496 |
| 2.37-38 | 596 | 2.78 | 305 |
| 2.62; 127; 658 | 576 | 3.91 | 19 |
| 2.331 | 412 | 3.107 | 357 |
| 2.509 | 278 | 4.78 | 150 |
| 2.551 | 12 | 4.83 | 131 |
| 2.660 | 525 | 4.93 | 404 |
| 3.148 | 305 | 4.149 | 414, 536 |
| 3.337-338 | 325 | 5.116 | 212 |
| 3.416 | 259 | 6.9-10 | 323 |
| 3.473 | 305 | 6.91-92 | 508 |
| 3.525 | 404 | 6.104 | 427 |
| 3.545 | 117 | 6.119 | 478 |
| 3.545-654 | 421 | 7.41 | 539 |
| 3.552 | 36 | 7.51 | 569 |
| 3.553 | 335 | 7.53 | 313 |
| 3.587 | 417 | 7.65 | 408 |

| | | | |
|---------------------|---------|-----------|-----|
| <i>Her. (cont.)</i> | | 1.393 | 178 |
| 7.79 | 305 | 1.452 | 17 |
| 7.99f. | 460 | 1.495-496 | 68 |
| 7.89-90 | 302 | 1.502 | 241 |
| 7.99-102 | 457 | 1.533-538 | 121 |
| 7.102 | 335 | 1.574-575 | 504 |
| 7.107 | 365 | 1.658 | 18 |
| 7.118 | 305 | 1.702 | 257 |
| 7.125 | 36, 326 | 1.769 | 380 |
| 7.133-138 | 327 | 2.394 | 362 |
| 7.139-140 | 657 | 2.544 | 6 |
| 7.149-150 | 104 | 2.581 | 454 |
| 7.167-168 | 537 | 2.704 | 305 |
| 7.171 | 417 | 2.714-721 | 253 |
| 7.184 ff. | 647 | 2.729 | 209 |
| 7.191-192 | 673 | 2.736 | 239 |
| 7.193 | 335 | 2.754 | 11 |
| 10.30 | 417 | 2.809 ff. | 68 |
| 10.58 | 305 | 2.857-858 | 477 |
| 10.115-116 | 307 | 3.168 | 518 |
| 12.23 | 415 | 3.231 | 668 |
| 12.37 | 305 | 3.369 | 460 |
| 12.83 | 536 | 3.430 | 68 |
| 12.153 | 590 | 3.489-490 | 2 |
| 13.110 | 360 | 3.526 | 362 |
| 14.25 | 567 | 3.551-556 | 196 |
| 15.71 | 360 | 3.671-672 | 454 |
| 16.27 | 123 | 4.11 | 558 |
| 16.127 | 430 | 4.14 | 207 |
| 16.197 | 536 | 4.68 | 296 |
| 16.205-206 | 371 | 4.81 | 6 |
| 16.357-358 | 371 | 4.121-124 | 689 |
| 17.12 | 360 | 4.128 | 296 |
| 17.139 | 212 | 4.145 | 688 |
| 19.71 | 53 | 4.201 | 412 |
| 20.42 | 415 | 4.403 | 567 |
| 20.127-128 | 542 | 4.416-417 | 94 |
| 20.185-186 | 542 | 4.521 | 8 |
| 21.71 | 417 | 4.635 | 404 |
| 21.181-182 | 542 | 4.657-660 | 247 |
| <i>Ibis</i> | | 4.667 | 239 |
| 130 | 305 | 4.673-676 | 101 |
| 223 | 462 | 4.721-722 | 176 |
| 329 | 207 | 4.741 | 249 |
| 414 | 549 | 4.780 | 558 |
| 487-488 | 146 | 5.10 | 516 |
| <i>Met.</i> | | 5.85 | 191 |
| 1.163 | 372 | 5.110 | 637 |
| 1.285 | 164 | 5.156 | 621 |

| | | | |
|------------|-----|-------------|-----|
| 5.177 | 19 | 10.609 | 362 |
| 5.275 | 100 | 10.654 | 240 |
| 5.550 | 462 | 11.41 | 590 |
| 6.12 | 94 | 11.48 | 417 |
| 6.185-186 | 179 | 11.132 | 207 |
| 6.233 | 417 | 11.272 | 11 |
| 6.412-674 | 602 | 11.290 | 364 |
| 6.432 | 462 | 11.439-440 | 554 |
| 6.445 | 588 | 11.477 | 417 |
| 6.472 | 412 | 11.586 | 486 |
| 6.507 | 558 | 11.589-591 | 587 |
| 6.539 | 705 | 11.702 | 340 |
| 6.542 | 204 | 11.749-795 | 254 |
| 6.587-588 | 302 | 11.773-776 | 254 |
| 6.715 | 217 | 12.39-63 | 173 |
| 7.47 | 298 | 12.161 | 14 |
| 7.100 | 6 | 12.288 | 589 |
| 7.182 | 518 | 12.424-425 | 684 |
| 7.183 | 509 | 12.542-543 | 412 |
| 7.185 | 467 | 12.613 | 40 |
| 7.204-206 | 490 | 13.5 | 590 |
| 7.396 | 621 | 13.31 | 191 |
| 7.403 | 112 | 13.74 | 644 |
| 7.749 | 19 | 13.292 | 578 |
| 7.835 | 6 | 13.419 | 417 |
| 7.836 | 404 | 13.538 | 279 |
| 7.860-861 | 684 | 13.585-586 | 536 |
| 8.342 | 131 | 13.669 | 58 |
| 8.356 | 530 | 13.763 | 68 |
| 8.417 | 621 | 13.856 | 19 |
| 8.515-517 | 68 | 13.966 | 362 |
| 8.552-553 | 160 | 14.82 | 257 |
| 8.681 | 205 | 14.156 | 50 |
| 8.739 | 204 | 14.404 | 510 |
| 9.27 | 362 | 14.433 | 417 |
| 9.40 | 160 | 14.490 | 491 |
| 9.137 ff. | 173 | 14.495 | 576 |
| 9.242 | 150 | 14.800 | 275 |
| 9.271 | 177 | 15.14 | 404 |
| 9.469 | 5 | 15.34-35 | 504 |
| 9.473 | 364 | 14.235 | 326 |
| 9.600 | 8 | 15.359 | 12 |
| 9.635 | 100 | 15.426 | 278 |
| 10.8 | 404 | 15.665 | 6 |
| 10.40 | 362 | 15.807 | 40 |
| 10.369-370 | 2 | 15.815 | 508 |
| 10.424 | 105 | <i>Rem.</i> | |
| 10.428 | 564 | 87 | 427 |
| 10.453 | 462 | 250 | 493 |
| 10.591 | 239 | 281-282 | 531 |

