

pneumothorax in which the effect of the wound would lead to the presence of air in the pleural space, and the heart and great vessels would be pushed across to the other side until the heart is prevented from working. Air would enter, rather than leave, the wound, and it would do so with a hissing sound -- and Anna could, in fact, probably have saved her sister's life quite easily, if only she had been familiar with the comparatively simple treatment for pneumothorax. (A wound of the lung itself, on the other hand, would have led to haemoptysis, of which there is no mention).

Nor does this passage stand alone in Virgil in its clinical accuracy. The use of singultans of the blood 'gulping' from the body of Remus after his head is struck off (Aen. ix.332-3) can hardly be due to anything but accurate observation; for the behaviour of a severed artery is not something which could have been deduced or imagined at a time when the circulation of the blood was not yet understood. And when Virgil wants to describe a penetrating wound of the heart, as he apparently does in the case of Euryalus (ix.431-4), he again does it accurately -- and in terms very different from those he uses in connexion with Dido or, for that matter, with Camilla (ix.816-31).

We are, then, in a position to say that our difficult line must mean 'the wound thrust beneath her breast(bone) hissed aloud'; and Virgil can be given high marks as a clinical observer; though it is hardly as a clinical observer that he would wish to be judged. Yet an accurate description can at times strike chords in a reader which the conventional or fictitious description cannot strike, especially perhaps when it comes at an 'unbearable climax' in the poem and when the description is of something which all too many of Virgil's readers may themselves have seen in the turbulent days that preceded the pax Augusta. And in highlighting the sound of the wound in the present passage, by contrast with the tacitum vulnus earlier in the book, Virgil provides an admirable example of the integration of accurate observation with the highest poetic imagination.

F.L.D. STEEL, M.B., B.S., M.Sc., Senior Lecturer in Anatomy, and L.A. MORITZ, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Latin, University College, Cardiff.

VIRGIL, Aeneid vi. 384-476

It is useful sometimes to consider a passage of Virgil in a more leisurely and discursive way than is possible within the normal limits of a commentary. I have chosen a familiar piece, which falls into two parts, each different in ethos and technique. It is preceded by some lines that well illustrate Virgil's particularizing method: he might have continued directly from 332 to the encounter with Charon, but instead he shows us, among the vast concourse of indiscriminate ghosts jostling for a place in the ferry-boat, three of Aeneas' own companions to whom Charon has refused a crossing, two of them long since lost at sea, the other his helmsman Palinurus whose recent death has brought him special sadness. In this way

the general misery of the inops inhumataque turba is more sharply defined for Aeneas personally: ergo (384) sums up his unspoken thoughts as he reflects upon the implications of Palinurus' narrative and upon the terrible finality of the Sibyl's words (376), in the face of which he is himself powerless to bring help or comfort to the dead.

Charon has been described already (299 ff.), in a passage where Virgil acts as commentator, another aspect of his technique. The separation is effective: the grim figure of Charon can be visualized, with its eternal menace for Palinurus, throughout the scene. Now, out in mid-stream, he is alert to danger ('theme and variation' are marked here -- iam inde: Stygia ab unda; ire: pedem advertere; prior corresponding with ultro; adgreditur dictis stiffened into increpat). Charon's tristitia (cf. 315) comes out in his speech (Virgil does such things well; cf. Aeolus, i.76 ff., or Pyrrhus, ii.547 ff.). He has recognizable affinity with the Porter in Macbeth -- old, vigorous, grumbling: he is offensively conscious of official authority, not unlike an unintelligent policeman hoping to make an arrest -- Aeneas is armed, he must be up to no good ('nihil pium molitur', Servius on 388). Nostra ad flumina: this is how a slave in Comedy speaks; cf. Plautus, Truc. 256 'quis illic est qui tam proterve nostras aedis arietat?'. The brusque fare age quid venias recalls Mercury's rough demand of Sosia (Amph. 377) 'loquere, quid venisti?' (cf. Truc. 258 'quid tibi ad hasce accessio aedis est?'), with the epic fare taking the place of the more ordinary verb. Istinc too belongs to Comedy (e.g. Plaut. Capt. 603 'istinc loquere, si quid vis, procul') and conversational style (Catullus 76.11). A study of Virgil's awareness of Comedy would be rewarding: thus, in the charming scene in i.321 ff., where Venus in disguise asks Aeneas if he has seen one of her 'sisters' pass that way, describing her appearance and dress, with Aeneas' reply 'nulla tuarum audita mihi neque visa sororum', there is an epic dressing-up of a passage such as Rudens 313 ff.:

(Trachalio) 'ecquem adulescentem huc, dum hic astat, expedite,
vidistis ire strenua facie, rubicundum, fortem,
qui tris semihomines duceret chlamydatos cum machaeris?