Rem. (cont.)

| | |
|-----|-----|
| 509 | 360 |
| 531 | 417 |
| 414 | 100 |
| 592 | 467 |
| 593 | 302 |
| 596 | 257 |
| 597 | 305 |
| 674 | 100 |

Trist.

| | |
|----------|-----|
| 1.2.73 | 430 |
| 1.2.91 | 417 |
| 1.4.5 | 454 |
| 1.9.53 | 100 |
| 2.1.237 | 232 |
| 2.1.480 | 467 |
| 3.3.47 | 100 |
| 3.14.1 | 576 |
| 4.1.47 | 486 |
| 4.2.51 | 6 |
| 4.2.59 | 62 |
| 4.7.16 | 511 |
| 4.9.16 | 627 |
| 4.10.103 | 19 |
| 5.2.24 | 486 |
| 5.4.47 | 539 |
| 5.4.48 | 212 |
| 5.8.21 | 100 |

Ex Pont.

| | |
|-----------|-----|
| 1.2.141 | 221 |
| 1.7.33 | 536 |
| 2.2.11-12 | 179 |
| 2.2.77-78 | 536 |
| 2.3.36 | 467 |
| 2.4.25-26 | 309 |
| 3.1.83 | 420 |
| 3.2.75 | 637 |
| 3.5.31 | 536 |
| 4.3.17 | 305 |
| 4.3.27 | 12 |

Pacuvius

| | |
|-----------------|-----|
| fr. 232 Ribbeck | 65 |
| fr. 347 | 130 |

Persius

| | |
|---------|-----|
| s. 1.32 | 262 |
| 3.52 | 415 |
| 5.28-29 | 244 |
| 5.83 | 340 |

Petronius*Sat.*

| | |
|--------|-----|
| 97.9 | 621 |
| 111.12 | 34 |
| 112.2 | 38 |
| 124.1 | 258 |
| 126.6 | 486 |

Pindar*Pyth.*

| | |
|----------|-----|
| 4.60 (c) | 335 |
| 4.75 (a) | 518 |

Plautus*Amphit.*

| | |
|-----|-----|
| 282 | 12 |
| 884 | 190 |

Aul.

| | |
|------|-----|
| 7307 | 12 |
| 84 | 555 |

Bacchid.

| | |
|-----|----|
| 394 | 54 |
|-----|----|

Casina

| | |
|-----|-----|
| 102 | 516 |
|-----|-----|

Epid.

| | |
|-----|-----|
| 561 | 327 |
|-----|-----|

Merc.

| | |
|-----|----|
| 600 | 53 |
| 914 | 12 |

Miles

| | |
|------------------|-----|
| 1265; 1413; 1421 | 163 |
|------------------|-----|

Most.

| | |
|-----|----|
| 243 | 66 |
|-----|----|

Poen.

| | |
|-----|-----|
| 237 | 420 |
|-----|-----|

Pseud.

| | |
|------|-----|
| 648 | 131 |
| 1302 | 12 |

Rudens

| | |
|-----|-----|
| 160 | 576 |
|-----|-----|

Truc.

| | |
|-----|-----|
| 730 | 190 |
|-----|-----|

Vid.

| | |
|----|----|
| 44 | 12 |
|----|----|

Pliny Maior

| | |
|-------|-----|
| 5.13 | 247 |
| 7.191 | 37 |
| 8.65 | 367 |
| 8.165 | 515 |

| | | | |
|------------------------|----------|--------------------------|-----|
| 9.135 | 262 | 3.24.15 | 612 |
| 11.109 | 405 | 4.1.24 | 50 |
| 14.147-148 | 303 | 4.1b.103 | 257 |
| 37.115-118 | 261 | 4.1b.145 | 201 |
| | | 4.4.19 | 257 |
| Pliny Minor | | 4.4.72 | 590 |
| <i>Pan.</i> | | 4.4.79 | 201 |
| 29.2.3 | 628 | 4.5.3 | 34 |
| 69.4.3 | 4 | 4.5.18 | 515 |
| | | 4.7.13 | 305 |
| Plutarch | | 4.7.37 | 422 |
| <i>Vit. Ant.</i> | | 4.7.52 | 511 |
| 22; 33; 50; 60 | 303 | 4.8.19 | 422 |
| 75 | 303 | 4.8.52 | 646 |
| 76-77 | 673, 689 | 4.8.71 | 339 |
| 82 | 589 | 4.9.71 | 576 |
| <i>Vit. Pomp.</i> | | 4.11.54 | 417 |
| 12 | 196 | 4.11.55 | 493 |
| | | | |
| Pomponius Mela | | Quintilian | |
| 2.43 | 252 | <i>Inst. Orat.</i> | |
| | | 1.5.28.2-3 | 525 |
| Precatio Terrae | | 8.3.54 | 359 |
| 16-17 | 204 | 8.3.26 | 258 |
| | | 8.3.27 | 293 |
| Priapea | | 8.3.67-70 | 669 |
| 67 | 335 | 8.3.73 | 144 |
| | | 9.2.64 | 550 |
| | | | |
| Propertius | | Ps.-Quintilian | |
| c. 1.1.4-6 | 412 | <i>Dec. Maior.</i> | |
| 1.3.34 | 690 | 9.3.24 | 293 |
| 1.8.17-18 | 547 | | |
| 1.9.3 | 414 | Quintus Smyrnaeus | |
| 1.14.16 | 33 | <i>Post.</i> | |
| 1.16.14 | 201 | 1.62 ff. | 700 |
| 1.17.25-26 | 574 | 14.270 | 30 |
| 2.1.39-40 | 179 | 14.467 ff. | 694 |
| 2.1.72 | 392 | | |
| 2.28.17-18 | 61 | Sallust | |
| 2.28.61 | 201 | <i>Hist.</i> | |
| 2.29a.15-16 | 688 | 1.53 Maurenbrecher | 196 |
| 2.30a.506 | 239 | 2.50.1 | 290 |
| 2.34.9 | 305 | | |
| 3.4.3 | 37 | Santra | |
| 3.4.12 | 694 | <i>Nuptiae Bacchi</i> | |
| 3.8.3 | 646 | fr. 1.2 Ribbeck | 666 |
| 3.11.56 | 1 | | |
| 3.11.63 | 590 | | |
| 3.17.40 | 510 | | |

| | | | |
|--|---------|-------------------------|----------|
| Seneca | | 432-433 | 477 |
| <i>de Ben.</i> | | 634 | 296, 412 |
| 5.17.5:3 | 653 | 676-677 | 489 |
| 7.25.2 | 373-374 | <i>Phoen.</i> | |
| <i>Dial.</i> | | 599; 614 | 350 |
| 4.33.6 | 528 | <i>Thyest.</i> | |
| 7.19.1 | 653 | 253 | 101 |
| 9.11.10 | 10 | 488 | 420 |
| <i>Ep. Mor.</i> | | 790 | 123 |
| 6.13.5 | 490 | 908 | 567 |
| 12.9.4 | 653 | 993 | 451 |
| 64.4.7 | 159 | 1054-1055 | 621 |
| 102.30.6 | 3 | <i>Troad.</i> | |
| <i>Ag.</i> | | 472-473 | 344 |
| 60; 592 | 5 | 863 | 45 |
| 542-543 | 567 | 894-895 | 620 |
| 722-723 | 4 | | |
| 802 | 208 | Ps.-Seneca | |
| <i>HF</i> | | <i>Oct.</i> | |
| 1-2 | 324 | 611; 631 | 326 |
| 184 | 110 | 653-654 | 639 |
| 186 | 11 | 717-718 | 5 |
| 687 | 462 | 964 | 204 |
| 1021 | 621 | | |
| 704-705 | 15 | Serenus | |
| 1082-1083 | 533 | <i>Lib. Med.</i> | |
| 1315 | 19 | 15.269 | 486 |
| <i>HO</i> | | Sextus Turpilius | |
| 700-702 | 302 | fr. 118 Ribbeck | 576 |
| 1139-1140; 1145-1146; 1158-1159; 1734-1735 | 179 | | |
| | 563 | Silius Italicus | |
| 1232; 1350 | 563 | <i>Pun.</i> | |
| 1484 | 19 | 1.91 | 646 |
| 1856 | 549 | 1.106 | 344 |
| <i>Med.</i> | | 1.107 | 520 |
| 68 | 45 | 1.114-115 | 626 |
| 385 | 3 | 1.124 | 364 |
| 751 | 477 | 1.202-204 | 247 |
| 733 | 462 | 1.207 | 164 |
| 691 | 24 | 1.417 | 36 |
| 752-753 | 509 | 1.535 | 177 |
| 931 | 563 | 1.686 | 43 |
| <i>Oed.</i> | | 2.58 | 36 |
| 338 | 118 | 2.59; 65 | 198 |
| 387 | 549 | 2.150 | 484 |
| 920-921 | 477 | 2.289 | 578 |
| <i>Phaed.</i> | | 2.300 | 260 |
| 50 | 131 | 2.395 ff. | 121 |
| 185 | 100 | | |

| | | | |
|--------------|----------|----------------|-----|
| 2.397-398 | 217 | 8.148 | 663 |
| 2.417-419 | 160 | 8.148-149 | 647 |
| 2.418-419 | 121 | 8.157a | 36 |
| 2.420 | 588 | 8.177 | 563 |
| 2.454 | 364 | 8.177-178 | 533 |
| 2.627-628 | 18 | 8.184 | 278 |
| 3.63-66 | 18 | 8.190 | 257 |
| 3.259 | 313 | 8.243 | 217 |
| 3.465 | 257 | 8.439 | 94 |
| 3.496 | 415 | 8.553-554 | 313 |
| 3.570; 3.674 | 364 | 8.634 | 462 |
| 4.184 | 94 | 8.643 | 589 |
| 4.419 | 364 | 9.101 | 467 |
| 4.567 | 206 | 9.502 | 257 |
| 4.643 | 305 | 9.551 | 694 |
| 4.742 | 249 | 9.607-608 | 567 |
| 4.766-768 | 50 | 9.620 | 206 |
| 4.773 | 654 | 10.182-183 | 621 |
| 4.808 | 364 | 10.219 | 71 |
| 5.21 | 313 | 10.401 | 206 |
| 5.37 | 177 | 11.149 | 112 |
| 5.87-88 | 536 | 11.201; 11.211 | 364 |
| 5.210 | 644 | 11.365-366 | 150 |
| 5.503 | 444 | 11.367 | 477 |
| 5.510-511 | 567 | 11.412 | 206 |
| 5.594 | 67, 689 | 11.461 | 578 |
| 5.624 | 164 | 11.466 | 164 |
| 6.39 | 278 | 12.33 | 94 |
| 6.70-71 | 123 | 12.94/397 | 177 |
| 6.145 | 39 | 12.132 | 26 |
| 6.295 | 277, 364 | 12.548 | 143 |
| 6.308 | 340 | 12.555-556 | 533 |
| 6.353 | 575 | 12.607-608 | 260 |
| 6.518 | 305 | 12.628-629 | 209 |
| 6.555 | 3 | 13.132-133 | 118 |
| 6.560-561 | 343 | 13.145 | 206 |
| 6.667 | 257 | 13.522 | 334 |
| 7.201 | 58 | 13.598 | 462 |
| 7.277 | 313 | 13.616 | 43 |
| 7.287 | 486 | 13.630 | 258 |
| 7.443 | 328 | 13.645 | 340 |
| 7.476 | 578 | 13.661 | 277 |
| 7.737 | 576 | 13.762 | 364 |
| 8.31 | 94 | 13.825 | 67 |
| 8.50-201 | 421 | 13.852 | 334 |
| 8.51-53 | 646 | 14.23 | 2 |
| 8.63-64 | 325 | 14.78 | 257 |
| 8.83-88 | 537 | 14.150 | 143 |
| 8.100 | 65 | 14.351 | 12 |