(Fishermen) 'nullum istac facie ut praedicas venisse huc scimus'.

Umbrarum hic locus est, somni noctisque soporae: Charon speaks as a servant might to a visitor who has come to the wrong door ('This is the ghosts' house; no live visitors allowed'), but umbrarum and soporae, impressively framing the line, and the highly poetic word soporus, give appropriate epic pomp (so above, comprime gressum is epic, not conversational). Umbrarum and corpora viva are carefully placed for emphasis; vectare perhaps suggests a heavy load (cf. xi.138 'plaustris...vectare gementibus ornos', the only other occurrence of the verb in Virgil), and the frequentative form adds a certain piquancy (one would be bad enough, but to make a practice of it...). The characterization now (392) takes a new turn: the old man soliloquizes, as an old man might, thinking aloud about previous visitors whom he would have done better to turn away. There is wry humour in Virgil's words nec sum laetatus as applied to Charon, that navita tristis, even for a reader who is unaware of the Greek idiom adapted here and of the possibility of word-play on Charon's name (see Norden, and cf. Aristophanes, Frogs 184 $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\prime\omega\ \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu, \chi\alpha\iota\rho\prime\omega\ \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu, \chi\alpha\iota\rho\prime\omega\ \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu$), in the light of Servius' comment that the ferryman was so scared by Hercules that he took him across at

once, and spent a year in chains for punishment: no wonder that he meant to stand no nonsense from this formidably armed stranger. Charon draws a pathetic picture of the crimes with which this previous trio of god-born ruffians (may not the subjunctive essent in 394 suggest scepticism?) violated the domesticity of his master's quiet home, and his style becomes more markedly epic (Tartareum custodem, 395; and the impressive alliteration in 396-7). Hercules, he says, behaved like a common burglar, dragging Cerberus away, poor frightened beast; trementem is amusing, and we can see too the curious way in which Virgil can echo himself in a widely different context, for when Pyrrhus killed Priam, 'altaria ad ipsa trementem / traxit' (ii.550 f.; cf. ii.209 with vi.477, ii.485 with vi.427). Where was Cerberus at this moment? The natural interpretation of Virgil's words is that he was not at his usual post (cf. 417) but actually beside the king's throne. Norden objects to the inconsistency, and will have nothing of Servius' reasonable explanation ('ad naturam canum referendum est, qui territi ad dominos confugiunt'); relying on a tradition preserved by Apollodorus (bibl.ii.5.12) that Hercules first went to Pluto and demanded the dog of him, he takes ipsius a solio regis to refer to this request (petivit). But this is surely impossible to get out of the Latin: petivit a solio regis is very different from petivit a rege, and Norden takes no account of ipsius (which is pointless on his interpretation), nor of the clear parallel to solio in the next line (thalamo). Virgil may well have been aware of Apollodorus' tradition, but I do not think he was using it here: he has simply made the grumbling old Charon tell his tale as effectively as possible and with picturesque detail suitable to his alarming story, just as any aggrieved underling might do. If there is a problem, I think Servius has the right answer (or did Cerberus, perhaps, rush boldly to protect his king's person, only to regret his show of bravery?). Charon reaches a climax of artistic horror as he remembers the villainy of Theseus and his friend, attacking the Mistress herself; and then he ends abruptly, but his unspoken thought is clear: if this man is allowed alive across his river, anything might happen, and he, Charon, would get the blame. In this brief speech Virgil has, as it were, fitted into epic a character from Comedy or Satire; he just hints enough to let us see something of the Charon of Aristophanes or Lucian, but at the same time gives him the serious significance of a personage sufficiently important to be bypassed by supernatural means alone.