| | | | |
|---------------------|---------|------------|-----|
| <i>Pun. (cont.)</i> | | 1.654-655 | 525 |
| 14.578-579 | 179 | 1.714-715 | 576 |
| 15.140 | 177 | 2.117-119 | 694 |
| 15.382 | 4 | 2.163 | 334 |
| 15.158 | 364 | 2.253-254 | 412 |
| 15.344 | 39 | 2.308 | 350 |
| 15.389 | 405 | 2.343 | 467 |
| 15.396 | 334 | 2.349-350 | 353 |
| 15.421-422 | 262 | 2.368-370 | 293 |
| 15.591 | 123 | 2.414-415 | 477 |
| 15.612 | 412 | 2.552-553 | 567 |
| 16.189 | 363 | 2.628 | 279 |
| 16.241-242 | 637 | 2.638 | 287 |
| 16.287 | 364 | 2.661-662 | 302 |
| 16.325 | 257 | 3.298 | 477 |
| 16.500-501 | 239 | 3.430 | 190 |
| 16.553 | 206 | 3.467 | 637 |
| 17.35; 17.186 | 364 | 3.479 | 313 |
| 17.72-73 | 18 | 3.511 | 462 |
| 17.202 | 395 | 3.536 | 415 |
| 17.259 | 363 | 3.594 | 179 |
| 17.361 | 17 | 3.720 | 362 |
| 17.475 | 210 | 4.32 | 323 |
| 17.563 | 460 | 4.106-107 | 477 |
| | | 4.122 | 146 |
| | | 4.171 | 454 |
| Sophocles | | 4.270 | 261 |
| <i>Ai.</i> | | 5.119 | 627 |
| 520-522 | 317 | 5.190 | 334 |
| 854 | 451 | 5.218-219 | 308 |
| <i>Ant.</i> | | 5.495 | 467 |
| 1 | 8, 493 | 5.624 | 595 |
| 88 | 34 | 5.691 | 668 |
| <i>Trach.</i> | | 6.127-128 | 4 |
| 912 ff. | 650 | 6.139 | 107 |
| fr. 811 Radt | 24, 569 | 6.185 | 279 |
| | | 6.197 | 305 |
| Statius | | 6.240-241 | 519 |
| <i>Theb.</i> | | 6.363 | 24 |
| 1.232 | 334 | 6.602 | 241 |
| 1.258 | 208 | 6.681 | 177 |
| 1.293 | 258 | 7.68 | 404 |
| 1.303-304 | 239 | 7.74 | 258 |
| 1.316 | 3 | 7.111-112 | 183 |
| 1.339-341 | 528 | 7.154 | 364 |
| 1.365 | 164 | 7.299-300 | 412 |
| 1.455 | 352 | 7.362 | 364 |
| 1.495 | 376 | 7.366 | 244 |
| 1.520 | 123 | 7.693; 810 | 694 |
| 1.559 | 57 | | |

| | | | |
|----------------|-----|--------------------|---------|
| 8.33 | 364 | 2.1.47 | 698 |
| 8.143-144 | 26 | 2.1.89 | 258 |
| 8.218 | 545 | 2.2.26 | 380 |
| 8.460 | 164 | 2.2.39 | 45 |
| 8.641-644 | 324 | 2.2.140 | 5 |
| 9.811; 884 | 364 | 2.2.149-150 | 477 |
| 9.901-902 | 536 | 2.3.42 | 222 |
| 9.904 | 415 | 2.6.4-5 | 516 |
| 10.107 | 486 | 3.1.73-75 | 160-173 |
| 10.174 | 525 | 3.1.74 | 335 |
| 10.326 | 486 | 3.1.102 | 334 |
| 10.464 | 334 | 3.2.61 | 590 |
| 10.465 | 57 | 3.2.82-83 | 530 |
| 10.831-832 | 26 | 3.2.123 | 10 |
| 10.927 | 363 | 3.3.8 | 553 |
| 11.7-8 | 179 | 3.3.15 | 471 |
| 11.75 | 364 | 3.3.205 | 362 |
| 11.215 | 12 | 3.4.93 | 105 |
| 11.303 | 545 | 3.5.11 | 477 |
| 11.362 | 364 | 3.5.74 | 45 |
| 11.569 | 305 | 4.1.15-16 | 205 |
| 12.77 | 12 | 4.1.16 | 364 |
| 12.93 | 326 | 4.1.37 | 589 |
| 12.274-275 | 179 | 4.2.1 | 335 |
| 12.291 | 486 | 4.2.53 | 480 |
| 12.373 | 364 | 4.3.123 | 364 |
| 12.393 | 519 | 4.5.11 | 415 |
| 12.447 | 343 | 5.1.195-196 | 684 |
| 12.532 | 17 | 5.1.206 | 467 |
| 12.599 | 528 | 5.1.241 | 578 |
| 12.613 | 525 | 5.1.248 | 693 |
| 12.760 | 644 | 5.2.14 | 19 |
| <i>Achill.</i> | | 5.2.17 | 191 |
| 1.11 | 637 | 5.2.85-86 | 412 |
| 1.27-28 | 313 | 5.2.120 | 335 |
| 1.122 | 627 | 5.2.142 | 49 |
| 1.140 | 334 | 5.2.170 | 174 |
| 1.686 | 395 | 5.3.115 | 217 |
| 1.737 | 277 | 5.3.240-241 | 18 |
| 1.956 | 362 | | |
| 2.16 | 364 | Strabo | |
| 2.102-104 | 151 | 8.3.4 | 252 |
| <i>Silv.</i> | | 17.3.2 | 247 |
| 1.1.8 | 323 | | |
| 1.1.67 | 94 | Suetonius | |
| 1.2.63 | 364 | <i>Vit. Claud.</i> | |
| 1.5.34 | 313 | 21.6.9 | 601 |
| 1.5.60 | 10 | <i>Vit. Ner.</i> | |
| 1.6.89-90 | 567 | 31-32 | 75 |