The Sibyl -- Amphrysia vates, another high-sounding periphrasis -- handles the old man expertly. She almost teases him, but she recognizes that he is after all only doing his duty. She mocks gently at brave Cerberus, barking for all eternity at bloodless shadows, and rather less gently at Proserpina's concern for her chastity (servet limen, 402 -- 'she can go on being a model wife, to her uncle'). Then she impressively explains this new living visitor: no robber, no rapist, but a loving son and godfearing: Pietate insignis is more than a 'label' for Aeneas, it is in stern antithesis to the impieties that Charon has described (and still fears), as well as in rebuke of his uncompromising nefas (391). Slowly then and dramatically she reveals the Golden Bough. We must imagine a pause after imago (405): then, after the slow deliberate at ramum hunc, a second pause as she uncovers the Bough and holds it out to him (hunc): then the meaning silence that follows the sharp, abrupt jussive agnoscas. The parenthesis aperit ramum qui veste latebat is elaborately casual, in a pattern repeated in a solemn passage at xii. 206 f. (Latinus' oath at the treaty-making, 'ut sceptrum hoc' -- dextra sceptrum nam forte tenebat -- /"numquam fronde levi fundet virgulta"); it is very much in the manner of Ovid (cf. Her. 11.95 "Aeolus hunc ensem mittit tibi" -- tradidit ensem -- '; Ars ii.131 ff. 'ille levi virga -- virgam nam forte tenebat -- /quod

rogat, in spisso litore pingit opus': F. iv.691 f. "'hoc" ait "in campo" -- compungue ostendit -- "habebat / rus breve cum duro parca colona viro"). It has two functions: by repeating ramum (first with elided termination, then with full syllabic value) Virgil stresses the significance of the Bough; and the crucial moment is made far more dramatic than it would have been if the Sibyl's production of the Bough had been described factually in a clause outside her words.

Charon knows his place at once; his resentment dies down immediately at agnoscas, and the Sibyl (always economical of words) needs to say no more (nec plura his, 408). The clause tumida ex ira tum corda residunt is well explained by Norden as parenthetical, parallel in structure and rhythm to the previous parenthesis, and complementary to it -- both are, as it were, stage directions adapted to the epic narrative manner. The detail in longo post tempore visum (409) is a clever piece of circumstantial invention, and a most vivid touch. Charon turns his boat (caeruleam implies, as often, a dark colour; cf. Servius on iii.64), which is off-shore, loaded up with ghostly passengers. But this late comer is no flimsy phantom, but a big and solid man who needs room; the ghosts are pitched out (deturbat, 412, suggests rough treatment, characteristic of the navita tristis; cf. v.175 'in mare praecipitem puppi deturbat ab alta'), presumably to wait for the next trip. Virgil surely smiles as he describes Aeneas' ponderous embarking: the heavy spondees in ingentem Aenean contrast him with the dactylic phantoms of 411, and the pause before gemuit is effective. Ingentem ('our author's maid of all work, cook, slut, and butler at once...Seville's famous barber was never busier; it is Ingens here, Ingens there, everywhere Ingens' -- Henry on v.118, with much more in like vein), marking the incongruity between the living man and the insubstantial shades, again illustrates a strange Virgilian self-echoing -- viii.366 f. (of Evander) 'dixit et angusti subter fastigia tecti / ingentem Aenean duxit', where it is not easy to justify the epithet.

The boat is sutilis (413). The position of the adjective draws attention to the primitive character of the craft, and the elision in multam accepit suggests the seeping of the water into it. The traditional idea that the boat resembled an ancient British coracle, constructed of sewn hides, has lately been questioned by L. Casson, who argues cogently that Virgil means a craft of sewn planks (cf. Pacuvius, trag.fr. 250-1 R; see CR n.s. xiii, 1963, pp.257 ff.). It is a slow crossing, and an anxious one. For a modern parallel, let me quote Fitzroy Maclean, Eastern Approaches, p.359: he is describing a perilous river-crossing in Jugoslavia: 'the raft was a minute, flimsy affair, not much larger than a big soap-box, on which there was barely room for one passenger besides the aged ferryman, who, grumbling to himself as he went, propelled it across the rapid current with vigorous but erratic strokes of his pole. Eventually, after a series of individual journeys, each of which landed the passenger, soaked to the skin, at a different point on the opposite bank, we were all across. We bid farewell to the boatman, still grumbling to himself in the darkness, and set out for our next target, the village where we were to find reliable guides'. The slowness of the journey is marked by tandem (415; the isolated spondaic word beginning the line should be noted; if Virgil had chosen to write 'trans fluvium tandem', the slowness would have been played down). Servius engagingly speculates on the cause: was it because Aeneas was so heavy? or because the palus was so huge? or because the mud was so thick?: he prefers the first explanation, and so,

I think, may we. Charon, however, knows his job, and lands them both safe, 'prophetess and hero' (the double -que, linking related concepts as it does, marks Aeneas as no ordinary vir); 416 -- informi limo glaucaque exponit in ulva -- is a notable line, with its stodgy spondees and oozy triple -1- sound. It is often instructive to compare Virgil with later poets on the same theme (e.g. Ovid's handling of the Orpheus and Eurydice legend, Met. x.1 ff., or of the story of Dido, Her.7). Here we may consider Seneca, Hercules Furens 773 ff.: Hercules, about to cross the Styx, and duly checked by Charon, threatens him with his own pole and climbs unceremoniously into the boat: 'cumba populorum capax / succubuit uni' -- one single person's weight is too much for the craft that can accommodate whole nations -- 'sedit et gravior ratis / utrimque Lethen latere titubanti bibit' -- the boat gets lower in the water and 'gulps down Lethe on either side with tottery timbers'. Virgil's picture has been dressed up to supply 'point' (populorum...uni); 'sinking' is done in three different ways (succubuit, sedit, gravior...bibit), Virgil's paludem has become the more mannered and less graphic Lethen, and his rimosa has been developed into latere titubanti. The epic directness has vanished, and fussiness has taken its place.

The grim humour continues a little longer. Virgil's description of Cerberus may be seen in its full artistry by comparing it with Seneca, Herc.Fur. 783 ff., or Apuleius, Met. vi.19, or Dante Inferno vi. He is less concerned with the beast's horrid appearance than with his size and sound. Cerberus' barking is endless and inescapable; it echoes in the lines, latrAtu trifAUci, recubANS immANis in ANtro; 'trifauci' (a Virgilian neologism) is clearly onomatopoeic (cf. Lucretius' baubantur, v. 1071, and the au au of the dog in Aristophanes, Wasps 903); and there is a harsh assonance in ingENS, recubANS, vidENS (the two last in the same position in the line). The creature's size is stressed by deliberate chiasitic repetition; ingens and immanis (417-8), immania and ingens (422-3): Cerberus is monstrous when on guard and monstrous when sprawled in his doped sleep -- and Virgil adds, for good measure, fusus humi and toto extenditur antro, to leave no possible doubt of the immeasurable bulk of the monster who might have frustrated all Aeneas' hopes, or of the immense power of the Sibyl who could so promptly anaesthetise so frightful a beast. The administering of the drug is admirably described; the very noise of barking seems hushed directly it is produced, in the muted line (419) melle soporatam et medicatis frugibus offam (the elision gives the effect of a fading-off after the slowed polysyllable soporatam); the characteristic run-over to obicit, with the sharp pause that follows, marks the dramatic moment of the throw, and then Cerberus, famishing, as if he never had a meal before (how like a dog), snaps up the titbit (obicit...obiectam shows how little time he lost); the final syllable of obiectam vanishes as the monster gulps the offa down, and he is immediately unconscious. The scene is depicted in one of the miniatures in Vat.lat.3225 (F, fourth century): the offa, held out by the Sibyl, is marked as such, but its nature is not identifiable; Cerberus is reddish-brown, with three heads, the tongues painted red; he is at the entrance to a cavern, behind which are two figures marked infantes (see J.de Wit, Die Miniaturen des Vergilius Vaticanus, Amsterdam, 1959, p.108).

Aeneas, like a practical soldier, sees his chance and takes it. The military picture in occupat aditum is continued in custode sepulto, a remarkable example of Virgilian compression: the phrase looks back to Ennius (Ann. 292 'hostes vino domiti somnoque sepulti'), with a glance at Lucretius (i. 133, v. 975); Virgil uses the full borrowing in ii. 265 'invadunt urbem somno vinoque sepultam', but here he telescopes

the whole concept of a drugged or vinous sleep into the single verb sepelire. Evaditque celer ripam is an extension of occupat aditum: by 'seizing upon' the approach-road guarded by Cerberus, Aeneas passes beyond (evadit) the river-bank. The epithet inremeabilis (425) is a Virgilian coinage, in the high epic style, not only high-sounding and remorseless and emotional, but appropriate also: for Aeneas himself does not cross that river again. And so the scene ends, drawn by Virgil with such delicate skill, partly hinting at the tradition of Comedy, yet in no way lessening for that reason the terror and the mystery of this ordeal of the dead. Such relief, indeed, as Aeneas could feel at his safe crossing and his safe passing of the guard is quickly over. For immediately he comes to that special place in the ghost-world where the prematurely dead dwell; and Virgil now takes us to scenes based indeed on myth, but reaching out into universal human experience, and culminating in wounding sorrow for Aeneas himself, yet of a kind not to be interpreted through Aeneas' eyes alone.