Tacitus*Ann.*

| | |
|-------|-----|
| 1.42 | 354 |
| 1.47 | 15 |
| 1.70 | 309 |
| 2.53 | 654 |
| 2.82 | 553 |
| 15.37 | 352 |

Hist.

| | |
|------|-----|
| 1.48 | 221 |
| 2.68 | 405 |
| 2.78 | 3 |
| 3.18 | 603 |
| 4.55 | 40 |

Terence*Adelph.*

| | |
|---------------|-----|
| 111; 196; 366 | 590 |
|---------------|-----|

And.

| | |
|-----|-----|
| 257 | 279 |
| 294 | 318 |
| 401 | 327 |
| 421 | 279 |
| 732 | 590 |

Eun.

| | |
|---------|-----|
| 413 | 54 |
| 448-449 | 1 |
| 550 | 590 |
| 739 | 12 |

Heauton

| | |
|-----|-----|
| 258 | 549 |
|-----|-----|

Hec.

| | |
|-----|-----|
| 363 | 359 |
|-----|-----|

Phorm.

| | |
|---------|-----|
| 635 | 295 |
| 902-903 | 420 |

Terentianus Maurus*De Litt.*

| | |
|-----------|---|
| 1843 Keil | 1 |
|-----------|---|

Theocritus*Id.*

| | |
|---------|----------|
| 2 | 487, 508 |
| 2.48-49 | 515 |
| 3.15-16 | 365 |
| 27.22 | 37 |

Tibullus

| | |
|-----------|-----|
| c. 1.2.9 | 360 |
| 1.2.43-52 | 489 |
| 1.2.59-62 | 487 |
| 1.3.67 | 26 |
| 1.4.21-22 | 542 |
| 1.4.71 | 360 |
| 1.5.66 | 518 |
| 1.5.75 | 171 |
| 1.7.31 | 415 |
| 1.8.57 | 171 |
| 1.9.3-4 | 542 |
| 2.1.56 | 415 |
| 2.1.81 | 576 |
| 2.4.58 | 515 |
| 2.5.57-58 | 355 |

Ps.-Tibullus

| | |
|------------|-----|
| c. 3.2.21 | 417 |
| 3.6.38 | 207 |
| 3.6.39-40 | 542 |
| 3.6.49-50 | 542 |
| 3.7.10 | 578 |
| 3.10.9 | 576 |
| 3.11.12 | 576 |
| 3.12.16-18 | 68 |
| 3.14.7 | 22 |

Timaeus

| | |
|------------------------------|-----|
| fr. 23 Müller/566 F82 Jacoby | 211 |
|------------------------------|-----|

Titinius

| | |
|------------------|-----|
| fr. 34/5 Ribbeck | 402 |
|------------------|-----|

Turpilius

| | |
|----------------|-----|
| fr. 31 Ribbeck | 217 |
|----------------|-----|

Valerius Flaccus*Arg.*

| | |
|-----------|-----|
| 1.11 | 576 |
| 1.38-39 | 477 |
| 1.97 | 415 |
| 1.105 | 358 |
| 1.234 | 376 |
| 1.172 | 78 |
| 1.266 | 430 |
| 1.278-279 | 637 |
| 1.383 | 12 |

| | | | |
|-----------|----------|----------------------------|-----|
| 1.436 | 258 | 6.61 | 75 |
| 1.769 | 694 | 6.288 | 576 |
| 2.52 | 590 | 6.327 | 430 |
| 2.103 | 217 | 6.458-459 | 92 |
| 2.104-105 | 642 | 6.478 | 504 |
| 2.167 | 12 | 6.679 | 277 |
| 2.174 | 146 | 7.112 | 438 |
| 2.258 | 491 | 7.141-152 | 466 |
| 2.259-260 | 302 | 7.147-148 | 471 |
| 2.295 | 486 | 7.192 | 508 |
| 2.297 | 306 | 7.372 | 123 |
| 2.567-568 | 533, 563 | 8.35 | 114 |
| 3.11 | 40 | 8.56 | 177 |
| 3.210-211 | 352 | 8.115 | 518 |
| 3.238 | 177 | 8.122 | 525 |
| 3.350-351 | 567 | 8.283-283 | 18 |
| 3.510 | 40 | 8.428 | 210 |
| 3.514-515 | 4 | 8.458 | 4 |
| 3.555 | 380 | | |
| 3.602 | 463 | Varro Atacinus | |
| 3.697 | 590 | fr. 10.2 Courtney | 5 |
| 4.117 | 553 | | |
| 4.260 | 454 | Varro Reatinus | |
| 4.276-277 | 169 | <i>de Lingua Latina</i> | |
| 4.293 | 558 | 5.31.1 | 269 |
| 4.336 | 506 | fr. 140 Funaioli | 698 |
| 4.461 | 639 | | |
| 4.476 | 12 | Velleius Paterculus | |
| 4.734 | 57 | 2.30.2 | 196 |
| 5.75 | 12 | 2.79.4 | 603 |
| 5.263-264 | 533 | | |
| 5.367 | 150 | Vellius Longus | |
| 5.509 | 319 | <i>De Orthographia</i> | |
| 5.691 | 694 | 69.22 Keil | 1 |