Continuo auditae: there is no interval of time before this thin wailing is heard. The grief in these four lines (426-9) is unmistakable: the repeated -i-, the echoing auditAE...animAE...vitAE (all in the same position, but vitae dying away in elision), then vocES...flentES...diES, and limine, ubere, funere: it suggests the music of a piper's lament. Line 429 was drawn on often for grave-inscriptions (see R.P. Hoogma, Der Einfluss Vergils auf die Carmina Latina Epigraphica, Amsterdam, 1959, p.285); in funere acerbo Virgil has used an epic phrase from Plautus (Amph.190, Asin.595) and his own emotion is plain from his use of this very line in the passage on the death of the young Pallas (xi.29). In what follows, there is the same sadness of sound: note crimine (430) echoing limine (427), mortis with sorte (431), taking us back to exsortis (428). Silentium (432) marks not only the blank silence of that ghostly assemblage but also the fact that in this 'trial' no voice can be raised in self-defence. Virgil's compassion for the suicides would be clear even without his reminiscence of Homer's famous lines (Od. xi.488 ff.): perosi and proiecere testify to it, and even more the notable comment insontes. But his fullest pity is kept for those in the lugentes campi, stretching in vast solitariness to shelter the victims of love: the name -- 'the Broken-Hearted Fields' (James Elroy Flecker), 'the large feildis wyde And boundis of Complaynt' (Gavin Douglas) -- is explicitly attributed to some literary tradition (sic illos nomine dicunt, 441) by Virgil himself: had he not said this, we might well have felt no surprise if so startling a phrase had come from the poet of the Georgics, for whom the good earth shares human happiness and sorrows. It is in this way that we are prepared for one of the greatest passages in the whole Aeneid.

For Virgil now particularizes, in his manner, listing those fields' inhabitants, still suffering their intolerable pain of love. Here, as elsewhere in this Book, the gulf between him and Lucretius is dramatically plain: 'curae non ipsa in morte relinquunt' (444): Lucr. iii.904 f. 'tu quidem ut es leto sopitus, sic eris aevi / quod superest cunctis privatu' doloribus aegris'. It is a strange list, much discussed: some sinful, some innocent: the names carefully place, no casual string of characters from myth: the passionate Phaedra and the treacherous Eriphyle on either side of the simple Procris, the devoted Evadne and the loving Laodamia on either side of the unnatural Pasiphae: and finally, the man-woman Caeneus is given more attention than any of the others. It is true that line 445

is a 'contamination' of two lines of Homer (Od. xi.321, 326), but the choice is Virgil's, and Virgil has rejected Homer's epithet of horror for Eriphyle and has substituted his own, maestam. This last, deliberately chosen adjective adds point to the whole setting of pity (and even Pasiphae is termed virgo infelix in Gallus' song, Ecl.6.47). Virgil seems to imply that there is no simple way of judging or defining sinfulness. In an interesting and ingenious paper (Revue des Etudes latines, xlii, 1964, pp.247-61) J. Perret suggests that in Virgil's choice of names we may see, as it were, a projection of his attitude to Dido. The most puzzling figure in the list is Caeneus: and the most ambivalent. Perret sees here the warrior Dido, dux femina facti, now wholly woman once more. Whatever Virgil meant to convey -- but who can say what message his allusiveness would have had for his contemporary readers? -- we may be very sure that in a passage so carefully and imaginatively wrought as this there was reason and anxious thought in the poet's mind as he chose these particular figures for the company of Dido.

For with sudden, intense dramatic impact, Dido comes, recens a vulnere (it is hardly possible not to see some intention to take the mind back to Eriphyle, nati monstrantem vulnera). To Aeneas, those other ghostly women were legendary: Dido he had known, and loved. It is a measure of Virgil's creative power that we too feel the shock as we read: those others are figures from a classical dictionary, Dido is real, Dido of Carthage confronting Aeneas of Troy (the adjectives, deliberately balanced, add both emotion and colour). It is a measure, too, of the supreme and central import that Virgil attached to Dido's entry into Aeneas' life, that he planned this meeting here, in the heart of the most significant book of the Aeneid. Errabat silva in magna: the spondees, the strong clash of ictus and word-accent, the pause delayed to the fourth foot, all indicate the labouring of this "wanderer" in the dark, secret wood. The famous simile that follows (note the emphasis on obscuram, and the way in which Virgil has delayed the significant word lunam as long as possible) is a whole world away from the passage of Apollonius Rhodius that suggested it (iv.1479 ff.). Dido, whom Aeneas last saw (iv.390) beautiful and vivid and fierce, storming at him in bitter rage -- this Dido is now a dim phantom, glimmering faintly before him, so faintly that he can scarcely at first be sure that he sees her at all.

As every reader knows, Aeneas' speech is full of reflections of the Fourth Book. Dulci amore (455): so, in happier days, Dido had known his love (iv.317 f. 'si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam / dulce meum'), and on the pyre she turned at last to his dulces exuviae. We may remember that adfari is often used of tender, affectionate address (e.g. ii.775, G.iv. 281). Infelix Dido: her own self-address (iv.596); Virgil has shown her as infelix from the start, long before Aeneas left her (i.712, 749, iv.68), and now her misery comes home to him at last. Ergo: again summarizing thoughts: he has always been troubled by this 'nuntius', wondering if it were true -- and now he knows it was true. Funeris heu tibi causa fui?: 'death -- was that what I brought upon you?': but has he never really known this, never admitted it to himself? When, sailing away, he saw from the sea the red glare of fire (v.4), did he really not guess its meaning? What was the nuntius, if it was not the message of those flames? Virgil surely intends us to know -- but obliquely, in his way -- that Aeneas in his heart of hearts knew what he had done to Dido: but correspondingly he shows us Aeneas' own suffering, the unsuccessful smothering of conscience. Once more Aeneas protests what he had protested in Italiam non sponte sequor (iv.361): invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi: just as

in Dido's dying speech there is a reminiscence of Catullus (64.171 f.; iv.657 f.), so here Virgil has borrowed from Catullus (66.39), but far more remarkably (a reader quite ignorant of chronology, confronted with the two passages, might reasonably conclude that Catullus had parodied Virgil), and with great effect -- the borrowing is one of those strange manifestations of the working of a poet's mind that nowadays could start an acrimonious correspondence in the Times Literary Supplement. Iussa deum (461): so Dido (iv.378) had flung in Aeneas' teeth the horrida iussa of Iuppiter. The dismal terror of this meeting-place is well suggested by the assonance in deUM...nUNc...UMbras..cogUNT...profUNDam, and by the uncanny loca senta situ (from some early tragic poet?): long ago, fighting down her passion for Aeneas, Dido had prayed (iv.25 f.) 'pater omnipotens abigat me fulmine ad umbras, / pallentis umbras Erebo noctemque profundam / ante, pudor, quam te violo', and now Iuppiter has taken her at her word, and this is where Aeneas finds her. As Aeneas continues (463), we remember Dido's words to Anna when she now saw the end of everything (iv. 419 f.) 'hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem, / et perferre, soror, potero'. Virgil seems to turn over his own memories, with now this, now that uppermost, to bring out the full poignancy of the situation that he has devised. In the words 'nec credere quivi / hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem', Aeneas has returned to the nuntius and to the naggings of his conscience: Servius well comments that his meaning is 'si credidissem, forte etiam deorum iussa contemnerem'. Siste gradum: the words are used on a number of Roman gravestones (see Hoogma, op.cit. p.288), pleading with the traveller to stop and read (as Gray pleads in the Elegy), in the manner of such inscriptions from earliest times: they ring almost like an epitaph here too, but one of which the passer-by who matters most takes no heed. For already Dido shrinks away: Aeneas' cry to her, quem fugis?, painfully recalls her cry to him, mene fugis? (iv.314). Extremum fato quod te adloquor hoc est, he tells her, begging her to stay and hear: she had once sent a message to him through Anna, begging him to hear and stay, 'quo ruit? extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti' (iv.429).