Index Nominum

numeri = versus *Aeneidos* libri quarti

- Acca 7
Aeneas 74, 117, 142, 150, 191, 214, 260, 279,
304, 329, 393, 466, 554, 571
Aethiopia/Aethiopians 481
Africa 37
Agamemnon 471
Agathyrsi 146
Ajax 584, 646, 649
Alps/Alpine 442
Amor 412
Anchises 351, 427
Andromache 30
Anna 7, 20, 31, 416, 421, 500, 634
Antigone 7
Antony 47, 303, 361, 436, 673, 689
Apollo 144, 345, 376
Aquila 310
Ariadne 305, 316, 366, 542, 629
Ascanius 84, 156, 234, 274, 354, 602
Atlas 247–248, 481
Aulis 426
Aurora 7, 129, 568, 585
Ausonia 236
Avernus 512

Bacchus/Bacchic 302
Barcaeii 43
Barce 632
Boreas 442

Caesarion 330
Camilla 7, 367, 454, 511, 518, 550–551,
650
Carthage 97, 224, 265, 347, 670
Caucasus 367
Ceres 58
Chalciope 7
Chaos 510
Cithaeron 303
Cleopatra 1, 14, 47, 58, 77, 303, 330, 569, 590,
609, 673, 689, 705
Coeus 179
Cretan 70, 146
Cyllene/Cyllenian 252, 258, 276

Cynthus 147
Cytherea 128

Danaan 425
Dardanus/Dardanian 163, 224, 365, 626,
640, 647, 658, 662
Delos 144
Diana 511
Dictaeon 73
Dido 68, 101, 117, 124, 165, 171, 192, 263, 291,
308, 383, 408, 450, 596, 642
Dirae 473, 610
Dis 702
Dryopes 146

Elissa 335, 610
Enceladus 179
Erebus 26, 510
Eumenides 469
Eurydice 32, 81, 396, 486, 698
Evadne 606

Fama 173, 298, 666
Fortuna 653

Gaetulian 40, 326
Garamantis/Garamantian 198
Greek 228
Gryne/Grynean 345

Hamilcar 670
Hannibal 625, 632, 670
Hecate 511, 609
Hero and Leander 308
Hesperia 355, 484
Hyrcanian 367

Iarbas 36, 196, 326
Ilium/Ilian 46, 78, 537, 648
Iris 694, 700
Ismene 7
Italy/Italian 106, 230, 275, 345–346, 361, 381
Iulus 140, 274, 616

- Jason 518
 Jove 91, 199, 205, 331, 356, 614, 638
 Juno 45, 59, 114, 166, 371, 693
 Jupiter 110, 206, 590

 Laomedon 542
 Latium 432
 Lavinian 236
 Lenaeon 207
 Libya/Libyan 36, 106, 173, 257, 271, 320, 348
 Lyaeus 58
 Lycia/Lycian 143, 346, 377

 Maeonian 216
 Massinissa 133
 Massylia/Massylian 132
 Maurusia(n) 206
 Medea 1, 7, 27, 384, 494, 537, 568–569, 657–658
 “Melissa” 402, 544
 Mercury 222, 558
 Mnestheus 288
 Mormo 570

 Nausicäa 12, 604
 Neoptolemus 13
 Nomades 320, 535
 Numidian 41

 Oceanus 129, 480
 Olympus 268, 694
 Orcus 242, 699
 Orestes 471
 Orion 52
 Orpheus 32, 396, 486, 698

 Paris 215
 Penates 21
 Pentheus 469
 Pergamon 344, 426
 Phaedra 9
 Phoebus 6, 58
 Phoenissa 348, 529

 Phrygian 103, 140
 Polyxena 19
 Priam 13, 343
 Proserpina 698
 Pudor 27
 Punic 49, 134
 Pygmalion 44, 325

 Rome/Roman 234, 275

 Saturnia 92, 371
 Serestus 288
 Sergestus 288
 Sidonian 75, 137, 545, 683
 Sirens 437, 440
 Sol 607
 Sophonisba 132
 Styx/Stygian 638, 699
 Sychaeus 20, 502, 552, 632
 Syrtis 41

 Tartarus 243, 446
 Tellus 166
 Terra 178
 Teucer/Teucrian 48, 230, 397, 537
 Thebes 470
 Theseus 305
 Thyias 302
 Titan 119
 Tithonus 585
 Trivia 609
 Troy/Trojan 111, 124, 162, 165, 191, 312–313, 342, 425
 Turnus 1, 705
 Tyre/Tyrian 36, 43, 104, 111, 162, 224, 321, 468, 544, 622, 670

 Venus 33, 92, 107, 163

 Xanthus 143

 Zephyr(s) 223, 562

Index Rerum

numeri = versus *Aeneidos* Libri Quarti

- ABAB verses 197, 325, 426, 429, 527, 572, 648, 694
ABBA verses 26, 99, 185–186, 199, 210, 236, 260, 299, 318, 343, 345, 348, 399, 451, 470, 472, 553, 583, 628, 655
ablative of cause 110
ablative of comparison 31
ablative of quality 11
ablative of separation 242, 385, 397
acrostics 138, 342, 360–361, 380, 399, 402, 473
adjuration 314
adynata 489
affair between Aeneas and Anna 421
Allen's glory 469
alliteration 2–3, 20, 23, 29, 33–34, 37, 48, 65, 67, 73, 87, 91, 94–95, 102, 104, 109–110, 120, 131, 135, 144, 154, 175–178, 180, 185–188, 192–194, 203–205, 211–214, 216, 218–219, 222–223, 226, 228, 233–235, 238, 241, 243, 248–249, 252, 259, 262, 267, 277, 286, 289, 294, 297, 299, 303, 305–306, 315, 318, 322–323, 326, 332–333, 335, 337–338, 354, 358–359, 368, 382–383, 385, 398, 402, 405, 407, 409, 417, 422, 432, 444, 449, 455, 457–458, 464, 467, 478, 490, 492, 500, 509, 522–523, 526, 530, 533, 540, 547, 549, 555, 558, 562–565, 567, 575, 580–582, 585, 588, 593–594, 596–598, 626, 629, 632, 634–636, 638–639, 648–649, 651, 658
altars 200, 509, 517, 601–605, 610–614, 660–661, 664–665, 673–674, 677, 680, 682, 691, 702–704
ambiguous forms/syntax 11, 110, 124, 298, 337
anachronism 37, 45, 50, 102–103, 379, 496
anaphora 26, 346, 369, 548, 657
animal imagery 69
antithesis 20
ants 401–402
apo koinou construction 79
apostrophe 408, 412–413
apples 484
archaic nominatives 4
archaisms 105, 116, 155, 293, 624
ascending tricolon 47, 55, 421, 635, 650, 667, 676
ashes 34, 427, 633
ash trees 491
assonance 1, 505, 522, 654
asyndeton 161, 373, 377, 627
auditory sensations 359, 667–668, 672
augury 376
Augustan conquest of disorder 482
auspices 45
authorial comments 65, 78
avian imagery 181
Bacchic imagery 300–302
Baehrens' glory 176, 423
banquets 77
baroque descriptions 246–247
bats 184
beards 251
beds/couches 496, 508, 650, 659
bee imagery 86, 335, 695
benefit economy 317, 373, 436
bibulousness 14, 58
biennial rites 302
binding spells 487
birds 253–254, 525
black color 404, 454, 514, 570
blindness 2
blond hair 590, 698
blood 201
bloodshot eyes 643
boars, wild 159
brachylogy 324
bridal bowers 133
bridling 41
bronze 513
cacemphaton 662
caution, lack of 70
caves 124
chariot imagery 245

- chiasmus 1, 26, 48, 210, 260, 299, 345, 426,
 429, 451, 470, 472, 553, 583, 628, 655,
 694
 childlessness 330
 chill of death 385
 chromatic imagery 61, 129, 139, 159, 262,
 454, 559, 570, 700
 cleromancy 346
 colorless words 49, 74
conclamatio 665
 constellations 52, 481
 contractuals, poignant 312
 convoluted word order 28
 corpses, unburied 620
 cranes, construction 89
cum-inversum construction 7
 cypress 507

 dactylic rhythm 81, 529, 565, 574, 626
 dance 145
 dance, liturgical 62
 dative of advantage 344
 dative of agent 327
 dawn passages 6, 129, 584–585
 day of doom 169
 death puppet 508
 deer 69
 deictics 347, 419, 560, 568, 591, 614, 647,
 680, 702
 deliberative subjunctive 677
 dental alliteration 95, 104, 113, 219, 224, 263,
 291, 349, 380, 428, 434, 446, 448, 563,
 594, 596–597, 651, 661, 676, 702
 deserts 42, 468
devotio 652
 dew imagery 700
 diarsis 172, 372, 385
 diastole 64, 146, 222
 diminutives 328
 dogs 121, 132
 dragon of the Hesperides 484
 dreams/dream imagery 9, 353, 465–467,
 556–557, 571
 drinking metaphors 14, 359, 661
 dust 155

 elbows 690
 elegiac imagery 38
 elision 76, 107, 148, 151, 154, 197, 278, 395, 570
 ellipsis 98, 142
 emphatic negatives 36
 emptiness 82, 468
 enjambment 4, 21, 29, 42–43, 48, 64, 72,
 82, 85, 100, 133, 154, 163, 165, 168, 206,
 214, 217, 221, 229–231, 239–241, 243, 261,
 275–276, 297, 302, 321, 331–332, 342,
 346, 380, 388, 391, 405–406, 436, 439,
 497, 524, 537–538, 541, 566, 572, 579,
 590, 601, 618–619, 623, 646, 688, 691
 epanalepsis 26, 174
 epexegetical conjunctions 21
 Epicureanism 59, 65, 379, 532
 epigrammatic expression 298
 epithets 25
errans (of Dido) 15, 68, 81, 281, 684
 eros-thanatos imagery 17
 Etruscan rituals 64
 evergreens/holly bushes 505
 exaggeration, rhetorical 40
 expression, economy of 1
 “eyes of Rumor” 182
 eyes/eyeballs 363–364
 eyes of the dead 244

 fate 14, 110, 440, 519, 696
 fatherhood 351, 605
figura etymologica 3, 20, 670, 680, 684
 fillets 637
 fire imagery 494, 640, 682, 697, 705
 fish 255
 flame of love 2, 23, 54, 66, 567
 fleeces 459
folie à deux 115
 fortifications 87–89
 fratricide 21
 fricative alliteration 110, 369, 376, 399, 430,
 567, 575, 580, 594, 603, 626
 fury and madness 65, 69
 future imperatives 35, 237, 624

 Garamantian promiscuity 198
 garlands 202, 418, 637
 genitive in expressions of remembrance 39
 ghosts 34
 ghoulish aestheticism 665
 gift-giving (and Dido) 63
 girdle loosening 55
 glory 272

- goats 152
 gold, Dido's predeliction for 138, 263
 golden lines 139
 graffiti, Pompeian 223
 grain/spelt 402, 517
 Grecisms 11, 38, 146
 groves 118
 guests 10, 51
 gutturals 154, 664

 hail 120
 hairstyle 147–148, 559, 590
 hallucinations 456, 466
hamartia 19
 haruspicy 62–63
 hemistichs 44, 361, 400, 503, 516
 hendiadys 18, 636
 heroes/heroism 447
hippomanes 515–516
 homoioteleuton 299
 honey 486, 544
 hope and expectation 274
 horsemanship 156
 horses 135
 hospitality 10, 51
 howling 168, 609
 hunting metaphors 297
 hunting snares 121
 hunts, royal 134
 hypallage 132, 586, 683
 hyperbaton 21, 74, 137, 158, 232, 287, 292,
 349, 360, 382, 397, 405, 434, 441, 455,
 463–464, 495, 520, 540, 584, 588,
 626, 630, 645, 647, 654, 657, 662–
 664
 hyperbole 197
hysteron proteron 6, 154

 ice 251
 imperfect, classic use of 149, 331, 555, 686
 impersonal verbs 151
 incense 453
 incest 84
 inconsistencies 345
 infernal waters 512
 inflected languages, magic of 83
 insomnia 3, 5, 9
 interjections 13, 152
 introspection, protagonist's 340–341