Talibus Aeneas ardentem et torva tuentem / lenibat dictis animum lacrimasque ciebat. The remarkable expression torva tuentem animum has displeased some commentators, who prefer the emendation animam. But Norden defends animus as a personification after the Greek tragic fashion (pointing out that the construction torva tueri is itself a Grecism, first appearing in Lucretius and taken over in a number of passages by Virgil), quoting Soph.Ai. 955 κελαινώσαν θυμόν and Aesch.Cho. 854 φρένα ἄρματαμένην, to which one might add Soph. Phil. 1013 f. ἡ κακῆ σὴ διὰ θυγῶν βλέπουσ' αἰεὶ/ψυχῆ. It is not Dido's ghost but Dido's heart that is 'blazing and grim-gazing'. Lenibat is clearly conative: what then of ciebat? If this too is conative (as one would expect), then the lacrimae are Dido's. This, however, involves extending the use of ciere (elsewhere in such phrases, e.g. iii.344, G.iii.517, always of emotion felt by the subject of the verb) to affect a person other than the subject. If this is impossible, the verbs are not parallel, lacrimasque ciebat must be taken as explanatory, an equivalent simply of lacrimans, and the tears are those of Aeneas (cf. prosequitur lacrimis, 476). Against this it can be argued that Aeneas ahead 'demisit lacrimas' in 455, but the point has little weight: the two expressions are complementary, framing the speech, as it were. Servius already noted the ambiguity

(cf. the lacrimae inanes of iv.449, a much greater problem), and it can only be left to each reader's personal feeling. But the antithesis in 469 ff. would be more pointed if both verbs could be taken as conative: Aeneas 'tried to soften her heart, tried to make her tears start'. If the question is asked, why should he expect her to weep, there is an answer in Dido's own speech in iv.369 f., where she reproaches Aeneas for his stony heart: 'num fletu ingemuit nostro? num lumina flexit? / num lacrimas victus dedit aut miseratus amantem est?'

Dido's refusal was plain while he was speaking, as the tense of tenebat (469) shows. She would not look at him, just as before in life while he was speaking 'taliam dicentem iam dudum aversa tuetur' (iv.362). She listens expressionless (470), as he did once to her messages (iv.438 f. 'sed nullis ille movetur / fletibus'); she is like the hard flinty cautes to which she had once likened his birthplace (iv.366); stet is rock-like in sound and sense (cf. Propertius iv.11.4 'non exorato stant adamante viae'); Marpesia particularizes the cautes, marble, pale and cold. It is with an effort that she wrenches herself away (tandem: so iv.333, of Aeneas, mastering himself to speak after Dido's torrent of words, 'tandem pauca refert'). She runs into the shadows, inimica, 'with gesture stern' as Matthew Arnold puts it in the Scholar Gipsy. And she runs to Sychaeus, her dead husband, who 'answered all her cares and equalled all her love' (so Dryden, beautifully). It is a marvellously imaginative moment. In life, Dido had so deeply felt that in desiring Aeneas she had been untrue to Sychaeus (iv.552, cf.28); and here, in death, she finds him at her side to comfort her. Because he had died untimely, and by violence, his place in the general scheme of this part of the Underworld is easily explained; but his presence in the Lugentes Campi suggests that he had come there for Dido's sake, to protect and tend her. Virgil, in his quiet way, makes it seem so natural, so inevitable that Sychaeus and Dido should be reunited. In one way it is his ultimate judgment of Dido, and it is not a condemnation. Nothing could better express his belief in a continuance of feeling beyond the grave than this touching picture: again so different from Lucretius, who counters the pain of severance in death from wife and family with the bleak statement that the dead will know no need of them any more:

'iam iam non domus accipiet te laeta, neque uxor
optima, nec dulces occurrent oscula nati
praeripere et tacita pectus dulcedine tangent'...
illud in his rebus non addunt, 'nec tibi earum
iam desiderium rerum super insidet una'. (iii.894 ff.)

There are some lines of Robert Bridges that, in their own way, help towards a realization of Virgil's vision; they are from his Elegy on a Lady whom grief for the death of her Betrothed killed:

And thou, O lover, that art on the watch,
Where, on the banks of the forgetful streams,
The pale indifferent ghosts wander, and snatch
The sweeter moments of their broken dreams, --
 Thou, when the torchlight gleams,
 When thou shalt see the slow procession
 And when thine ears the fitful music catch,
Rejoice, for thou art near to thy possession.

Aeneas watches her path to the husband who did not reject her, casu concussus iniquo.