 “Irish kennagh” 668
 irony 5, 50, 93, 129, 218

 joy 140, 157

 kingdom diversion 106
 kri-kri, Cretan 152

 lack of knowledge 72
 lamias 436
 last words 650
 leonine verses 288
 libations 61, 207
 lifespan, mortal 653
 lightning 25, 167
 lingering (*cunctantem*) 133
 lions 159
 liquid alliteration of death 73
 litotes 96
 liturgies, Roman 50
 lock, Dido's 698, 704
 logical inversions 506
 “long dying” 73
 loveliness/handsomeness 60, 141, 432, 589
 lunar imagery 80–81
 luxurious living 271

 marble 392
 marriage 18, 99, 172, 307, 316, 461
 marrow, bone 66
 matricide 471
 medical metaphors 1–2, 35, 66–67, 101, 389
 memory 335–336, 521
 midverse, prominence at 92, 111, 117, 162,
 195, 334, 374, 498, 704
 milk 514
 missile weapons 71
 misogyny 95, 211, 570
 molossus 232
 monarchy, Roman disdain for 47
 monosandalism 518
 monsters 181, 642
more ferarum lifestyle 550–551
 “most difficult verse in Virgil” 436
 mountains 151

nefas 84–85
 negatives, postponed 33, 365
 neologisms 3, 41, 454

- neoteric style 33
 nets, hunting 131
 New Comedy 9
 night imagery 26, 123, 352, 522
 noise 179
 nuptial song 99, 127
 nurses 9, 634

 oaths 24, 357
 obscenity 33
 omnipotence of Juno 693
 oneiric torment 9
 oratorical language 108
 orgiastic rites 303
 ornamental epithets 73, 91
 owls 462
 oxymoron 26, 103, 362

 "paleographical messes" 225
 pallor/paleness 499, 644
 papyrological evidence for Virgil's text 423
 paratactic syntax 56
 paranomasia 178
 passive infinitives 112, 158, 160
 passive participle with accusative 137
 pastoral imagery 71
 pectoral transfixion 4
 pedigree of heroes 12
 perfect tense denoting swiftness 153, 582
 periphrasis 31
 pests 90
 Phrygian effeminacy 103, 215, 266
 physical appearance 11, 150
 "piety," of Aeneas 393
 pine trees 249
 planets 520
 pleonasm 24, 531
 plosive alliteration 238, 565, 598, 602, 673, 682
 poeticisms 284
 poison/venom 2, 514
 polyptoton 437, 603, 629
 poppy 486
 postponement of negatives 33
 postposition 324
 potentiality 24
 prayers 521
 processions, liturgical 56
 prolative infinitives 639

 prolepsis 22, 35, 442, 566
 propriety 170
 prosaic style 115
 psychopomps 242, 558
 pulmonary injuries 689
 Punic perfidy 51, 675
 puns 492
 purification rituals 6
 purple and gold 134, 139
 pyres 504, 529, 645, 661-662

 queen bees 402
 quivers 138

 rainbow imagery 587, 694, 700-701
 rationality/reason 39, 55
 revolution 290
 rhetorical exclamations 14
 right hand 104, 307-308, 314-319, 704
 ring composition 5
 rivers 164
 rumors 173

 sacrifice and sacrificial rituals 57
 sacrificial victims 19, 57, 61
 saffron 700
salutatio 136
 sarcasm 114, 218, 378
 Scribonia allegory 75
 secret love 171
 shadows 7, 351
 shame, sense of 55, 322
 shapeshifters 570
 sheep 57
 ships and vessels 46
 shipwrecks 53
 sibilant alliteration 29, 305, 384, 394, 466, 523, 527, 562, 601, 660, 665, 703-704
 sickles 513
 siege/sack of cities 669
 similes 69-73, 141-150, 252-255, 300-303, 401-411, 437-449, 465-473, 665-671, 476
 sisterhood 7, 179, 634
 sleep/slumber 5, 530
 snakebite 2
 snakes/serpents 472
 snow 250
 solar imagery 119, 607

- sound effects 17, 279–280, 282, 284
 speeches 9
 spondaic rhythm 47, 397, 453, 596
 spurious verses 126, 236, 256, 273, 285–286,
 375, 528
 “staccato expressions” 268
 storm imagery 43, 52, 120, 160, 532, 564
 subjunctive for imperative 487
 suicide 475
 sunset 480
 supplication 414, 424, 535
 sword, provenance of Dido’s suicide weapon
 647
 syncopated verb forms 33, 605
 synecdoche 46, 130, 566

 tarring/greasing of boats 398
 tattooing 146
 tears 30, 370, 413, 449, 548, 649
 temples and shrines 56, 457
 temporal markers 6, 35, 693
 temporal terror 627
 Thesmophoria 58
 thread of life 631
 “three hundred” 510
 throwing oneself on the bed, of girls 83
 thunder 122, 510
 tigers 367
 tmesis 24
 tombs 29
 tomorrow 118
 torches 18, 505, 604
 tragic theater 469
 transitional expressions 685
 trees 441

 triads, divine 58
 trickery and deceit 17, 97, 128, 283
 tripartite arrangement 1, 183, 296
 triumphs/ovations 543
 Trojan perfidy 542
 tyranny 320

 underworld spector, Dido as 610
 unfulfilled wishes 678
univira 15, 172, 502, 552
 “unlucky superlatives” 291
 urban theme 300
 uxoriousness 266

 vault of heaven 482
 “venomous lines” 103
 verbal enactment 660
 Virgilian tags 1, 373
 virginity 511, 550–551
 void/space 433

 wealth 75
 weaving metaphors 119, 264
 widowhood 27
 will, free 125, 696
 winds 223, 310, 442
 wine 58, 455
 wings 180
 winter 52, 143, 193, 309, 403, 578

 yoking 16
 youth 32, 86, 559
 youth of Dido 1

 zeugma 131, 293